DOING HISTORY IN THE "GREAT CYCLORAMA OF GOD"

Tourism and the Presentation of the Past in Twentieth-Century

St. Andrews, New Brunswick

by

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Abstract

The town of St. Andrews, New Brunswick, has been a tourist destination since the late nineteenth century. The orientation of this tourism, however, has changed from a therapeutic experience in the "Newport of the North" to a focus on the community as an "historic town." In this first stage, tourism in St. Andrews centred around the Algonquin Hotel, owned by the Canadian Pacific Railway from 1903 until the late 1960s. When the C.P.R. pulled out of the town, the state and local heritage organizations took over the promotion of tourism, and settled somewhat arbitrarily to focus on the town's historic nature.

The narrative which is the history of this historic town did not just appear as a finished truth, ready for the tourist gaze. With reference to the international literature on history-making this thesis documents how this history germinated in the work of a local entrepreneur and writer -- Grace Helen Mowat. Miss Mowat, who, in the mid-twentieth century still considered herself a Tory, constructed an historical world-view of lasting appeal in her historical writing, fiction, and business activities (most notably her creation of a "traditional" handicrafts industry in Charlotte County). The themes of her work, which include rurality and the picturesque, Britishness as an ideal for the present, notions of genteel behaviour for men and women, and a class ideal of the hierarchical and ordered community, coupled with her elaboration of a local version of the Loyalist myth of history, creating a "metanarrative" of Loyalist St. Andrews which has survived to become institutionalized as the town's official history.

Visible in "historic sites," plaques marking "historically" significant locations and people, and the local museums, this history is the story of old buildings, significant events, and important white (and often wealthy) personages. The church, the state, the Loyalists, and many privileged white males have parts in the story; women, blacks, Natives and workers do not. Looking at the results of history-making on a local level suggests the power and importance of representations of the past in daily life.

Acknowledgements

Although this thesis is critical of the process of history-making in the town of St. Andrews, it should not be taken in any way as personal criticism of the people who live there or the valour of their efforts.

I want to thank all the people and organizations in that community for their cooperation with my research. I particularly want to thank Charlotte McAdam, Archivist at the Charlotte County Archives, for her months of assistance, suggestions and conversation.

I also want to thank my advisor, Professor Ian McKay, for helping me to take half-formed ideas and turn them into valid arguments, while reminding me that there is no point in 'doing history' without a sense of humour.

Finally, I want to thank Jess for putting up with both my protracted absences and, when I was around, the hundreds of anecdotes I persisted in telling about Miss Mowat and her love of the Loyalists.

Table of Contents

Abstract i

Acknowledgements ii

Table of Contents iii

List of Tables iv

List of Figures and Illustrations v

Chapter 1 -- "Make the Past a Part of Your Future": The Problem of History in St. Andrews 1

Chapter 2 -- Before Loyalization: Culture, Health and Beauty in a Therapeutic Space, 1879-1955 28

Chapter 3 -- Loyalization, Cultural Entrepreneurship, and "Art as a Cash Crop": The Impact of Grace Helen Mowat 57

Chapter 4 -- The Beginnings of Loyalist St. Andrews: Mowatian Thought and the Tory Ideal 78

Chapter 5 -- The Era of State Organization: The Mobilization of Places of Memory in St. Andrews 111

Appendix 1 143

Bibliography 150

Vita 161

List of Tables

Table 1 -- Population of St. Andrews and Charlotte County, NB, 1824 to 1991 . between pages 18 & 19

Table 2 -- Population of St. Andrews by "Place of Birth," 1851. . . . . between pages 18 & 19

Table 3 -- "Ethnic Origins" of the Population . . . . . between pages 18 & 19

Table 4 -- All Local Plaques Marking "Historic Sites" by Subject . . . . . between pages 121 & 122

Table 5 -- St. Andrews Civic Trust Plaques Marking "Historic Sites" by Subject . . . between pages 121 & 122

List of Figures and Illustrations

Figure 1 -- Map showing the location of St. Andrews . . between pages 1 & 2

Figure 2 -- A "summer cottage" for a Montrealer . . . between pages 27 & 28

Figure 3 -- Detail from a promotional map of St. Andrews 39

Figure 4 -- The Mock-Tudor Algonquin Hotel. . . . . between pages 49 & 50

Figure 5 -- Dancer Irene Castle joins "the folk" at Miss Mowat's "Farmers' Pageant". . . . between pages 100 & 101

Figure 6 -- A typical St. Andrews Civic Trust plaque, marking an "historic" house . . . between pages 121 & 122

Figure 7 -- Map of St. Andrews, indicating the locations of some "historic sites". . . between pages 126 & 127

Figure 8 -- The St. Andrews Blockhouse before restoration . . . . . between pages 126 & 127

Figure 9 -- The St. Andrews Blockhouse as a National Historic Site. . . . . between pages 126 & 127

Figure 10 -- Gentility preserved in brick: The Sheriff Andrews House Museum. . between pages 134 & 135

Figure 11 -- Interior of the Sheriff Andrews House. between pages 134 & 135

Chapter 1 — "Make the Past a Part of Your Future": The Problem of History in St. Andrews

> The really impressive thing about St Andrews lies in its past. A past rich in tales of courage and heroism and self-sacrificing patriotism, humour and pathos. A past that is found in old letters and stories told by winter fire sides.... [The Loyalists] arrived after the close of the American war coming in schooner loads having abandoned their homes in the States, where their property was no longer respected, desiring still to be under British rule.
>
> They must have been a picturesque sight as they landed, the men with their three-cornered hats and plum coloured coats, silk stockings and knee breeches. The ladies with their paniered dresses and silken quilted petticoats, clambouring [sic] up the shore over the red rocks when they landed. They brought with them from their old homes priceless old silver and mahogany, family portraits and the best china all packed in the holds of those little sailing vessels and from thence deposited on the shore among the clams and the star fish.... With remarkable rapidity these courageous people transformed the wilderness into a flourishing little town.[1]

1. The History and Historians of a "Loyalist Town"

St. Andrews, or St. Andrews-By-The-Sea, is the community referred to in this colourful description written by Grace Helen Mowat, its leading writer and, in many ways, founder of its history-based tourism trade. A small town in Charlotte County, New Brunswick, located in the southwest of the province, St. Andrews "is situated on a narrow point of land extending southward into the Passamaquoddy Bay, about twelve miles north of Eastport [Maine]"[2] (see Figure 1). One side of this peninsula is bounded by the St. Croix River, which forms the southern part of the boundary

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[1]Grace Helen Mowat [hereafter GHM], "St. Andrews in the Early Days," unpublished manuscript, Grace Helen Mowat Collection, Charlotte County Historical Society Archives [hereafter CCHS], MS 92 MC 8/46.

[2]"BEAUTIFUL SAINT ANDREWS: A Boston Journalist's Description of us and our New Hotel," from the *Boston Home Journal*, reprinted in *The Saint Andrews Beacon*, July 18, 1889.

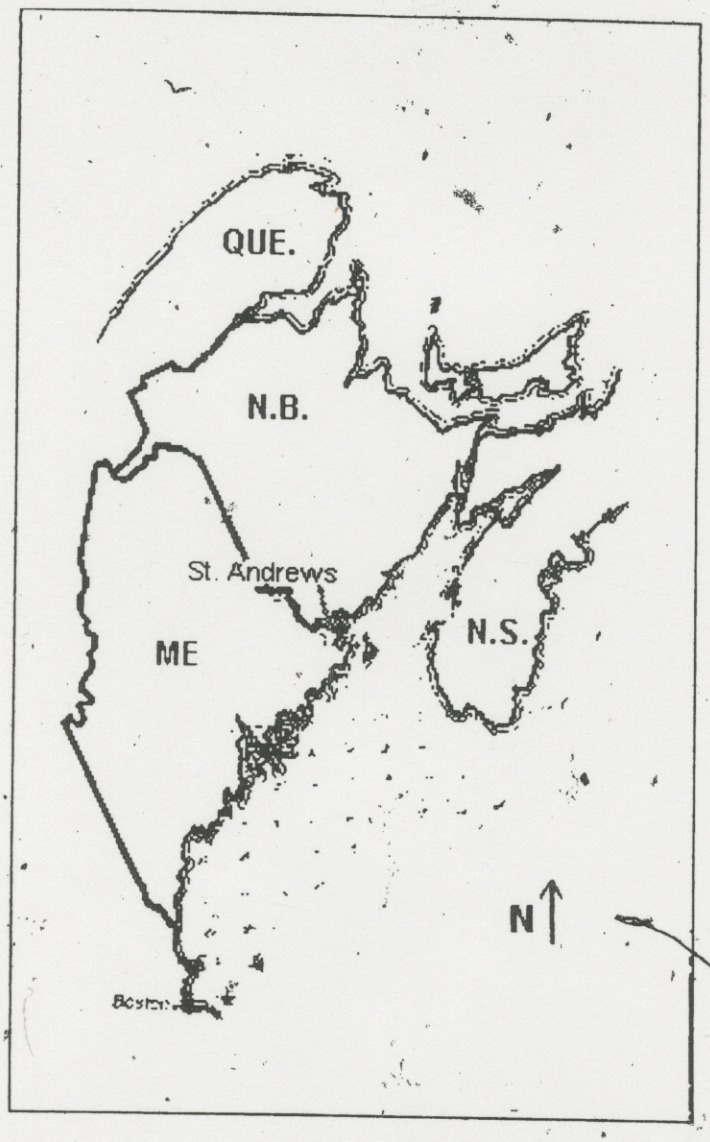

Figure 1 - Map showing the location of St. Andrews (not drawn to scale)
Source: St. Andrews Civic Trust, *The Flight of the Loyalists*

between New Brunswick and Maine. By road, St. Andrews is about 100 km (62.5 miles) from Saint John and about 800 km (500 miles) from Montreal or Boston.

This thesis is about historical reconstruction: about the ways "history" can be put to use to further a present-day agenda. It looks first at the emergence of St. Andrews in its original "tourist identity," to demonstrate that St. Andrews was not initially an "historic" place, but instead was developed according to a therapeutic logic. The next chapter looks at the different meanings acquired by the town as it came to be regarded as "historical," and at Grace Helen Mowat as the architect of this movement. It is followed by a discussion of the success of Loyalism as the town's new defining historical characteristic and the enduring influence which a "public" historian like Mowat enjoyed. Finally, the impact of the new state tourism through the institutionalization of a history reflecting Mowat's ideas is explored, and the thesis concludes by examining some of the historic sites in the town today as a way of illuminating the links between the pattern of history they present and that which was created and popularized by Mowat.

St. Andrews has long drawn the attention of historians. A number of historians published work on the area's past during the first half of this century, the most notable being William F. Ganong, David Russell Jack, Grace Helen Mowat, and Harold A. Davis. Ganong did not do a lot of work centred on St. Andrews, but the town received some coverage in his 1903 *Historic Sites of New Brunswick*. Jack collected his own and others' work together and published two volumes of the early historical magazine *Acadiensis* (1903 and 1907) with information about St. Andrews.

Mowat wrote the most about the area, not only a book focused specifically on the town, but also plays, speeches and novels set in the area and dealing with issues of historical interest. Davis' *An International Community on the St. Croix* covers the entire region, including St. Andrews, and concentrates on the economic history of the nineteenth century.

Historical writing about the town of St. Andrews thus dates back to the early twentieth century, when such writers as Ganong began writing monographs about the area and its history. Grace Helen Mowat wrote her works at roughly the same time. There, however, the similarity ends. The work of Ganong has fallen into obscurity, while Mowat's remains influential today. Ganong was a member of the Ganong family of St. Stephen, famous mainly for the confectionary company founded by his father and uncle. He taught as a botanist at Smith College, in Massachusetts, for 38 years.[3] Born in 1864, he lived until 1941 and published many works, including some 600 papers, monographs and books on such scholarly topics as "Is *littorina litorea* introduced or indigenous [1886]?", "The echinodermata of New Brunswick [1888]," "Upon polyembryony and its morphology in *Opuntia vulgaris* [1898]," *A laboratory course in plant physiology, especially as a basis for ecology* [1901], and *A textbook of botany for colleges* [1917]. He also edited, translated and/or annotated editions of many other texts, such as *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*, Lescarbot's *History of New France*, and *The Journal of Captain William Owen, R.N., during his residence*

[3]He did, however, sit on the board of the Ganong Bros. confectionary firm as an active member from 1918 to 1939. Margaret E. McCallum, "Ganong, William Francis," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishing, 1988), p.873.

on Campobello in 1770-71, as well as many historical and cartographical works, such as *The history of Caraquet and Pokemouche*, *A history of Miscou*, *The itinerary of Jacques Cartier's first voyage*, *Ste. Croix (Dochet) Island, A Monograph*, and *A Monograph of Historic Sites in the Province of New Brunswick*.[4]

Ganong was unquestionably a brilliant scholar. His work was so painstaking and carefully documented that on occasion, when faced with doubts in a work he was writing, he would "promptly set off to clarify the facts given by going to the spot indicated to see whether the description matched the actual location."[5] The painstaking historical research visible in *A Monograph of Historic Sites*, for example, is remarkable, particularly with regard to his attention to Native history. (It is from this work that we are reminded of the obvious but often neglected fact that Natives were the first settlers in the area).[6] Ganong actually learned to speak both Micmac and Maliseet and collected some fascinating historical information. He emphasised Native tradition in one discussion of St. Andrews:

> one of the most admirable of all camping sites. It was called by the Passamaquoddies *Kun-as-kwam-kook*. On the Morris Map of St. Andrews of 1784, the point nearest Navy Island, where the C.P.R. wharf now is, is called *Indian Point*, as it is in some of the boundary documents, and no doubt the main settlement was here.... Some of the

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[4]More of Ganong's works are listed in Allison Mitcham's *Three Remarkable Maritimers* (Hantsport, N.S.: Lancelot Press Limited, 1985) and in J.Allan Rayburn's list of nearly 600 published books, monographs and papers. There is also an extensive collection of his unpublished notes at the New Brunswick Museum, Saint John, N.B.

[5]Mitcham, *Three Remarkable Maritimers*, p.106.

[6]William F. Ganong, *A Monograph of Historic Sites in the Province of New Brunswick*, (Contributions to the History of New Brunswick, No.4). He writes "[m]uch the same motives [which] attracted the Indians to certain sites attracted the early settlers, and many of the important camp sites are now covered by villages and towns, and every trace of Indian occupation is obliterated," p.7.

> boundary documents refer to an important burying-place here; there was one farther up the harbour where now the block-house is, which has been used by the Indians within the memory of men now living. At present the extreme southern part of the peninsula is called *Indian Point*.[7]

Indeed, Ganong admired the natives and lamented that they were disappearing too quickly for their knowledge to be saved. This was one of the motivations behind his comprehensive study of indigenous place-names, which were often "the only relic of his [the Native's] presence."[8] Ganong is noteworthy among local historians in remembering a Native presence that subsequent historians (including those with Parks Canada) were inclined to overlook.[9]

Another historian who looked into the history of the area rigorously was David Russell Jack. Born in 1865, Jack was a Saint John business person and amateur historian. His "consuming interest was the history of the Maritimes,"[10] as suggested by his work from 1901 to 1908 with *Acadiensis*, an historical magazine which preserved many data which might otherwise have disappeared and Volume III, No.2

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[7]Ganong, *Historic Sites*, p.11.

[8]Ganong, cited in Mitcham, p.120.

[9]Ganong's work shows that even in the early twentieth century, knowledge about the former indigenous inhabitants was accessible. Furthermore, it shows that this knowledge was also accessible in later periods to organizations like Parks Canada, which was thus almost certainly aware that there was a "burying-ground" where their blockhouse now stands, a monument to the strength of the British empire. Interestingly enough, the blockhouse has often been interpreted not in the light of its actual purpose (it was for the War of 1812 with the United States), but instead as "a refuge from Indians." Sign, *What to Do and What to See In St. Andrews, N.B.*, found in the attic of the Seaside Inn, n.d.

[10]P.A. Buckner, "Acadiensis II," *Acadiensis*, (Vol.I, No.1, 1973), p.6.

of which centres on the history of St. Andrews, a place where Jack "played as a child."[11]

Harold A. Davis published *An International Community on the Saint Croix (1604-1930)* in 1950. This book, which is not specifically about St. Andrews, provides a useful local context for looking at the town's development; and Davis makes particularly good use of statistics in examining subjects like the rise and fall of wooden shipbuilding, although his focus is mainly on the Calais-St. Stephen/Milltown area of the St. Croix valley. In 1982 Roger Nason added to Davis's work by studying the settlement and early growth of the town, particularly emphasizing the commercial acuity and political ability of the early Loyalists. His "Meritorious but Distressed Individuals: The Penobscot Loyalist Association and the Settlement of the Township of St. Andrews, New Brunswick, 1783-1821" usefully corrected many stereotypes about the Loyalists.

Notwithstanding the contributions of Ganong and Jack, the first and most influential "public" historian of St. Andrews was a woman named Grace Helen Mowat. Mowat was born in 1875 on a family farm just outside the town, and in 40 years of writing and business activity established herself as the area's most popular

[11]D.R. Jack, "St. Andrews-by-the-Sea," *Acadiensis*, (Vol.III, No.3, July 1903), p.160. The issue includes an article on "The St. Andrews and Quebec Railway," by Ganong, which documents an unsuccessful attempt beginning in 1835 to build a railway to Quebec, making St. Andrews the winter port for British North America. "The Penobscot Loyalists," by James Vroom, is a very factual account of the settlement of St. Andrews, focussing on the local military actions during the War of Independence. There are also "Anecdotes," by his uncle, Isaac Allen Jack, which are generally about the town's early Loyalist history. Coupled with such documents as lists of the land grants, epitaphs found in the Loyalists cemetery, photographs of the town and the surrounding area, and book-plates, this is an extremely useful, if limited, source for the history of St. Andrews, and marks the beginning of detailed historical work specifically on the town's history.

writer. Several factors were important to her success. First, she lived in, and was a very active member of, the community. Second, her work encompassed more than history — she wrote plays, which were performed locally and poetry; she also created a handicrafts industry which reinforced her vision of the past (and, therefore, the present) by involving local workers and their products with an applied form of antimodernism.. Third, and perhaps most crucially, her vision of the world was very appealing; unlike the scholarly Ganong and the antiquarian Jack, she articulated widespread and enduring sentiments of at least an elite portion of the community. Mowat's work, the most important in the area, is examined at greater length in Chapters 3 and 4.

2. The New Historiography of 'The Past'

This thesis, although greatly informed by these earlier works, situates itself within a different theoretical horizon. Its central focus is on history-making in a tourist resort; in this context, earlier historians — and particularly Mowat — are seen primarily as part of the problem to be explained, not as fellow interpreters of St. Andrews. The rise of mass tourism has changed the form and content of local history. St. Andrews has developed from a tourism centre with long-term "summer visitors," travelling by rail, who generally came for the season, to one relying on the more transient automobile-based tourism of the twentieth century. In this transition, the town's "historic" character gradually replaced other therapeutic or landscape-specific elements as its major attraction. This thesis explores how the town's

prominent people (who were tied to Canada's dominant class) have constructed an elite version of the town's history, which has then been propagated through the tourist experience. This study thus fits into a niche with a number of other works on "history-making." The best known title in the field is probably David Lowenthal's *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Lowenthal looks at (among other things) how and why people "reinterpret relics and records to make them more comprehensible, to justify present attitudes and actions, to underscore changes of faith." He continues:

> The unadulterated past is seldom sufficiently ancient or glorious; most heritages need ageing and augmenting. Individually and collectively we revise the inherited past to enhance self-esteem, to aggrandize property, to validate power.... To specify such motives, however, is not to say that all these alterations are deliberate. We are often innocent of conscious intent to change what we mean simply to conserve or celebrate.[12]

Lowenthal's past, a "foreign country," is one "with a booming tourist trade,"[13] a landscape that tourists come to view. The idea of landscapes as cultural images is further explored in *The Iconography of Landscape*, a collection edited by Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels. The editors' post-modern description of landscape suggests parallels with other works on historical reconstruction. Landscape, they write, is

> less like a palimpsest whose 'real' or 'authentic' meanings can somehow be recovered with the correct techniques, theories or ideologies, than a flickering text displayed on the word-processor

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[12]David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, (1985; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p.325.

[13]Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p.xvii.

> screen whose meaning can be created, extended, altered, elaborated and finally obliterated by the merest touch of a button.[14]

A given place, then, can have one actual past but many different histories. Exploring which history is dominant at any given time illustrates underlying cultural assumptions, and also tells us something about power dynamics. One piece of "tourism-history" in particular that does precisely this in the Canadian context is Karen Dubinsky's "'The Pleasure is Exquisite but Violent': The Imaginary Geography of Niagara Falls in the Nineteenth Century," which explores the history of tourism at Niagara Falls and changing perceptions of the landscape, particularly through a sex and gender analysis.[15] My thesis is intended as a contribution to this line of enquiry. The significance of such work is suggested by Lowenthal's comment that "history perpetuates collective self-awareness," that is, it helps to preserve society, and, within that society, "conserve existing arrangements."[16] Whether or not this is true of "history" in general, this thesis argues that it is certainly true of tourism-oriented public history in particular.

Another critical look at the phenomenon of history-making can be found in the collection of essays in *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and

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[14]Stephen Daniels and Denis Cosgrove, "Introduction: iconography and landscape," in their *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the symbolic representation, design and use of past environments*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p.8. Brian S. Osborne locates this sensibility in a specifically Canadian context in his article "The iconography of nationhood in Canada," arguing that artistic images served a nationalistic function in Canada. Historic sites can obviously play much the same role.

[15]Karen Dubinsky, "'The Pleasure is Exquisite but Violent': The Imaginary Geography of Niagara Falls in the Nineteenth Century, *Journal of Canadian Studies*, (Vol.29, No.2, Summer 1994).

[16]Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p.213.

Terence Ranger. The authors in this volume look at how "invented traditions" are created and how "all invented traditions, so far as possible, use history as a legitimator of action and cement of group cohesion." This concept is especially relevant when looking at the development of history, since all historians contribute "to the creation, dismantling and restructuring of images of the past which belong not only to the world of specialist investigation but to the public sphere of man [sic] as a political being."[17] Less well known are works such as Patrick Wright's *On Living in an Old Country*, which examines how "the past has been secured as a cultural presence in modern Britain,"[18] and parts of the collection *Presenting the Past: Essays on History and the Public* which also delve into this theme of "history-making." For example, Gertrude Fraser and Reginald Butler's "Anatomy of a Disinternment: The Unmaking of African-American History" concentrates on showing "the centrality of power in determining which facets of the past are remembered and celebrated."[19] Moving to a specifically Canadian context, the work of Ian McKay, particularly his "History and the Tourist Gaze: The Politics of Commemoration in Nova Scotia, 1935-1964," has also been important in developing a theoretical framework. McKay shows how history is shaped and constructed (particularly by the

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[17]Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, (1983; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp.12-13.

[18]Patrick Wright, *On Living in an Old Country: The National Past in Contemporary Britain*, (London: Verso, 1985), p.3.

[19]Gertrude Fraser and Reginald Butler, "Anatomy of a Disinterment: The Unmaking of Afro-American History," in *Presenting the Past: Essays on History and the Public*, eds. Susan Porter Benson, Stephen Brier and Roy Rosenzweig, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), p.121.

state) and looks at its subsequent application to the tourist industry.[20] In attempting to apply some of the concepts developed in such works to St. Andrews by examining processes and people instrumental to history-making, this thesis is thus derivative in its theoretical origin, but original in its framework. It appears to be the first English-Canadian study to carry out this type of inquiry on such a 'micro' or local level.

Finally, this study fits into a third body of literature: writings on or about the tradition, or myth, of the Loyalists. As Murray Barkley argues in his article "The Loyalist Tradition in New Brunswick: The Growth and Evolution of an Historical Myth," much of the Loyalist "tradition" is a historical myth. This is a specific application of the term 'myth,' one that does not necessarily involve the pejorative connotations of 'a distortion of reality.' Instead, "an historical myth should be understood as being an instrument or means of self-identification, deriving its justification from an ideological reinterpretation of the historical past."[21] As a belief, it is accepted uncritically by the members of a group, especially to explain traditional practices or institutions, and serves as a collective representation of their values so as to influence their perception of reality, and thus their behaviour.[22] The prevailing myth of the Loyalists, which still exists today in New Brunswick's popular culture, holds that "[t]he Loyalists were North Americans who preferred to be British

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[20]Ian McKay, "History and the Tourist Gaze: The Politics of Commemoration in Nova Scotia, 1935-1964," (*Acadiensis*, Vol.XXII, No.2, Spring 1993).

[21]Murray Barkley, "The Loyalist Tradition in New Brunswick: The Growth and Evolution of an Historical Myth, 1825-1914," *Acadiensis*, (Vol. IV, No.2, 1975), p.5.

[22]Barkley, "The Loyalist Tradition in New Brunswick," p.5.

at any price."[23] According to the myth, their exile was a matter of heroic choice; they preferred life under British rule and willingly gave up their positions and possessions. Their trials in the "wilderness" are particularly stressed:

> [T]he Loyalist tradition describes the migration to Canada after the American Revolution of thousands of colonists who preferred British institutions to democracy and republicanism, whose migration involved terrorism and confiscation of property at the hands of the victorious rebels, who were victims of American perfidy in the matter of promised compensation, and whose settlement in the remaining provinces of British North America meant for them sacrifice and unspeakable hardships.[24]

As some scholars noted long ago, the religious overtones of the myth are obvious.[25] In the myth, the Loyalists' tragic exile, with its echoes of the Old Testament, is followed by their triumph in the 'Promised Land' as they build a civilization in the wilderness. Although based on actual historical events, the Loyalist myth was transformed over time by succeeding generations to serve their own purposes.[26] The Loyalists' militarism, social order, Anglophilia, and courageous pioneering became ever more pronounced and universal aspects of their culture. This myth has proved a fertile ground for historians of many stripes; suggestive titles here include Ian Stewart's "New Myths for Old: The Loyalists and Maritime Political Culture," Jo-

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[23]K.A. MacKirdy, J.S. Moir and Y.F. Zoltany, "The Loyalist Tradition -- fact or fancy?" *Changing Perspectives in Canadian History*, (Don Mills: J.M. Dent and Sons (Canada) Ltd., 1971), , p.99.

[24]MacKirdy *et al.*, "The Loyalist tradition," p.99.

[25]Dennis Duffy, "Upper Canadian Loyalism: what the textbooks tell," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, (Vol.12, No.2, Spring 1977), p.17.

[26]Jo-Ann Fellows, "The Loyalist Myth in Canada," Canadian Historical Association, *Papers* 1971-2, p.95.

Ann Fellows's "The Loyalist Myth in Canada," and Norman Knowles's "'Shall we not raise there again, but higher, Some pyramid piercing the skies': The Loyalist Tradition and the Adolphustown Centennial Celebrations of 1884."[27] By looking at how, in the twentieth-century context of mass tourism, different aspects of this myth have been preserved and developed, this thesis takes a slightly different approach to the Loyalist myth.

Many sources have provided a foundation for this thesis. Promotional literature, both past and present, helped to show what aspects of the past were being presented to tourists as significant. The local newspapers in St. Andrews gave a sense of local opinions and help to place tourism at different periods in context. Contemporary medical literature shed light on the therapeutic mindset that contributed to the town's original development. Early historical writing about the town provides examples of how people have constructed the town's history, and the manuscript papers of Grace Helen Mowat, the primary writer of the now-accepted historical script, were invaluable.[28] Finally, the papers of the short-lived provincial Department of Heritage Resources Administration, the records of the St. Andrews

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[27]Ian Stewart, "New Myths for Old: The Loyalists and Maritime Political Culture," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, (Vol.25, No.2, Summer 1990) and Norman Knowles, "'Shall we not raise there again, but higher, Some pyramid piercing the skies': The Loyalist Tradition and the Adolphustown Centennial Celebrations of 1884," *Ontario History*, (Vol.LXXX, No.1, March 1988). Knowles' article is particularly interesting, as it focuses on less imperialistic, more pioneering aspects of the Loyalist tradition, and hence speaks more directly to a St. Andrews historian.

[28]Mowat did edit her papers, particularly her correspondence, before she died. For example, on some of the envelopes there are notations indicating to what the writer is referring, notations which refer to works that were published as much as fifteen years later. See Bliss Carman to GHM, 14 December 1914, CCHS MC 92 MS 7/277 for an example.

Civic Trust, and a number of interviews completed in the summer of 1994 were all instructive.

3. St. Andrews: An Outline of the Town's Development

At this juncture, the reader will find it useful to have a "realistic" narrative of St. Andrews history. As Mowat reminded her readers, the town of St. Andrews was founded in October 1783 by Loyalists who chose a British North American site as close to the West Indies as possible.[29] Although the common perception is that they were "courageous people [who] transformed the wilderness into a flourishing little town," there were in fact people already living on the St. Andrews peninsula when the Loyalists arrived. These Natives were settled on a site called Quas-nos-cum-cook, and were part of a thriving community of the Passamaquoddy. As David Sanger explains, archaeological evidence indicates that their settlements in the area were permanent, thanks to the rich coastal ecosystem of Passamaquoddy Bay. By exploiting the rich stocks of shellfish, and supplementing this diet with beaver, moose, deer, caribou, seal, birds, fish and vegetable foods, the Passamaquoddy were able to support a larger population than was usual in interior ecosystems. Sanger argues that "[o]n the basis of historical records archaeologists have been accustomed to thinking of the Indians as moving regularly from coast to interior on a seasonal basis.... [But] the evidence from the archaeology does not support this kind of

[29]For detailed information about the Loyalists of St. Andrews, see Roger Paul Nason, "Meritorious but Distressed Individuals: The Penobscot Loyalist Association and the Settlement of the Township of St. Andrews, New Brunswick, 1783-1821," (Fredericton: University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, unpublished M.A. Thesis, 1982).

transhumance; there are clear indications that people resided on the coast in all seasons."[30]

In addition to this year-round settlement of Natives, the Passamaquoddy had a long history of involvement with Europeans, who imported their diseases, and (in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) their traditions of warfare. The Natives' adherence to the French side was "of great importance in the border warfare waged between New France and New England."[31] Their role in the wars between the French and English continued until 1761, when they signed a treaty of "submission and peace" with the British.[32] Although their lands were taken by the Loyalists, they continued to play a crucial role when the British and the United States governments were attempting to determine the boundary between Massachusetts and New Brunswick in the 1790s.[33]

Sources from the post-Revolutionary War period tell us not only about the Native presence in this area, but also about the French, who, according to an interview between the British agents and the chief of the Passamaquoddy in 1796 with regard to the boundary issue, accounted for the Scottish-sounding name of the town:

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[30]David Sanger, Department of Anthropology, University of Maine at Orono, "Charlotte County Prehistory," Contributions from the Charlotte County Historical Society, December 1971. Also published in *Horizons*, (Vol.3, no.1, 1977).

[31]N.E.S. Griffiths, "1600-1650: Fish, Fur and Folk," in *The Atlantic Region to Confederation: A History*, eds. Phillip A. Buckner and John G. Reid, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994) p.54.

[32]Stephen E. Patterson, "1744-1763, Colonial Wars and Aboriginal Peoples," in *The Atlantic Region to Confederation: A History*, p.125. For more detail on the wars, see George Rawlyk's "1720-1744: Cod, Louisbourg and the Acadians," ibid., pp. 107-124.

[33]See Harold A. Davis, *An International Community on the Saint Croix (1604-1930)*, (Orono, ME: University Press, 1950), p.50, and Ganong, *Historic Sites*, p.223.

> [The Natives] ... thereupon gave the following information: That two or three hundred years ago the French came in three or four ships to Passamaquoddy Bay, entered at the L'Etete Passage and erected a cross at the entrance of the Magaguadavic River, upon Point Meagique, that they soon after removed and erected a cross upon St. Andrews Point, on St. Andrews day celebrated mass there and gave it the name of St. Andrews; that at that time the Indians were clothed in skins, which the French purchased of them...[34]

Most sources agree that the name "St. Andrews" dates from the "French period," i.e. 1604-1713. An expedition under Pierre Du Gua de Monts tried to create a permanent settlement on Île Ste. Croix, about 8 km (5 miles) up the St. Croix river from present-day St. Andrews. (This unsuccessful expedition is well-documented in the *Diaries of Samuel de Champlain*). There were sporadic French attempts at settlement after that: at one point (June 23, 1684), the entire area was awarded as a seigneury to Jean Serreau de St. Aubin:

> Five Leagues in front, on the sea shore, and five leagues in depth inland at a place called Pascomady, and its environs, with the isles and islets in front of that extent, also an islet of rocks about six leagues off for seal fishery, also the islet called Archimagen, and the islets for two leagues round it.[35]

Later census evidence indicates that there had been further modest attempts to settle the area: in the 1693 Census of Acadia there was one French family living there.[36]

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[34]W.H. Kilby, "The Story of the Boundary Line," in William Henry Kilby, *Eastport and Passamaquoddy: A Collection of Historical and Biographical Sketches*, (1888; reprinted Eastport, ME: Border Historical Society, 1982), p.114.

[35]Cited in Ganong, *Historic Sites*, p.95.

[36]*Census of Canada 1870-71*, Ottawa, 1873, Vol. IV, p.32. The total population of Acadia at this time was 1009 persons.

There were other pre-Loyalist settlers in the area, too. Ganong says that in 1770 "two settlers established themselves near the public landing at St. Andrews," and evidence given to the Boundary Commission of 1796 likewise indicated pre-Loyalist settlement. However, until the Loyalists arrived in 1783, records about settlement are sketchy.

After 1783, St. Andrews grew rapidly; according to a report of June 1803, 104 men, 106 women and 277 children lived in the parish.[37] The community's growth was due to its location, the Navigation Acts and the commercial ability of some of the Loyalists.[38] Soon after they arrived, some of the new settlers had begun to lobby the Government, attempting to realize commercial gains from their new location.

> We have ... the satisfaction to acquaint you that in the Great Bay of Passamaquoddy alone a sufficient quantity of Board and other Lumber can in a short time be furnished to supply the greater part of the British West India Islands: likewise great quantitys [sic] of masts, spars & other timber suitable for the European market.... all our inhabitants earnestly wish that the British Legislature may in their wisdom think proper to continue to these provinces the exclusive privileges of supplying the British West Indies with Fish and Lumber.[39]

Their petition suggests the Loyalists' orientation to the staples trades, and their activities in the War of 1812 -- smuggling, privateering and so on -- were those of

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[37]Donald McDonald to Edward Winslow, [About June 1803], in the *Winslow Papers, A.D. 1776-1826*, Ed. William Obder Raymond, (1901; Boston: Gregg Press, 1972), pp.488-489.

[38]For details on the founding and early growth of the town, see Nason, "Meritorious but Distressed Individuals," passim.

[39]"Representation of the Inhabitants of St. Andrews," 26 May 1784, in the *Winslow Papers*, pp.206-207.

people motivated by commercial gain, not dreams of military glory. The town's population grew steadily until the 1850s. The 1830s — a decade of mass Irish immigration — were particularly noteworthy. (See Table 1 for an overview of the town's population). Indeed, the Irish and their descendants made up a large proportion of the population: categorized by place of birth in the 1851 census, the Irish made up the second-largest group (27.8%), coming after those born in New Brunswick (62.1%) (See Table 2). Research in the manuscript census actually suggests that this published statistic underestimates the town's Irishness. If New Brunswick-born children with two Irish immigrant parents are counted as 'Irish' the 1851 percentages are 45.9% New Brunswick and 43.9% Irish, a difference of just 81 persons. Finally, in the 1871 census the Irish were, in terms of ethnic origin, listed as the largest group, making up 52% of the population (see Table 3).

For all its reputation as *a* — or even *the* — pure Loyalist town, nineteenth-century St. Andrews was no such thing, at least not according to the census.[40] The Irish are generally treated as something of an aside to the history of the town, but it is obvious, simply by virtue of their numbers, that their contribution must have been large. Not only did they work as railroad labourers[41] but, according to the census of 1851, were also employed in all aspects of the local economy. Shoemakers, farmers, carpenters, servants, tavern keepers, machinists and house joiners were all Irish, as

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[40]It is possible that some of the Loyalists were also Irish: the Census categories are not at all airtight. However, local sources suggest most Loyalists were English and Scottish in ethnic origin.

[41]See GHM, *The Diverting History of a Loyalist Town*, (St. Andrews: Charlotte County Cottage Craft, 1932) p.111, or Davis, *An International Community on the St. Croix*, p.181.

Table 1 - Population over time, St. Andrews and Charlotte county, NB, from the Canadian and New Brunswick Censuses for the Years listed.

year	Charlotte County	St. Andrews
1824	9,267	2,263
1841	18,178	3,682
1851	19,938	3,910
1861	23,663	3,117
1871	25,882	2,961
1881	26,087	2,128
1891	23,752	1,778
1901	22,415	1,390
1911	21,147	987
1921	21,435	1,065
1931	21,337	1,207
1941	22,728	1,167
1951	25,136	1,458
1961	23,285	1,531
1971	24,551	1,812
1981	26,571	1,760
1991	26,607	1,652

Figures are taken from the Census of New Brunswick up to 1861 and from the Census of Canada from 1871 to 1991.

Table 2 - Population by Place of Birth, 1851

Place of Birth	# (n=3910)	%
N. B.	2429	62.1
Irish	1086	27.8
English	141	3.6
Scot	82	2.1
American	63	1.6
African	54	1.4
Loyalist	8	0.2
Other	55	1.4

Figures taken from the manuscript Census of New Brunswick, 1851. The categories are those of the census.

Table 3 - Ethnic Origins of the Population, 1871

Origin	# (n=2,961)	%
African	15	0.56
Dutch	1	0.03
English	899	30.36
French	10	0.34
German	4	0.13
Indian	4	0.13
Irish	1540	52.01
Italian	1	0.03
Scandinavian	5	0.17
Scotch	479	16.18
Welsh	3	0.10

Figures from the Census of Canada, 1871.

was the town's Deputy Surveyor.[42] It is also worth noting the "African" community. Not only did it exist (see Table 2), but Edward Bannister, a "nineteenth-century African American who had been ... [a] well-known painter in his day" was born in St. Andrews.[43] In 1851 the 54 "Africans" were occupied as mariners, servants, farmers, and labourers, among other things.

After its founding, St. Andrews grew quickly, and in the first half of the nineteenth century became a thriving port. The pace of growth slowed from the 1860s, although townsfolk would have felt some of the impact of their country's industrialization.[44] The Charlotte County region did experience extensive industrial development: in 1871, for example, the aggregate value of all industries was 31st out of 206 census districts in Canada, at $1,488,995. Only Halifax and Saint John ranked higher in the Maritime Provinces.[45] In the late 1880s, resort development transformed St. Andrews into a summer destination for Canada's elites.

St. Andrews was not, then, located in an economic backwater. The town's development into a resort in the late 1880s fit into a general pattern of capitalist

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[42]P.M. Toner's collection *New Ireland Remembered: Historical Essays on the Irish in New Brunswick*, (1988; Fredericton: New Ireland Press, 1989), contains nine essays by various authors on the Irish in New Brunswick.

[43]Juanita Marie Holland, "Reaching through the Veil: African-American Artist Edward Mitchell Bannister," in *Edward Mitchell Bannister 1828-1901*, (New York: Kenkeleba House, 1992), pp.9 and 17.

[44]Davis, *An International Community on the St. Croix* , p.266.

[45]The more industrialized districts in Canada were Ottawa W, Montreal Centre, Montreal East, Montreal West, Hochelaga, Shefford, Quebec West, Quebec Centre, Quebec East, London, Oxford South, Brant S. or W., Lincoln, Wentworth South, Wentworth N, Hamilton, Waterloo S, Waterloo N, Wellington S, Wellington C, Halton, Simcoe N, York N, Toronto W, Toronto E, Ontario S, Hastings W, Ottawa (city), and Lanark S.

development. The key entrepreneur who began the resort development was Robert S. Gardiner of Boston, who, with his family, regularly came to St. Andrews. One year he brought a very select group of friends with him. They would become known as the "American Syndicate," the driving force behind the sudden development of St. Andrews as a resort. The Syndicate brought in outside capital for tourist development. With its involvement, control over the town's future quickly passed from the hands of the community into the hands of outsiders, and from the 1880s on, the lives of townspeople were dramatically changed. The American Syndicate built the first Algonquin Hotel (1889), summer cottages, a park, and a water supply system for the hotel. Soon "summer visitors" were flocking to the town.

The actions of the American Syndicate affected not only St. Andrews, but the wider investment world. These investors, being not only Americans but also 'Railroad men,' were preparing the transportation infrastructure necessary to make St. Andrews into a major resort. As a local newspaper made quite clear,

> The parties so far known to be at the head of the purchase of real estate at St. Andrews are Americans, and railroad men, who say their only object is to secure building lots and make St. Andrews a watering place, second to none on the Atlantic sea board of the North American continent, and to create a traffic during the summer months that will add to the earnings of the New Brunswick railway company.[46]

Keen to augment passenger traffic on this line, the 'railroad men' were to play a key part in the development of St. Andrews as a summer resort. In 1880 the New

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[46] *The Bay Pilot*, March 1, 1888.

Brunswick and Canada [NB&C] line had been purchased by George Stephen, Donald Smith and several other key figures in the Canadian Pacific Railway [CPR]; by 1887 it was connected to the Inter-Colonial at Rivière du Loup.[47] Such a railway link was important in two major ways. First, it opened St. Andrews to Canadian tourists, especially those from Montreal; second, it brought into being a strong, persisting corporate entity with a direct interest in developing the town as a resort. The manager of the NB&C was heavily involved with the American Syndicate, and was reported to be under heavy pressure in 1888 to expand traffic.[48]

The cooperation of the rail companies was essential, for if travelling to St. Andrews was a miserable experience then even the most exemplary hotel facilities would not be enough to ensure repeat customers. As a story in the *Saint John Daily Sun* remarked, St. Andrews' "future as a resort [is] an assured success" because of "the favourable attitude of the railway corporations, whose lines stretch out to this region and its accessibility from New York, Boston, Montreal, Ottawa and Quebec."[49] In addition to working intensively to improve deficient tracks, the New Brunswick and Canada Railway (as of June 27, 1888) featured a second train serving St. Andrews each day.[50] Travel to St. Andrews became both comfortable and convenient.

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[47]Davis, *An International Community on the St. Croix*, p.257.

[48]*The Bay Pilot*, April 5, 1888.

[49]Reprinted in *The Bay Pilot*, June 21, 1888.

[50]*The Bay Pilot*, July 19, 1888 - Railway advertisement.

Throughout these early years of resort development, railway companies were key players. Railway executives, as directors of the various enterprises, used their promotional expertise and ability to disperse information widely. In an article entitled "The place for summer homes," *The Saint Andrews Beacon* underlined the centrality of the rail connection:

> [A] ... desideratum, and one which must ever be important to the man of business, is the fact that the region can be easily and quickly reached from any of the large centres of population, either in the New England States or Eastern Canada. The Montreal man or the Boston man can lie down at night in his car and the next morning he is enjoying the cool sea breezes of Quoddy, and with the same celerity can speed back to their places of business.[51]

A corporate elite soon came to run the resort. Of the three provisional directors of the Algonquin Hotel Company, two were also directors of the St. Andrews Land and Water Companies.[52] Nor was the composition of the Algonquin Hotel's Board of Directors surprising: here one found railway executives and other American businessmen in prominent positions.[53] The major hotel, the companies responsible for land and water development and the railway were all thus conveniently linked.

The C.P.R., too, was beginning to play a more active role in the life of the town. The NB&C, which had served St. Andrews, became part of the C.P.R. on September 1, 1890.[54] In the early 1890s the connection to central Canada was

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[51] *The Saint Andrews Beacon*, July 23, 1896.

[52] *The Bay Pilot*, February 21, 1889.

[53] *The Bay Pilot*, February 28, 1889.

[54] *The Saint Andrews Beacon*, September 4, 1890.

improved when the C.P.R.'s "short line" across northern Maine to McAdam was completed.[55] By 1905 the C.P.R. had acquired an even more definite stake in the future of St. Andrews when it took over management of the Algonquin Hotel as part of its hotel system.[56] (Although the C.P.R. had had very little to do with the creation of the Algonquin, or even with the railway going to St.Andrews, these facts were eventually forgotten. By 1917, in their publicity brochures, it was claimed that "[t]he Canadian Pacific Railway fan its long arm down from McAdam, set the Algonquin Hotel on the hills with a sea view on three sides of it," which rather overstated the railway's role).[57] Once the C.P.R. had officially acquired both the route leading to St. Andrews and its major hotel, it began to advertise the resort intensively. In their "Summer Tours" Brochure of 1891, for example, the C.P.R. included a poem describing the attractions of St. Andrews.

> Search the leagues of coast around,
> Fairer spot cannot be found
> From the phalanxes of pine
> Sweeps a healing breath divine,
> Changing with the fitful breeze
> To the salt strength of the seas,
> Bearing health with pleasure blent
> To the weary and the spent.[58]

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[55]Davis, *An International Community on the St. Croix*, p.257.

[56]*The Saint Andrews Beacon*, July 6, 1905.

[57]Betty Thornley, *St. Andrews By-the-Sea*, illustrated by G.Horne Russell, (Canadian Pacific Railway, 1917). CCHS MC 136 79.2

[58]Reprinted in *The Saint Andrews Beacon*, July 2, 1891.

If one were to designate a 'golden age' of 'St. Andrews as a summer resort,' it would have to begin with the summer of 1889. In June of that year, the *New York Times* referred to St. Andrews as a "Canadian resort of fashion"; in July, the Algonquin formally opened and immediately became a focus of life in the town. A new column, "Algonquin Gossip — News and Notes about the Summer Tourists," appeared in the paper, informing readers that "St. Andrews [is] moving along," "[t]he Algonquin is a little world in miniature," and "[t]here are now considerably over one hundred permanent guests on the list."[59] By the end of this first season, a letter to the stockholders of the hotel, dated October 22, 1889, happily proclaimed that the "first season's business shows a profit, even with the extraordinary expenses attendant on the opening and its first season."[60] The town was on the track to becoming, in the words of the C.P.R., "the unquestioned Newport of the North."[61] As a seaside resort, it was advertised to be one "of the very highest class."[62]

St. Andrews was following a general North American and British pattern of seaside resort development. John Walton explains that the more elite clientele who frequented such seaside resorts were "affluent seekers after health, pleasure and status in attractive surroundings," and seaside resort development was fed almost

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[59]*The Saint Andrews Beacon*, June 27 and July 25, 1889, and *The New York Times*, n.d., reprinted in *The Saint Andrews Beacon*.

[60]Letter to the stockholders of the Algonquin Hotel Company, Ltd., October 22d, 1889. Collection of the Charlotte County Historical Society Archives.

[61]Thornley, *St. Andrews By-the-Sea*, 1917.

[62]Algonquin Hotel Company, *The Algonquin Hotel*, original 48-page brochure, [n.p., 1888]. Collection of the Charlotte County Historical Society Archives.

exclusively by "growing demand from the upper and middling strata of society."[63] John Urry adds that much nineteenth-century tourism was supported by interest in the 'sea' and its "supposedly health-giving properties."[64] Louis Turner and John Ash, however, point out that the pursuit of health was, at times, a cover for the pursuit of pleasure, and note that activities like brisk seaside walks "endowed pleasure-seeking with the essential appearance of moral qualities."[65] Seaside resorts began to be popular among the wealthy in England at the end of the eighteenth century, and by the end of the nineteenth their popularity had become so pronounced that by 1914 the elite no longer saw the seaside resort as a place for fashionable people.[66] North American resorts underwent the same loss of exclusivity. It occurred much faster at resorts such as Coney Island that were near large centres of population,[67] and more slowly at resorts such as St. Andrews that were further removed from centres of population. St. Andrews maintained its exclusivity until the Second World War. (This may also have happened partly because it was an expensive destination, and partly because, as Farrant and Walton hypothesize, it was a resort in which

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[63]John Walton, *The English Seaside Resort: A Social History 1750-1914*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), pp.9-12.

[64]John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*, (Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications, 1990), pp.21-23.

[65]Louis Turner and John Ash, *The Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery*, (London: Constable, 1975), pp.60-61.

[66]See Sue Farrant, "London by the Sea: Resort Development on the South Coast of England 1880-1939," *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 22 (1987), pp.137-139, and Walton, *Sea-Coast Resorts*, pp. 7-73.

[67]See, for example, Robert Lewis, "Seaside Holiday Resorts in the United States and Britain: a review," *Urban History Yearbook 1980*, pp.44-50.

development was strictly controlled by a single large landowner, in this case the C.P.R.)[68] We may certainly take for granted the new standard emphasis Maritime historians of tourism place on international fashions and patterns of development.[69]

One such important international trend was clearly antimodernism, a diffuse movement affecting the educated and affluent members of North American society in the closing years of the nineteenth century. This movement was essentially a recoil from modernity. As explored by T.J. Jackson Lears, antimodernism was socially and intellectually significant even though it often paradoxically coexisting with support for material progress.[70] Though Lears's work concentrates primarily on the United States, antimodern sentiments were spread among the educated and affluent on both sides of the Atlantic. Lears's specific focus on New England is particularly appropriate to this study, since it was members of the New England elite who first promoted St. Andrews as a summer and health resort and were among its first tourists.

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[68]Farrant, "London by the Sea," and Walton, *Sea-Coast Resorts*.

[69]Tourism in the Maritimes boomed just as tourism did worldwide in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Allan MacEachern has traced the history of early tourist development in his "No Island is an Island: A History of Tourism on Prince Edward Island, 1870-1939," M.A. thesis, Queen's University, 1991, which studies American tourism, tourist opinion, and promotion, while Ian McKay's work is particularly important to understand how attractions, and indeed, an identity, were constructed for tourism in Nova Scotia in the first half of the twentieth century. See, for example, his "Among the Fisherfolk: J.F.B. Livesay and the Invention of Peggy's Cove," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, (Vol.23, Nos.1&2, 1988), and "Tartanism Triumphant: The Construction of Scottishness in Nova Scotia, 1933-1954," *Acadiensis*, (XXI, 2, 1992).

[70]T.J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), pp.xiii-xvii.

As more and more summer visitors came to the resort, patterns of development shifted. Existing accommodation became more popular and more crowded; new housing facilities had to be found to provide the space and exclusivity craved by those who travelled to St. Andrews. More people began to build permanent summer homes, some of them lavish structures that did indeed suggest a 'Newport of the North' (see Figure 2). St. Andrews entered the 1940s with its elite image intact, but the postwar years saw a progressive decline in the 'Newport' ideal. It was during this post-war period of stagnation that the development of 'historical attractions' began in earnest, and the resort was aggressively 'historicized.'

This, then, provides the historiographical context, and local historical background, for this thesis. The groundwork has been developed for my central claim: there was nothing inevitable about the 'Loyalization' of St. Andrews. On the basis of historical facts, and the works of such local writers as Ganong, entirely different elements from the past might have been promoted; or conversely, the town's past might have been marginalized altogether, (for in truth it had contained no battles or persons of renown, and had left no legacy of ancient ruins, priceless antiquities, or outstanding cultural achievements). This was, in fact, precisely the insignificant role of history throughout St. Andrews's 'pre-Loyalized' years as a therapeutic resort, a topic to which we now turn.

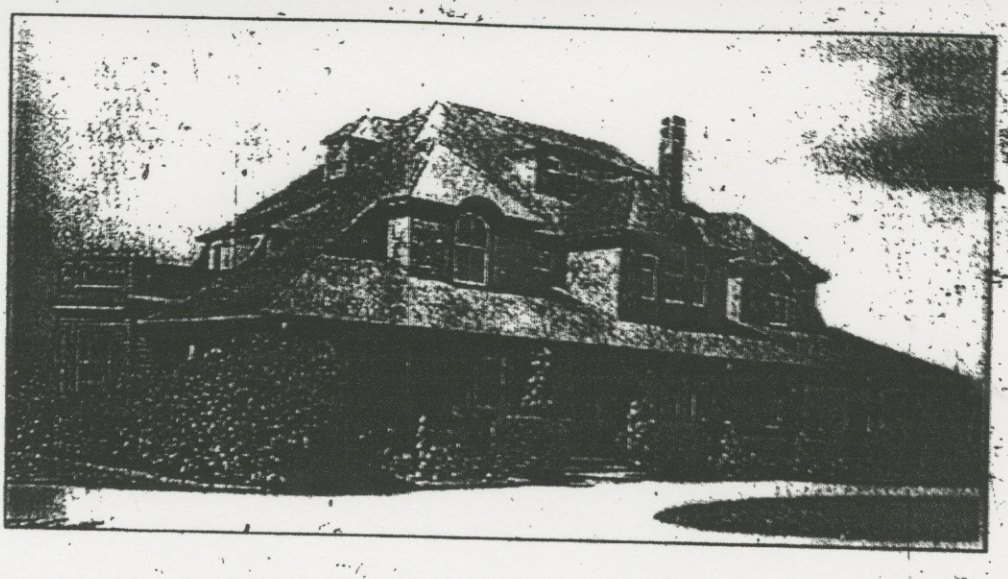

Figure 2 - A "summer cottage" designed for a Montrealer by architect Edward Maxwell, c.1910. (source: Pratte, *Country Houses for Montrealers*)

Chapter 2 - Before Loyalization:
Culture, Health and Beauty in a Therapeutic Space, 1879-1955.

Even before the town of St. Andrews became the resort of St. Andrews by-the-Sea[1] it had attracted a small coterie of vacationers in the summer. With the decline of lumbering, shipbuilding and the West Indies trade (the town's traditional sources of revenue) in the 1850s and 1860s the townsfolk began to look for new opportunities, and some, including successive editors of the local newspaper, focused on tourism. In the pages of *The Bay Pilot* promoters campaigned for the town to become a summer resort, penning glowing descriptions of the area to be reprinted in distant places. When John S. Magee took charge of the newspaper in July 1879 he announced that, as a matter of course, he would "manfully fight for the interests of St. Andrews ... as a summer resort and watering place (second to none in the Dominion)." He recommended the town to "the tourist, the artist and the seekers after health and pleasure," and some of them came.[2] These seekers after health and pleasure were the original summer visitors. They were members of the elite, attracted by the various promises of relief made by the town, and perhaps most of all by the prospect of relief from a number of urban ills, generated by modernity, from which only their class suffered.

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[1]The name of St. Andrews-By-The-Sea began to appear on pamphlets for the tourist market shortly after the completion of the Algonquin Hotel in 1889. It has no official status, and is not used by the town's people themselves save on promotional materials.

[2]*The Bay Pilot*, July 3, 1879.

1. The Plagues of Modernity

Among these ills of modernity, neurasthenia and hay fever, diseases thought to be peculiarly focused on the elites, were of special significance to St. Andrews. Neurasthenia, according to George Miller Beard, the physician who published the first major work on the subject, was not a mental disease. No, it was an organic ailment, "a physical, not a mental state." It did not come from "emotional excess or excitability." Instead, the symptoms resulted from "nervous debility and irritability."[3] In the preface to *American Nervousness: Its Causes and Consequences*, Beard described neurasthenia as a condition, most severe in the Northeastern United States, that had evolved during the nineteenth century. It was caused by *modern civilization*, which could be distinguished quite precisely by five characteristics: "steam-power, the periodical press, the telegraph, the sciences, and the mental activity of women."[4] There were also secondary and tertiary causes, including climate, institutions, and personal habits, all of which were only dangerous when connected with modern civilization.

To appreciate neurasthenia, it is necessary to return to antimodernism. According to Lears, antimodern sentiments resulted from a profound cultural crisis, caused by the rapid urbanization and industrialization of parts of eastern North

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[3]George M. Beard, *American Nervousness: Its Causes and Consequences;* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1881. Reprinted New York: Arno Press, 1972), , p.17.

[4]Beard, *American Nervousness*, p.vi.

America during the nineteenth century.[5] Antimodernism was not a clearly formulated intellectual doctrine, but rather a kind of impulse, a recoil. It glorified 'authentic' experience in its rejection of urban, material civilization. Pervading the upper and middle classes, antimodernism played an important cognitive role, reinforcing "the shift from a Protestant ethos of salvation through self-denial to a therapeutic ideal of self-fulfilment in *this* world through exuberant health and intense experience."[6] For many, the cults of progress, stability and materialism had become both oppressive and suffocating. They brought restraint and uniformity into the world, but did not resolve increasing conflicts in society.[7]

> According to Lears, the impulse of antimodernism came primarily from the educated strata of the Northern bourgeoisie ... journalists, academics, ministers and literati ... the moral and intellectual leaders of the American WASP bourgeoisie who helped to maintain dominant norms and values ... they exercised crucial cultural power ... [and] experienced and articulated moral and psychic dilemmas which later became common in the wider society.[8]

The prominent politicians and businessmen who built and visited St. Andrews were not necessarily of these strata. Lears, however, explains that the influence of

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[5]David W. Noble, *The Progressive Mind, 1890-1917*, (Chicago: Rand Mcnally and Company, 1970, p.1.

[6]Lears, *No Place of Grace*, p.xiv.

[7]John Higham, "The Reorientation of American Culture in the 1890's," in *Writing American History*, (Indiana: Indiana University Press: 1970), p.89.

[8]Lears, *No Place of Grace*, pp.xiv-xv.

antimodernism shaped the intellectual outlook of the entrepreneurial bourgeoisie, the "ruling groups of a developed capitalist society."[9]

Antimodernism was associated with fears of overcivilization arising from the new industrial society. Recognition of the factory, city and corporation as undeniable parts of their society came as a shock to people whose ideals were those of a plainspoken, stalwart individualism. Many North American intellectuals feared that urban living was accompanied by the 'effeminacy' and 'luxury' produced by material progress. The triumph of modern culture produced a sensation that life was not only overcivilized, but, perhaps because of this, somehow unreal. Renunciation of this unreality was manifested in a desire for authentic experience, a desire to "smash the glass and breathe freely." On a more theoretical level, Lears argues, antimodernism resulted from an abhorrence of the rationalization of modern society.[10]

What were the characteristics of the culture which spawned this antimodern impulse? Modern culture in capitalist North America was 'progressive,' and this late nineteenth-century enthusiasm for material progress was omnipresent in the never-ending dynamic of industrial development. The elite were particularly susceptible to the antimodern impulse. For the Victorians, "economic success contained the seeds of moral failure." If a businessman was diligent and frugal, then prosperity resulted.

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[9]Lears, *No Place of Grace*, pp.xiv-xv.

[10]Lears, *No Place of Grace*, pp.4-7. The process of rationalization mentioned here is best described by Max Weber — "the systematic organization of economic life for maximum productivity and of individual life for maximum personal achievement; the drive for efficient control of nature under the banner of improving human welfare; the reduction of the world into a disenchanted object to be manipulated by rational technique" (p.7).

A nascent economy meant the urban bourgeoisie were becoming both 'overcivilized' and desperate for authentic experience: "Antimodern impulses were rooted in longings to recapture an elusive 'real life' in a culture evaporating into unreality."[11] These longings were concentrated in a desire to return to the 'simple life.' Antimodernists sought the vanishing ideals of rural culture. For them, if neurasthenia was a product of modern urban life, then surely the solution was the rural experience.

Promoters of St. Andrews clearly recognised the nebulous yet potent attractiveness of the antimodern Other, and the tone of their advertisements confirms Lears's sense of antimodernism as a general cultural condition:

> Conditions for a summer residence here are ideal [they explained in 1913]. The influence of the sea in tempering the climate, the charm of well-kept roads, wooded hills, and excellent boating facilities are only a few of the attractions which lure visitors and summer residents to this delightful place. There is something about this quiet town that supplies all the needs for relaxation and repose. In St. Andrews is eliminated the hurry and the tension of modern life.[12]

The Learsian overtones are obvious. The overcivilized, nervous bourgeoisie needed to return to the tranquility of rural life. The easiest way for them to do this was to go out into the unspoiled countryside, and in bucolic St. Andrews, this was a condition easily fulfilled. "Out from St. Andrews-by-the-Sea, in all directions [were] perfectly constructed roads, forest-lined and shaded, reaching sheltered spots by ocean and

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[11]Lears, *No Place of Grace*, pp.26,28,32-3.

[12]Canadian Pacific Railway, *The Algonquin Hotel*, 1913. From the collection of the Charlotte County Archives.

inland lake."[13] There were many trips into the unspoiled countryside for summer visitors: they could go to the Chamcook mountains and lakes, or explore other nearby coves. They could venture out along the river, and, at low water, go across the bar road to Minister's Island. They could do all this with hardly a factory in sight.

Rural areas were attractive to antimodernists in other, less directly therapeutic ways. The spacious nature of the outdoors signified a release from the institutional and physical constraints of modern capitalist society. In St. Andrews the town's promoters stressed the unobstructed views offered by the landscape. The Algonquin Hotel, the primary destination for summer visitors, stood overlooking the town, one hundred and fifty feet above sea level. "From its broad piazzas an unobstructed view is had," tourists were advised, " disclosing the whole panorama of Passamaquoddy Bay, with the Chamcook Mountains, the St. Croix River and the distant shores of Nova Scotia for a background."[14] It was not only these surroundings that differed from modern capitalist society. The town, too, was very different from visitors' urban homes, in being "quiet and peaceful, [with] many of its quaint and old-fashioned streets and by-ways ... embowered in trees, making fragrant shady resting-places for those whose only glimpse of nature during the greater part of the year is caught in the city's small artificial parks."[15] Life in a small rural town was almost

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[13]*The Way we Were*, souvenir booklet, (St. Stephen, NB: 1908). Collection of the Charlotte County Archives.

[14]*Sea Coast Resorts of the Atlantic Coast*, (International Steamship Company, (n.p. [Boston?], 1893). Collection of the Charlotte County Archives.

[15]*The Way we Were.*

set in another world, distant from that in the city. The promotional brochure for The Inn, another, smaller C.P.R. hotel, argued that a St. Andrews vacation provided "an agreeable change from city life, [and] ample room for play without annoying the neighbours, for here they [the visitors, presumably, not the neighbours!] are practically out in the country, with plenty of freedom, without isolation."[16]

The last phrase was important: all this tranquility could be enjoyed in the company of others of one's social class. This rural experience was not the solitary hiking or wilderness camping of the twentieth century. There was still interaction with one's peers and associates, but escape from those who were less fortunate. The year-round residents, while not, perhaps, of the same social class as the visitors, were always properly respectful to them; and during the summer the local newspapers became a veritable social column for the hotel guests, listing their names, origins and activities in painstaking detail, and always deferring to their superior social status. The more restful aspects of the city elites' culture was also available to nourish their bourgeois sensibilities in the country and would receive fawning reviews in the local paper. For example this impromptu performance by a hotel guest rated considerable coverage in "Notes and News about the Summer Tourists," a regular newspaper feature of respectable size:

> On Sunday evening the many guests of the "Algonquin" were most charmingly entertained by Mrs. Julia Houston-West, the well-known soprano of Boston, who kindly consented to sing several songs which she rendered with great brilliancy and feeling, much to the delight of the audience which quickly gathered upon hearing the first tunes of her

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[16]C.P.R., *The Inn, St. Andrews by the Sea, N.B.*, [n.p., n.d. [c.1912] Collection of the Charlotte County Archives.

> fine voice. Among other selections were "The Lost Chord," "Watchman what of the Night," "One Sweetly Solemn Thought." Miss Ilsley, of Philadelphia, accompanied Miss West on the piano...[17]

Although the cure for neurasthenia clearly did not require abandoning civilized pleasures, it might require getting back in touch with rusticity. Males were promised the additional bonus of enhanced virility — masculinity being "an absolutely indispensable remedy for the artificiality and effeteness of late nineteenth-century urban life."[18] Fishing, for men, offered a restorative, rural pleasure. At the turn of the century, fishing was excellent in St. Andrews; there were about twenty fish-laden lakes within fifteen miles of the town. "The fisherman can go to nearly all the best lakes and streams in the morning, returning in the evening,"[19] prospective male visitors to the Algonquin were urged in 1913.

Finally, rural experience was not merely an escape: it was coupled with the need to toughen the 'flabby bourgeoisie.' This desire was manifested most strongly in a growing enthusiasm for the outdoor life in general, particularly for outdoor activities.[20] St. Andrews, with its "plethora of outdoor sports and amusements,"[21] could provide these in quantity. This revitalized interest in untamed nature and upsurge in enthusiasm for outdoor recreation translated into anything from taking up

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[17]*The Saint Andrews Beacon*, August 1, 1889.

[18]Higham, "The Reorientation of American Culture in the 1890's," pp.80-81.

[19]C.P.R., *The Algonquin Hotel*, 1913, p.19.

[20]Lears, *No Place of Grace*, pp.102, 108.

[21]C.P.R., The *Algonquin Hotel*, 1913, p.5.

golf to going to a vacation resort that emphasized its outdoor facilities.[22] Promoters of the Algonquin Hotel were adapting to this sensibility when they hailed their hotel's golf course ("one of the best golf courses in America") and other outdoor wonders: "agreeable bathing conditions, splendid boating facilities, numerous tennis courts and croquet lawns, [and, by 1913] an electric-lighted bowling green."[23]

Almost all antimodernists sensed, although often only dimly, that they had to choose between a life of authenticity and the comforts of modernity. In North America, however, most people did not really have a choice. Industrialization was not harmonious with nature. One precluded the other, so those in search of "reality" had to leave the cities for the rural experience by travelling on railways, which thus both epitomized modernity and the escape from it. Certainly the anxious tourists at St. Andrews were kept in absolute comfort, especially at the Algonquin, furnished in the luxurious and exclusive style that its guests would expect.

However much neurasthenia stalked the middle class, it was not alone. It was allied with other "functional nerve-maladies," including hysteria, sick-headache, inebriety, and insanity. Still, commentators agreed that in the United States, neurasthenia predominated in metropolitan New England. In addition, educated business and professional men, and their wives, were those most likely to be bedridden with nervous prostration. Doctors drew the obvious conclusion: more

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[22]Higham, "The Reorientation of American Culture in the 1890's," pp.80-81.

[23]C.P.R., *The Algonquin Hotel*, 1913, p.3.

civilized individuals were the most susceptible to these new varieties of nervousness; therefore, it resulted from overcivilization.

Unfortunately for resort developers, those afflicted souls were, it was thought, very few in number. George Miller Beard, the expert on neurasthenia, insisted that only a fraction of American society was ever threatened; "of our fifty millions of population, but a few millions have reached that elevation where they are likely to be nervous."[24] Fortunately for such developers, however, almost anybody might see themselves -- or hope to see themselves -- in descriptions of the disease and its sufferers. People who were "striving for honor, or expecting eminence or wealth" were much more likely to suffer from neurasthenia. The rich and successful were particularly threatened. Beard was determined to discover what ailed them; after all, before he had begun his selfless work in the 1870s and 1880s, "the miseries of the rich, the comfortable and the intelligent [had] been unstudied and unrelieved." The well-to-do, the intelligent and those in the "higher reaches of business" were the people who were threatened.[25] The identification of these people as sufferers of neurasthenia is not surprising, especially since Beard's patients were also primarily urban, educated and upper-class.[26] He proscribed a number of treatments for them

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[24]Beard, *American Nervousness*, pp.96-7.

[25]George M. Beard, *A Practical Treatise on Nervous Exhaustion (Neurasthenia), Its Symptoms, Nature, Sequences, Treatment*, (1888; New York: E.B. Treat and Company, 1905. Reprinted New York: Klaus Reprint Company., 1971), pp.255-56.

[26]Dona L. Davis, "George Beard and Lydia Pinkham: Gender, Class and Nerves in Late 19th Century America," (Hemisphere Publishing Corporation, 1989), p.93.

involving cannabis, alcohol, caffeine, alcohol, opium, good food, cod liver oil, electrotherapy, arsenic and rectal injections of beef juice.[27]

Patients confronted with such a formidable range of interventions might well gravitate to the simple rest cure as a less intrusive, more convenient substitute. Originally absolute rest was essential, but Beard quickly adjusted his position, and for some patients moderate exercise was encouraged.[28] The sort of rest needed was not bed-rest, but consisted rather in making "every day a Sabbath," free from the demands and stresses caused by modern civilization.[29] Patients predictably rather liked this form of therapy, and St. Andrews was able to capitalize on their feelings. It was presented as the perfect place to relax, yet with all the components elite patients could require for their rest cure (see Figure 3). That St. Andrews

> possesses all the advantages that a tourist desires in the way of pure air, picturesque scenery, health-giving surroundings and wholesome sport is a fact that is patent to every stranger who has personally investigated the matter ... The atmosphere is clear and bracing, and to the individual whose nerves have lost their grip through the sedentary habits of city life it opens up possibilities that he had thought were beyond his ken.[30]

So said a local booster, who knew enough to pitch his scientific-sounding talk of investigation to a city-weary public. St. Andrews was undoubtedly a therapy with more intrinsic appeal for sufferers of neurasthenia than rectal injections of beef juice.

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[27]Beard, *Nervous Exhaustion*, p.52.

[28]They are cited in Simon Wessely, "Old wine in new bottles: neurasthenia and 'ME,'" *Psychological Medicine*, (1990, 20), pp.45-47, and in Davis, pp.106-107.

[29]Beard, *Nervous Exhaustion*, p.184.

[30]*The Saint Andrews Beacon*, July 15, 1897.

The other complaint that drove people to St. Andrews was hay fever. *Catarrhus aestivus* was first investigated scientifically by Charles Harrison Blackley (1820-1900), a Manchester physician. He was not the first person to suspect a causal relationship between pollen and hay fever, but he was the first to prove it existed.[31] Blackley's *Experimental Researches on the Causes and Nature of Catarrhus aestivus* was first published in 1873. Blackley was writing in a time when explanations of hay fever were plentiful: the disease was variously caused by "high temperature with dryness of the atmosphere, ... excess of moisture with high temperature," ozone, "odours of various kinds, especially those given off by plants," common dust, and "the agent which has given the popular name to the malady." The pollen of grass and other flowering plants had also been put forth as a cause, and these were the culprits identified by Blackley.[32]

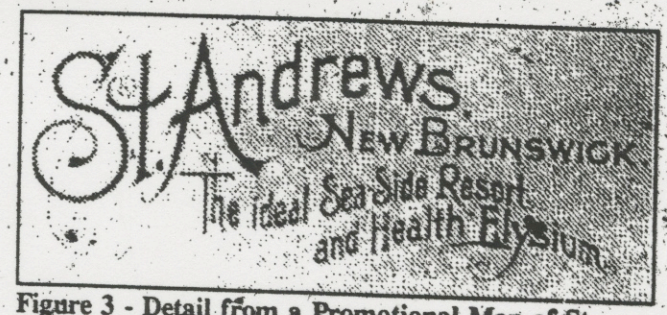

Figure 3 - Detail from a Promotional Map of St. Andrews, Printed by the International Steamship Company.

Who were the sufferers of this dread disease? Once again, and strangely enough, as in the case of neurasthenia, they were recruited from the elite. One of the most interesting features of Blackley's analysis of hay fever was his conviction that it was solely an upper-class affliction, the scourge of the educated and the Anglo-Saxon.

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[31]Geoffrey Taylor and Jane Walker, "Charles Harrison Blackley, 1820-1900," in *Clinical Allergy*, (Volume 3, 1973), pp.103 and 108.

[32]Charles Harrison Blackley, *Experimental Researches on the Causes and Nature of Catarrhus Aestivus (Hay-Fever or Hay-Asthma)*, (1873; London: Baillière, Tindall and Cox, reprinted by Dawson's of Pall Mall, 1959), pp.12-13.

"Hay fever is said to be an aristocratic disease, and there can be no doubt that, if it is not wholly confined to the upper classes of society, it is rarely, if ever, met with but among the educated,"[33] Blackley argued. According to him, most writers were agreed on this point, and accepted that "that condition of the nervous system which mental training generates is one which is especially favourable to the development of the disorder." Blackley's treatment of hay fever followed logically on from this class-specific diagnosis. He argued that "where neurasthenia is rare, hay fever is rare, and *vice versa*; they rise and fall together." Sufferers (or supposed sufferers) from neurasthenia were the same people who, in Blackley's eyes, suffered from hay fever. Just as only elites were afflicted, the "farming class" (luckily enough) was practically immune. Blackley attributed this immunity to two possible factors: either their lack of education meant farmers did not have the predisposition to the disease generated by "mental culture," or they had developed an immunity to the effects of pollen due to prolonged exposure.[34]

Symptoms of hay fever took many forms, and could encompass both asthmatic and catarrhal effects. The catarrhal manifestations include itching, discharge of thin, watery serum from the nostrils, violent attacks of sneezing, partial or total occlusion

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[33]Blackley, *Experimental Researches*, p.7.

[34]Blackley, *Experimental Researches*, pp.155-62. Statistics eventually belied this social diagnosis. Investigations around 1920 showed that in Louisiana, the occupation with the largest percentage of hay fever cases (thirty-eight per cent) was in fact the farmer. Any greater resistance due to their outdoor life was therefore offset by their exposure. Professional men only represented six per cent of the cases. Women were found to be sixty-three per cent of the cases, but this was because "women usually have more leisure than men to have chronic diseases treated." See William Scheppegrell, *Hayfever and Asthma: Care, Prevention and Treatment*, (New York: Lea and Febiger, 1922), pp.129-31.

of the nasal ducts, and itching of the eyes. Blackley considered the asthmatic symptoms such as tightness across the breast and difficult breathing to be the most important; they closely resembled those of ordinary asthma except for their appearance only during the hay fever season.[35] This, in Europe, was usually spring and summer, and in North America, anywhere from July 1 (in Oregon) until as late as October 16 in Mississippi and Louisiana. Most often, however, the plague began in the third week of August, and lasted until the last week of September.[36]

Although drugs had proven mostly ineffective, Blackley did have one practical suggestion for alleviating hay fever: "A sojourn at the sea-side is one of the best modes of palliating and often curing the disease for the time." More pertinently (from a St. Andrews perspective) Blackley added, "it is not every sea-side district that gives the hay fever patient relief." It should have "the form and character of a small island or narrow peninsula." Since pollens are wind-borne, it was (Blackley urged)

> ... a matter of importance in selecting a retreat for the hay-season to find one where the prevailing winds are from the sea ... where the patient can be continually near the water, and if possible a place where the shore is backed with high cliffs, because these act as a sort of screen when a land wind is blowing.[37]

This is, geographically, a perfect description of St. Andrews. It is on the end of a peninsula, surrounded by water on three sides, and protected from the land by a series of hills grandiloquently called the Chamcook Mountains. It fit the bill perfectly.

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[35]Blackley, *Experimental Researches*, pp.171-85.

[36]Scheppegrell, *Hayfever and Asthma*, pp.120-24.

[37]Blackley, *Experimental Researches*, pp.199-200.

Hay fever was a heaven-sent scourge, from a St. Andrews point of view. The town's hotels played up their role as hay fever resorts. In the Algonquin's very first advertisement of 1890, it prominently claimed to be located in "[a]n absolutely exempt hay fever district." The Algonquin Hotel Company also released a new advertising circular, which contained "testimonials from physicians and others showing the absolute immunity from hay fever, which St. Andrews enjoys."[38] Not to be outdone, the Argyll Hotel, in its first advertisement of the year was also sure to mention that it, too, was "Absolutely exempt from HAY FEVER."[39] In the next few years, the advertisements continued to mention the absolute freedom from hay fever enjoyed by St. Andrews.[40]

There were still other attempts made to draw visitors in by stressing the healthfulness of St. Andrews as a destination. It was not just hay fever and neurasthenia that afflicted the elites of the late nineteenth century — brain-workers, the elite of American society, were also more susceptible to the summer heat. As the "Seasonable Hygienic Hints," published in the local paper suggested,

> Americans, as a rule, lead such busy, restless lives and have such nervous organizations, that they are predisposed to diseases of the brain ... Brain-workers, which are the most dependent on the perfect action of their mental faculties, are usually the first to feel the effects of heat,

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[38] *The Saint Andrews Beacon*, March 20, 1890.

[39] *The Saint Andrews Beacon*, May 1, 1890.

[40] By 1897, however, the Algonquin was presumably secure in its market as a destination for hay-feverites, as it stopped mentioning hayfever in its seasonal advertisements. *The Saint Andrews Beacon*, May 13, 1897.

> and greater caution is needful for them than even for the laborer who toils exposed to the full glare of the sun.[41]

Not only, then, were elite Americans in more danger of neurasthenia and hay fever then their less-privileged compatriots, but they even faced a greater danger of heatstroke! It is no wonder they flocked to St. Andrews, a place renowned for its salubrious climate, appropriate geography, and pleasant landscape, where they could take active (or perhaps inactive) measures to avoid the many plagues of modern life.

Life in St. Andrews around the turn of the century did what Walton points out life at the seaside was ideally supposed to do: it mingled "therapy and enjoyment" in such a way that all the attractions at the resort were enhanced considerably.[42] There is little doubt that the summer climate in St. Andrews was much more pleasant than that of cities like Boston or Montreal, the stifling ovens from which many of the visitors came. The climate was so pleasant, in fact, that General Greely, Chief of the Weather Bureau, U.S. Signal Service, in an article published in *Scribner's Magazine*, had awarded "this immediate vicinity the distinction of having the finest and most equitable climate on the entire Atlantic slope."[43] The mean temperature during the "heated term" was 68 degrees (fahrenheit), and it was located in one of the least humid regions of eastern North America.[44] And if one did have a hot day, one

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[41] *The Bay Pilot*, August 24, 1882.

[42] Walton, *Sea-Coast Resorts*, p.16.

[43] *The Bay Pilot*, June 14, 1888.

[44] A.W. Greeley, "Where Shall We Spend Our Summer?" *Scribner's Magazine*, (Vol.III, No.4, April 1888), p.483.

could always swim: as early as 1879 the local newspaper was trumpeting the virtues of the local "bathing places" — which featured "immunity from danger, either by quicksands, roll of the sea or undertow, or by the presence of sharks."[45]

The summer tourists came from large cities, first Boston and then especially Montreal. Gradually St. Andrews drifted from Boston's orbit and was integrated into Canada, functioning as part of Westmount's recreational hinterland.[46] As Margaret W. Westley explains in *Remembrance of Grandeur: The Anglo-Protestant Elite of Montreal, 1900-1950*,

> ... [a]mong the families who could afford it, it was an accepted fact that a country holiday of several weeks or the whole summer was necessary.... The patterns of summer living were quite similar everywhere. A summer resort may have been frequented by any number of people who discovered its particular delights of scenery or climate, but it would become fashionable at the point where a prestigious Montreal family adopted it as 'their' summer place."[47]

Montreal never, however, monopolized St. Andrews. Summer visitors came from many places — according to the local newspaper, from "every state from Maine to Missouri", from Montreal, Washington, D.C., New York -- "several of them ... fresh from Saratoga," -- Rhode Island, Boston, Dover, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Albany, Worcester, Mass., Philadelphia, Newark, Baltimore and Toronto.[48] By 1896,

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[45]*The Bay Pilot*, July 17, 1879.

[46]St. Andrews was similar to Summerside, P.E.I. in its role as a resort, and at times was competing for a market. For more on Summerside, see Allan MacEachern's *No Island is an Island: A History of Tourism on Prince Edward Island*.

[47]Margaret W. Westley, *Remembrance of Grandeur: The Anglo-Protestant Elite of Montreal, 1900-1950*, (Montreal: Libre Expression, 1990), p.94.

[48]*The Saint Andrews Beacon*, August 13, 1891.

however, the composition had changed somewhat, and enough were coming from Montreal that the weekly lists of new guests were divided into people from Montreal and people from other places.[49] The Algonquin advertised that "[m]any of the leaders of commercial, political and professional life in Canada and the United States spend the summer months in and about St. Andrews."[50] This was not as much of an exaggeration as it sounds. People from the Canadian Pacific Railway like Sir William Van Horne, Lord T.G. Shaughnessy, and Sir Donald Smith were joined by the architect Edward Maxwell and the industrialist Charles Hosmer in building large summer homes. (Van Horne, Shaugnessy, Smith, and Hosmer were all connected in some way with the C.P.R). Donald MacKay's *The Square Mile: Merchant Princes of Montreal* is eloquent on the subject of their Montreal mansions, and notes that St. Andrews became a "playground for Square Milers, particularly CPR people like Sir Thomas Shaugnessy, Charles Hosmer, and Kate Reed, who called her wooden chateau The Pansy Patch." Hosmer spent much of his later life in St. Andrews, while Van Horne enjoyed taking his family to Covenhoven (his "cottage"), where he painted some of his most impressive impressionist landscapes.[51] These were the people who first developed the Algonquin Hotel into a large-scale Canadian Pacific Resort after it was purchased by the Railway in 1903. While there, they, and the

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[49]*The Saint Andrews Beacon*, July 2, 1896.

[50]C.P.R., *The Algonquin Hotel*, 1913, p.7.

[51]Donald MacKay, *The Square Mile: Merchant Princes of Montreal*, (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, Ltd., 1987), pp.163, 175, 203, and 213. Westley, in her look at "summer colonies" for Montrealers, seems strangely to have missed St. Andrews, although she does say that Montrealers' resorts were as far away as Maine or Nova Scotia.

people who followed them to St. Andrews, comfortable as they would be at home, could indulge in all the perks of the social season, "dancing every evening to the music of a fine orchestra." The wealthy could frolic, enjoying "excellent sea bathing at half a dozen places about St. Andrews," or join a club, like The St. Andrews Lawn Tennis Club, the St. Andrews Cricket Club, or the Pic-nic Club. Boredom was easily kept at bay, as "the amusement-providers at the Algonquin [kept] their hands full devising ways and means to entertain the large number of guests at the hotel."[52] This passage stands for many newspaper accounts of typical summer evenings:

> On Monday night, a brilliant euchre party assembled in the Algonquin parlors on the invitation of Mrs. Wheeler of Montreal. The ladies wore their most beautiful dresses and their most captivating smiles, and the gentlemen — there is an abundance of good looking summer men here this year — were as gallant as gallants could be. Everything passed off pleasantly. Light refreshments were served.[53]

Wealthy visitors also indulged in a myriad of outdoor activities, including horseback riding, carriage rides, yachting, fishing, (both in the ocean and in nearby lakes), swimming, tennis, golf, croquet, and, of course, games on the "electric-lighted bowling green."[54]

3. The Lure of the Picturesque

To these delights of the Victorian "season" were added the pleasures of a Victorian landscape. The scenery was picturesque, which meant (for Victorians) that it offered "irregularity, variation, decay and wildness in 'natural' appearance as

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[52]*The Saint Andrews Beacon*, July 26, 1894.

[53]*The Saint Andrews Beacon*, July 26, 1894.

[54]C.P.R., *The Algonquin Hotel*, 1913.

sources of aesthetic pleasure."[55] Beginning in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the British had discovered that "scenery was something one could gaze at with delight." Residents of industrial cities could benefit from spending time elsewhere and viewing nature. This led to the development of what John Urry calls "'scenic tourism' and an appreciation for magnificent stretches of the coastline."[56] Malcolm Andrews, in his *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800*, notes concisely that the 'Picturesque traveller' converted "nature's unmanageable bounty into a frameable possession."[57] Indeed, devotees of the picturesque, following the practice of viewing nature as a series of subjects composed for painting,[58] would find many pleasant sights in the area around St. Andrews. So picturesque was the area that *St. Andrews New Brunswick on Passamaquoddy Bay*, a publication of the International Steamship Company, not only described it as "a smooth, placid bay, studded with islands of breezy summits, and with rocky, picturesque shores, here and there indented with gravelly coves, where the dark-green waters break," but went so far as to describe the view from the Algonquin Hotel in all directions as the "GRAND CYCLORAMA OF GOD."[59]

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[55]Stephen Copley and Peter Garside, "Introduction," *The Politics of the Picturesque: Literature, landscape and aesthetics since 1770*," (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.3.

[56]Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, p.20.

[57]Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800*, (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989), p.81.

[58]Ian McKay, "The Will to Innocence," unpublished manuscript, 1993.

[59]International Steamship Company, *St. Andrews New Brunswick on Passamaquoddy Bay*, (n.p. [Boston?], International Steamship Company, n.d. [1892?]), pp.7 and 10.

Tourists (and prospective tourists) were given detailed assistance in learning to appreciate this landscape. Making it into pictures was, literally, one of the first actions of the town's early developers, the "American Syndicate," who brought "with them Mr. Frank H. Taylor, photographic artist, who took a number of views in the town and suburbs, to be used, we understand, illustrating a letter press description of the town, shortly to be published."[60] Early descriptions of the town highlight the picturesque quality of its decay: "It has a flavor of romance about it, and is the ruins of a once lively shipping port, now passed into a dream."[61] Later, after the C.P.R. had begun promoting the town, they too attempted to create pictures from the landscape, using their resources to hire G. Horne Russell to paint a series of watercolours illustrating the town. Miniature reproductions of these striking paintings were published, accompanied by glowing, mystical prose:

> 'The principal person in a picture is the light,' said Manet, and at St. Andrews light is regnant indeed. The sun calls to the deeps of the quiet bay — the blue Bay of early morning, the silver-frosted bay of night — and out of the waters spring pale jonquils of dawn, tulip-tinted flowers of sunset, hyacinths of purple twilight that bloom in the fleeting shadows of the boatside, under the straying flowers of the clouds. The rocks about the bay are as red as deep roses, and the pines are Chinese jade, — unburnished, set among the ivory shafts of the poplars. To add the last touch of witchery to the Maeterlinckian unreality of this dream landscape, there is the light mist of evening, a breath from the deep outer seas.[62]

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[60]*The Bay Pilot*, May 10, 1888.

[61]"Beautiful St. Andrews," *Boston Home Journal*, reprinted in *The Saint Andrews Beacon*, July 18, 1889.

[62]Thornley, *St. Andrews By-the-Sea*.

Bringing a painter into the description ensures readers will visualize it as a picture, and the colour-words — silver, purple, red, jade, ivory — guarantee they will not be dreaming in black and white. Even signs of economic distress became picturesque. The sight of "a few decaying hulls,"[63] or the way that "[o]ne meets the picturesque at every turn,—in the old-fashioned quaint houses, with a display of flowers in the windows of the poorest, evidence of the natural cultivation of the people; and in the broken-down wharves which line the water-front of the town, once teeming with the life of commerce"[64] were all part of the town's charm. This imagined landscape appears more than just picturesque; indeed, contemporary travel writers often referred to it as beautiful, and those who were insecure in their own aesthetic judgement could refer to higher authority -- even to the very highest authority imaginable. One writer, for example, wrote in the *Montreal Herald* that "[i]t is no small tribute to the spot that the ex-President of the Canadian Pacific Railway [W.C. Van Horne], who is familiar with Canada from ocean to ocean, should have declared that he considered the spot the most beautiful he had ever seen."[65] One could go no further.

At the heart of the town, at the heart of the picturesque experience, stood a great hotel. The Algonquin Hotel (see Figure 4), placed above the town so that it is visible from all sides, was built in the Queen Anne Revival style of architecture. The

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[63]"Beautiful Saint Andrews," *Boston Home Journal*, reprinted in the *Saint Andrews Beacon*, July 18, 1889.

[64]*St. Andrews New Brunswick on Passamaquoddy Bay*, p.10. Rather than merely contributing to the picturesque sight the tourist sees, such ambivalent sights also signified the economic rationale for seeking the tourist.

[65]M.W. Alloway, "St. Andrew's By-the-Sea," *Montreal Herald*, 12 August 1899, p.14.

Figure 4 - The 'Mock-Tudor' Algonquin Hotel, erected 1914.
(author's photograph)

style came from England, and first appeared in the 1860s and 1870s, created by architects who often worked for the upper-middle class.[66] One author writes that with a horizontal emphasis created by its verandah, balconies and eaves, the Algonquin fitted perfectly into the seaside setting.[67] Built of wood, as were so many Maritime buildings, the hotel's British style was adapted to its Canadian setting. As Leslie Maitland explains, often the Canadian patrons or architects who erected Queen Anne Revival buildings "regarded themselves as British." Just as the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa are some of the finest Ruskinian Gothic Revival buildings ever built, so too, the Algonquin exemplified a British sense of picturesque architecture especially suited, in its mock-Tudor way, to those "who felt the ties of Empire closely."[68]

4. History as a Minor Picturesque Oddity

In this "golden age" of elite tourism, local history was at best a secondary attraction. To be sure, promoters of the town were aware that there were exploitable historical sites. For example, *The Sea Coast Resorts of Eastern Maine, New*

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[66]For more information on the particulars of the style, see Leslie Maitland, Jacqueline Hucker and Shannon Ricketts, *A Guide to Canadian Architectural Styles*, (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1992), pp.98-99.

[67]Leslie Maitland, *The Queen Anne Revival Style in Canadian Architecture*, (Parks Canada, 1990), p.193.

[68]Maitland, *The Queen Anne Revival Style*, pp.36-37. A detailed analysis of some of the more striking summer homes in St. Andrews appears in France Gagnon Prätte's *Country Houses for Montrealers, 1892-1924: The Architecture of E. and W.S. Maxwell*, (Montreal: Meridian Press, 1987). It includes their work on places like the Van Horne estate and nine other houses in St. Andrews.

Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Isle. and Cape Breton, a promotional book published by the International Steamship Company in 1893, claims that whereas in St. Andrews "[t]he Yachtsman finds a paradise" the "student of history" also finds "his desire" in "reminiscences of its sturdy Loyalist fore-fathers."[69] The local Tourist Association's pre-1914 booklet, *Salt Sea Breezes at St. Andrews By-the-Sea*, included the blockhouse as one of the sights. (Although the structure was built during the War of 1812, the Association called it the "OLD BLOCK HOUSE — A reminder of Indian warfare days"[70]). Travel writers, too, romanticized history. In an article from the *Montreal Herald*, the author mentions the "relics of other days" scattered liberally through the town. The blockhouse is there, too, "with its rusting cannon and mouldering embankments, ... a relic of the time when gay red-coats brightened the quiet streets, and the sound of fife and drum awoke the echoes of the blue hills."[71] The clearest example, however, of this tourist-oriented history can be found in *St. Andrews By-the-Sea*, by Betty Thornley and G. Horne Russell. In the text of Thornley, an incorrigible romantic, history is entwined with the present in order to become merely one aspect of the experience. The first section was about Champlain's expedition of 1604:

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[69]International Steamship Company, *The Sea Coast Resorts of Eastern Maine, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Isle. and Cape Breton*, (n.p. [Boston?], International Steamship Co., 1893). CCHS MC 51 Seacoast Resorts of the Atlantic Coast.

[70]Tourist Association of St. Andrews-by-the-Sea, *Salt Sea Breezes at St. Andrews By-the-Sea*, (St. Andrews, n.d. [1904-1914]). CCHS MC 19.

[71]Alloway, "St. Andrew's By-the-Sea"

> It was in the Spring of 1604 that a vessel sailed out of the harbor of Havre-de-Grace with everybody on board singing ... The adventurers made what speed they could to an island that seemed to them formed by Heaven for the purpose of being fortified by France. To-day we can take an afternoon spin from the old town of St. Andrews, out over the hard-packed road in our luxurious car and, from the wooded heights above the St. Croix, look down on the dark little tufted rock.... The red roofed Algonquin Hotel shines against the cool bay, the cemented solidification of that 'Ordre de Bon Temps' which Champlain the Explorer inaugurated on the St. Croix close by, [the] first secret society in America, at the beginning of the seventeenth century. There is a bay view on three sides of this Inn of All Joy[72]

Evidently, one could, even in 1917, come to St. Andrews to commune not with the Loyalists but with the spirit of Champlain. This mingling of the past and the present continues throughout the book, but, curiously, the author concentrates rigorously on the French, and on the Natives, rather than on the Loyalists. In this neglect of the "loyalist" truth of the "Loyalist town," Thornley was wholly typical. Other early publications, too, concentrated on these non-Loyalists. Perhaps it was their distance, both culturally and temporally, that made the French and Natives "more historical": as strange "Others" they were more easily romanticised by travel writers and tourists than were the "irreconcilable Royalists."

> Here and there we pass a cottage, flower-surrounded and at peace. But for the most part we can imagine ourselves back in the days of Champlain. We can even don the wampum and feathers of folklore and follow Gloscoap the Micmac hero as he walks up N'monee-quen-e-moosakesqw, which is none other than the hill above Waweig.... But the St. Stephen Road lies before us. Gloscoap may make records if he wants to. We'll make a record for the car. There is good going all the way to Boston.[73]

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[72]Betty Thornley, *St. Andrews By-the-Sea*, illustrated by G.Horne Russell, (Canadian Pacific Railway, 1917). CCHS MC 136 79.2

[73]Betty Thornley, *St. Andrews By-the-Sea*.

When the town was a fashionable resort, and people went for extended stays at places like the Algonquin Hotel, its history — construed primarily as a French and Native history — was a minor touristic sideline, an attraction of minor significance in a seaside resort defined primarily in terms of Victorian concepts of disease, class and landscape aesthetics.

5. Strategies for the Post-Therapeutic Age

Both railwaymen and, in the initial days of state tourism promotion, the government agreed: history was not the selling point of St. Andrews. Until the 1960s, the province saw no real need to promote the town's history. The C.P.R. still had trains going into St. Andrews, bringing passengers to stay at the Algonquin, and was still promoting, and arranging activities, which the New Brunswick Travel Bureau knew about but saw no need to advertise. But appearances were deceptive: in fact, the resort had started to wane. With air-conditioning, mobile tourism, the diminished credibility of neurasthenia, and antihistamines for hay fever, the grand resort was entering into its decline. The C.P.R. searched for options. There was, for example, a curious foray into Hemingwayesque deep-sea fishing, aimed at the American market. A C.P.R. press release from August 1953 announced that "Big-game fishing for giant tuna is the newest sport for guests at the Algonquin Hotel in this Canadian sea-side resort." Framing the activity in terms which implied the age-old conflict, 'man against nature,' it continued:

> Since early in August, sportsmen with rod and reel have been hunting the large blue-fins in the Bay of Fundy nearby and several big ones have been caught in this manner ... August 13 a 540-pounder was bested by a visitor after a three hour and 40 minute struggle and 10

> days later a two and a half hour battle brought in another monster with an estimated weight of 650 pounds.[74]

The Director of the New Brunswick Travel Bureau was delighted with this development. He noted at the bottom of a letter to the Premier that "Magazines, newspapers, etc., always use C.P.R. material because the Company spends millions yearly in advertising."[75]

For the purposes of this thesis, the most interesting thing about the discussion of this pseudo-event is not what it says about masculinity, the media's dependence on its advertisers, or the complicity of state officials. It is interesting primarily because it was the *only* mention of St. Andrews in the correspondence between the Premier's Office and the Travel Bureau during Hugh John Fleming's eight-year reign as Premier. Obviously the C.P.R. was still looking after the promotion of St. Andrews, and in its view the town was not yet an historic place to visit. It was a town in transition, no longer the resort it once was, and not yet the historical shrine it would become. Not long before the tuna festival collapsed, 'man' having duly triumphed over 'nature,' so did the town's link to the C.P.R., as passenger service to what had once been the summer home of the 'golden mile' was cancelled.[76]

Such signs of change were profoundly threatening, for by the 1950s St. Andrews had long been a tourist town. It is difficult to quantify the impact tourism had had on the community, but there are a number of interesting indications. Railway

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[74]Press release, P.T. Cole, New York, for C.P.R., August 1953, PANB RS 415 R1b1a.

[75]R.A. Tweedie to Premier Hugh John Fleming, August 28, 1953, PANB RS 415 R1b1a.

[76]Local peoples' recollections indicate this was in the late 1950s.

services were increased (two trains each day) and the line leading into the town from Watts Junction was upgraded with steel rails in the 1880s. The C.P.R. became involved in the community when it purchased the New Brunswick and Canada Railway leading to the town in 1890, and bought the Algonquin in 1905. Businesses expanded — there were soon two livery stables operating in this town of 1,390 people, and the first telephone line was installed between the hotel and one of the stables. (Van Horne had the second line installed between his house and the railway station). Local people were often employed in the construction of the "summer cottages," and then as domestic and garden staff after they were completed.[77]

These economic changes were accompanied by a number of "cultural changes." One obvious transformation was a change in local perceptions of "hay-feverites." Originally, the hay fever scare had been seen as something of a farce, but over time local inhabitants changed their mind.

> There was a time ... when hay fever was regarded ... as a fad, a freak of the imagination, but the presence of so many hay-feverites year after year — some of whom travel thousands of miles to secure immunity from their troublesome complaint has caused a change in public opinion.[78]

The townsfolk also developed a morbid interest in the lifestyle of the upper class, both in St. Andrews and when they were at home in Montreal. The local newspaper

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[77]See, for example, *The Bay Pilot*, June 7, 1888 and July 19, 1888, *The Saint Andrews Beacon*, September 4, 1890, July 6, 1905. It is possible to open any issue of the newspaper and see how life was being affected by the town's changing role as a summer resort. The information on employment comes from an interview with "Harriet," August 1994. All interviewed sources have been assigned "anonymous" names, and in keeping with our theme of "Loyalization," the names are those given by the Loyalists to the streets of St. Andrews — the royal children of King George III.

[78]*The Saint Andrews Beacon*, August 5, 1897.

quickly began to dedicate a major portion of its original material to columns such as "Algonquin Gossip — News and Notes about the Summer Tourists," and this material grew over time, eventually being published in the winter as well as the summer.[79] Willa Walker's book *No Hay Fever and a Railway* helps to document other changes as well. Published in 1989, it is a loving tribute to the rich and famous summer visitors to St. Andrews and the houses they built. It is also an unintentionally revealing account of the class divide separating the tourists from the locals: townspeople and their children were even restricted to using Katy's Cove to swim at certain hours, when the tourists would not be disturbed.[80]

Of course, given the future "Loyalization" of St. Andrews, the ultimate ironies of this first phase of its tourism development are twofold. First, it was being driven not by Loyalist or Canadian patriotism but by North American mass culture — by antimodern worries and ills caused by overcivilization and urbanization (and by the therapeutic models designed to cure them). Secondly, in this primarily therapeutic and pleasure-driven model, even when history was part of the pitch, there was very little mention of Loyalists. They did not appear as more than a minor item until the late 1920s, and their institutional and commercial reign in St. Andrews did not really commence until the 1960s.

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[79] See *The Saint Andrews Beacon* from 1890 through 1910.

[80] Willa Walker, *No Hay Fever and A Railway – Summers in St. Andrews, Canada's First Seaside Resort*, (Fredericton: Goose Lane Editions, 1989). See, for a critical assessment, Alan MacEachern, "Massage with a Message," *New Maritimes*, (May/June 1992), p.22. MacEachern cites another example of this division. "'The summer children sometimes played golf with their parents, while their friends among the town children earned pocket-money as caddies.' Visitors golfed, locals caddied. The economic realities behind such an arrangement must have been noticeable even to children."

Chapter 3 — Loyalization, Cultural Entrepreneurship, and 'Art as a Cash Crop': The Impact of Grace Helen Mowat

Why, then, after World War 2, did a largely history-less resort become 'historic St. Andrews'? Economic factors and motivations, obvious as they are, only explain so much: after all, other coastal resorts, facing a similar drying up of "summer visitors," did not follow this path (or if they attempted it, they did not succeed).[1] To understand the "Loyalization" of St. Andrews one must understand not only the structure of the situation but the agency exercised by individuals — and especially one individual, Grace Helen Mowat. Sometime after 1945, St. Andrews gradually acquired a different meaning: no longer a therapeutic space, it became a site of history. The pivot of this movement, and the major link between "seaside St. Andrews" and "historic St. Andrews" was Mowat, a prolific writer, local entrepreneur and ardent 'Loyalist.'

1. Grace Helen Mowat: Profile of a Cultural Entrepeneur

Mowat was born just outside St. Andrews at Beech Hill farm on January 31, 1875, the only child of George Mowat and Isabella Campbell.[2] The farm was described by one journalist as "a museum of local historical interest," who explained that "the location, a mile from the present town, and overlooking Chamcook Bay, was chosen in the troublesome times of the early 1800's as a safer place than the

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[1] Parrsboro and Yarmouth, NS, and Summerside, PEI — all tourist resorts of the Victorian era — did not become "historic" to the same degree (Parrsboro largely lost its resort status, Yarmouth tried and failed, and Summerside merely adapted to the car). Parrsboro certainly could have played the Loyalist card had it wished to.

[2] The farm was purchased by her great-grandfather, Captain David Mowat, from its original grantee in the late 1700s.

town's waterfront."[3] While still young, Mowat was fascinated by the stories of her ancestors told her first by her grandfather (d.1881) and then by her father, who also passed down lore he had acquired from his grandmother, Mehitable Mowat.[4] Mowat attended the local Charlotte County Grammar School and, having demonstrated some talent as an artist, then went to study in London and at the Women's Art School of the Cooper Union Institute of New York. Mowat herself later deprecated this training somewhat, writing that "my family decided send me away to art school, thinking me divinely gifted because I liked to draw pictures as a child."[5] This art experience, however, was as crucial as her early fascination with Loyalist history in the shaping of her career. Students at Cooper Union were made to study the Egyptian art at the Metropolitan Museum of New York, an experience that deeply impressed her. As she would later write, "in the decoration of a mummy case [was] the first primitive impulse of a race, unhampered with contact with our too standardized civilization ... they had a freedom of expression we poor students were denied."[6]

Mowat had clearly already started to to formulate her antimodern doctrine of rural superiority while in New York, and this became a theme which shaped her life's work. It was in the big city, ironically (if typically) that she "discovered" antimodernism.

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[3] "Where books are born," *The Daily Gleaner*, July 27, 1951.

[4] Grace Helen Mowat Collection, MC 92, CCHS Archives Introduction, p.1.

[5] GHM, *A Story of Cottage Craft*, p.4. MC 92 MS 9/132.

[6] GHM, A *Story of Cottage Craft*, p.4.

> I was thinking of New York of an absurd place in which to study art. The great noisy commercial city with its cavernous streets, continuous traffic and compressed homes: why should they plant art schools in such unpromising soil? ... The inspiration that I brought back with me was not of New York but of Egypt. Here I was among my own people, again surrounded by the eternal beauty that was my heritage; here or nowhere could I establish a native art, an art that would express our own farm life so lovely and little known.[7]

Mowat would eventually capitalize on this epiphany. She entered the field of arts and crafts, and began production of what she forthrightly called "Art as a Cash Crop."[8] She briefly taught art at the prestigious Ladies' College in Halifax before returning home in 1914 to look after her ageing parents.[9] Although returning to rural New Brunswick might have been a difficult transition, it appears that Mowat also viewed it as an important business opportunity. With a capital of ten dollars she founded The Charlotte County Cottage Craft in 1915.[10] She paid local farm women to produce rugs and homespun bags (complete with brightly coloured scenes), skirts and wool for sweaters.[11] Within six years fifteen local women were working for her,

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[7]GHM, *A Story of Cottage Craft*, p.5.

[8]GHM, *A Story of Cottage Craft*, p.5.

[9]Sources disagree on the exact reason. Mowat herself explained, in an uncharacteristically imprecise fashion, that "I spent several unprofitable years trying to teach art in a girls' boarding school, until some years later circumstances made it necessary for me to return to live at the farm." Journalist Ian Sclanders, in an article from November 11, 1937, said it was "when her mother died and she had to come home to look after her father." (*This New Brunswick — A Parade of People and Places* in CCHS MC 92 MS 9). Later, her obituary, from the *Saint Croix Courier* of February 27, 1964, said "In 1914 her parents were growing old and she returned to the family home."

[10]For example, see GHM, *A Story of the Cottage Craft*, p.5.

[11]Mrs. J.F.H. Teed, "A Distinguished Daughter of New Brunswick," *Echoes*, Christmas 1952, p.10. CCHS Archives, MC 92 MS 9/222. *Echoes* is the magazine of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire.

making such items for the tourist trade.[12] The work of Cottage Craft is difficult to easily categorize in modern/antimodern terms. It is true that Mowat provided a modern cash income for the women on small farms in the St. Andrews area, but it was an income based on traditional "women's work" — knitting, weaving and spinning — carried out in the home. Mowat's creation of this business fits neatly within the larger trend outlined by Maria Tippett. In her *Making Culture: English-Canadian Institutions and the Arts before the Massey Commission* Tippett could be describing Mowat in her general characterization of women handicrafts activists. Such women

> feared that the rural way of life, of which the arts and crafts and the family were so intrinsically a part, was being destroyed by the depopulation of the countryside and by the introduction of machinery into it. Craft-making, they believed, could offer a solution to some of these problems. It could 'give employment to those who would otherwise be in distress, thus giving them a chance to help themselves'; it could help preserve the family and the rural way of life during an era of rapid social change; and, by serving 'the cause of National art,' it could create a base from which a national culture could grow.[13]

Mowat was clearly part of a general interwar pattern in Canada, in which antimodern Folk ways were endowed with powers to bring prosperity and contentment to rural people. In Mowat's words, handicrafts would allow New Brunswickers to

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[12]Interview, "Harriet," St. Andrews, August 1994.

[13]Maria Tippett, *Making Culture: English-Canadian Institutions and the Arts before the Massey Commission*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), pp.103-105. Note also the discussion in Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia*, (Montreal And Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), pp.166-170.

become the "Happy People of a Have-Not Province."[14] From this perspective, handicrafts were not only a form of art but also a way to earn money and bring rural people into the cash economy. In the Maritimes, for example, they would provide a means of subsistence for those entering the cash economy through the return to a premodern mode of production (at the same time as facilitating the construction of an indigenous "folk"). Revivals of "older ways" were an attempt to maintain people in superseded forms of production, thus stopping them from heading off to Toronto to "spend their lives in tenement houses, working in factories."[15] As Ian McKay argues in *The Quest of the Folk*, handicraft revivals were rooted in antimodernism and represented "in part the 'revival' of old ways in the interest of sustaining rural communities and in part the invention of pseudo-traditions in the interest of satisfying a massive urban demand for things that seemed authentic, rustic, 'of the Folk.'"[16] Mowat participated eagerly in both aspects of this handicrafts revival. In interviews she constantly lamented how "our old looms were disappearing, the old folk were sad," but she would also boast that her business had made them economically viable again.[17] At the same time, she recognized that the only reason handicrafts were viable was because of the urban tourist demand for this type of product, and explained

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[14]Hugh John Flemming [Premier of New to GHM, 7 November 1955. He wrote to Mowat "I have read your comments entitled 'The Happy People of a Have-Not Province' ...: I have enjoyed reading them." CCHS MC 92 MS 7/439.

[15]GHM, *A Story of Cottage Craft*, p.3.

[16]McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*, p.153.

[17]Lucy Doyle, "Charlotte County Women famed for Beautiful Art Work," *The Standard*, Montreal, February 4, 1922. CCHS MC 92 MS 9/202.

that her firm had had to increase production because "[s]o great was the demand from summer visitors for our products."[18]

Tippett lumps Cottage Craft in with the Canadian Handicrafts Guild, the Saskatoon Arts and Crafts Society, the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, and the Ontario Handicrafts Association — all organizations trying to address very specific problems with the revitalization of arts and crafts.[19] Although there are many similarities between Mowat's ideology and those of the organizations in Tippett's discussion, there is one crucial difference. Cottage Craft was more than just an ideologically-driven attempt to preserve and revitalize the rural way of life in southwestern New Brunswick. Mowat's Cottage Craft was run for profit; she was the sole shareholder in what was a very successful business. In 1920, six years after she started, Mowat grossed $40,406.09 (from the sale of knit bags, wool, and hooked rugs). She paid to "about 15 workers embroidering," salaries and wages of $15,673.78, leaving a total *net profit* of $10,075.77, which she declared as her "net income from business."[20] This means she took home over ten thousand dollars in 1920, after paying all her expenses: a tidy sum indeed.

Art and business were intertwined — here was Mowat's approach to crafts, which she readily explained to such correspondents as the poet Bliss Carman, with whom she corresponded for many years, beginning in 1914. She often asked his

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[18]GHM, cited in Doyle, "Charlotte County Women famed for Beautiful Art Work."

[19]Tippett, *Making Culture*, pp.104-105.

[20]GHM, Dominion of Canada Income Tax Form T-1, CCHS MC92 MS 9/156. She paid $615.02 in taxes.

advice on many things, including her business, and he would offer illuminating counsel:

> I think it's splendid, your art! I have not seen the product yet, but that's secondary. Even if it is not wonderful at first, it will be perfected. And your idea of creating the art is the main thing. That is fine. You not only have an art, but a school of art. And all the creative satisfaction of the artist must in your case be multiplied many times, in realizing how much satisfaction you teach others to find. I shall always be delighted to know of your growing practical success, and you must let me see some examples of the work.[21]

Intriguingly, he saw her work primarily not as a matter of entrepreneurship, but as art, which is almost certainly a reaction to the way she presented it. In *The Story of Cottage Craft*, which Mowat subtitled *Art as a Cash Crop*, she described how she had turned her variation on the "putting-out system" into an artistic opportunity for "her women." The St. Andrews area, with its tourist base well-established, was fertile soil for this crop. As McKay explains, "[t]he rise of a tourist economy meant that things that had been produced strictly for use within the household, such as hooked rugs, suddenly had a value in exchange."[22] In the St. Andrews area, this formula meant drawing in the poor rural communities as the labour market for her industry. Mowat was then able to sell such "rural" items to tourists. With "her people" working out designs based on "the natural beauty of the Maritimes," Mowat thus created a handicrafts industry. And she did indeed think of it as an industry, explaining "[y]ou can have a factory right here in New Brunswick without much capital or expensive

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[21] Bliss Carman to GHM, 26 October 1916, CCHS MC 92 MS 7/282.

[22] McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*, pp.159-160.

machinery, using only native material and hand labour and without a large building."[23] In another article, she raved about Charlotte County as the headquarters for Cottage Craft. ""In all this wide Dominion no spot is better adapted for the handicrafts industry. When I say 'industry' I am not thinking of great factories, mass production and wealthy capitalists."[24] She was thinking about art as a cash crop.

That Mowat chose to conceptualize her cash crop as "art" is symptomatic of the way she related to the people who worked for her. She saw their contribution in two ways — they were being artistic and true to themselves; nonetheless, their artistry was made possible only by her actions and they were hence still "her people."

> I soon found that my people could work out designs for themselves and needed only a little directing to produce some very remarkable patterns, their very crudeness giving an additional charm. I had a theory that people who lived in beautiful places, must, of necessity, absorb a sense of beauty that could be easily developed and put to use.[25]

Mowat's perception of her relationship with her workers was always complex. She had a very Victorian sense of class, and saw the difference between her role and that of her workers clearly. She gave them much credit, claiming "I could have done nothing without the help of the people on the farms;"[26] it also seems that she allowed them some artistic license. On the other hand, she was exacting in the work she required from them: it had to match *her* specifications exactly, or she would not

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[23]GHM, *A Story of Cottage Craft*, p.3.

[24]GHM, "What future for our handicrafts," *Fredericton Daily Gleaner*, nd, CCHS MC 92 MS 9/135.

[25]GHM, *A Story of Cottage Craft*, pp.5-6.

[26]GHM, *A Story of Cottage Craft*, p.3.

accept it. In a typed handout given to people who wanted to provide work for her, Mowat made her criteria for work explicit. Their art must be a "saleable product":

> The chief object of the Cottage Craft is to establish a native Art that will be the original expression of the people, and to adapt the original beauty of the country homes and their familiar surroundings to decorative designs done on native material, and to develop this Art to the point of saleable production.[27]

Although it was Art, it was, in the end, very much tourist art, for sale in the market: in her words, "it was a good cash crop too."[28]

Mowat called her workers "my own people," but she also believed very strongly in "the right kind of people,"[29] and maintained enough distance between herself and her workers that when one woman who had moved away wrote back to Mowat she expected that her former employer would not remember her.[30] It seems that she had a fairly paternalistic relationship with people who worked for her, based on her use of possessive adjectives ("my people," "my women"). When they behaved, she treated them well, as one letter, written when she requested they accept less money for the piece work they did, shows:

> Dear Miss Mowat, I guess the people up here are all willing to come down in the price of weaving. Mrs. Martin Reed and Mrs. Tilley Reed is and Mrs. Lever did not say anything against it. ... The girls were so pleased with the book. Thank you so much. We will be so glad when

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[27]GHM, "Charlotte County Cottage Craft, Miss G. Helen Mowat, St. Andrews, N.B.," CCHS MC 92 MS 9/173.

[28]GHM, *A Story of Cottage Craft*, p.7.

[29]Interview with "Mary," St. Andrews, July 1994.

[30]Mrs. Harry M. Bell, Blueside, Wash, to GHM, 6 March 1923, CCHS MC 92 MS 9/30.

> spring so you can run up and see us. I appreciate your kindness and am sure it will never be overlooked.[31]

There were other occasions, however, when, if Mowat perceived that some wrong had been done to her, she could be anything but the understanding patron of the arts. The clearest example occurred in 1925, when she became involved in a court case with two former employees, the Denleys, who had served as caretakers at her home at Beech Hill while she went to England, and whom she accused of stealing.

> I know that these people have certain articles belonging to me in their possession as I saw them myself in their house and they were prepared to return these and pay for anything they could not return that was missing from my house during the time that they were in charge of it. This they would have done if Mrs. Dagliesh had not interfered with a mistaken zeal for protecting the deserving poor.[32]

It is not surprising that Mowat interpreted support for the Denleys as misguided protection for the poor. She looked down upon them, as can be seen from her statement to the police. "I took into my employ Richard Denley and his wife in the Fall of 1920. They took charge of my place in the country. She was always troublesome jealous and discontented and a low grade of mentality." Mowat went to their house to look for her belongings, and thought she saw some of them there, notably a book by Joseph Conrad. "The book was exactly the same as the one I had lost and as it was a novel by Joseph Conrad it seemed strange that she [Mrs. Dagleish?] should have given the Denleys the work of so profound a writer."[33]

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[31]Mrs. Fred Greenlaw, Leverville, to GHM, 2 March 1923, CCHS MC 92 MS 9/29.

[32]GHM to P.E. McLoughlin [barrister, solicitor and notary public], 29 December 1924, CCHS MC 92 MS 7/318.

[33]CCHS MC 92, MS 10, "Legal papers, memorabilia and miscellaneous."

Mowat, unfortunately for her, was almost alone in her conviction that the Denleys were guilty. She had considerable trouble in either persuading the police to take the case or finding a solicitor to represent her in a civil suit.[34] Even when she wrote to her friends in Montreal, wealthy people who maintained summer residences in St. Andrews, she found little support. Mrs. Maxwell, for example, wrote to Mowat, telling her that

> I at once called up Mrs. Hosmer to ask about Mrs. D. [Denley] when she lived with them. She says they never missed anything, and Mrs. D's uncle was a gardener at Mrs. Hays, and Mrs. Hosmer had never heard that Mrs. Hays had missed anything.... The things we missed would be rather hard to describe.... I do not believe the Denleys have any of these things...[35]

The assumption that criminal tendencies were in some way genetic is quaint, but this comment is more interesting as a reflection of a summer visitor's class position. Perhaps it was not that Mrs. Hosmer, Mrs. Maxwell and Mrs. Hays did not suspect the Denleys of any wrongdoing, but rather that they, as distant and very rich Montrealers, expected a certain amount of pilferage from their employees, and were reluctant to cause a fuss about it? The petit-bourgeois Mowat ferociously chased after her property, but the haute-bourgeois Mrs. Maxwell might complain quietly to her friends that one of her husband's coats was missing, suspect the servants, but be

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[34]See, for example, CCHS MC 92 MS 7/314 to MS 7/324.

[35]Letter, Elizabeth E. Maxwell, Montreal, to GHM, [Winter 1924?], CCHS MC 92 MS 7/315. Maxwell was the widow of Edward Maxwell, the noted Canadian architect who designed, among other things, Van Horne's summer cottage in St. Andrews. Mrs. Hosmer was Clara Hosmer, married to Charles, who was first head of the CPR Telegraph Division, founder of Ogilvie Flour Mills Co. and a director of some twenty-six companies, including the Bank of Montreal. See Walker, *No Hay Fever and A Railway* and Frances Gagnon Pratte, *Country Houses for Montrealers* for more information.

reluctant to verify it when the spectre of a court case and the possibility of going 'on the record' loomed. In the end Mowat lost, and was forced to return some articles to the Denley house which she, claiming they were hers, had repossessed. A friend wrote, sympathetically, "[t]o say that I was disappointed and grieved at the outcome of your trouble, would be putting it mildly."[36] Mowat never forgot how she had been cruelly wronged by 'the system.' When, in 1926, Earle B. Smith, who had represented the Denleys in court, wrote asking for her support in the upcoming federal election, she replied that if he worked hard and behaved honourably "people will learn to have faith in you and forget that in the days of your youth you supported crime in the county of Charlotte."[37]

Mowat, like so many of those involved in inventing traditions in the interwar period, was neither rich nor poor, bourgeois or proletarian: she was awkwardly, painfully caught in between the great social class identities. An art-school education, and a father who had been a well-known farmer suggested comfort, but an image of faded gentility comes irresistibly to mind when we learn that the farm had actually been sold by her father on the condition that his daughter receive a life tenancy.[38] Like many in such nebulous positions, Miss Mowat bolstered her claim to respectability with an appeal to genealogy. Mowat was descended from one of the

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[36]Letter, M.D. Colby to GHM, 6 October 1925, CCHS MC92 MS.7/345.

[37]Letter, GHM to Earle B. Smith, 10 August 1926, CCHS MC 92 MS 7/349.

[38]It was sold in 1908 and Mowat lived there until her death in 1964! See Willa Walker, *No Hay Fever and A Railway*, pp.151-152.

Loyalist founding families of St. Andrews, and this ancestry was crucial to her self-definition. In 1957, she wrote

> I am a Tory, an old, old Tory. Not a Tory of the present day, but the kind that lived in the 18th century and were banished from their homes after the American Revolution.... I was brought up on an old Loyalist farm, surrounded with furnishings that the family had brought with them from Massachusetts. The atmosphere was that of another age, and I was always taught to honour and respect the memory of King George III.[39]

By a Tory, she clearly did not just mean she had voted against Mackenzie King (although in fact she was a lifelong Conservative). Instead, she meant that she was both the literal and ideological descendant of Loyalists, and had accepted and developed the Loyalist myth, including the element which classed them as the "cream of the crop" and the Tory elite of colonial society. Her relationship to her workers, her association with the elite summer visitors, and her belief in the prerequisites of her class position all indicate how much she identified herself with gentility.[40] A form letter from a publisher indicating that she was to be included in *The Social Register of Canada* provides an arresting snapshot of her self-definition. One can see Mowat sitting at her old family desk, smiling, as she read;

> At this historic moment, when Canada's coming of age is implicit in the new responsibilities she is assuming all over the world, *The Social Register of Canada* is recording the names of those of her citizens whose social prestige is an irrefutable warrant that they or their

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[39]Grace Helen Mowat, *The Tories' King — George III and Seeds of the Revolution*. (Fredericton: *The Atlantic Advocate*, 1957). [Reprinted by the Charlotte County Historical Society, 1976].

[40]Among her friends, she was not always perceived as a snob. Indeed, In a poem written for Mowat on her 79th birthday, a member of her Church Guild explained, "Among us she's grown famous, but never changed a mite, snobbery she always says, shows one is not quite bright." CCHS MS 9/166.

> forebears have contributed significantly to her development.... This must be very gratifying to you.[41]

No doubt it was.

2. Mowat as a Writer: Shaping a Contemporary Toryism

Mowat's work extended far beyond handicrafts. She painted both pictures and greeting cards for her friends, and, on a more public level, published a number of books — poetry, drama, fiction and non-fiction. Her first book was *Funny Fables of Fundy* (1928), described by one reviewer as "a charming book of verses written somewhat after the fashion of the books of rhymes that delighted the children of years ago and with an inevitable and appropriate 'moral.'"[42] One of the tales, "Bird Law," was a thinly disguised allegory of the Denley episode and her troubles with people who did not recognize the legitimacy of her legal case.[43] The book received generally pleasant critical reviews (at least the five Mowat kept). The one in "Canada's Most Reliable Medium of Literary Criticism," *The Globe*, is itself a study in how Mowat, and, more generally, the Maritimes, were perceived:

> In this little volume of children's verse there is reflected the intense love of the author for her native heath, the shores of the Bay of Fundy. Miss Mowat has already made a name for herself in establishing the Charlotte County Cottage Craft with headquarters at St. Andrews ~~by the Sea~~, N.B., which has developed the handicraft of the women of that district. The verses, each of which points to a homely moral, will have appeal to boys and girls. The opening verse, "The Bay of Fundy," is followed by several with animal and bird themes. "The Spinning Wheel Song" presents a picture of the old-time industry, while "The

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[41]The Social Register of Canada to GHM, n.d. [1944?], CCHS MC 92 MS 7/395.

[42]"Helen Mowat — Her Book", newspaper clipping, (n.p., n.d.), CCHS MC 92 MS 8/83.

[43]GHM, *Funny Fables of Fundy*, (Ottawa: Ru-Mi-Lou Books, 1928), pp.23-29.

> Sand Reef Light" depicts the friendly light shining across "the twilight sea."[44]

The use of words like "heath," "homely," and "friendly" reinforces a parochial, simple, 'folksy' image of the Maritimes, and it is easy to assume 'the old-time industry' was still very much alive. Three of the five reviews also mention the Cottage Craft, which, as a 'traditional' industry, reinforced this down-home image. Indeed, in one of the reviews, nearly half the text is devoted to explaining her business rather than her book.[45]

The publication of *Funny Fables* gave Mowat a considerable amount of recognition. She received a letter from the noted poet Sir Charles G.D. Roberts, who told her "I am delighted with them [the fables]. Such delightfully quaint, unexpected turns of mood and phrase, - such delicious humour never over-strained or self-conscious."[46] He went on to compare it to *Alice in Wonderland* and *A Child's Garden of Verses*, and suggested she join the Canadian Authors' Association. Her friend Bliss Carman had nothing but good things to say about it.

> It wins the highest praise everywhere, and fills everyone who reads it with delight.... If you will allow me, I want to include "The Bay of Fundy," "The Frog Pond," and "The Old Garden" in *The Oxford Book of Canadian Verse*, which I have just finished editing.[47]

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[44]"Bay of Fundy Verse," *The Globe*, September 22, [1928?], CCHS MC 92 MS 8/84. Mowat crossed out the suffix "by-the-Sea" wherever it appeared, despising it as a touristic innovation.

[45]"Fables of Fundy," source and date unknown, CCHS MC 92 MS 8/87.

[46]Charles G.D. Roberts to GHM, 16 September 1928, CCHS MC 92 MS 7/362.

[47]Bliss Carman to GHM, 28 August 1928, CCHS MC 92 MS 7/360.

Carman was already quite familiar with Mowat's work. For a number of years she actually sent him poems, which he returned with comments like "[t]he poem is truly capital. It is really masterly in its quiet and simple faithfulness, and its sweetness of spirit,- all as true as Kipling's 'Sussex,' one of my favourites of his poems."[48] As an editor, Carman made many changes to Mowat's work, but his initial reactions, as a friend, were positive. He replied, the first time she sent him a poem, like this,

> A Poem!....Well, it isn't bad! And yes, I think it has atmosphere. But I am wondering whether you haven't really two poems run into one in this piece, and whether it wouldn't be better to separate them.... And then, maybe I'm wrong together. You must be your own critic.... the poem has some nice things about it, its simplicity, some of its phrases and its atmosphere.[49]

The words almost invariably used to describe Mowat's poetry (simple, quaint, humourous, delightful, moral, old-fashioned, homely, friendly, old-time, and loving) convey an image of a down-home woman with old-fashioned virtues. In a broad sense, they are words of antimodernism. They belong to a literary cult of the picturesque, and were used to characterize not just her poetry, but all her work, and even her character as a whole.

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[48]Bliss Carman to GHM, 10 April 1915, CCHS MC 92 MS 7/278. Once this was said, however, he proceeded to dissect it stanza by stanza offering criticisms like this: "Stanza 4 I don't care for the third line altogether. I thought at first you were referring to the Northern Lights ... I see, however, you are referring to the stars, and in that connection I don't care for 'mysterious.' 'Far mysterious lights, inhabiting the sky,' is beautiful; but it does not call up at once one's picture of the stars. They are so bright they hardly seem mysterious."

[49]Bliss Carman to GHM, 14 December 1914, CCHS MC 92 MS 7/277. Incidentally, this letter is where I became certain it was Mowat who had edited her correspondence — there is a notation on the envelope which reads "revised it by these suggestions and it was finally published in 'Funny Fables of Fundy.'" The fact that she went through her letters sometime after 1928 indicates that the ones we have access to were selected by Mowat, so in general we are seeing what she wanted us too.

Mowat's literary output was certainly not limited to poetry. While she was involved with Cottage Craft, Mowat in 1932 published *The Diverting History of a Loyalist Town*. As suggested by the numerous rewrites in her papers, she had been working on it for a long time. The book begins with a poem, "The Loyalist," and as the both the poem and the title of the book suggest, Mowat's intention was to construct a narrative history of St. Andrews centred on the Loyalists. As she wrote "I then forsook my native home/ Where long I'd been a lodger, And in New Brunswick joined my fate/ With many a toil-worn soldier.... I've lived to see New Brunswick boast/ A hardy population;/ Excelled in no respect, by those/ Of any State or nation."[50] This encapsulated the poem's account of both the Loyalists' exodus and their subsequent vindication. That the Loyalists had built societies that were the "envy of the American states" was a longstanding motif of the Loyalist myth,[51] which Mowat was simply adapting to St. Andrews.

The Diverting History, which she published herself, tells a remarkable story. It was derived partly working from Mowat's "old papers," partly from letters which survive today, partly from memories of stories told to her by her parents, older relatives, friends, and acquaintances, partly from her own memories, and at least partly on the basis of pure invention: when Mowat did not know something, it seems she just made it up. She was not only telling the history of St. Andrews, she was

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[50]GHM, *Diverting History*, pp.7-8. Mowat notes "The above poem was found in manuscript among some old papers [her usual source!]; the authorship is unknown.

[51]See, for example, Ann Gorman Condon, "The Foundations of Loyalism," in *The Loyal Americans*, Ed. Robert S. Allen, (National Museums of Canada, 1983).

righting a wrong, informing people -- "those unfamiliar with the true history of the Loyalists" -- that "the Loyalists unfortunately, or perhaps fortunately, had no alternative; their property was destroyed, their lands confiscated, they were ill treated at every turn and in some instances put to death, and finally proscribed and banished."[52]

Presumably not all of these things happened to all of the Loyalists, but, in Mowat's treatment, the Loyalist identity was a unified one, based on universal noble suffering for an absolutely good cause.

This theme is carried forward into all of Mowat's subsequent writings. These included *The Tories' King* (1957), a sympathetic biography of George III. In it her goal was "to convince people that George III was a good old King for he really was, and it is time people knew it."[53] In her papers, she notes that it was difficult for her to find a publisher. "This manuscript has been rejected by the Canadian magazines. They fear it might disturb the 'friendly border' and affect their own subscription lists."[54] After then attempting to find an American publisher, she returned closer to home and had it published by *The Atlantic Advocate*. Mowat also wrote historical works that were overtly fictional, the most notable example being *Broken Barrier*, a "200-page historical romance [which] took ten years of painstaking research,"[55] and

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[52]GHM, *Diverting History*, p.16.

[53]GHM, *The Tories' King*, p.9.

[54]GHM, notes, on "The Tories' King," (MS), CCHS MC 92 MS 8/40.

[55]"Where books are born," *Fredericton Daily Gleaner*, [date?].

plays for the local Music, Art and Drama Club (which she herself founded in the 1930s). She also delivered at least one radio broadcast on the Loyalists. Her handicrafts work, too, was no less a "historical" statement, a way of "doing history" that came readily to one who had argued that "the history of nations is told in their handicrafts."[56] Mowat established, to a great extent, the orthodox view of the town's history; and just as she took elements of local life (crafts made for home use) and transformed them into a product for sale to tourists, so too would future cultural producers appropriate the history and images she had created and apply them in a very different context to a public history presented to tourists. It seems difficult to deny that without Mowat, "Loyalization" need never have occurred.

Mowat's work in the handicrafts industry was recognised as crucial by many people, including the journalists who applauded her work. In 1927 *The Telegraph Journal* [Saint John, NB] published an article called "AN IMPORTANT INDUSTRY," which lauded Mowat for her work with Cottage Craft.

> Miss Helen Mowatt [sic] of St. Andrews has, within ten years, gained an international reputation and has established an industry in Charlotte County that will never lapse. She has found and developed a native talent and in doing this has not only opened a commercial door that in the nature of things must increase with a developing country, but she has brought a wider outlook to many women on farms, and has shown them the art of the spinning wheel and of the loom, the craft of the needle, the care of the homes is no small thing in the making of the world itself.[57]

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[56]GHM, "What future for our Handicrafts?" *Fredericton Daily Gleaner*, n.d., CCHS MC 92 MS 9/135.

[57]Mowat annotated this "From the Telegraph Journal 1927 Please Return". CCHS MC 92 MS 9/206.

This passage creaks under the weight of the implicit class and gender ideology it carries. Not only are handicrafts a way to rejuvenate the poorer, rural areas of the province (which must therefore need to be rejuvenated), but they are also a way to bring a broader outlook to women on farms (while at the same time, and this is unsaid, integrating them into the cash economy). These arts are therefore designed both to keep them satisfied in the practice of "traditional womens' activities" (by making them feel they are participating in the "development of art") and to preserve their contribution "to the growth of their country." There was an irony here — while the article presented Mowat as an innovator, opening up new worlds for farm women, she saw herself as a Loyalist, upholding Tory tradition, and promoting the ideal of a "folk," not just in handicrafts, but even in the preservation of folk memory. A similar dichotomy was evident when the article praised Mowat for helping rural women "[t]o tell the story of farm life in the Maritimes, of farms with the sea at their door, with dories and seagulls and snipe, cows and sheep, fisherfolk and farmerfolk in picturesque blend."[58] The reason for presenting this "picturesque blend" was, of course, to please the tourists.

In many ways, hers was a successful life. Mowat's work received the ultimate blessing of the state in 1951, when she received an honourary degree from the University of New Brunswick, and during the last nine years of her life, people called her Dr. Mowat "in recognition of the great contribution she has made to the cultural

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[58]Vera L. Daye, "Handicrafts in the Maritimes," *The Canadian Red Cross Junior*, (September 1945), p.16.

life of her province."[59] Over the years Mowat's work, both in handicrafts and in writing, was extremely influential in painting a picture of an idyllic past, peopled by a happy rural folk loyal to their Crown and Country. The C.P.R. sold her products in their shops,[60] and people like Carine Wilson (Canada's first female Senator and a summer resident of St. Andrews) helped her to find publishers.[61] Her influence would continue to be felt through the 1960s and 1970s, when the state and a new heritage movement undertook the physical and ideological reconstruction of the history of St. Andrews.

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[59]J.F.H. Teed, "A Distinguished Daughter of New Brunswick."

[60]See, for example, Hayter Reed to G. Ommenney, 4 March 1924, in which he explains that "All the articles such as hand bags and pottery for which any sale could be had has been carried by the Newstand of the Chateau [Frontenac] and it has been the desire to do as much as possible in aiding Miss Mowat in her worthy objective. Yet an extra effort will be made and see what can be done in directions not yet tackled." CCHS MC 92 MS 9/53.

[61]Carine Wilson to GHM, July 30, 1958, CCHS MC 92 MS 7/460.

Chapter 4 - The Beginnings of Loyalist St. Andrews: Mowatian Thought and the Tory Ideal

As we have seen, as a local historian, Mowat was not typical of those who had studied St. Andrews. Although she came from roughly the same period as historians like Ganong, (whose work dealing with St. Andrews appears in the first incarnation of *Acadiensis*) her approach to history was very different. These local writers, men like D.R. Jack, James Vroom, M. Cockburn, and W.F. Ganong, were much more concerned with "facts as facts." C.J. Taylor, in looking at the role of the amateur public historian, aptly characterises the attitude of such writers of their ilk as representing "considerable antiquarian interest in the past for its own sake."[1] They serve as a useful foil to the Mowatian approach to doing history, enabling us to see both similarities and differences.

1. Mowat as a Local Historian of St. Andrews

The major similarity between Mowat and the other historians of her generation lies in, first, their respectful attitude to the Loyalists, and second, their neglect of the Irish who (as we have seen) actually made up a large percentage of the population of St. Andrews. James Vroom, a St. Stephen amateur historian who had a multi-part series of articles on local history in *The Saint Croix Courier*, was literally reverential when he wrote that "[r]everencing, as we do, the memory of the great body of exiled Loyalists, who laid well the foundations of this Dominion of Canada, we may yet

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[1] C.J.P. Taylor, *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Canada's National Historic Parks and Sites*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), p.15.

cherish a special regard for the memory of the Penobscot Loyalists."[2] Cockburn, too, felt that "naturally, our interest in St. Andrews begins with the time when our ancestors, or the ancestors of those of us who are descendants of the Loyalists, first came here and formed a settlement,"[3] Even Ganong, probably the most painstaking of all these writers, was of the opinion that "[o]f all the periods in our history there is none which, from any point of view, can approach this [the Loyalist] in importance."[4] Certainly the humble Irish, the French or the Native "periods" could not.

The similarities, however, end there. The first striking contrast between Mowat and her 'colleagues' is in the sheer quantity of factual information presented in the earlier work. Mowat presented a more limited amount of information, peppered with explicit personal opinions. Even if he may have thought the Loyalist period was the most important, Ganong was very careful to document other groups as much as possible. He examined the Acadian Period, for example, as an "interesting period of our history." He subdivided the history of New Brunswick, arguing that "it segregates itself naturally into six fairly distinct periods--the Prehistoric (or Indian), that of Exploration, the Acadian, the English, the Loyalist and the Post-Loyalist." He even attempted to overcome both his biases and those of his sources: "The principles of the investigation of such a subject as the present [historic sites] are extremely simple.

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[2]James Vroom, "The Penobscot Loyalists," *Acadiensis* [I], (Volume III, No.2, 1903), p.182.

[3]M.N. Cockburn, "The Town of St. Andrews," *Acadiensis* [I], (Volume VII, No.3, 1903), p.204.

[4]Ganong, *Historic Sites*, p.124.

First of all, one must guard against preconceived opinions and a desire, based on local pride, to magnify the appearance of some particular locality."[5]

Such positivistic rigour was foreign to Mowat. She always presented her history in the form of a story -- not just a narrative, but a real, gripping story, romantically removed from the present day. The others, on the other hand, fell much more into the tradition of seeing history as 'progressive': that is, they argued that the past and the present were connected. While Mowat presented the past as stories, charming and entertaining, but not as key to the understanding of the present, they approached it differently.[6] Cockburn, for example, argued that "from the fruits of those labours [i.e. those of the Loyalists], we, in this day and generation, are reaping so rich a harvest."[7] Ganong was even more explicit. For example, in his *Monograph of the Evolution of the Boundaries of the Province of New Brunswick*, he looked at the history of the development of New Brunswick's contemporary boundaries as "an evolution," and, as a result, traced change over time to the present.[7]

Ganong's approach to the past was filled with the contradictions that came from an antiquarian taking a "progressive" approach to history. He saw history as an evolutionary process (particularly, one could hypothesize, because he was a botanist), although he was also interested in historical facts to some degree just because they were facts, whether or not they were relevant to the present. His approach to "The

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[5]Ganong, *Historic Sites*, pp.5, 50.

[6]See Wright, *On Living in an Old Country*, p.78.

[7]W.F. Ganong, *A Monograph of the Evolution of the Boundaries of the Province of New Brunswick*, (Contributions to the History of New Brunswick, No.5., May 23, 1901), p.141.

Acadian Period" of New Brunswick history, particularly the French crown's attempts in the 1600s to create settlement using the seignieurial system, embodies this contradiction. Although he criticises other historians for ignoring the subject ("no doubt because it was a failure and produced no effect whatever upon later settlement") and proceeds to document it as carefully as he can, at the same time he dismisses it, saying that

> [t]his extensive attempt was therefore another of those barren branches of which history has so many, one whose interest must be chiefly sentimental, and whose details may be omitted altogether in any work which attempts to follow the line of evolution of present-day conditions.[4]

Ganong was particularly fascinated by the settlement on St. Croix Island in the winter of 1604-1605. He edited and translated the diaries of Samuel de Champlain and Lescarbot's *History of New France*, and tried very hard to document the French attempts at settlement. As was discussed in Chapter 1, he also studied Native history in depth, going so far as to learn indigenous languages.

There are a number of other salient differences between the two writers. Mowat's interjection of an overt "class" bias into her narrative, her Romantic/picturesque approach to history, and the large role her own ancestors were represented as playing in the past were all strategies quite foreign to Ganong. The major difference, however, appears in their approach to what history should be and the correspondingly opposed styles of narrative. Mowat's narrative was overtly a story, and the components of her stories were, for her, what comprised history.

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[4]Ganong, *Historic Sites*, p.90.

That was all. For an historian like Ganong, on the other hand, even facts and events that were irrelevant to his progressive narrative were still valid simply by virtue of their once having existed.[9] Stories came first for Mowat, and the collection of facts took precedence for Ganong.

Mowat was writing in what was still very much an era of private commemoration, 1880-1960, a period before the state became highly involved in the St. Andrews area. Like many others in English Canada, she was part of what McKay calls "an increasingly history-conscious middle class ... highly susceptible to the appeal of antimodernist romanticism as an approach to the past."[10] Influenced by her contact with people from "away" -- particularly English Montrealers -- Mowat was something of an anomaly in New Brunswick. Separated from the locals by virtue of her education and foreign travel, she was also not one of the summer visitors in her ardent love of the detail of local history, her fervent Loyalism, and her year-round attachment to the locality.[11] (As we also noted in the case of her actual social status, Mowat was caught in her sense of community "in between," in this case between pure-and-simple localism and an awareness of the preferences and opinions of the outside world). Over fifty when *The Diverting History* was first published, and in her eighties when *The Tories' King* and *Broken Barrier* appeared, Miss Mowat

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[9]Incidentally, Ganong was intrigued by the historical process, and could be said to have anticipated Hobsbawm and Ranger when he mused that "tradition dearly loves a sensation ... the psychology of tradition would form a curious subject for investigation." *Historic Sites*, p.3.

[10]Ian McKay, "History and the Tourist Gaze," pp.110-111.

[11]See C.J. Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*, pp.3-7 for a discussion of amateur historians and their attempts to promote certain cultural ideals in this period.

could be seen by outsiders as a charming anachronism -- as a human part of the picturesqueness of St. Andrews. As the most influential historical writer in the area, indeed the only published writer who devoted her work exclusively to St. Andrews[12], it is hardly surprising that later historical work, both state and local, would incorporate many of her themes in new forms, turning her idiosyncratic vision -- Mowatism -- into something like an official truth. Concentrating on her home town, diversifying her modes of history-making across a wide range of practices, and telling stories that really were more "diverting" then any dry collections of mere facts, Mowat is remembered in St. Andrews and her 'colleagues' are now forgotten.

It would be a mistake to think that Miss Mowat was wholly accepting of the new links between tourism and history. She was different from earlier people involved with the tourism trade, in the vehemence with which she identified St. Andrews with 'history,' and more specifically with her own Tory version of that history. This emerged very clearly in her rejection of the nickname "By-the-Sea," which she actually crossed out in all the letters she received and even in articles she clipped. She went so far as to polemicize against the town's new name. "People seem to be impressed when St. Andrews is called the 'Newport of the North' or 'St. Andrews by the Sea' or 'that quaint village' and other objectionable nicknames of the

[12]Until Willa Walker's *No Hay Fever and A Railway* was published in 1989,

tourist guide class."[13] In other places, her critique of the touristic renaming of St. Andrews became even more vehement.

> In recent years tourists have acquired the unfortunate habit of adding 'By-the-Sea' to this venerable name. If this gives additional charm to the place we will of course try to be tolerant but we would rather not have the name of our town tampered with by strangers.[14]

Mowat feared that the tourist St. Andrews (which, of course in other respects both she and the town needed and wanted) would obliterate the Loyalist St. Andrews. She even projected some of her critique of the tourist resort on to the Loyalists themselves.

> But the traditions of the elders are not forgotten, and if on some fine August morning the old Loyalist should return, sailing up the harbour in a phantom ship, I dare say they would be well-satisfied with the appearance of the town. It would probably annoy them to hear sentimental tourists call it "St. Andrews-by-the-Sea", or "The Village," but otherwise they would find the same peaceful spot with a harbour of unspoiled beauty under the British flag.[15]

For Mowat, clearly, loyalty to the Loyalist ideal took precedence over the need to cater to sentimental tourists.

2. Mowat, Loyalization, and the Entropic Past

As previously mentioned in Chapter 1, there were a number of elements in the tradition, or myth, of the Loyalists. These include their militarism, social order,

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[13]GHM, "St. Andrews in the Early Days," CCHS MC 92 MS 8/56.

[14]GHM, "St. Andrews," CCHS MC 92 MS 8/56.

[15]GHM, *Diverting History*, p.140. Incidentally, indulging in more hypothesising leads one to imagine that the elders, if they did arrive, would be horrified by how unlike the little town was to the commercial centre they had envisioned.

Anglophilia, virtue and pioneering struggles in the wilderness. Although the Loyalist exodus was directly caused by the American Revolution, and a significant number of Loyalists did serve in provincial regiments, a supposedly critical role was later assigned to the Loyalists and their descendants in such conflicts as the War of 1812, the 1837 rebellions, and the Fenian Raids. The Loyalists' decisive role in such events was almost completely imaginary. It was suggested, for example, that during the War of 1812 the burden of defending Canada against the American invaders fell on Canadians, particularly Loyalists: "With little outside support and outnumbered by the Americans, the patriotic yeomanry of Upper Canada 'forsook ploughshare and broadaxe, seized sword and musket, and rallied to the standard of Brock.'"[16] This was untrue, but emphasizing the Loyalist role allowed the myth to suggest that it was the "Canadian" people who repelled invasion, defending "their country," and therefore also defending and preserving imperial unity. The hollowness of this tradition is particularly noteworthy in St. Andrews, where there was no violence during the development of responsible government, and the War of 1812 "generated 'unprecedented stability and prosperity,' ... [while] the chief patriotic role New Brunswickers ... [played] was that of trading with the enemy.'"[17]

Loyalism was at the core of Mowat's historical sensibility. She was, of course, in good company in her view of these saintly heroes. Loyalist commemoration began in the late nineteenth century and expressed an indigenous pro-

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[16]Berger, *The Sense of Power*, p.105.

[17] Ian Stewart, "New Myths for Old: The Loyalists and Maritime Political Culture," p.22.

British national feeling, often pitched against arguments for Canadian independence.[18] The standard Loyalist centennial celebration featured a rich rhetoric, clearly illustrating the various elements of the mythology:

> I am pleased ... to do honour to the memory of those noble men and women who, rather than live under an alien rule, left all the comforts and luxuries of their well filled homes, that they might found in the then wilderness of Canada a new home, where the British flag might still wave over, and British laws still govern them.[19]

The elements of the Loyalist myth are clearly visible here: their choice, their sacrifice, their Anglophilia, and their creation of a new civilization in the wilderness. The supporters of the Loyalist centennial anticipated the imperial federation movement of the later 1880s, to the extent that "the list of those who sponsored the Loyalist centennial in 1884 reads like the roster of the Imperial Federation League in Ontario in 1890."[20] It was, some scholars argue, an early manifestation of indigenous Canadian imperialism.[21]

In addition to her elaboration of a local version of the Loyalist myth of history, four major themes can be found in Mowat's thought: rurality and the picturesque; Britishness as an ideal for the present; notions of gentle behaviour for

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[18]Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p.78.

[19]R.N. Ball, cited in L.F.S. Upton, *The United Empire Loyalists: Men and Myths*, (Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing Company, 1967), p.130.

[20]Berger, *The Sense of Power*, p.81.

[21]Norman Knowles' article on the Loyalist Tradition and the Adolphustown Centennial Celebrations of 1884 provides another useful view of pro-Loyalist celebrations. Knowles separates the wider population's views of the Loyalists from the views held by elites, and demonstrates that, when not simply indifferent, they often remembered the Loyalists for their pioneering experience rather than their British ideals.

men and women; and a class ideal of the hierarchical and ordered community. As emerges strongly from her idealisation of rural life and rural landscapes, Mowat was very committed to the "picturesque" as a way of seeing. In one play, "Indian Summer," written for the Music, Art and Drama club, she depicts interior decorators from the city going to farmhouses, to bring "art, culture and beauty into the lives of these lonely people by teaching them to beautify their homes."[22] There is even a "Mowat-figure" in this play -- someone who has received art training but respects the humble beauty of the country life. This scene, between Miss Piper, President of the City's Home Arts Club, Bernice, an interior decorator, and Jerry, a roving artist-cum-tramp, captures both Mowat's sense of humour and sums up her glorification of rurality.

Miss P -- (Scornfully) You probably would not understand, but we are trying to create an art interest in these lonely country places, where people can have no possible contact with culture or beauty.

J.-- Is that a fact? (Jumps off table and goes to window.)

Miss P. -- Yes young man it is a very sad and pitiful fact.

J.-- Will you ladies step up to this window for a minute (Bernice joins Jerry at window but Miss Piper stands stolidly in her place) Just look out here; see those hills covered with red maple and yellow birch, and the blue Indian summer haze over them and the sunlight breaking through, they are like a string of opals. Look at those blue-green turnip fields and the sheep over there on the pasture lands and the whole thing reflected again in the lake. That is beauty. No artist ever made anything that could touch it.

B.-- It is beautiful isn't it?

J. -- Then why do you people come here to tell us we have no beauty in our lives?

B.-- Oh you are an artist.

J.-- No I am a tramp.

Miss P.-- (coldly) I was speaking of beauty as related to culture.

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[22]GHM, *Indian Summer - Parts used by the actors*, CCHS MC 92 MS 8/46.

J:-- I was speaking of beauty as related to agriculture.[23]

Here the landscape is viewed, by someone who has artistic training, as more beautiful than a picture, and is even described in those terms. In the poems published in *Funny Fables of Fundy*, Mowat again sought to evoke the picturesque ideal in words. Over and over in this book she evokes a peaceful, almost English landscape, with gnarled trees, rivers, hills and happy children. In "The Bay of Fundy," she writes "And up the inland rivers, that seek the Fundy tides/ A pleasant land of apple trees and happy homes abides." In "The Wealth of the Maritimes," she added simple farm folk, and now the picture was complete: "When berry pickers leave the plains,/ And all the goldenrod has died,/ And early frost with crimson stains/ The maples on the mountain side."[24] Her poetry was printed in works such as the *Canadian Home Journal*, the *Daily Gleaner* of Fredericton, the local *Saint Croix Courier*, and the *Toronto Star Weekly*. In letters to her, Bliss Carman remarked on how well it could "bring the scene clearly to my mind, and awake my remembrance of your shore."[25]

Her commitment to the agrarian ideal went further than a celebration of the appearance of the countryside. Mowat actively rejected the city, and with it modern life. (Ironically, she did so while living in a tourist town and supporting herself as a craft capitalist). For her, all that people really needed could be found on a small farm in rural New Brunswick. In the unpublished short story "Deported," written

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[23]GHM, *Indian Summer*, p.9.

[24]CCHS MC 92 MS 8/4.

[25]BC to GHM, 15 April 1915, CCHS MC 92 MS 7/279.

during the Depression, Mowat told the story of one man, Malcolm, and his wife, Amy, who were being 'deported' from industrial New England back to rural New Brunswick. Far from being devastated at leaving the United States, they rejoice at the opportunity to become self-sufficient. Although he was being "deported" from his job in industry, he and his wife were to "own fifty acres of farm land in New Brunswick and the wreck of an old water mill,"[26] which would enable them to live off the land. Even in her *Diverting History*, Mowat remarks, "St. Andrews never grew to be a city and we ought to be thankful for that."[27] Her rural bias was pronounced, and quite at odds with the progressive enthusiasm of a Ganong or a Jack.

Perhaps more important than the rural bias in her study of history, however, is the impact of her romantic vision of the picturesque. More than anything else, Mowat romanticises historical events so that they are formed into vivid (if static) pictures of the past. In *The Tories' King*, for example, she described the American Revolution like this:

> The war raged on. There were victories and losses on both sides. The British were confused by the vast, thickly-wooded country where it was so difficult to transport men and ammunitions. The King in his great castle at Windsor still grieved for the sufferings of his loyal subjects. They were his people and he had little respect for the rebels who encouraged their persecution and destroyed their homes and threw the shipload of tea into the harbour. The war continued with no end in sight.[28]

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[26]GHM, "Deported," (written during the Depression of the 30's), p.4, CCHS MC 92 MS 8/54.

[27]GHM, *Diverting History*, p.130.

[28]GHM, *The Tories' King*, p.6. Mowat presents the rebellion as being a rather ungrateful action, since "England had carried the war with France across the Atlantic for the express purpose of getting control of the French possessions in America to save the colonies from the hardships of the French and

This makes a dramatic picture -- rather like Benjamin West's heroic canvases -- and this is the desired effect. For Mowat, all true history was picturesque. It could be reduced to a series of neat little "vignettes" -- the King improbably lost in mourning in Windsor Castle -- or as she herself said, a vision of a "romantic past."[29] Even approaching wars were experienced visually: "Upon such peaceful scenes as these arose the war clouds of 1812. They watched them gathering with much concern in the little Loyalist town, so lately settled down to enjoy its years of peace."[30] We feel we are about to watch a film, a "moving picture."

There is no question that Mowat appreciated the picturesque nature of the local landscape, the quiet, rural life that brought tourists there, and the big-city tourists themselves. This was part of the reasoning behind her business: "[we] could live forever among this wealth of beauty that was our heritage; the tourist could only enjoy it for a brief season. We must therefore make for the fleeting tourist something that would forever be a reminder of our land."[31] What made Mowat unusual was her rare gift for making what was, in essence, a rather mundane historical record come alive as a visual experience.

Indian raids, so dreaded by the inhabitants, who were always in danger of being scalped by Indians without a moment's warning." (p.1).

[29]GHM, *Diverting History*, p.9.

[30]GHM, *Diverting History*, p.75.

[31]"A Story of Cottage Craft," *Dalhousie Review*, 1939. In her poem "The Tourist," Mowat wrote "I think they are a generous lot/ I'd rather have them here than not." CCHS MC 92 MS 8/24.

A second major theme of her work is Britishness and Loyalism as a present-day ideal. Mowat was devoted to the Loyalists, a fact which came from both the environment in which she grew up and from her acceptance and furtherance of a Canada-wide legend. She was born of New Brunswick Loyalist stock, and raised in a household in which respect for the past and for one's elders were unquestioned principles. In a speech about the Loyalists, Mowat remarked that their history had been

> a subject that has interested me since my earliest childhood. Almost all of my great grandparents were Loyalists with the exception of one who came to St. Andrews shortly after the settlement of St. Andrews and married one of the Loyalist ladies. When we were children it was the custom on the occasion of family parties to sit around the fire and listen to the older people tell tales of the early Loyalist days and the settlement of St. Andrews and of the persecutions and hardships during the Revolution.[32]

Allowing for a certain amount of romanticism to seep in over the years, it does nevertheless seem that Mowat had been genuinely converted to the Tory perspective she imagined to be characteristic of the Loyalists.[33] When coupled with the rise of Canadian imperialism in the late 19th century, and with her desire to be considered one of the elite, Mowat's beliefs were suitable for her class and community, and also enabled her to develop the notion of St. Andrews as a unique part of Canada.

The second part of the Loyalist myth entailed a present-day ideal of a reformed social order. Lt.-Col. George T. Denison, a militant imperialist, wrote of

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[32]GHM, *The Loyalists*, text of a speech, n.d., CCHS MC 92 MS 8/59.

[33]Although, in all the correspondence she kept with her cousins, none of them ever mentioned the Loyalists. If they wondered about her fixation with them, it was never mentioned.

the Loyalists in 1885 that "[t]hey were the law-abiding, God-fearing classes ... in the early years of this country crime was almost unknown, the settlers being an orderly, peaceable well-behaved people."[34] They were

> united in their common respect for law, in their love of good order, in their sense of the necessity in any community of such public regulations as will maintain the rights of all; and promote the common good. In a word, these people were a people with a genius for law and order.[35]

The ideal of the Loyalists as a cultured and well-born people fostered the myth that they were a chosen people, and explained the strength of the idealism necessary for their heroic emigration. Such local historians as Mowat transformed this elite "Loyalist Myth" from being a myth for the elite into a myth for the whole community.

It is impossible to omit Anglophilia, the love of all things British, since it was a vital component of the Loyalist myth, and perhaps the most prominent. "But dearer to their faithful hearts/ Than home, or gold, or lands,/ Were Britain's laws, and Britain's crown,/ And Britain's flag of long renown, /And grip of British hands."[36] It was suggested that the Loyalists were "torchbearers of that spirit of universal brotherhood which makes the British Empire of today one great fraternity of United

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[34]MacKirdy, p.109. [find exact chapter]

[35]Upton, cited in Stewart, "New Myths for Old," pp.22-3. These glowing descriptions ignore a number of Loyalist riots (for example, those in Shelburne and Saint John in 1785) or the threatened violence from the Loyalist elite when early land grants were overturned in an attempt to create a greater degree of equality. In Shelburne, where disbanded Loyalist soldiers rioted against free blacks, the myth has a particularly ironic irrelevance. See also Neil MacKinnon, *This Unfriendly Soil: The Loyalist Experience in Nova Scotia 1783-1791*, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986), p.38.

[36]An excerpt from "The United Empire Loyalists", a patriotic song printed in MacKirdy, p.107.

Empire Loyalists."[37] Refuted by much academic historiography, this image of Anglophile Loyalists was immensely popular in historical reconstruction in St. Andrews.[38] If "Tories" like Mowat found the romantic story of the Loyalists' love for England ideologically appealing, local tourist operators could also benefit from the intriguing 'Otherness' such British connections suggested.

Another feature of the Loyalists that was much embellished by the surrounding mythology involves their virtue and wisdom. Personified as the image of honour, courage and self-sacrifice[39], they were completely idealised.

> I am afraid we are apt to forget that the Loyalists, to a considerable extent, were the very cream of the population of the Thirteen Colonies. They represented in very large measure the learning, the piety, the wealth and good citizenship of the British race in America.[40]

Notwithstanding historical evidence of the Loyalists' phenomenal rates of alcohol consumption, greedy speculation in land holdings, and unprincipled lust for power and status,[41] this myth of their superiority fed the imaginations of those cultivating their memory.

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[37]Upton, *The United Empire Loyalists*, p.3.

[38]See Stewart, "New Myths for Old," p.23. There were, of course, a number of British-born Tories, for whom it was only natural to support England, but in general more Tory recruits came from the American-born parts of the community. In addition, their attitude to Britain was certainly not uniformly positive; they were often extremely critical of colonial policy. For example, before the revolution, many of them denounced British colonial policy as inappropriate and unjust; during the war they castigated the army for its "haughty, arrogant demeanour" and tactical ineptitude; after the war, they perceived the government's resettlement policy as overly frugal; and after they had long been established in new homes, they complained about commercial and land policies, suggesting the British government was defaulting on its promises to the refugees.

[39]Ann Gorman Condon, "The Foundations of Loyalism," p.2.

[40]James Henry Coyne, cited in Upton, *The United Empire Loyalists*, p.138.

[41]Stewart, "New Myths for Old," p.24.

Finally, to these, the most prominent aspects of the Loyalist tradition, should be added a fifth. Knowles found that, in one set of celebrations, at least, "most people remembered the Loyalists almost exclusively for their pioneer experiences and example."[42] The speakers at the Adolphustown celebrations he studied, the local newspapers when evoking their experiences, and museums that featured their relics focused on the Loyalists mainly as pioneers. This added flexibility and accessibility to the myth: even those who found the supposed Loyalist ideals silly could identify with their human achievement of clearing land and raising families. These were the main contours of the Loyalist myth to be accepted by Mowat. Mowat did little to change them, but she did supply arresting stories and visual images to make the Ideal seem real. And not just real: in her entropic form of history, which looked back at the past with nostalgia and longing, and froze it forever in a picture, the Ideal took on the character of an Icon.

3. Adapting and Reconstructing the Loyalist Myth

Mowat applied her Loyalism and Britishness just as avidly to the present as she did to the past. During World War 1, not only did she keep clippings of war poems that she liked, but she even wrote her own war poetry. One, published in a local newspaper, called "The Offering," indicates the strength of her British patriotism:

> Mother of many nations!/ Call thou thy sons from far/ Gather ye them together/ Make them ready for war! ... Oh England! Mother Country!/ They crowd onto thy shore;/ They are a willing offering/ For

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[42] Knowles, "Shall we not raise there again," p.6.

> a sacrificial war. ... Heap high the blood-stained altar,/ Till its incense reach the skies,/ And the Lord shall know His people/ Have learned to sacrifice.[43]

Whatever its theological merits or artistic qualities, Mowat's visually compelling poem suggests one local intellectual's attempt to connect the Loyalist ideal with the world of modernity -- that better world that is to come:

> Then they with the will to labor/ And the wit to understand/ Shall raise a greater nation/ And till a fairer land.

Others of Mowat's ~~war poems were more light-hearted: her~~ 1915 poem, "The Cousins," was an entertaining piece of political doggerel:

> The Kaiser had an empire/ That wasn't in the sun/ And ruling that dull Fatherland/ It was not any fun! ... He knocked the spots off Belgium/ The solemn treaty tore/ And plunged the half of Europe/ In a most uncalled for war. ... So George put on his helmet/ Where he had his crown before/ Quietly stepped off the throne/ And started for the war. ... And then he'd say "Now William/ You've made a grave mistake/ This war is not the kind of war/ That Grandma used to make". ... Then William would get peeved at that/ And say, ~~"Oeh go to Hell!"~~ "I vill you tell"/ I vant to rule mine Fatherland/ And Motherland as vell!"[44]

One might say that, if Mowat's history-making often involved making a compelling picture, her political poems worked by personalizing complex issues in child-like fables.

Mowat's historical work, centring as it does on St. Andrews and her ancestors, is predominantly pro-Anglophile and elite-oriented. She described the local Loyalists as the "loyal and most desirable British subjects," who were happiest with "the

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[43] GHM, "The Offering," 1914, CCHS MC 92 MS 8/21.

[44] GHM, "The Cousins," CCHS MC 92 MS 8/8. The crossed-out words are in the original manuscript.

British flag above them."[45] As far as elitism went, she referred to the British loss of the Revolutionary war as New Brunswick's chance to "skim off the cream of their population that still remained loyal," who were "the more widely travelled and better educated colonists," and who, therefore, were able to sail off with their "family plate, family portraits and old mahogany."[46] Clearly finding it difficult to associate the Loyalists of St. Andrews with military glory, Miss Mowat gave a special place to the obscure actions of her ancestor's cousin, who during the revolutionary war could be found sailing to Falmouth, where he supposedly opened fire and destroyed "one-fifth of the town, just to show it was time the other side was heard from."[47] And as for the superb social order and pioneering spirit of the Loyalist colonists, her St. Andrews, which had once been "an uninhabited wilderness" had been transformed by their work into a "happy little community," one in which there was absolutely no disorder. Such calm came as no surprise, for "The Loyalists, ... [were] above all things a God-fearing race."[48]

Mowat lived in an institutional milieu in which her Loyalism and Anglophilia could be regularly sustained. As an Anglican, she had a religious tie to England, and as "an ardent supporter of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire," a

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[45] GHM, *Diverting History*, pp.20 and 43.

[46] GHM, *Diverting History*, pp.17 and 20.

[47] GHM, *Diverting History*, p.27.

[48] GHM, Diverting History, pp.42-3 and 63.

member of its Passamaquoddy Chapter, and Regent for many years, Mowat had a circle of like-minded friends and followers.[49]

4. A Tory looks at gender and class

Her membership in the I.O.D.E. presents an opportunity for a look at a third theme in her work -- the presentation of gender ideals. Mowat's approach to themes of gender was complex, mirroring the paradoxes antimodernists often confronted in life. On one hand, she was a single businesswoman and entrepreneur. On the other, as an "old, old Tory," she felt responsible for upholding traditional gender roles and divisions in her cultural work. Looking at images of gender roles in Mowat's fiction and poetry, in her craft activities; and in her historical work reveals the complexity of this issue.

In general, Mowat presented family members in their "traditional" roles. The father went outside the home to work, while the mother stayed home doing domestic chores. A good example is "Christmas Trees at Home," which was published in the *Toronto Star Weekly*. Mowat began with an agrarian invocation: "Oh city-bred children I wish you could know/ The beautiful land where the Christmas trees grow." She then reinforced traditional ideals of gender and idealised the sparse primary industry of New Brunswick with the picture of the lumberman and his family living in a warm little cabin:

> There in the clearing his lamp like a star, Shines over pastures where Christmas trees are. His wife cooks his breakfast of pancakes and tea While birchen logs blaze in the stove merrily. How happy the

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[49]Mrs. J.F.H. Teed, "A Distinguished Daughter of New Brunswick," *Echoes*, Christmas 1952, p.10. CCHS MC 92 MS 9/222.

> woodsman with plenty for all And 'God Bless our Home' in a frame on the wall. And tousely children who rouse from their nap, And find him his muffler and mittens and cap. ... There the brown rabbits are changing to white And squirels [sic] on the fence railing chatter and fight, Where the red sun awakens the brave chicadees [sic] The woodsman goes harvesting little green trees.[50]

Granted, Christmas tree harvesting is a more domestic activity than most other lumbering work, but Mowat's poem is remarkable for its bucolic tone. There is no hint of the hardships and low pay, of the seasonal nature of the work, of anything other than a happy little New Brunswick family eating pancakes and cutting Christmas trees. In her short story, "Deported," (which, the reader will recall, deals with the eviction of A[illegible]nd Malcolm from the United States) the familial picture became more complex. Things domestic are Amy's responsibility -- as she says, "I am going to make our home the prettiest little farm house you ever saw." She spends her summer making preserves, and, in the winter, "Amy would come over and help [Malcolm in his workshop] every afternoon as soon as the house work was done."[51] At the same time, however, she and Malcolm are partners in their business enterprises, and she is employed making trays to sell to tourists, for they had found "the tourist trade quite lucrative for small and inexpensive articles."[52] A complex picture of gender is painted in the *Diverting History*, too. Loyalist men are gallant gentlemen, who help "the ladies to alight." Loyalist women are "obliged to use mahogany tables in their kitchens, also their best silver and china." Domestic space

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[50]GHM, "Christmas Trees at Home," *Toronto Star Weekly*, n.d., CCHS MC 92 MS 87.

[51]GHM, "Deported," [no publication data available], pp.10, 14 and 17, CCHS MC 92 MS 854.

[52]GHM, "Deported," p.18.

is constantly constructed as women's responsibility, so that even if a meeting is held at Mr. Pagan's house, the participants sit "on the best chairs in Mrs. Pagan's best parlour."[53] For Mowat, to grant the American rebels liberty was as bad as "giving the vote to militant suffragettes."[54] Furthermore, as one would expect in a history written by someone devoted to tradition, all the major actors in her story are male, with the one exception of Mowat's great-grandmother, Mehitable Mowat (née Calef) who is presented as a remarkable woman, a Loyalist refugee who came to St. Andrews in 1784 and lived until 1860.[55]

Finally, and perhaps most strikingly, there are the class ideals promulgated in her work. These come across, again, most clearly in her historical writing. The elitism of *The Diverting History of a Loyalist Town* has already been established, all but Mowat's work is suffused with class ideals. Coming from homes that were "often luxuriant," the Loyalists are contrasted with "the excited and victorious rabble," formerly "subordinate" to them, now in the United States. Among their belongings were included "their servants and coloured slaves."[56] Compared to the class ideals so effortlessly incarnated by the Loyalists, the qualities of the Irish are so negligible that Mowat's *Diverting History* passes over them in one sentence: "We find Squire Wilson sailing over to Ireland and visiting Earl FitzWilliam. He returned

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[53]GHM, *Diverting History*, pp. 33, 42-3, 61, and 72.

[54]GHM, *Diverting History*, p.19.

[55]GHM, *Diverting History*, p.107.

[56]GHM, *Diverting History*, pp.16, 17 and 30.

home with a load of Irish navvies to work on the railroad."[57] With twenty or thirty years of Irish emigration thus reduced to a single moment with no agency, Mowatian history effectively erased the Irish majority from the past.

Such class ideals were brought to a wider audience through dramatic performances. Mowat organized a series of "Farmers' Pageants" in the 1920s and 1930s, where "outdoor exhibitions of our country dances and folk songs which were of special interest to our summer visitors"[58] (See Figure 5). Mowat's definition of "folk songs" was fairly liberal and included some written by Mowat herself. In the book *Country Songs Local and Traditional Sung At the Farmers' Pageant Given Annually at St. Andrews, N.B. under the Direction of the Cottage Craft*, there is, in addition to the songs listed as traditional, one which was incontrovertibly Mowat's creation. Called "Spinning Wheel Song," it goes like this: "When safely the harvest is stored in the barn,/ 'Tis then we make ready for spinning the yarn;/ When summer is over and winter is near,/ The song of the wheel is the sound that you hear." The same lyrics are published as a poem in her book *Funny Fables of Fundy*.[59] Such outright invention of folk tradition was not surprising, given Mowat's apparent conviction that the actual songs of the farmerfolk were unsuitable to be performed for the "summer visitors," and that she, as a "professional," could create songs which

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[57]GHM, *Diverting History*, p.109.

[58]GHM, *A Story of Cottage Craft*, p.3.

[59]*Country Songs Local and Traditional*, (Charlotte County Cottage Craft, n.d.), CCHS MC 92 MS 9/174, GHM, *Funny Fables of Fundy*, p.76. Another two "country songs" utilize the same rhyming and rhythmic techniques and concentrate on the same subjects, leading one to suspect that they too might be Mowat's.

Figure 5 - Dancer Irene Castle joins "the folk" at Miss Mowat's "farmers' pageant". (source: Walker, *No Hay Fever and a Railway*).

were better. Reaction to these shows was generally positive, with one article in the local newspaper bringing out the event's anti-modern significance with the comment, "this was real dancin [sic]; something of nature had got into it. It made one feel that all sophisticated dancing was an abomination."[60]

This evidence, when coupled with the ideology implicit in much of the handicrafts movement -- her sense that crafts truly encapsulate the history of a people -- allows us to develop a somewhat subtler sense of her class ideology then her Anglophilia and Loyalism might suggest. On one hand, in her written work the elitism of the Loyalists is celebrated. On the other, in a story like "Deported," the businessman ends up bankrupt and the self-reliant working-man successfully returns back to the land and a small farm in New Brunswick. Mowat was reflecting, perhaps, ambiguities and tensions in her own life. She faced some of the same conflicts. Although she came from an old family and was a daughter of the mythified elite founders of Canada, her father was in prosaic fact a mere farmer. She identified with her workers, yet felt separate from them; she was proud of humble crafts, yet always seemed to return to the memorable visual image of the Loyalists' silver and mahogany. A truly marginalised figure, forever caught between larger identities, she placed a greater stress, in *The Diverting History* and elsewhere, on her ancestors' role in the founding of the town than was perhaps strictly accurate.[61]

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[60]"The Farmers' Pageant," *The St. Croix Courier*, August 6, 1925.

[61]One explanation is her use of family letters -- heirlooms in her possession -- as sources, which would obviously create a biased picture.

5. Mowat's Tory Vision Distilled: *Broken Barrier*

All four of these Tory themes, the rural picturesque, Loyalism, gender and especially class, in all their contradictions and paradoxes, were beautifully woven into Mowat's historical novel, *Broken Barrier*. Originally entitled *The Broken Crystal*, it was, in 1951, the first book to be published by the University of New Brunswick Press. It was also a serial in *The Daily Gleaner*, and, before that, a play performed by the St. Andrews Music, Art and Drama club. All of the themes mentioned above are present in this novel, and all of them are interwoven into a compelling historical story -- in a unique blend that was peculiarly Mowatian.

It is essentially a romance, between Lydia Allan, a young woman from New Brunswick and Stephen Trancher, a businessman from New York. Lydia has gone to New York to earn money so she can modernise the family farm she has inherited, but is unable to find work in her chosen field -- teaching music. Stephen's previous housekeeper is leaving him to get married, and Lydia takes her place. Relations between them grow warmer, although on a very formal level. Stephen is then forced by circumstances to move to a smaller house and Lydia returns to her New Brunswick farm. They miss each other, he travels there, and since the barrier which exists between master and servant has now been broken, they get married. After a brief return to New York he decides to give up his business and they plan their life together on the farm.

The story is woven around their family's past, for they are sixth cousins. A common ancestor, Lydia Trancher, the black sheep of his family, had

> ... eloped with a young captain in the King's forces on the eve of her wedding day. The marriage was not to her liking and had been arranged by her parents, after the manner of the times. So she took the law into her own hands and ran off with the man of her choice. Her father was a strong Revolutionist and had threatened to disinherit her if she had any further intercourse with the captain, who was an enemy to the cause of liberty. The story goes that she got ahead of her stern parent by taking with her a handsome silver tankard that was to have been part of her dowry.[62]

The discovery of this relationship brings Stephen and Lydia closer together, and helps them to break through the barrier -- hence the title of the book.

This "barrier" is given such a presence in the book it almost becomes a character in its own right. Mowat introduces it early:

> As the plaintive notes rose and fell, softened by distance, she considered the strange barrier that existed between herself and the man who played them. The barrier of servitude that was forever insurmountable, even though they should live under the same roof for years.[63]

This barrier; "invisible but always insurmountable," was present in all relations between servants and their employers. Lydia had been careful about not revealing the connection between their families until she had left Stephen's employ, because she had realised that if such a revelation were made; "the discovery might create an uncomfortable situation."[64]

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[62]GHM, *Broken Barrier: A Romance of Staten Island and the Province of New Brunswick*, (Fredericton: University Press of New Brunswick, 1951); pp.80-81. Mowat's ancestor, Mehitable Mowat, had married a Loyalist Captain, but her family were also Loyalists. A silver tankard like the one in the story was in Mowat's possession.

[63]GHM, *Broken Barrier*, p.28.

[64]GHM, *Broken Barrier*, pp.47, 88. The same class division had existed between Stephen and his former housekeeper, Maggie.

"She always called him the master. Her mother had once been a maid in the household of an English bishop and she had taught her that the head of the house should always be spoken of as 'the

Mowat's sense of class distinctions also comes through in her depiction of rural New Brunswickers in the novel. With the exception of Lydia, most of the New Brunswickers we meet in *Broken Barrier* are simple folks, speaking in dialect (with correspondingly poor grammar) and still using horses and wagons to travel. Take, for example, Libbey, the boatman. When questioned about the river, he gives a detailed reply.

> This is the aggravatingest river, mister. It's terrible shallow in spots and if we aren't contending with the ice, it's the log booms. ... But just go away from this here river and stay away five years or more and you'll get such a hankerin' to come home that back you come, whether or no, and start cussin' it all over again.[65]

Mowat draws such picturesque plainspoken folk sympathetically, but there is no question from their dialect that they are farmers, a class apart from their educated employers. In one exchange between Lydia, the woman from 'the Provinces,' and her employer, Stephen, this becomes clear:

> 'A farm is the dearest place on earth.'
> 'Don't people have to work very hard, with very meagre returns?'
> 'Yes, but working hard makes them very strong, so they don't mind it, and one can be very happy on a farm without much money.'[66]

They are more than just an illiterate and isolated class, these folk -- they are also picturesque, with fanciful tales and colourful ways. The boatman in the novel tells

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master' by those who served him.

On the night that the old master died, Stephen Trancher had come into the kitchen and said to her, 'Father has gone, Maggie,' and all she could think of to say was, 'And you are the master now.' Ever since that night he had been the master to her." p.3.

[65]See, for example, GHM, *Broken Barrier*, pp.133-136.

[66]GHM, *Broken Barrier* , p.47.

stories of a recent freshet, when the water rose so high there were "folks sitting in boats while they was milking the cows."[67]

The whole district is picturesque. In *Broken Barrier* Mowat constantly heightens the contrast between city and country, concentrating on the advantages of the latter. While in the city, Stephen looks out the window, only to see that just "a small patch of sultry blue sky showed between the dingy buildings." Worse,

> the continuous noise from the street was getting on his nerves badly. The rasping cry of newsboys, the rumble of cars, and honking of horns. Worse still, the open windows gave off a continuous jumble of radio voices ... Trancher wondered how long he could stand it and sadly realized there was no escape.[68]

As soon as he arrives in the country, however, life is different. It is simply better. The sounds, instead of being intrusive and jarring, are welcome and soothing: "Stephen Trancher awoke the next morning to sounds new to him, the sweet, far distant tinkling of a cowbell, the crowing of a cock, the bleating of lambs. Through his open window the clear, fresh air purified by the early morning sunshine, seemed a life-giving thing."[69] The landscape in the country, too, is picturesque. There are repeated descriptions of the meadows, the old house, the forests and the river:

> [Stephen] found that the fog had changed to the faint, delicate haze of an Indian summer day, a haze through which the sun shone gently and the gorgeous colourings of the October woodlands were softened to

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[67]GHM, *Broken Barrier*, p.134.

[68]GHM, *Broken Barrier*, pp.104 and 106.

[69]GHM, *Broken Barrier*, p.155.

> opal tints. To his city-wearied eyes, they seemed as beautiful as the jewelled gates of heaven.[70]

There is even space in the story for Mowat to indulge in her trademark diatribes about the Loyalists. Stephen, returning from a trip devoted to antiquarian research, tells Lydia that he visited a church where George Washington had worshipped.

> "The old rebel!" Lydia said with considerable venom.... "If someone turned you out of your home," she said defiantly, "and let people insult you and rob you and sent you out of the country penniless, would you think he was very fine?" (pp.73-4).

Dumbfounded by this depth of feeling, Stephen must have felt even more surprised at Lydia's ensuing discourse on George III. "'He is the most misjudged monarch in all history,' Lydia said with conviction. 'Would you not think kindly of a king who gave you a farm?'" (p.74). The sufferings of the Loyalists, their pioneering experience, their elite background, the gala social life in Fredericton, and finally the defence of George III -- all were vintage Mowat, and all were (of course) very arbitrarily chosen from the many events and people of St. Andrews' past. As always, she took the particulars she wanted and romanticised them, using history to tell her story and her romantic sensibility to make it memorable.

Broken Barrier is a period piece, and no one reads it today, but in its time it was very influential and esteemed. The forward to the novel was written by no less a personage than D.L. MacLaren, the Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, who introduced readers to the Loyalists, in very Mowatian language. He, too, felt the

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[70]GHM, *Broken Barrier*, p.132. The dualistic theme of "this certainly was her country, so beautiful, so removed from the noise and heat of the city" (p.133) is repeated over and over again.

Loyalists "were the flower of the old Colonial life."[71] Over the years, many of Mowat's readers also wrote to express similar feelings. When *Diverting History* was first published in 1932 she received letters congratulating her for having accomplished "a great thing from St. Andrews in writing this book."[72] Reviewers were generally positive; one remarked, "It is the work of the clever author of The Diverting History of this Loyalist Town wherein she has carried forward the traditions of our Loyalist ancestors." This reviewer was also pleased that

> there is much that is new and that will add to the increasing knowledge of the Loyalists in the Maritimes. ... She described her book to us as designed to interest the tourists, who, as a rule, regard the picturesque first and through it are led to a more definite knowledge of the importance of Loyalist tradition.[73]

When the book was reprinted in 1951 Mowat received fan mail which made it quite clear that even in the mid-20th century some Canadians still took their Loyalist ancestry very seriously. As one Ontarian, a Hatfield, remarked:

> I did enjoy your 'Diverting History of a Loyalist Town.' It was entertaining and most instructive. In fact it stimulated me to decide that the proposed church windows in memory of our Hatfield ancestor, a Loyalist, must be put in at once and also suggested the thought that we might even make something of the day on which it will be dedicated. - a Loyalist tea, or garden party, or even a bit of drama depicting those times. We have a Hatfield who writes some drama. He may be able to produce something. ... You can see how much historical interest you have stirred up in me.[74]

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[71]D.L. MacLaren, Foreword to *Broken Barrier*.

[72]Thomas M. Marshall, Jr., to GHM, 16 November 1932, CCHS MC 92 MS 7/369.

[73]Margaret E. Lawrence, "As I Read It," newspaper review of *Diverting History*, Thursday, October 13, 1932, CCHS MC 92 MS 8/156.

[74]Leonard F. Hatfield [Church of England, Toronto] to GHM, Nov. 20, 1952, CCHS MC 92 MS 7/410.

Mowat's work may simply have reinforced attitudes which were already present in her readers or, in the case of "Cottage Craft," her customers, but she was also clearly feeding an incipient local antimodernism far beyond her immediate circle. This neo-Loyalism reinforced antimodern tendencies in two ways. First, it appealed to a past and a people who no longer existed. Second, it expressed a desire to return to a simpler and better time. It was also nationalistic, setting up a neat sense of dichotomy between "us" and those who were the "excited and victorious rabble."[75]

It should not be supposed that Mowat's books were all as successful. In the mid-1950s, when she sought to reissue *Funny Fables of Fundy*, she found that tastes had changed. When the book had been first published, she had received accolades from other poets, Charles G.D. Roberts and Bliss Carman, the latter at the peak of his popularity.[76] This time, however, she had much less success, even with some well-connected assistance. Katherine Garvin [Hale] wrote to Lorne Pierce on her behalf, asking for his help, albeit with a distinct undertone of scepticism:

> Therefore I turn to your well-known interest and sympathy in things genuinely Canadian in connection with the enclosed book of verses by the well-known Dr. Grace Helen Mowat, with her letter to me enclosing those of Charles G.D. Roberts and Bliss Carman.... I feel that you will be interested, as were these two poets, in the charming little verses, and while you may not wish to republish them perhaps you will give her a word of advice, and, if not too much trouble, have

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[75]GHM, *Diverting History*, p.17.

[76]Gerald Lynch, "Introduction," in *Bliss Carman: A Reappraisal*, (Ottawa: University of Ottawa, 1990), p.14.

> the book and the Roberts-Carman letters returned to her if you can see no prospect for the little work.[77]

Later, Senator Carine Wilson, who summered in St. Andrews, attempted to help Mowat find a publisher. She, too, was unable to do so. W.B. Herbert, the Director of the Canada Foundation, explained the problem to Wilson:

> The publishers all tell me the same things. There is no book-store, or library, demand for a book of poems of this type nowadays. Apparently, there are fashions in children's poetry and the trend (or maybe it is a cycle) is now far removed from the charm and goodness of Miss Mowat's lovely little volume.[78]

Mowat connected tourism to a romanticised, picturesque view of Loyalist history: that was her legacy to St. Andrews. It is intriguing that many other towns, as rich in actual Loyalist houses and personages, did not choose to become "Loyalist" in Mowat's precise Tory sense. It is also suggestive that, even given Mowat's ingenious and determined efforts, St. Andrews did not become Loyalist overnight. Only with a conjunction of a rich and powerful myth-symbol complex, such as Mowat had inherited and made visually compelling, and an overpowering economic need to activate a full-fledged program of Loyalization, did Mowat's fantasy become realized in all its splendour.

Mowat died on the 22nd of February, 1964, in her ninetieth year. Within fifteen years, the town would honour her memory and her view of its history in a way no one could have anticipated. History would become a focus of the town's very

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[77] Katherine Garvin [Hale] to Lorne Pierce, 2 December 1954. Queen's University Archives, Canadian Literature, A. Arch. 2001a, B023, F004.I30.

[78] W.B. Herbert, Director, The Canada Foundation, to Carine Wilson, July 28, 1958. CCHS MC 92 MS 7/459.

identity, and it was a kind of history that Mowat could have written herself. It is to this transformation that we now turn.

Chapter 5 - The Era of State Organization: The Mobilization of Places of Memory in St. Andrews

In the period since 1960 a new type of tourism has developed in St. Andrews, and the central feature of this new tourism is "history" -- a "history" which bears the direct impact of Mowat's ideas and values. A great change in emphasis brought Mowatian history to the centre of local tourism promotion.

1. The Gradual Redefinition of St. Andrews in the Age of "Heritage"

As late as the provincial government's 1941 *Historical Guide to New Brunswick* there were only two mentions of St. Andrews, and neither had much to do with its public history. One dealt with the railway, and just mentioned that one was begun on a road from St. Andrews to Quebec in 1851. The other reference was more detailed, but somewhat less accurate, on the subject of "Old Handicrafts."

> As late as the third quarter of the nineteenth century home industries were well-developed throughout the province among both the English and French inhabitants, but, gradually, since that period they have for the most part disappeared. However, fortunately, ancient handicrafts have been preserved in various quarters, and, recently, have shown indications of revival, due, mainly, to the awakening of interest on the part of visitors to the province during the holiday season. Thus, near St. Andrews, descendants of Scottish settlers have been making very serviceable homespuns, similar to the Harris tweeds of the West of Scotland.[1]

These were presumably the same non-existent "homesick Scottish settlers" who had

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[1] J. Clarence Webster, C.M.G., M.D., D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S.C., Member of Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, Vice-President of New Brunswick Museum, Honourary Curator of Fort Beausejour Museum, *Historical Guide to New Brunswick*, (New Brunswick Government Bureau of Information and Tourist Travel, 1941), p.87. The rather unromantic, factual approach to St. Andrews may well reflect Webster's own fact-focused approach to the past.

supposedly named the town after St. Andrews in Scotland.[2] The lack of historical importance, at least for tourism purposes, that the New Brunswick government placed on St. Andrews is also clearly seen when looking at such publications as the provincial tour map, which had a circulation of close to 125,000. It contained a "detailed list" of 41 historic sites in the province. The only one even near St. Andrews was the "St. Croix River, part of boundary between New Brunswick and Maine. An island in it, named by De Monts L'Isle Sainte Croix, now known as Dochet's Island, was seat of first attempted French settlement, 1604-5."[3] St. Andrews itself had, officially, no historic significance!

By the time of the Second World War, policy-makers, both as part of the Keynesian Revolution and more specifically in response to the vulnerability of the Canadian balance of payments, became convinced that Dominion tourism policy must be rethought. In 1945, a report written for the provincial government (suggestively titled *Capitalizing on our Tourist Resources*) explained both the importance of tourism to the province's economy and the importance of presenting history for tourists. In this report Harris Videto explained that tourism was particularly important because the benefits were spread over a wide area rather than being concentrated in a single plant.

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[2]The tour guide *This is New Brunswick*, published in 1951, explains the role of Scottish settlers, who were there before the Loyalists arrived. "No doubt it was these Scottish settlers who named it St. Andrews). Jessie I. Lawson and Jean MacCallum Sweet, *This is New Brunswick*, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1951), p.95. An intriguing alternate development for the town would have been to build on its name (and the quality of its golf course) to construct a Scottish identity in a St. Andrews twinned to its namesake in Scotland -- a development which would have been reminiscent of the Nova Scotian identity outlined by Ian McKay in his article "Tartanism Triumphant." But this road was never taken.

[3]R.A. Tweedie to D.D. Patterson [Provincial Secretary-treasurer], Nov 25, 1953. PANB RS 415 R1b1a - Advertising - General, 1952-1953.

He also pointed out the advantages of linking history and tourism:

> Many tourists are interested in historic or religious features and we should see that they are made aware of all local points of interest in this connection. ... The following places or areas have historic significance and could be made a leading attraction on many of the unit tourist drives ... [in] St. Andrews: Church, Fisheries Station, Gateway to Passamaquoddy.[4]

Still no Loyalists! Perhaps rather discouraged by so mundane a list of historical attractions, and content to leave the resort to the C.P.R., the government left the town alone. What need of elaborate historical re-invention if the old therapeutic model was still working?

If Mowatian history had made no obvious impact on the planners in Fredericton, elsewhere its influence was felt in the 1950s. In 1951, Jessie Lawson and Jean Sweet published *This is New Brunswick*, which included a few pages on "the famous summer resort St. Andrews-by-the-Sea, sometimes called 'The Newport of the North.'" The authors combine this standard treatment of the great resort and its picturesque environs with an examination of the "great historic interest" of the town. Echoes of the *Diverting History* ring through this text. Even in the 1950s, Lawson and Sweet found the Loyalist ideal shining through in daily life: "in the hearts of the inhabitants one still finds the love of British institutions ... which characterized those early settlers."[5] They also provide an interesting and original interpretation of the origin of the name Indian Point, explaining that it was "granted to the Indians by the

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[4]Harris E. Videto, *Capitalizing on our Tourist Resources -- New Brunswick*, (New Brunswick Resources Development Board, Fredericton, NB, Summer 1945), pp.22-23. PANB RS 415 R2a.

[5]Lawson and Sweet, *This is New Brunswick*, pp.94-96.

King" (and was not, as one might have supposed; the property of the Indians to begin with). [6]

Will R. Bird's *These are the Maritimes* (1959, 1969) also makes a visit to St. Andrews, "a little town where hurry is forgotten,"[7] but by this point no longer -- sadly -- the 'Newport of the North.' Bird's concentrates instead on visits to Cottage Craft, a history lesson about the Loyalists from locals named "Checked Shirt" and "Brown Shirt," a look at some historic sites, and an introduction to "Miss Mowatt, [sic]" who has become a tourist attraction in her own right. *These are the Maritimes* is structured so that Bird, pretending to be a tourist, leisurely explored the Maritimes, conversing with dialect-speaking locals and the "inevitable oldtimer" to learn about the places in the book: the only major source for his discussion of this town, however, is obviously Mowat's books. Parts of *A Story of Cottage Craft* are reprinted almost verbatim, the potted history centres on the Loyalists, and "Brown Shirt" directs him to do something which he had already done: "You buy a book on the town, Miss Mowatt's story of St. Andrews, and you'll find we've been giving you the truth. She's the smartest woman in seven counties and you ought to meet her. Maybe you will -- head on. If you see a car coming in the middle of the road, pull for the ditch. She's reckless:"[8]

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[6]Most interpretations gave in that name either because it had been the site of their settlement before the Loyalists arrived there in the "wilderness," or because it was where a couple of families continued to live after the majority of the Passamaquoddy had been removed elsewhere. Ganong took the latter point of view in *Historic Sites*, p.11.

[7]Will R. Bird, *These are the Maritimes*, (1959; Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1969), p.5.

[8]Bird, *These are the Maritimes*, p.10.

A new truth about St. Andrews was gradually being disseminated, but it would take a major crisis of the older therapeutic model to compel a wholesale process of Loyalization. Such a crisis came in the 1950s and 1960s. To a modern, postwar sensibility, St. Andrews faced an insurmountable problem as any kind of resort: its beaches were inadequate. Except for the artificial lagoon at Katy's Cove, places to swim were generally rocky. At low tide those with nautical intentions had to walk hundreds of metres to water renowned for its frigidity. In the 1950s, with mass mobility, new parks, and more vacation time, people were able to reach places like Cavendish, PEI or Shediac, NB, which offered sandy beaches and warmer water. Moreover, the number of plutocrats who could stay at the Algonquin for the entire summer also declined, and though, as Walker documents in *No Hay Fever and A Railway*, there was still an Montreal-St. Andrews connection, it was much reduced.[9] The days of grand resorts were numbered throughout much of the world, and a grand resort with no clear natural attractions was obviously vulnerable.

The end of the C.P.R.'s involvement in tourism in St. Andrews came with the cutting of passenger rail service to that community around 1960, the continued decline of the Algonquin Hotel, and the sale of that venerable institution in the late 1960s. People involved in government began to be concerned about tourism in St. Andrews, and by the time the provincial government itself bought the Algonquin Hotel in 1973, they were coming to see "history" as the town's only salvation. The deputy minister of finance caught this mood when he suggested to Premier Hatfield that the province

[9]See the third part of Walker, *No Hay Fever and A Railway*, where she discusses the family history of the "summer visitors."

could use an old building for the town's new liquor store.

> The province is investing a significant amount of money in the purchase and renovation of the Algonquin Hotel whose success depends on St. Andrews as an attractive tourist destination area. The establishment of an architectural conservation area in St. Andrews would be a tremendous asset to the tourist industry and could only have a positive effect on the hotel's operations and the general economy of the area. It could also result in a very favourable image for the Province of New Brunswick for its concern with historic preservation.[10]

The writer of this letter, J.L. Williamson had been concerned with the use of historic sites as tourist attractions for some time. After the local Blockhouse had been restored and opened, his complaints had spurred the management of the site to improve it. His comments had been motivated by his knowledge that

> ... the travelling public is becoming increasingly interested in historical sites and their interpretation. With this development tourists have also become more discerning, and their approach to historical sites more sophisticated. ... Surely, if a site is worth designating, it is worth designating well.[11]

Indeed, as the travelling public did become more interested in historic sites, the provincial government created the aptly named Historical Resources Administration. In its statement of intent, included in the budget speech of March 1967, the government explained that "the Province's history and related institutions are an important provincial resource which requires development in order to serve the educational, cultural and tourist needs of the Province."[12] As part of the new body's

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[10]J.L. Williamson to Hon. R.B. Hatfield [premier], June 7, 1974, PANB RS 310 B3/11.

[11]John L. Williamson [Deputy Minister of Finance] to Dr. George MacBeath, Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, c/o Provincial Archives, PANB 310 F2 2

[12]Historical Resources Administration of New Brunswick, 1st Annual Report, 1969, PANB RS 831a 1968.

creation, a systematic inventory of "historical resources" was undertaken. The Blockhouse at St. Andrews, and a local museum, were duly highlighted.[13]

Local historical organizations also became aware of the potential benefits to the tourist trade implied by their actions. The St. Andrews Civic Trust, a voluntary, "non-profit organization dedicated to the preservation of the town's historic fabric,"[14] founded by a group of both local and summer residents in 1973, was one such organization. Its objectives were:

> To encourage high quality in architecture and planning.
> To preserve buildings of distinction and historic interest, by acquisition if necessary.
> To eliminate and prevent ugliness, whether from bad design or neglect.
> To stimulate interest in the good appearance of the town and surroundings.
> To inspire a general sense of civic pride.[15]

The new Trust, which was first the creation and then the ally of the Chamber of Commerce, and always heavily dominated by an alliance of small business owners and summer residents, made a significant difference in mobilizing local support for "heritage." The Trust was involved in a number of preservation and awareness projects. They included the purchase of buildings for restoration and sale, both on their own or with the aid of Heritage Canada, lobbying to make the downtown core look more historical by hiding power wires, cleaning the gravestones in the early

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[13]George MacBeath to H.B. Hachey [Mayor of St. Andrews], July 28, 1967, PANB RS 310 B3/17.

[14]St. Andrews Civic Trust, *A Guide to Historic St. Andrews*, (St. Andrews: St. Andrews Civic Trust, 1992).

[15]St. Andrews Civic Trust, *Our Heritage: No Time to Lose*, (St. Andrews: St. Andrews Civic Trust, n.d. [c.1974-77]).

cemeteries, restoring the courthouse, fighting successfully for provincial heritage-enabling legislation, fighting unsuccessfully for a local heritage protection law in St. Andrews, raising awareness of heritage preservation issues, and marking some of the 'historic' buildings in St. Andrews with plaques.[16] The creators of the Trust were an educated, exclusively white, and generally prosperous group of women and men; they were also seized with a very Mowatian sense of themselves as a cultural vanguard, "saving" the town from the forces of untrammelled capitalist development.[17] As they explained,

> Why do we need a St. Andrews Civic Trust?
> Our forefathers have left us with a Town which is rich in history, fortunate in its situation, with a wealth of interesting old buildings. The federal government survey of St. Andrews 1971 showed that of 550 buildings more than 250 are 100 years of age or older. It is fair to say that no other town in Canada has such a heritage of old buildings which are lived in....
> There is a need for an independent organization in St. Andrews to enlist the support of individuals and groups in the preservation of this Heritage. Changes take place so rapidly in today's world that towns like St. Andrews can lose their most precious assets almost overnight unless they are protected by interested and well-informed citizens.[18]

Believing that the longtime residents of St. Andrews were not aware "of changes that

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[16]Interview with "Edward," July 1994, and "A Summary of the History of St. Andrews Civic Trust," (unpublished notes, June 1, 1987), SACT files.

[17]It is a familiar irony that the family money of many of the founding members of the Civic Trust had come from involvement in that same sort of development. For example, the list of founding members includes a granddaughter of Sir Thomas Shaugnessy, and a daughter-in-law of Arthur Meighen.

[18]St. Andrews Chamber of Commerce Inc., *Town News*, May 30, 1973. Files of the St. Andrews Civic Trust. The claim about the buildings is, of course, questionable. Many other towns in the Maritimes, like Lunenburg, NS, could make similar claims, as could the cities of Halifax or Quebec.

were taking place here or elsewhere,"[19] the members of the Trust were intent on awakening them to the dangers of modernity and the blessings of "heritage."

The Trust was part of the "heritage movement" of the 1960s. As Canadians celebrated the 1967 Centennial, their awareness of their history was greatly intensified. As a result of increased state involvement, the local push for 'preservation', and the resulting intense commercial promotion, what might have been simply an idiosyncratic and fleeting interpretation by Mowat -- which really was at least in part simply a Tory fantasy -- instead became an omnipresent, "official" version of the town's history. The people involved approached history in a very specific way -- they were often looking to save "the memory of better, premodern times" rather than "commemorate specific events." As a result, old houses could be candidates for restoration without any specific historical significance, as the "middle-class preservationists struggled to preserve the gracious homes and happy memories of domestic life therein."[20] One might say that, whereas Ganong's intensely factual, progressive and presentist sensibility had little to offer them, Mowat's works could not have been more perfectly adapted to their requirements.

Shortly after the Trust was founded, heritage activists at the first regional meeting of Heritage Canada learned that

> ... surveys show that people travel for two leading purposes: (1) to visit friends and relatives (2) to visit historic areas and heritage properties. [Mr. Phillips, Executive Director of Heritage Canada] said we must be

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[19]Interview with "Edward," July 1994.

[20]Ian McKay, "History and the Tourist Gaze: The Politics of Commemoration in Nova scotia, 1935-1964," pp.112-113.

> much more aware of the economic value to the whole community of the old buildings our areas possess. ... As things stand now, 'tourism is leaving the job to private citizens to attract the traveller. Heritage conservation is the real base of the tourist industry.'[21]

Bringing this information back with them to St. Andrews, they set out to create a Conservation Area in the town. Although they were defeated because of the vagaries of local politics, they agitated strongly for it, convinced it would prove a boost to the local economy, using such arguments as these:

> You will be interested to learn that the two CBC National TV programs on Conservation which featured St. Andrews (September 1976 and June 1977) have had a direct effect on the number of tourists who have come to this historic old town this summer. The Chamber of Commerce Tourist Bureau reports that a great number of Canadians have come here as a result of seeing one or both of these programs. As one of the 'converted' you are aware that conservation is a great boost to tourism but it is nice to see the proof and indicates the potential for this town's economy when we become a Conservation Area or Historic District.[22]

Allan G. Magee, a President of the SACT, also sold its walking tour maps as beneficial to the tourist trade, since they "help to prolong a visitor's stay in St. Andrews."[23] In the new strategies of tourism, history had clearly replaced hayfever as a focus of attention.

2. The Local Face of the New History: the Marking of Significance

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[21]St. Andrews Civic Trust "Tidings", [newsletter], September 1973, Files of the St. Andrews Civic Trust. It is strange that the enjoyment of nature leading to park visits, or the "search for the sun" that sent Canadians south do not qualify.

[22]Allan G. Magee, President, St. Andrews Civic Trust to C.G. Gallagher, Minister in Charge, Historical Resources Administration, August 29, 1977. PANB RS 310 B3/10.

[23]A. Magee to Town Councillors and Chamber of Commerce Directors, April 26, 1978. Files of the St. Andrews Civic Trust.

Since the 1960s and as part of this great movement of heritage development and tourism promotion, all of the "historic" places in St. Andrews (at least as measured on a Mowatian scale of significance) have been marked. There are forty-three plaques from the St. Andrews Civic Trust, affixed to the "historic" buildings. There are three plaques from the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, only one of which was set in place before 1960. There are two plaques from Heritage Canada (on buildings also marked by the Civic Trust), one plaque from the Anglican Church, one plaque from the C.P.R., and one plaque from the New Brunswick Centennial Committee. These places, because of their marking, have thus achieved an official "historic" stature -- a stature which makes them much more significant. The buildings, instead of being merely buildings, are now officially designated as those pertaining to the historic record of the community (see Table 4, which lists all the plaques in the community, and Appendix 1, which has the text of all the plaques).

The local politics of commemoration are often difficult, and this community was no exception. Why was this project undertaken by the Trust? Although there is no record in their minutes, the person responsible for the research for the plaques explains that it was imply done to "get some plaques up for the tourists."[24] (See Figure 6). In her view, the plaques were erected simply because tourists liked to walk around the town looking at the older houses, and also to coincide with the first publication of the Civic Trust's walking guide to St. Andrews.

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[24]Interview with "Sophia," July 1994.

Table 4 -- All local plaques marking historic sites by subject, (n=49)

Category	#	%
White male	25	51
Loyalist	15	31
The State	10	20
Military	8	16
Church	8	16
Resort	5	10

As some plaques contain references to more than one category, the total adds up to more than 100%.

Table 5 -- St. Andrews Civic Trust plaques marking historic sites by subject, (n=43)

Category	#	%
White male	23	53
Loyalist	13	30
The State	8	19
Military	7	16
Church	6	14
Resort	3	7

As some plaques contain references to more than one category, the total adds up to more than 100%.

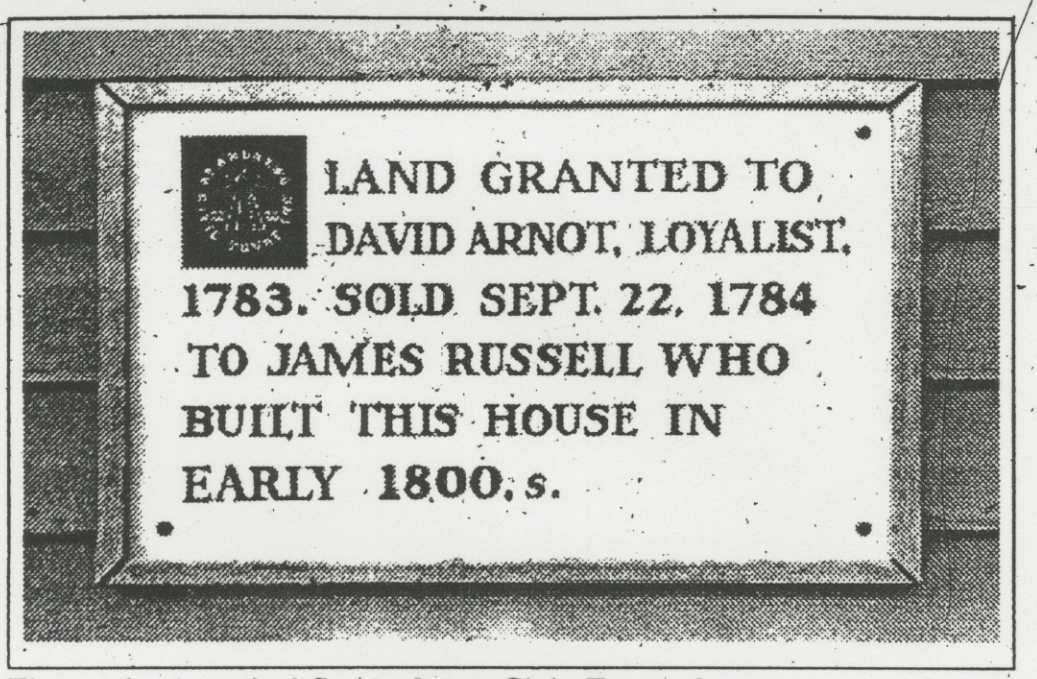

Figure 6 - A typical St. Andrews Civic Trust plaque marking an 'historic' house. (author's photograph)

What, exactly, do the plaques say? Of the forty-three civic trust plaques (see Table 5), 53% mention a white male, who, in most cases, did nothing of great historical significance except be a Loyalist (the exceptions are such important white personages as Samuel Tilley, "Father of Confederation and Lieutenant Governor" and "Lord Shaugnessey, President of the C.P.R."). Almost one-third (30%) mention the Loyalists, one-fifth imply the power of the state (customs and schools), one sixth the military of the War of 1812, and only *seven* percent mention the status of the town as a summer resort (notwithstanding the centrality of tourism since the 1880s). The only surprise is the relatively subdued enthusiasm for Loyalists; otherwise, the figures are what would be expected in utopia as imagined by a Mowatian -- no women, no blacks, no natives, but, instead, omnipresent reminders of the authority of the state, the military, and Loyalist white men.

Interestingly enough, the Civic Trust representative had set out to commemorate three things: the early days of shipping when St. Andrews was a thriving port, the War of 1812, and "what made St. Andrews a tourist town -- the C.P.R. -- they brought the track into St. Andrews and all their people who came faithfully.[25] How, then, had she been diverted? First, it should be remembered that she was only responsible for thirty-one plaques, and the others were added later by the Trust (on the condition house owners agreed to pay for them). Second, there were the petty local politics which inevitably create problems in an endeavour like this in a small town. For example, one of the houses belonged to a woman named

[25]Interview with "Sophia," July 1994.

Frances Wren, who was related to the researcher and who wanted her name on the plaque. The researcher always asked people if they could find anything out first.

> When Frances Wren was doing hers [10 Queen St.], her sister was married to my brother and her brother's wife lives with me, well I wasn't getting into any trouble with Frances. She wanted the Wren name on it, see, I didn't put the names of present people if there was any way in the world I could get out of it ... it was her house and she wanted to put her name on it ... as hard as she tried she never could find out the date that house was built ... She just took the earliest Wren she could find -- he was a harbourmaster here -- and put that on.[26]

Third, the information was filtered through the Trust before it was placed on the plaques. Much of it went into files, some of which have since disappeared and hence only some of the old houses got plaques. At least some of the plaques were written by Willa Walker (author of the coffee-table book *No Hay Fever and a Railway*). Fourth, and most crucially, there is the lingering influence of Mowat's work. Many of these people knew her (the project was begun ten years after her death) and almost all would have read at least *The Diverting History of a Loyalist Town*, which shaped their understanding of the town's "real" past.

Other Civic Trust activities included the publication of a number of books, the cleaning and restoration of a number of the town's early cemeteries, the purchase and rehabilitation of buildings with the aid of Heritage Canada, and an attempt to get a local preservation bylaw passed. The books are interesting, partly because they clearly tell a history, and partly because it is exactly the sort of history a true Mowatian would expect and applaud. They include *St. Andrews Heritage Handbook:*

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[26]Interview with "Sophia," July 1994.

and a reprint -- at long last -- of Grace Helen Mowat's *Funny Fables of Fundy*. The content of these works clearly shows Mowat's continuing legacy. The first is an excellent guide to local architecture and renovation techniques thought to be suitable for the area and the period of various local houses. It also includes some local history, conveyed in the inimitable tone of Mowat:

> The ferment to the South, the American Revolution, created new challenges and opportunities for our forefathers. In October, 1783, a group of United Empire Loyalists arrived to settle in what was to be called St. Andrews. Having willingly deserted their often rich and cultured life styles of New York and Massachusetts they returned once again with conviction to the brutal pioneering of their fathers. They were determined to remain loyal to British values and its monarchical and parliamentary traditions and so had settled in what is now Castine, Maine.[27]

These are Mowat's Loyalists, settling her St. Andrews. *Funny Fables of Fundy* obviously perpetuates Mowat's ideals in a more direct, commercial manner. Fifty years after the book was first published, it was still available for sale at stores like Cottage Craft.

The plaques placed by the SACT, by connecting old buildings with certain events and people, create a very specific history. History provides people with a sense of how their world became what it is. At the same time, it is often a window into the past, and to a time when things were simpler and, in some nebulous way, more 'right' than they are in the present. In addition, interpretation of the past presents it as "almost entirely severed from the present, sealed in a kind of protective

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[27]St. Andrews Civic Trust, *St. Andrews Heritage Handbook: A Homeowner's Guide to Exterior Renovation and Maintenance of Local Buildings*, (St. Andrews, n.d., [c.1978]).

wrapping, either of forgetfulness or artificial distance. [It is] ... a present that seems to float in time -- unencumbered, unconstrained and uninstructed by any active sense of how it came to be."[28] This ideal past, separate and distant from the present, which is often seen entropically, is how history is presented in St. Andrews, and this is how Grace Helen Mowat would have wanted it. This vacuum-sealed, artificial past, totally removed from the present, is very appealing to a twentieth-century North American audience in quest of recreation, reassurance and "roots." As was the case in the St. Andrews of 1900, but working with different methods and metaphors, tourism provides a therapeutic experience by creating islands of calm in the late twentieth-century sea of neurasthenia.

As Michael Wallace has suggested, this "sealing" of the past has political implications: "The disconnection of past from present and the separation of culture from politics was itself a political act. History was to be confined to providing entertainment, nostalgia or interesting insights into vanished ways of life."[29] Indeed, the history visible in these plaques is frozen far in the past. Looking at plaques reinforces the idea of history as "the story of large events, old buildings and important white personages."[30] The work that went into creating such sites of history is significant in that it elevates certain people, and hence certain cultural

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[28]Michael A. Frisch, "The Memory of History," in *Presenting the Past: Essays on History and the Public*, eds. Susan Porter Benson, Stephen Brier and Roy Rosenzweig, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), p.7.

[29]Michael Wallace, "Visiting the Past: History Museums in the United States," in *Presenting the Past*, p.157.

[30]Gertrude Fraser and Reginald Butler, "Anatomy of a Disinternment: The Unmaking of Afro-American History," in *Presenting the Past*, p.127.

assumptions which underlay historical consciousness, to an obvious, commonsense position of significance. St. Andrews' plaques demonstrate "the centrality of power in determining which facets of the past are remembered and celebrated."[31] No blacks, Natives, Irish, women or workers need apply for "significance" in St. Andrews.

3. Sites of History

Besides the plaques, there are a number of "historic sites" in St. Andrews which contribute to the Mowatian metanarrative. These include the St. Andrews Blockhouse National Historic Site,[32] the Ross Memorial Museum, the Sheriff Andrews House and Garden, the Loyalist Burying-Ground and, just off the coast, Minister's Island[33] (see Figure 7).

The St. Andrews Blockhouse was built in 1813 to defend the town from the possible depredations of American privateers during the War of 1812. It was a temporary structure, but survived as a fort and a residence until the mid-1960s, when it became an "historic site"[34] (see Figures 8 and 9). How did a temporary

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[31]Fraser and Butler, p.121.

[32]The pamphlet at given out at that site suggests that, to make the most of your visit, you "relive the site's historic importance in conversation with the interpreters and by viewing the informative interpretive signs."

[33]There are also numerous other sites which work to reinforce Mowatian history: Centennial Park, the Charlotte County Courthouse, the "Old Gaol," and the "Auld Kirk" are good examples.

[34]Richard J. Young, *Blockhouses in Canada, 1749-1841: A Comparative Report and Catalogue.* (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1980), p.27, and Parks Canada, *St. Andrews Blockhouse National Historic Site*, (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1986).

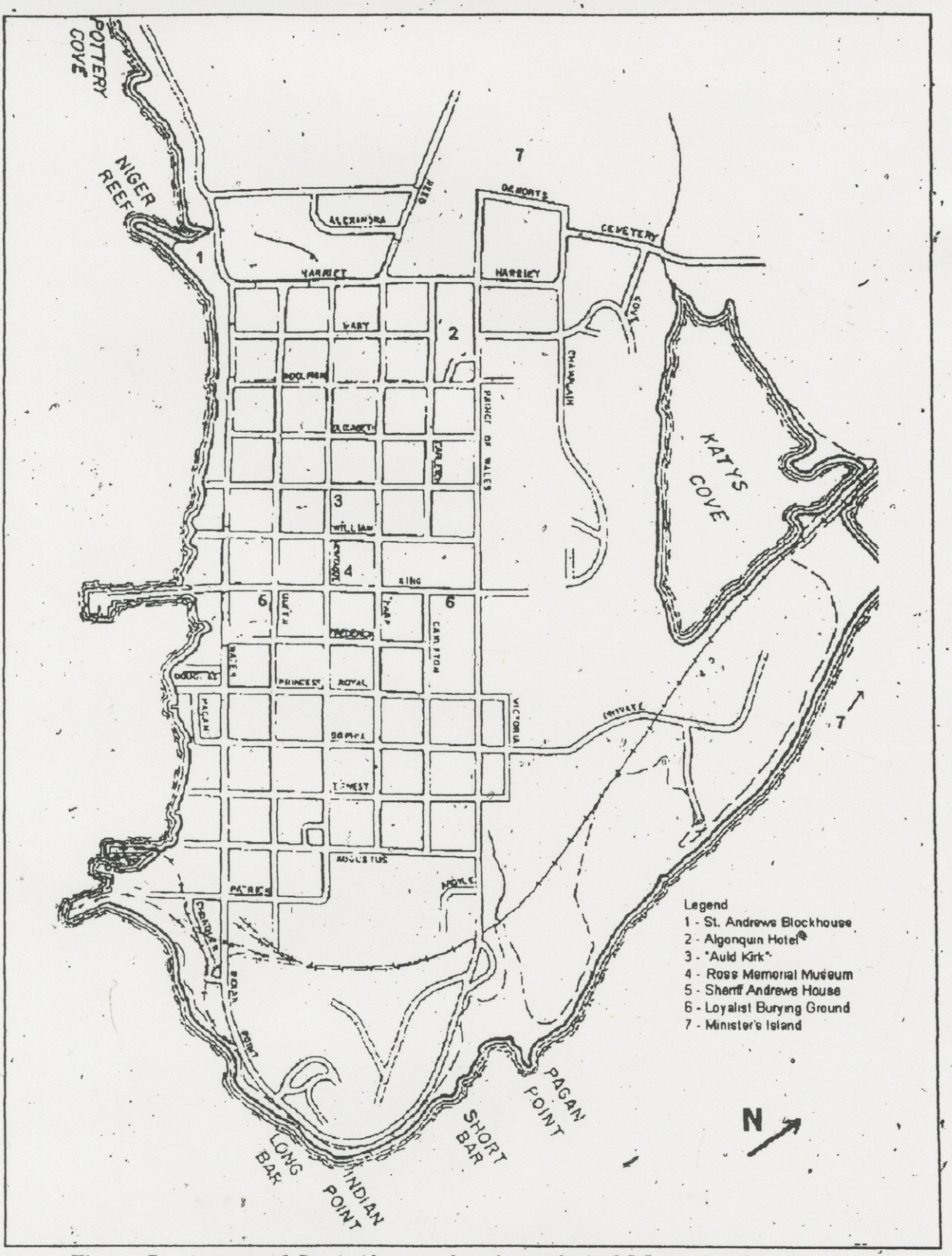

Figure 7 - A map of St. Andrews, showing selected Mowatian historic sites
Source: St. Andrews Chamber of Commerce (not drawn to scale)

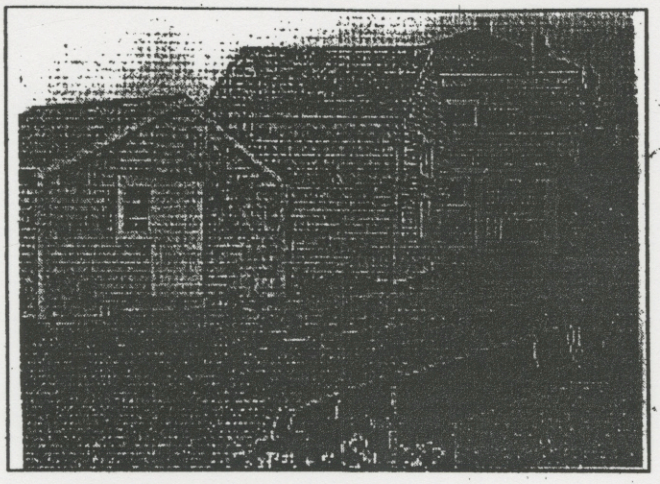

Figure 8 - The St. Andrews Blockhouse before restoration
(source: Parks Canada)

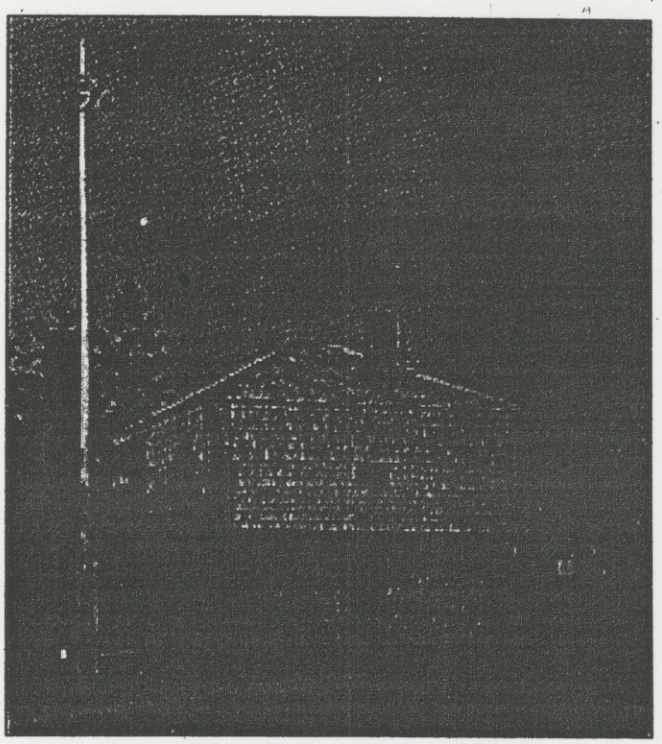

Figure 9 - The St. Andrews Blockhouse
as a National Historic Site.
(source: Parks Canada)

fortification become a site of national historical significance? The historical record of the Historical Sites and Monuments Board (HSMBC) decision-making process is sketchy, at best. In the minutes from their meeting in May 1962, we merely find that "it was resolved 'that the 1812 Blockhouse at St. Andrews, N.B. is considered to be of national historic importance.'"[35] Before taking any more action, the Board decided to make sure the structure was in good condition. Six months later, after hearing that it was, the Board decided to recommend it to the Minister for restoration and maintenance as a historic site.[36] Some of the subsequent problems (outlined below) in the physical reconstruction of the blockhouse as an "historic site" can probably be attributed to the small size of the undertaking -- as C.J. Taylor explains, the 1960s was the era of the "big project," and, in the Maritimes, sites like Louisbourg and the Halifax Citadel took much of the department's resources. As a result, smaller sites "tended to be forgotten."[37]

The ironies often involved in the selection of a "history" to be presented to the public are peculiarly poignant when looking at the Blockhouse. Parks Canada entirely omitted the Native people who had both a burial ground and a midden on the site, although the federal body had at least some awareness of its significance. When a dedicated amateur historian from the New Brunswick Department of Finance wrote them, pointing out a number of problems relating to the operation and interpretation

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[35]National Archives of Canada, RG 84, Minutes, HSMBC, May 1962, p.9.

[36]National Archives of Canada, RG 84, Minutes, HSMBC, November 1962, p.7.

[37]See Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*, pp.170 and 187.

of the Blockhouse, their reply indicated they were aware of part of the site's Native significance.

> At the time our Regional officers visited the site, the circular opening in the top of the seawall was clear of the rubbish to which you referred, however, the town will be keeping a close eye on this too. In actual fact, this is an Indian midden [a refuse heap or mound marking the site of a human habitation] and plans are under way to have an interpretive sign installed there prior to the 1969 visitor season.[38]

Regardless of whether or not that sign was ever posted, the seawall was eventually built over the midden and any traces of pre-Loyalist occupation were comfortably erased from the scene. As is so often the case, historical "reconstruction" entailed the historical "obliteration" of the record of those who lacked a local historical society or Chamber of Commerce to plead their case.

The practical significance of the Blockhouse to local history is severely limited -- the War of 1812 was generally inconsequential in New Brunswick. As an historic site, however, within tourism and within the Mowatian narrative, it would appeal to English Montrealers, and, placed within an inappropriate but popular narrative of Canadian nation-building, it thus *becomes* a significant place. It is, like many historical sites, a neatly packaged piece of "history" as entertainment -- telling a story, encapsulated in a building, circled by three cannons -- and completely removed from the present.[39]

Looking at another letter from the same man who complained about the

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[38]Peter H. Bennett, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, to John. L. Williamson, Deputy Minister of Finance, Province of New Brunswick, November 26, 1968. PANB RS 310 B3/17.

[39]C.J. Taylor, in his *Negotiating the Past*, demonstrates how the historic sites division in this period viewed "architectural heritage from a single national perspective." See pp.158-160.

rubbish at the Blockhouse site helps to understand why the "history" at historic sites is so firmly separated from their present existence. His complaints, when examined closely, reveal the paradox of a historic site. One problem: "The carriages, platforms and guns have sustained a severe amount of weathering over the past year." At the same time, there was a problem with the light inside:

> Could you not arrange for an electric light source using one of those bulbs which simulates a flickering candle flame? It should emanate from a period lamp of a suitable military or local pattern. ... The existing lamp, which looks as though it came from the local furniture store, makes a mockery of any claim the Blockhouse has to being a period restoration.[40]

There are problems when an old object at the site looks old, and when a new object at the site looks new. Ideally, it seems, the artifacts should be reproductions, so that the site looks as if it were truly back in 1812 again.

At the Blockhouse, we sense that the very nature of a "historic site" is artificial and removed from the world. It separates the past from the present finally and absolutely. If the past is separated from the present there is no sense of change and development over time.[41] If there is no sense of change and development over time, then there is no possibility, for the viewer, of alternative societies to the one in which she or he exists

In Mowatian terms, the blockhouse signified Loyalist origins. In an earlier

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[40]John L. Williamson to Peter H. Bennett, September and December 1968. PANB RS 310 F2 2 and RS 310 B3/17.

[41]See Patrick Wright, *On Living in an Old Country*, p.78, and Michael Boudreau, "A 'Rare and Unusual Treat of Historical Significance': The 1923 Hector Celebration and the Political Economy of the Past," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, (Vol.28, No.4, Winter 1993-94), p.30.

version of the *Diverting History*, she leant credence to a myth about it, explaining that after her "courageous people transformed the wilderness into a flourishing little town ... [a] block house was built, in case of trouble with the Indians."[42] In tourist terms, the blockhouse has echoes of the frontier, as a place where whites concealed themselves from the Natives. This more picturesque story, stressing the classic pioneer experience, calls it the "OLD BLOCK HOUSE -- A reminder of Indian warfare days" or explains that the "Blockhouse was built in 1812 as a refuge from Indians."[43] Wholly inaccurate, this interpretation was repeated over and over again in various publications on the town, even complete with a gripping narrative. One pamphlet explains that "the road passes the old block-house of Indian warfare, suggestive still, standing in a delightful little bay of its own, and with its curiously-built projecting second story, the loop-holes in which the besieging savages who attempted to batter down the door were themselves knocked down by bullets from the rifles of the settlers within."[44] Another is equally blunt, if less poetic, explaining "[t]he old Block House, built by the Loyalists still stands as a monument to their fidelity. Where the floor of the second storey projects beyond the walls of the first the visitor may still observe the loop holes by which the defenders were enabled to

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[42]GHM, "St. Andrews in the Early Days," p.2.

[43]*Salt Sea Breezes at St. Andrews By-the-Sea*, Compliments of Tourist Association of St. Andrews by-the-Sea, (St. Andrews, n.d. [c.1904-1914]), CCHS MC 19, and "What to Do and What to See in St. Andrews, N.B., poster, author's collection.

[44]*St. Andrews New Brunswick*, brochure, no author or organization, University of New Brunswick Library, Special Collections, FC 2499.S25 S37, p.14.

shoot directly down on the heads of Indian raiding parties."[45] However picturesque the site may be, there is no connection between the Blockhouse and the Native people who lived in the area. In fact, rather than a site that should call to mind whites' cowering before Natives, the Blockhouse actually endangers, as Ganong documented, a native burial site, "which has been used by the Indians within the memory of men now living."[46]

The second major historical resource identified by the Province in the 1960s was the Ross Memorial Museum. It is a house museum, bequeathed to the town of St. Andrews in 1945 by the Rosses, who were wealthy summer residents. Museum staff speculate that the impetus for the museum came from their "other life" in the United States:

> Henry Phipps Ross was a Episcopalian minister and he had a number of parishes throughout the states. And one of those parishes was in Providence, Rhode Island. I believe he was there between 1905 and 1907, and at that time there was a movement that originated in Providence, Rhode Island, a movement to celebrate American-made crafts, American-made art and American-made furniture, and that resulted in the opening of Pendleton House, one of the first house museums in the States, and we speculate that he was very influenced by that, and when he started to collect actively here in this area he had that in mind.[47]

Although the collection of the Ross Museum may be unique, the idea of commemorating American heritage in a Canadian setting certainly was not. As

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[45]St. Andrews Tourist Bureau, *St. Andrews by the Sea*, c.1950, CCHS J.C. Medcof collection, uncatalogued as of 08/01/94.

[46]Ganong, *Historic Sites*, p.11.

[47]Interview with "William," Ross Memorial Museum, July 27, 1994.

McKay documents in his article "The Tourist Gaze," Nova Scotia had places like Ross-Thomson house. Keeping a house like the Ross Museum fully furnished forever was a way of rejecting a modernity that threatened to destroy "the very memory of Golden Age elegance and refinement."[48]

Visitors to the Ross Museum see an historic house, filled with antique furniture. It gives the impression that the only lifestyle of the past worth remembering is that of the wealthy. (A visitor does not tour the servants' quarters). The bequest included the building, the collection, and a trust fund to maintain the museum "in perpetuity." (In other words, one might bluntly say, the Rosses bought a building, and left money so that people could come and see their furniture forever). One might call the bequest an act of monumental egoism, especially since most of the furniture comes from the United States (the *most* local items come from Saint John). This house, then, represents the Rosses' opportunity to ensure that their reality lives on, "in perpetuity," while the stories and lives of ordinary people are forgotten. And, to make this even more curious, it is not even their reality that remains; it is their conception of reality and of themselves that remains. So we see the Rosses as kindly, benevolent people, leaving enough money for a library (obviously a much-needed institution) and for a museum filled with evidence of their good taste. Yet, this was not even where they ever actually lived, even though the furniture has been carefully placed to approximate a domestic setting, divided into dining room, parlour, sitting rooms, and bedrooms. This "experience" of the past is a completely

[48]McKay, "History and the Tourist Gaze: ," pp.112-113.

constructed image of an idealised domestic life, enjoying a curious status as an official establishment.

As Michael Wallace argues in "Visiting the Past," history museums like the Ross Memorial Museum are ones in which the dominant classes, whether or not they consciously mean to, appropriate the past.

> They did so, first, by presenting particular interpretations. Of course the museums cannot be faulted for having read the past selectively. There is, after all, no such thing as "the past." All history is a production--a deliberate selection, ordering, and evaluation of past events, experiences and processes.... By eradicating exploitation, racism, sexism, and class struggle from the historical record, by covering up the existence of broad-based oppositional traditions and popular cultures, and by rendering the majority of the population invisible as shapers of history, the museums inhibited the capacity of visitors to imagine alternative social orders -- past or future.[49]

Places like the Ross Museum point to elites as the only significant "makers of history" and as the only people worth commemorating. They also make history static and unchanging, rather than being an ongoing process, a process in which ordinary people can and do participate:

> Quite apart from any particular message a museum suggested, its very structure promulgated a deeper one: history was irrelevant to present-day concerns. ... The museums became preserves where the past, an endangered species, might be kept alive for visitors to see. The museums and other "genuine historical places" thus conveyed, by their very form, the idea that the past was something sharply separated from the present. History became antiquarianism -- pleasant but irrelevant to present concerns.[50]

In the museums of St. Andrews, just like the historic sites, history has become

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[49]Michael Wallace, "Visiting the Past," p.158.

[50]Michael Wallace, "Visiting the Past," p.158.

escapist entertainment: a new therapy, for the beleaguered citizens of modernity. It becomes, in fact, an experience very much like a Mowat novel.

The other major local museum is also a house museum, but it is superficially different. The Sheriff Andrews House, purchased for the province by wealthy benefactors, has been restored to approximate St. Andrews life in 1820 (see Figures 10 and 11). What, then, is historical about this "presentation of the past"? When asked about the museum's purpose, and its role in the community, an informed source explains that "it shows the visitors what the Sheriff would have had then, and going back to that 1820 time, and that's what we're portraying."[51] Once again, "history" has been frozen in time, and the history which has been frozen is that of an elite family. One might readily concede that this museum is more illuminating than the Ross, for at least it attempts to be educational. At the same time, the history it shows is completely static, eliminating the possibility of change. Even the furniture does not move from year to year: since the museum has opened, "nothing has been changed. As far as the placement of the articles we place it [sic] the same year after year."[52] The house itself makes a particularly good museum because "it has survived with very few alterations from its construction in 1820."[53] Like historic sites, the changes required to make the old house into a museum are just ignored in a sort of "willing suspension of disbelief," the same way a person watching a play is expected

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[51]Interview with "Frederick," Sheriff Andrews House, July 1994.

[52]Interview with "Frederick," Sheriff Andrews House, July 1994.

[53]*Sheriff Andrews House*, brochure, (New Brunswick, Municipalities, Culture and Housing, 1994).

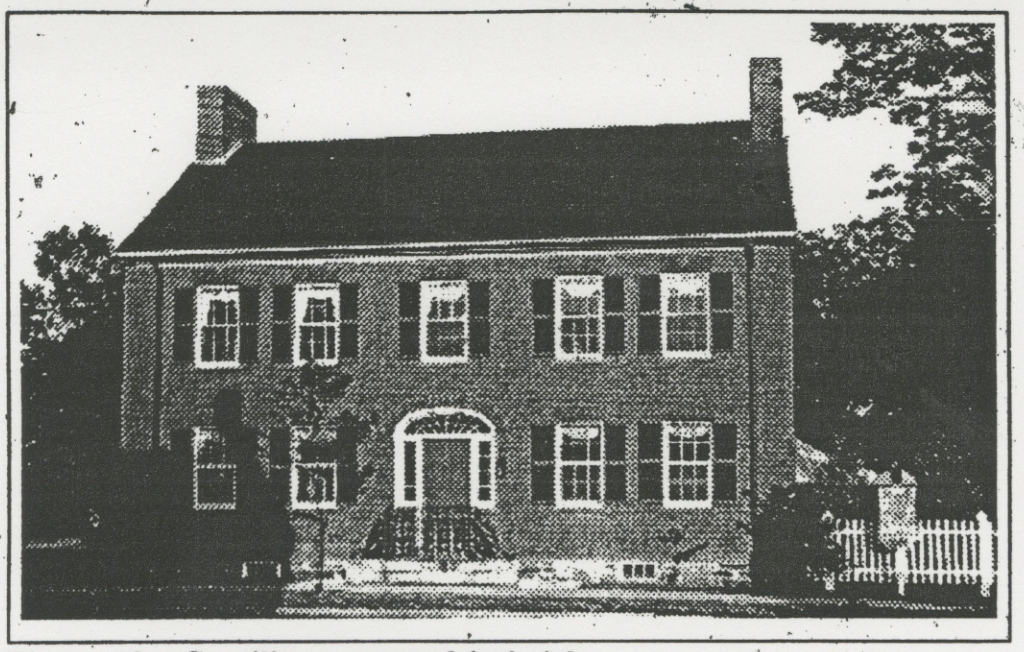

Figure 10 - Gentility preserved in brick: The Sheriff Andrews House Museum. (author's photograph)

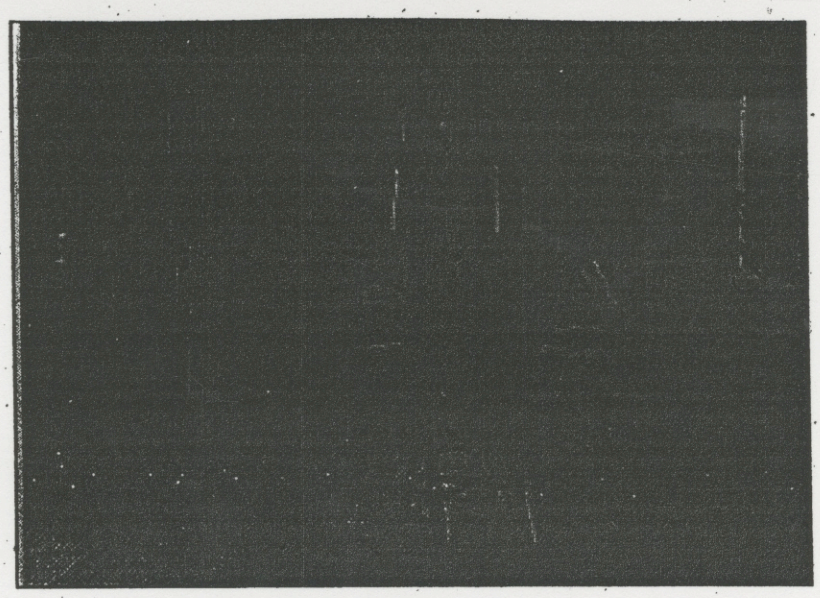

Figure 11 - Interior of the Sheriff Andrews House.
(source: NB Department of Municipalities, Culture and Housing)

to believe the characters have just travelled hundreds of miles, or that thirty years have passed during intermission. Changes like the alarm system, the emergency lights, the electrical wiring, the racks of brochures and the interpretive boards (including new photographs of the house with airbrushed Sheriff and family included) are just part of the absurdity of an historic building -- purporting to show the lifestyle of the Sheriff and his family, even though its presentation is probably completely fictitious. (For example, the museum has interpreters dressed in "period" costume, mostly women, cooking in the basement kitchen, but no servants, who in this setting would have been black. These potentially jarring aspects of historical reality are completely ignored, as is any sort of experience which contradicts the image of the happy family). Once again, a family ideology is reinforced, while contradictions are simply not presented. Instead, to quote the same source, "it's dated back to 1820 so we've gone back to that era and so it's just showing the lifestyle of the Sheriff and his family and it's sort of a living museum. We're trying to make it as cozy as possible."[54]

It is not only historical lives of note that are commemorated in the Mowatian metanarrative -- deaths have a place too. There are pamphlets available in the town which introduce visitors to "History Carved On Stone," and guide the interested tourist through the Loyalist Burying Ground, pointing out some of the interesting gravestones -- all of them (except two) marking the final resting-places of white men. The guide, of course, does not point out any poor or black burial places, and if there

[54]Interview with "Frederick," Sheriff Andrews House, July 1994.

are any they are difficult to find. The large metal plaque on this cemetery (see Appendix 3) announces its historical significance, which contrasts markedly with the Catholic cemetery a few blocks away where many Irish immigrants are buried. Although restored by the SACT (they also did the Anglican, Presbyterian and the Methodist cemeteries) it does not have any sort of marking; the old Catholic Church was torn down in the 1880s. These, the only markers of the Irish presence in St. Andrews, are unmarked by any sort of plaque or official notice. Both the Irish and the Natives who lived in St. Andrews, judging by the present state of their burial grounds, are historically insignificant.

A final major site of history is Minister's Island, visible from the town and now becoming a major lure for tourists. But is this plutocrat's island -- the summer estate of William Van Horne of the C.P.R. -- worthy of such detailed and expensive commemoration? Granted, Minister's island is, like the Blockhouse, much more significant than the two museums when considered as part of a nation-building narrative. By itself, however, it is merely a monument to confusing architecture. The Province of New Brunswick acquired the property in 1977, and records from the Department of Historic Resources Administration indicate how Minister's Island came to be seen as history-worthy:

> A review of the physical, historical and cultural features of the Island indicates that definite potential exists for development as an outdoor recreation (park) and/or historical attraction of significance. ... It is felt that, due to Sir William Van Horne's role in the development of Canada, the property should be of national significance. (Mr. Van Horne's Montreal home was destroyed a few years ago, leaving the Ministers Island estate the only remains of the national figure.) This was further highlighted a few years ago with the publication of Pierre

> Burton's [sic] books on the development and importance of the CPR across Canada. ...It is felt that the purchase and development of the property would have a very positive effect on St. Andrews, an area heavily dependent on the tourist industry.[55]

Policymakers in the New Brunswick government, having read *The National Dream* and *The Last Spike*, were presumably moved by this patriotic appeal. To date, they have not done much, but in June 1993 the province began offering guided tours of the island, which focus almost exclusively on Van Horne and his role in building Canada. Hundreds of thousands of dollars will make Minister's Island "historical." No such sums will be spent on another island a little farther off the coast of St. Andrews. It is called "Hospital Island," named after the immigrants' hospital and quarantine located there in the 1840s and 1850s which tended to the sick and dying Irish people.[56] Their role in building Canada evidently lacks the importance of Van Horne's summer cottage.

It would be a mistake to convey the impression that, along with many other North American communities, St. Andrews has simply adopted a vaguely "Mowatian" strategy in commodifying its history in the hope of attracting tourist revenues. Such an impression would underestimate the direct, obvious power of Mowatian themes and Mowat herself in shaping the town's history. In 1978 the Civic Trust sent to every household a reproduction of an article from House Beautiful's *Colonial Homes*; the piece was called "The Flight of the Loyalists -- St. Andrews: A Sanctuary for the

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[55]Inter-Office Memo, Department of Tourism, J.K. McKay [ADM] to F.W. Hackett, November 25, 1976. PANB RS 310 B3/7 Minister's Island, Volume III, p.2.

[56]See Davis, *An International Community on the St. Croix*, pp.180-181.

Castine Tories."[57] The narrative echoed Mowat, as did the photographs of beautiful homes that made the obvious connection between Loyalism and gentility. When in 1983 the town celebrated its bicentennial, illustrations based on episodes from *The Diverting History of a Loyalist Town* were placed in a colouring book, so that children could learn about "their history." Even Dr. Mowat's description of her masterpiece, Cottage Craft, as "our little factory that covers an area of thirty miles but has no smoke stack,"[58] is paraphrased in contemporary publications. To an extent that would not have been believed in the 1950s, Mowat's view of St. Andrews history has become an official orthodoxy which no citizen of, or visitor to, St. Andrews can ignore.

4. History as Erasure and as Therapy

The public past in St. Andrews is specifically male, specifically elite, and also specifically white. The Natives have been almost completely erased from view, as have the blacks. As Mowat herself writes in an earlier draft of the Diverting History, some of the Loyalists were slaveholders, and "[s]ome of them brought their slaves, who on landing received their freedom. A portion of land was given them where they built for themselves little shanties out of slabs and this locality was known as slab

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[57]Allan G. Magee, President, St. Andrews Civic Trust, to Dale Livlea, President, St. Andrew Chamber of Commerce, January 30, 1979. Files of the St. Andrews Chamber of Commerce,

[58] GHM, *The Story of Cottage Craft*, p.9. One town brochure from 1994 says that "St. Andrews boasts a unique industry with no belching smoke stacks, or sullen factory walls, and yet its product is marketed throughout all Canada -- and it is in great demand by other countries too. For here are research institutions..."
St. Andrews Chamber of Commerce, *Unique Things to See and Do*, (St. Andrews, 1994), p.7.

town. It is now part of the golf links."[59] Just as she erased this passage from her text, their settlement has been erased from public memory, absorbed by the golf course. By the time *Diverting History* was published Mowat's words had disappeared, perhaps because the presence of slaves reflected unfavourably on the Loyalists. An individual slave, however, was still acceptable in this narrative, as long as she maintained her place: "Among his [Colonel Hatch's] various retainers was an old coloured slave named Violet, who was unsurpassed as a cook and served up many a sumptuous dinner for the Colonel's parties."[60] Indeed, the presence of Violet in the narrative serves to reinforce Mowat's class, gender and racial ideals, by placing her readers in the subject position of an honoured dinner guest.

Public history purges St. Andrews of all traces of modernity. There are no signs of industry, for example; no shipyards or mills have been preserved. The strikes of railway workers and of the workers who built the town's massive sardine factory -- the largest in the world -- are nowhere to be seen (neither is the cannery -- a commercial disaster, it was destroyed by the military for target practice in the 1970s). There are no old gas stations or warehouses. And there are no Irish. It is as if they never existed. Although in 1871 over 50% of the town's population was listed in the Census as being of Irish descent, in the Mowatian history -- now the town's official public history -- they contributed nothing worth remembering to the town. There is, instead, a sanitized public narrative that reflects the view that history

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[59]GHM, "St. Andrews in the Early Days."

[60]GHM, *Diverting History*, p.58.

is merely large events, old buildings and important white personages, especially wealthy people from "away." There are thus forty-nine marked official "historic" places in the town, as well as two historic house museums, a national historic park (The St. Andrews Blockhouse), a provincial historic site two kilometres outside the town (Minister's Island), an international historic site (St. Croix Island - currently unmarked on the Canadian side), and a large resort hotel built in 1915 by the C.P.R. which overlooks the town (the Algonquin). The town's promotional materials now incorporate this historicity, to the extent that one brochure now commands visitors to "make the past a part of your future."[61] Whose past? And whose future?

As Malcolm Chase and Christopher Shaw point out in their introduction to *The Imagined Past -- History and Nostalgia*, this kind of history appeals quite strongly to contemporary feelings about the way history should be, with "comfortable and conveniently reassuring images of the past ... suppressing both its variety and its negative aspects."[62] Theses contemporary feelings emerge from an implicit antimodernism which still underlies many of the assumptions of middle-class North Americans. This antimodernism includes a 'feeling' that things were better in the past. It is a part of a dominant hegemony, at least in our country, that keeps people superficially interested in 'history' and 'the past.' This hinders them from looking critically either at their own society or conceiving alternate visions of the past or the

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[61]St. Andrews Chamber of Commerce, "St. Andrews - Make the past a part of your future," St.Andrews: n.d. [1993?].

[62]Christopher Shaw and Malcolm Chase, "The Dimensions of Nostalgia," in their *The Imagined Past -- History and Nostalgia*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), p.1.

future. A visitor to St. Andrews experiences a multitude of historical images, ranging from those which have been deliberately crafted (such as Parks Canada's interpretative boards at the St. Andrews Blockhouse National Historic Site or the plaques of the Civic Trust), to those which are 'just there', but no less powerful or constructed (such as the Algonquin Hotel, which, built by the power and money of the early twentieth-century Canadian Pacific Railway, serves as a reminder of the 'good old days' of early twentieth-century tourism). These images come together to provide a vision, a conception, of a past that is simple and frozen in time, utterly removed from our present.

When Grace Helen Mowat set out to tell the true story of George III, she was shocked to find that Canadians believed that "he was the cause of the American Revolution and lost the colonies for England." They held this opinion, she argued, because "they have heard the lie so often that they believe it."[63] The same process of distortion and ideological education is happening in a more complex but more powerful way with the official Loyalist history of St. Andrews. Mowat's Tory narrative is no more accurate now than it was then, but it has attained the status of truth as a necessary narrative for a town redefining its role and its past. Historical reconstruction is a question of both structure and agency, of necessity and choice. In this case, economic necessity and a capitalist social structure were preconditions, but romantically-inclined individuals and clever strategies were crucial to the newly constructed history of St. Andrews. Replacing one truth with another took time and a

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[63]GHM, *The Tories' King*, p.1.

certain economizing with the facts -- but then, as we have seen, doing history in the 'Cyclorama of God' has always required a fair degree of intellectual flexibility.

Appendix I - Commemorative Plaques in St. Andrews, NB

Plaques placed by the St. Andrews Civic Trust

126 Water St.
FIRST 2-STOREY BUILDING IN TOWN, ERECTED BY JOHN DUNN, PROMINENT LOYALIST, IN 1784. FRAMES SHIPPED FROM NEW YORK.

129 Water St.
ERECTED IN THE 1820'S BY THE TREADWELL FAMILY, SHIPS CHANDLERS, AS RESIDENCE AND CUSTOMS HOUSE.

159 Water St.
BUILT ON A LAND GRANT TO ANDREW MARTIN IN 1784. USED IN THE 1800S AS A POST OFFICE AND A CONFECTIONARY SHOP IN THE EARLY 1900S.

Boutique La Baleine, address unknown, Water St.
ERECTED C 1800 KNOWN AS BRADFORD'S HOTEL (1860S) A BOARDING HOUSE CALLED THE AMERICAN HOUSE, AND IN THE 1900S A BAKERY.

267 Water St.
BUILT C 1810 AND RESTORED WITH FEW CHANGES 1887 BY W.E. MALLORY. OWNED BY SAME FAMILY SINCE 1879.

284 Water St.
HOUSE BUILT C 1877 BY WILLIAM CLARK. OWNED BY ALBERT THOMPSON, POSTMASTER, IN THE EARLY 1900S AND IN SAME FAMILY UNTIL 1987.

335 Water St.
BUILT C.1808 FOR CAPT. FENWICK BELL, BLOCK AND SPAR MAKER. THIS IS ONE OF THE EARLY WATERFRONT HOMES.

358 Water St.
LAND GRANTED TO DAVID ARNOT, LOYALIST, 1783. SOLD SEPT. 22, 1784 TO JAMES RUSSELL WHO BUILT THIS HOUSE IN EARLY 1800,S.

370 Water St.
LAND GRANTED TO WILLIAM STEVENSON 1784 BY HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN PARR, GOVERNOR OF NOVA SCOTIA. HOUSE BUILT C.1789.

235 Queen St.
1)A building preserved with the aid of Heritage Canada.

2)PENOBSCOT LOYALIST HOUSE. PORTION FRONTING ON FREDERICK STREET SHIPPED FROM CASTINE ME. AND REASSEMBLED BY ROBERT PAGAN AND CO.

142 Queen St.
BUILT IN 1840'S BY HARRIS HATCH O.C. SON OF COMMANDER OF THE GARRISON. CLAY FOR BRICKS DUG AND BAKED NEAR SITE.

Saltbox House address unknown
1)A building preserved with the aid of Heritage Canada
2)SALT-BOX STYLE HOUSE, RARE IN THIS REGION, BUILT C.1785. STRUCTURAL FEATURES INDICATE POSSIBLE CASTINE, ME. ORIGIN.

(?) and 3 Queen St.
BUILT C 1845 BY GEORGE GIBSON ON ORIGINAL LAND GRANT TO THOMAS ROSS JULY 31, 1784.

68 Queen St.
BUILT 1784-1790 BY JOHN DUNN 2ND SHERIFF OF CHARLOTTE CO. AND COMPTROLLER OF CUSTOMS, WITH HIS OFFICE IN THIS HOUSE.

10 Queen St.
BUILT C. 1835 WITH A SMALL SCHOOL ROOM IN REAR. OWNED BY JOHN WREN, HARBOURMASTER FROM 1867.

312 Montague St.
BUILT C 1880. ONE OF FIVE BUILT ON BLOCK LEASED FOR FARMING IN 1783 FROM THE MADRAS SCHOOL IN NEW BRUNSWICK.

267 Montague St.
BUILT BEFORE 1820 ON A GRANT TO AN EARLY SETTLER IN 1784 AND LATER DEEDED TO ROBERT PAGAN IN 1788.

Montague St., corner of Ernest, address unknown.
BUILT C.1820 BY DOCTOR WILLIAM McSTAY, MEDICAL OFFICEDR TO THE BRITISH GARRISON.

258 Montague St.
BUILT IN 1859 FOR DOCTOR SAMUEL TILLEY GOVE, ASSISTANT SURGEON TO THE CHARLOTTE COUNTY MILITIA AND PRESIDENT OF THE BANK OF CHARLOTTE COUNTY.

204 Montague St.

BUILT C 1830. PLANK FRONT INDICATES CONSTRUCTION BY A SHIPWRIGHT.

Montague St., corner of Edward
BUILT C.1850. MOVED FROM WATER STREET AND USED AS A GENERAL STORE. 2ND STORY ADDED LATER.

78 Parr St.
BUILT ON GLEBE LAND IN 1859 FOR THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND USED A RECTORY UNTIL 1965?.

Parr St.
THE METHODIST CEMETARY 1843-1866 REHABILITATED 1978 BY ST. ANDREWS CIVIC TRUST. [9 gravestones only].

253 Parr St.
BUILT IN 1788 AND USED AS FIRST ANGLICAN RECTORY. SOLD IN 1839 FOR CONSTRUCTION OF MARINE HOSPITAL. [building dates from 1840s]

Parr St., corner of Princess Royal
BUILT BEFORE 1820 ON ORIGINAL NOVA SCOTIA LAND GRANT TO JOHN DAVIS OF JULY 1784.

Linden Grange, Carleton St., no address
ONE-TIME SUMMER HOME OF SIR LEONARD TILLEY, FATHER OF CONFEDERATION AND A LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF N.B. BUILT C.1815.

Fort Tipperary, Prince of Wales St., no address
BUILT IN 1903 BY LORD SHAUGHNESSEY, PRESIDENT OF THE C.P.R. ORIGINALLY A BLOCKHOUSE DEFENDING OUR COAST AND HOUSING GARRISON IN WAR OF 1812.

99 Prince of Wales St.
BUILT ON LAND GRANT OF 1784 AND USED AS OFFICER'S MESS IN WAR OF 1812.

24 Augustus St.
LAND GRANTED TO WILLIAM STEWART, MARINER, C.1784 BLACKSMITH SHOP OPERATED 1790. PRESENT HOUSE BUILT BY JAMES STARKEY 1846.

Princess Royal St., no address, next to Mallory home.

W.P. MALLORY LIVERY STABLE 1876-1922 THIS BARN BUILT IN 1889. THE FIRST TELEPHONE IN ST. ANDREWS CONNECTED STABLE WITH ALGONQUIN HOTEL (1900).

Princess Royal St., corner of Queen St.
BUILT C 1868 FOR CAPT. NELSON CLARKE BOYHOOD HOME OF HON GEO. J. CLARKE QC. LLD.. PREMIER OF NEW BRUNSWICK 1914-1917.

Frederick St., corner of Queen St.
BUILT ON LAND GRANTED TO WILLIAM TOWERS IN 1784. ORIGINAL HAND-CARVED CHRISTIAN DOORS AND WOODWORK RETAINED C.1790.

93 Frederick St., Milton Hall (across from previous house).
BUILT C 1860 BY THOS. TURNER ODELL, MERCHANT. PATTERNED AFTER FAMILY HOME IN ENGLAND.

84 Frederick St.
BUILT C 1790 BY JOHN CAMPBELL. AT ONE TIME A GIRLS' SCHOOL. MANY ORIGINAL INTERIOR FEATURES REMAIN.

79 Frederick St.
BUILT C 1830. EXTERIOR RESTORED BY ST. ANDREWS CIVIC TRUST AND PROTECTED BY COVENANT 1978.

78 King St.
BUILT C 1835 BY JUDGE CHARLES HATHAWAY. GARRISON SOLDIERS WERE BILLETED HERE FOR SOME YEARS AFTER THE WAR OF 1812.

King St., corner of Montague.
BUILT C 1830 FOR DR. SAMUAL FRYE, SUPERVISOR OF ROADS. ANOTHER RESIDENT WAS HON. NEVILLE PARKER, MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

United Baptist Church, King St.
ERECTED C.1865. ONE OF THE MOST CHARMING EXAMPLES IN CARPENTER-GOTHIC TO BE FOUND IN ATLANTIC CANADA.

Church of St. Andrew Catholic Church, King St., corner of Parr St., no address.
CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW DEDICATED OCT. 1886 REPLACING FIRST R.C. CHURCH ERECTED IN 1825 ON SITE OR EARLY CATHOLIC CEMETARY.

115 William St.
BUILT C. 1858 ON LAND GRANT OF 1784 TO A LIEUTENANT OF THE 74TH REGIMENT.

47 William St.
HOUSE BUILT IN 1820S ON PROPERTY OF ANGLICAN CHURCH. MADRAS SCHOOL ON PREMISES MID 19TH CENTURY.

Edward St., corner of Parr St.
ONE OF THE OLDEST GEORGIAN-STYLE HOUSES IN TOWN. ERECTED 1830 ON LAND PREVIOUSLY OWNED BY CHRISTOPHER SCOTT.

49 Adolphus St.
BUILT BY WILLIAM HARTFORD, SHIPWRIGHT, IN 1869, THE YEAR OF THE SAXBY GALE.

Plaques placed by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada

(on the Blockhouse)
ERECTED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA
ST., ANDREWS BLOCKHOUSE
(WEST POINT BLOCKHOUSE)
THE WEST POINT BLOCKHOUSE AND A BATTERY WERE ERECTED BY THE TOWNSPEOPLE OF ST. ANDREWS AT THE OUTBREAK OF THE WAR OF 1812-14 IN ANTICIPATION OF A SEABORNE ATTACK FROM THE UNITED STATES. ALONG WITH OTHER DEFENSIVE POSITIONS THEY WERE MANNED BY LOCAL MILITIA AND BRITISH REGULARS THROUGHOUT THE WAR LATER THE BLOCKHOUSE SERVED AS A BARRACKS AND A STOREHOUSE. IT IS ONE OF THE FEW EXAMPLES SURVIVING IN CANADA OF A ONCE COMMON DEFENSIVE STRUCTURE.
HISTORIC SITES AND MONUMENTS BOARD OF CANADA

(on the St. Andrews Post Office)
OLIVER GOLDSMITH 1787-1861
Goldsmith was born in St. Andrews, N.B., son of a Loyalist official. When he was but two years old his family moved to Halifax where he received a rudimentary education from his father. After sampling a wide variety of occupations, he entered the Commissariat at Halifax as a volunteer and continued until his death to be a successful colonial administrator. In 1825 The Rising Village, an imitation of his great uncle's The Deserted Village, was published in London, but the invidious comparisons made by the critics destroyed his interest in the writing of poetry. He died in Liverpool, England.
Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada.
Government of Canada - 1948 - Gouvernement du Canada

(on the Charlotte County Courthouse)
The Charlotte County Courthouse is the best-preserved example in New Brunswick of a typical mid-19th century Maritime courthouse. Like the Queen's County Courthouse in Gagetown, N.B. and others in Nova Scotia, the structure reflects a vernacular building tradition, with the classical temple facade as its distinguishing feature. Built by Thomas Berry in 1839-40, the building has a Royal Coat of Arms carved by Charles Kennedy in 1858. In the early years of its activity, the Courthouse was the focal point for community activities, such as elections, fairs, parades and official visits.
Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada
Government of Canada

Other Markings

(on the gates at St. Andrews Centennial Park)
These gates were presented by the Canadian Pacific as a symbol of the Company's long association witrh the Town of St. Andrews, and were opened by her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother on July 13th, 1967

Wesley United Church, William St.
THIS HOUSE OF GOD HAS WELCOMED WORSHIPPERS FOR ONE HUNDRED YEARS OR MORE. IN COMMEMORATION OF THIS FACT THIS PLAQUE HAS BEEN PRESENTED IN 1967, CANADA'S CENTENNIAL OF CONFEDERATION YEAR 1867-1967
NEW BRUNSWICK CENTENNIAL COMMITTEE.

Loyalist Burying-Ground (original Church of England Cemetary), corner of King St. and Prince of Wales St., plaque, erected by the Anglican Church
TO THE GLORY OF GOD AND IN MEMORY OF THE LOYALISTS AND EARLY SETTLERS OF THIS COMMUNITY WHO ARE BURIED HERE MAY THEY REST IN PEACE. ERECTED BY ALL SAINTS CHURCH TO COMMEMORATE THE BICENTENNIAL IN 1983 OF THE LANDING OF THE LOYALISTS AND IN APPRECIATION OF THE RESTORATION WORK DONE BY THE ST. ANDREWS CIVIC TRUST.

Shiretown Inn
Kennedy's Hotel built 1881. One of the first summer hotels in Canada. Charlotte County Historical Society

There is also a cenotaph dedicated to local people who died in the World Wars.

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July and August 1994

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