

PREFACE

By examination of examples, or imaginary models, a greater insight into or understanding of a particular philosophy, theory or process can be gained. The "economic process" is a process no different from others in this respect. One way of examining and understanding this process is through business histories, though scholars have often rejected this avenue of examination. "In fact, failure to accept the value of business studies arose from ... the lack of sufficient materials and the businessman's reluctance to yield up his records; ..."¹ And large systematic and complete collections are needed for accurate business history studies, no matter how microscopic these studies may seem.

In 1974, Senator G. Percival Burchill, grandson of the founder of Geo. Burchill & Sons overcame the "reluctance" described by Wilson and donated the records of that firm to the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick. These 340 feet of records, spanning the period from 1850 to 1957, have facilitated the study of a small, enduring, family firm.

¹ Allan Wilson, "Problems and Traditions of Business History: Past Examples and Canadian Prospects", in Canadian Business History, David S. Macmillan, ed. (Toronto, 1972), p. 304.

Why is this company worth studying? In 1978 the province of New Brunswick is still over 80% forest covered and many of its inhabitants still depend on the forests for their livelihood. During the two centuries of the province's existence, many firms engaged in forest-related industries were created and subsequently fell by the wayside, victims of depressions, wars and changing technologies. But at least one concern, that founded by George Burchill in 1850, has survived all of the above, moving from a shipbuilding firm, to a lumber and general merchandizing firm, to a lumber producing company. It has remained a family concern continuously for 128 years with the founder himself remaining active in business for over half a century.

This thesis is not meant as either a definitive study of the New Brunswick lumber industry or of Geo. Burchill & Sons. It attempts simply to trace the development of a lumbering firm under the guidance of its founder through all the wars, threats of wars, depressions and political changes of the last half of the nineteenth century. It attempts to show how one man with an acute business sense could survive these man-made misfortunes while others not so capable succumbed. Hopefully in doing so it will shed some light on the development of the lumbering industry and on the history of New Brunswick in general.

I wish to express my appreciation to Professor J.R.H. Wilbur, my academic advisor, for introducing me to the joys of the study of

the parts which make up the whole, as opposed to the study of the grandiose whole. I thank him also for his timely questions and suggestions and his advice and patience during my protracted period of researching and writing. I extend my thanks to the staff of the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick during the summer of 1974 for their constant retrieval of manuscripts, and particularly to James Fraser for his excellent organization of the Burchill Manuscripts. I wish to extend thanks to my typists, particularly to Lorraine Landry and Carole Young who transformed my illegible scrawls into a legible manuscript, and to Debbie Smith, the typist of the final work.

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I
AN INTRODUCTION TO NEW BRUNSWICK PRIOR TO 1850

The first 75 years of the nineteenth century are considered "the days of wooden ships and iron men" in the Maritimes and are legendary. Within this three quarters of a century, a special place is usually reserved for the twenty odd years from the mid 1840's to the mid 1860's by calling this period "The Golden Age of Sail."¹ In the 1860's, 10,000 ships were built in the Maritimes, and one third of British shipping was being supplied by Canadian ship yards. By the end of the nineteenth century Canada had produced 26,000 ships.²

The peak year for Canadian ship ownership was 1878. In that year, Canada was ranked fourth in the world in terms of ship ownership, having 1,333,015 tons under Canadian registry.³ Of that tonnage, 943,583 tons, or 71% had been built in the Maritimes.⁴ In a paragraph which could have been written to foster national pride, Frederick Wallace describes Canada's place in world shipping.

They were wooden ships driven by sail, but during the half century between 1840 and 1890, ... they captured

¹ Charles A. Armour, Sailing Ships of the Maritimes (Toronto, 1975), p. 48.

² Ibid., p. 6.

³ Frederick William Wallace, Wooden Ships and Iron Men (Boston, 1937), p. 4.

⁴ Armour, p. 6, from Canada, Department of Marine and Fisheries, Annual Report, 1878.

TABLE I - VALUE OF NEW BRUNSWICK SHIPS SOLD ABROAD⁵

Year	Value of Ships Exported	Value of Other Exports	Total Value of Exports	Value of Ships as % of Total
1848	£172,044	£ 639,199	£ 811,243	17.5%
1849	292,272	601,462	993,734	32.5%
1850	242,848	658,018	900,866	27.0%
1851	274,800	772,024	1,046,824	26.5%
1852	467,192	796,335	1,263,527	36.8%
1853	571,424	1,072,491	1,643,915	35.0%
1854	795,408	1,104,215	1,899,623	41.0%
1855	436,488	826,381	1,260,869	34.5%

a huge share of the world's carrying trade and built up a reputation for smart ships and native-born seamen that was a legend in nautical history and fo's'sle story for many years. ... the little company of ship-builders and sailors resident on the shores of the Atlantic coast of Canada created a mercantile marine which burst into ocean commerce, made history and drew the admiration of seamen ...⁶

To achieve the position described above, ships were being built in practically every stream and inlet along the Maritime coast, and along the shores of the larger streams which stretched into a practically inexhaustable supply of shipbuilding material still growing in these forest covered provinces. The end of the Napoleonic Wars had supplied the Maritimes with numerous immigrant shipbuilders who quickly taught the native born and unskilled immigrants the arts of shipbuilding

⁵ M.H. Perley, A Handbook of Information for Emigrants to New Brunswick (London, 1857), pp. 43, 50.

⁶ Wallace, Wooden Ships, p. 4.

and equally quickly began to work as ship's carpenters, master builders or shipyard owners.

On the Miramichi, one of New Brunswick's larger rivers, ship-building was started by William Davidson, a Scotsman from Inverness. He had come to this river in 1765, armed with a 100,000 acre grant, extending thirteen miles upstream from the confluence of the North West and South West Branches. Included in this grant was Beaubair's Island, a small island to which the Acadians had fled in 1755 only to be dislodged in 1760. But Davidson did not fulfill the conditions of his grant and much of it passed from his hands before his death in 1790.

After Davidson's death, James Fraser purchased at least part of the island from William Forsyth, a Halifax businessman who held a lien on the Davidson estate.⁷ Fraser, another Scotsman from Inverness, and his partner, James Thom from Edinburgh, took over Davidson's existing contracts, and began building ships on the island. They also conducted a retail business from there. John Fraser, James Fraser's cousin, came to the island in 1813 to conduct the Miramichi part of what had by then become an extensive operation throughout the Maritimes.⁸ But the centers of government and thus of business had been

⁷ Louise Manny, Ships of Miramichi (Saint John, 1960), p. 12.

⁸ Esther Clark Wright, The Miramichi (Sackville, 1945), p. 58.

established elsewhere within the county, and in 1837 feeling the pull of the larger community of Newcastle, John Fraser subscribed to a notice in The Gleaner:

FOR SALE

A Valuable Mercantile Establishment, commonly called Fraser's Island, Containing 165 Acres, 20 of which are under cultivation, and the Island is well watered with Springs. There is on the Premises,

1 Two Story Dwelling House, and Kitchen, built of Bath Stone and Brick, slated with ample frost proof cellars, bricked; and a Scullery and Coal House attached.

1 Two Story Dry Goods Store, of wood, with a cellar under 2/3 thereof, studded and planked

1 One and a half story Provision Store

1 Do Do Salt Store, with Fish Shed and Vats connected therewith.

1 One and a half story Cooper's Shop.

2 Do Do Dwelling Houses on the point of the Island.

1 Barn, Stable, and other Out-Houses; with a good Garden, well stocked with English Gooseberry, and native Currant Bushes, Plumbs, &c. &c.

A Ship-Yard, which is suitable for building the largest Ships.

1 Work Shed, with Moulding Lofts and Saw Pitts.

1 Blacksmith's Forge, with two fires.

1 Fireman and Cook's House.

Also - Wharves, Booms for Timber and other Lumber for Shipping, convenient for vessels loading. The Island has extensive grounds around it for fishing Salmon, Shad, Bass, Alewives and Trout; and is a most excellent stand for a Steam Mill, being at the entrance of the Southwest and Northwest Branches of the River. It commands the Trade of the Upper Settlements, and a

few hundred feet of Bridge would connect it with the main road to Fredericton, Newcastle, Bathurst and Restigouche; and on the south side is a regular Ferry of half a mile, to the main Road leading to Chatham, Richibucto, Halifax and St. John's ...

The Miramichi being now made a Free Port this Establishment is highly convenient for fitting our vessels for the Cod and Mackerel Fisheries in the Bay of Chaleur, Magdalen Islands and Labrador.

The whole of these Lots may be had together, or separate. Terms of Payment Liberal, and the Titles indisputable. Immediate possession can be given. Apply to the Subscriber, (if by Letter post-paid,) addressed to Fraser's Island, or Newcastle.

JOHN FRASER.

Miramichi, 10th February 1837.

N.B. Persons Trespassing on the above described Property, by injuring the Buildings, or Fences, or carrying away Wood from off the same, or doing other injury, will be prosecuted according to Law.⁹

Joseph Russell purchased the island from John Fraser in 1838.

Born in 1786 in Clockmanon, Scotland, a small town about 45 miles from Edinburgh, Russell certainly had not known James Fraser, the original owner of the island, as Fraser had been in Halifax in 1780. And while Russell most probably had not met John Fraser in the old country, for Fraser was in Halifax in 1803, feelings of brotherhood for someone from the former homeland may have played a part in Fraser's sale to Russell.

Joseph Russell is reputed to have been in Lord Nelson's navy before he came to Miramichi as a young man to work in the shipyards.

⁹ Ibid., p. 32.

As early as 1827, records indicate that he was a ship carpenter and one third owner of a ship built by Butement and Russell. The other two owners were John Butement, shipbuilder; and John Clark, merchant. The first business establishment Russell owned was the former Peabody yard in Chatham. This was his shipyard from 1832 to 1838 when he sold out to Joseph Cunard and purchased the Fraser year at Beaubair's Island.¹⁰

During the 1840's, Joseph Russell became a convert to the Mormon faith. He established a Mormon school on Beaubair's Island and helped found a Mormon church on Prince Edward Island. In 1849, at age 63, Joseph Russell advertised his business for sale as he was retiring. The business was sold and he moved with his wife to Salt Lake City that same year. He waited neither to see his last ship launched in 1850, nor to see it sail for England in June, loaded with timber.

Religion and age may not have been the only reasons Joseph Russell wished to sever his connections with the Miramichi and shipbuilding. The 1840's generally had been neither stable nor prosperous years throughout the western world. Shipbuilding, with its companion industry, timbermaking, were especially sensitive to fluctuations in world conditions and a depression situation had existed between 1846 and 1848. In New Brunswick, trade had slipped to one third its normal

¹⁰ Manny, p. 21.

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volume.¹¹ Much of this decline was due to British North America's dependence on a single market, Great Britain, which in this period was in a disastrous slump. Cholera had swept that country, carrying thousands to their deaths, and particularly in Ireland, the potato famine had struck hard. New Brunswick newspapers carried stories of the threat of civil war in Britain. The Miramichi newspaper, The Gleaner, did not make many direct comments on these events, but it carried notices of meetings of immigrant aid societies and of collections having been taken up to be sent to specific areas "back home".

British businessmen who had built overseas empires, together with a system of customers and suppliers of raw materials, exploited these areas as colonies and maintained control in the home country. And immigrants maintained this same colonial mentality, thinking of "home" as some place across the sea. Blood ties and regional and national ties across the sea remained all important in many aspects of their lives.

The supposedly imminent repeal of the Corn Laws, Staple Act and Navigation Acts did little to lift the spirits of New Brunswick between 1846 and 1849. Although the Navigation Acts had been passed by the British parliament in 1651 and had been rewritten in 1660, long before New Brunswick had been created as a political entity, the

¹¹ W.S. McNutt, New Brunswick, A History: 1784-1867 (Toronto, 1963), p. 321.

province had come to depend on them. They gave a monopoly on shipping within the Empire to British and colonial ships and specified that British seamen were to be given a preference in crewing merchant ships. The Staple Act of 1663 reserved the transport to colonial markets of all goods, British and foreign, to British vessels.¹² But these laws bound the colonies to British economically and kept the freight rates high. The colonists seemed not to have considered the possibility of repeal being of benefit to them by lessening their dependence on Britain. They apparently did not conceive that less dependence could possibly mean a lessening of the depressions they shared by their dependence. They did not foresee that the lumber trade could be profitable by virtue of the lower freight rates on foreign vessels, even when the British lumber market was in a depressed state. New Brunswickers, one and all, viewed repeal with

... a sense of impending commercial calamity, a feeling that owing to arbitrary policies of the British government, New Brunswick was being expelled from the British community, that the province was being thrust into an alien and hostile world of free trade before it was prepared to fend for its own interests ...¹³

New Brunswick's trade was very much welded to that of Great Britain and her politicians and businessmen had fought and continued to fight the free trade idea, even after its adoption was assured in Britain. The doom of the timber trade and shipbuilding was predicted at public meetings and in the press.¹⁴

¹² S.T. Spicer, Masters of Sail (Toronto, 1968), pp. 18-19.

¹³ McNutt, p. 295.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 296.

On the Miramichi in 1849, business, and life in general, looked very bleak. Between 1839 and 1848, 80 ships had been built there, 41 of them by the firm of Joseph Cunard.¹⁵ Five of the seven square rigged vessels built on the river in 1847 had been built by Cunard. In 1848, Joseph Cunard went bankrupt, and the Miramichi plunged into what was probably its lowest point of depression and despair since the great fire of 1825. Men and whole families were leaving on foot and by schooner for Quebec, Maine and the new gold fields of California.¹⁶ Ironically these same gold fields were to revive Maritime shipbuilding and make it a thriving business in the early years of the 1850's. As many as 5000 families are believed to have left New Brunswick to escape the debts and mortgages they had acquired in overproducing timber. This overproducing had caused their problems in the first place.¹⁷

Beginning on the second of January, 1849, and continuing for several weeks, The Gleaner carried bankruptcy notices of Gavin Rainnie, Shipbuilder, Chatham; William Dickens and Robert Rainsborrow, Lumberers and Millers, Glenelg; John Fowler, Lumberer, Blackville; and Ammon Savoy, Lumberer, Alnwick.¹⁸ This was not a sellers market.

¹⁵ Manny, pp. 76-84.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 32

¹⁷ McNutt, p. 321

¹⁸ The Gleaner and Northumberland Schediasma, Chatham, New Brunswick, 2 January 1849.

In this general atmosphere of discouragement, and among these bankruptcy notices, Joseph Russell placed the following sale by auction advertisement:

VALUABLE PROPERTY FOR SALE

The subscriber, being about to retire from business offers to sell by Public Auction, at the Court House Newcastle, on Wednesday, the 12th September next, at 12 o'clock noon,

BEAUBAIR'S ISLAND

With the whole of the Establishment for carrying on an extensive Mercantile, Shipbuilding and Fishing business.

The Island is a mile and a quarter long, of an irregular width, not exceeding anywhere half a mile. It contains 300 acres of land (more or less) and is situated at the confluence of the North and South West branches of the Miramichi River, near the head of navigation for vessels of the largest class, two miles from Newcastle, the Shire Town of the county, and six miles from Chatham. There are from 20 to 25 acres of land under cultivation, and the rest of the Island is well wooded.

There is an excellent two story Stone Dwelling House, pleasantly situated on the South Side of the Island, near the lower end. It is 40 feet by 38 feet, thoroughly finished, has a frost proof cellar, kitchen, well of water, wood house, coach house, convenient Out Houses, and a large Kitchen Garden, the whole being furnished with every comfort and convenience for a large family.

The Barn will contain from 30 to 40 tons of Hay, and stabling for five or six horses, besides cattle.

The Retail Store is situated near the Dwelling House, is two stories high with a cellar underneath the whole. The shop is fitted up with the usual conveniences. There is a back store, and a comfortable office, with ample room on the upper flats for storage.

There is another Store, two stories high, used as an iron and provision store, having ample room to contain a large stock.

A Wharf runs out into the river in front of the retail store, at which ships of from 5 to 600 tons can discharge and load. On this wharf there is a new Store 90 by 18 feet, two stories high, furnished and fitted up as a warehouse.

There is also a Salt Store, one and a half story high, close to the wharf, which will contain upwards of three hundred tons. There is a safe and convenient Boom capable of holding from 7 to 800 tons of Timber, between the wharf and the lower end of the Island, near which there is a Ballast Berth, which has been used for many years. There is also a convenient Deal Yard adjoining, above the salt store, which will accommodate without any further expense, a million of deals.

The SHIP YARD is also on the South side, about the center of the Island, completely sheltered from every wind except the South East. There are now three ships building in it, each upwards of 500 tons, which accommodation to lay down two more. The Yard has attached to it a Blacksmith's shop with three fires; a Joiner's shop, 40 feet long; a Moulding Loft of sufficient dimensions for laying down a ship of the largest class; a Shed and two Saw Pits, a Steam Box and a Boiler, and every other convenience.

There is a Cook House, with frost proof cellar, well of water, kitchen eating rooms, bedrooms, and accommodation for 50 workmen.

There is a comfortable house for a Foreman, with a barn and garden attached, near the building yard.

The workmen's houses are situated in a range, but distinct from each other, along the South side of the Island, just below the yard. There are seven houses, one and a half story high each; they are framed buildings, finished outside and plastered inside. Two of them contain apartments for three families each; the other five for two families each. Each dwelling has a distinct entrance, and there is a Garden Plot set apart for each family. An excellent well of water is situated close to these buildings, and the whole bring in an annual rent of £ 90.

There is a good Salmon Fishery on the North side of the Island, and the Gaspercaux Fishery is prosecuted all round it.

Shipbuilding materials can be procured from the surrounding country, within a moderate distance, and hauled into the yard in any quantity that may be required, during the winter season.

Altogether, the Subscriber believes, from his own experience for upwards of ten years, that there is not a more desirable or advantageous situation in the lower colonies for Shipbuilding; and he is satisfied that any man of prudence and experience might, with the command of a reasonable amount of capital, continue the business from which he is about retiring, with every prospect of making money.

The purchaser of the island may obtain any of the stock and materials remaining of hand, on very moderate terms.

The terms of sale will be liberal, a part of the purchase money may remain on security, for such period as may be agreed upon.

For further information apply to the subscriber on the premises, to James Adams, Esq., Nelson Street, St. John, or to Mr. George H. Russell, merchant, Chatham.

Joseph Russell

Miramichi, 23d February, 1849.¹⁹

Notices of this type were to be expected for throughout 1849, the papers carried little optimistic news. For example, The Gleaner speculated on the likelihood of union with the United States as a means of relieving the misery. The Miramichi towns, much to the consternation of the authorities, celebrated the American Independence Day in 1849.²⁰ At the year's end, The Gleaner ran an excerpt from a

¹⁹ Ibid., 27 February 1849.

²⁰ Ibid., 10 July 1849.

"Forsyth and Bell Annual Circular and Prices Current" report which confirmed that with respect to the timber and shipbuilding industries, another disastrous year had passed and that increased consumption of wood in Britain had not materialized as had been expected at the beginning of the year.²¹

For those on the Miramichi, conditions seemed to be improving by 1850. There had been a bumper agricultural harvest in 1849. Foreign ships were arriving in great numbers due to the repeal of the Navigation Acts, hence the freight rates were lower and business picked up for the exporters. With the lower freight rates and better prices, sales of logs and deals were increasing, but the newspapers were advising against "unfounded optimism".²²

The advertised auction of Beaubair's Island on 12 September 1849 appears to have been unsuccessful. The last of the three vessels advertised as under construction in February of 1849, the "Omega", cleared the port of Miramichi on 24 June 1850 for Liverpool with a load of deals and timber from Joseph Russell.²³ However, two notices which began in The Gleaner on the 2nd of July 1850 and continued for several months indicate that the business had been sold

²¹ Ibid., 31 December 1849.

²² The Daily News, St. John, New Brunswick, 19 January 1850.

²³ The Gleaner, 2 July 1850.

and that Joseph's son, George, was winding up the father's affairs.

The subscriber hereby informs all persons having unsettled business with Mr. Joseph Russell, Merchant and Shipbuilder at Miramichi, that he has received a Power of Attorney, to settle all those dealings, and to fully wind up the affairs. And all persons indebted to the said Joseph Russell will please call and make arrangements with the Subscriber at once, otherwise the claims will be put in other hands for collection.

George H. Russell

Chatham, 1st July, 1850.²⁴

The second notice indicated that the operations were under new management.

Copartnership Notice

The Subscribers having entered into copartnership, the business hitherto carried on by Mr. Joseph Russell, at Beaubair's Island will in future be conducted by them at the same place, under the style and firm of HARLEY & BURCHILL.

John Harley
George Burchill

Beaubair's Island, Miramichi
June 21, 1850.²⁵

Harley and Burchill had shrewdly waited until business had shown a marked improvement before committing themselves to buying Beaubair's Island, for this was fully nine months after the proposed auction of the business. Perhaps they were fortunate that Joseph Russell had left for Salt Lake City in 1849, before the improvement of trade. From later correspondence to Britain we learn that they had

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

carried on the operations of the company during the time between Joseph Russell's departure and their purchase.²⁶

John Harley, one of the purchasers, had long been a respected shipbuilder at Miramichi. Born at Courtmacsherry, County Cork, Ireland, in 1800, he had come to New Brunswick in 1823. He began work at Abram's Yard at Rose Bank, Northumberland County in 1824. In 1844, he went to work at Joseph Russell's yard as a Master Builder and remained as such until he became a half owner of the yard with George Burchill.²⁷ "His sound and worth ships found a ready market in the Old Country and many were sold to Pollock, Gilmour & Co."²⁸

George Burchill had been born at Brandon, County Cork, Ireland in 1820.²⁹ Brandon and Courtmacsherry, Russell's birth place, are only eight miles apart. Courtmacsherry, a small fishing port may well have

²⁶ Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, Burchill Papers, MBU/I/1/17, Letter Book, Harley & Burchill to Rankin, Gilmour & Co., 17 November 1856. This manuscript collection will hereafter be referred to by its archival designation; i.e. "MBU" and suffix.

²⁷ Manny, p. 36.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 21. This describes the ships built by Harley in the Russell yard.

²⁹ Jane Percival Dollahan, The Ancestors and Descendants of John Percival of The Miramichi (Tucson, Arizona, 1972), p. 93. She calls the village Jandon, but there is no record of such a place. ODDY's New General Atlas of the World (London, 1811), shows only a "Brandon" and no "Jandon" in County Cork.

served as the port for the landlocked town of Brandon.³⁰

The partnership of these two men may have been based not only on a common experience and a knowledge of ships and the business they had brought, but also on a feeling of kinship and on a common background. It is not improbable that their families were acquainted with one another in County Cork. The seeking out of business acquaintances, employees and partners from the home district, so common among Scottish businessmen, was witnessed again.

George Burchill came to the Miramichi in 1826 with his parents. He began his business career as a shop clerk in the Chatham store of Henry Carman in 1834. After several years, he went to Beaubair's Island as a clerk in Joseph Russell's employ. He was promoted to bookkeeper and finally to business manager, a position he held in 1849.³¹ He and his new partner, John Harley, certainly were good candidates to operate the formerly successful business they had just purchased. Together, they had the necessary technical and managerial experience. They certainly knew the prevailing economic conditions and the pitfalls of such a business from first hand knowledge. And they simply would be continuing in the same enterprise with which they had been associated for several years.

³⁰ Gazetteer of the British Isles (Edinburgh, 1970), pp. 43, 178. In 1961, the population of Courtmacsherry was 330 and of Brandon, 3122.

³¹ Manny, p. 36.

The type of business into which Harley and Burchill were venturing, shipbuilding and lumbering, had existed in New Brunswick since before New Brunswick existed as a political entity. The first ship built on the Miramichi was launched in 1773 by William Davidson, the first owner of Beaubair's Island. He was also the founder of New Brunswick's masting industry, having begun in 1779 to provide masts and spars for the King's Navy.³² Shipbuilding and timber-making, while natural industries for a forested province, were conducted in a rather special manner. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the products of the forests and the shipyards were used as a medium of exchange in a rather elaborate barter system. Goods purchased in Great Britain were paid for with ships built in the colonies and sent to Britain loaded with timber and deals manufactured in the colonies.³³ Such ships acquired an unfavourable reputation for the colonies because they were often poorly constructed and badly fastened, and sometimes they were built under contract at amounts that did not enable the builder to cover costs.³⁴ The ships were also "built of woods that Lloyds considered second rate, either from weakness or because they would not last."³⁵ Abraham Gesner reported that by 1847, "a successful effort has been made to improve

³² Ibid., p. 11

³³ Mary Innis, An Economic History of Canada (Toronto, 1954), pp. 127-128.

³⁴ Abraham Gesner, New Brunswick: With Notes for Immigrants (London, 1847), p. 303.

³⁵ A.R.M. Lower, Great Britain's Woodyard (Montreal, 1973), p. 237.

the shipbuilding and the vessels now built by the merchants under proper inspection are equal, if not superior, to any ever launched."³⁶

This may not have been entirely correct. Ships were rated by Lloyds with a number, letter, number designation. The first number meant the number of years for which a classification was valid, provided it was properly maintained. The lowest classification given here was "4", for four years. Ships good for less than four years, that is "3", "2" or "1", were not rated. The next part of the rating was the letter "A" for new ships, indicating that good, or at least material acceptable to Lloyds, had been used. The final number was an indication of the quality of the workmanship involved. Hence, the lowest ratings for new ships were "4A", meaning built of good materials and rated for four years, or "4A1", meaning of good materials, well built, and capable of holding this rating for four years. Although some ships built on the Miramichi in the 1840's were rated at "5A1" or "6A1" by Lloyds, most were rated at the minimum "4A1", or were not rated at all. It was not until the 1850's that most obtained a rating of "7A1" or better.³⁷ Professor McNutt judged the 1850's as the period when "New Brunswick shipbuilding had entered the phase of quality construction"³⁸, a statement which Dr. Manny's figures confirm.

³⁶ Gesner, p. 303.

³⁷ Manny, pp. 76-84.

³⁸ McNutt, p. 332.

Shippers in various British ports, particularly Liverpool, were buying ships for world trade and demanded a better quality than they had been receiving earlier, particularly in the "timber droghers". New Brunswick shipbuilders began to import oak knees from Quebec for ship construction. Native grown oak knees were available in New Brunswick but by 1850 were only found in limited quantities. Prior to that date most had been used or, more probably, had been sold to British shipyards. In the 1850's, almost too late, the government prohibited the export of hackmatack (tamarac) knees, an acceptable substitute for oak, which were being sold abroad. "After the preferences [Navigation Acts] were withdrawn and New Brunswick was building for a general trade, the character of its ships improved ... When New Brunswick began to use more tamarac and more hardwood, her ships got more consideration from Lloyds."³⁹

"The 1850's were the golden age of ~~Mid~~ Michichi shipbuilding. There was a sudden demand for emigrant ships for Australia, for ships to carry cargos of guano, to take troops and supplies to the Crimea, to go round the Horn for the California Gold Rush."⁴⁰ By this time most American ships were being employed in the various aspects of the California trade.

³⁹ Lower, Woodyards, p. 236.

⁴⁰ Manny, p. 34.

John Harley and George Burchill completed the agreement to purchase the Joseph Russell shipyard and business on 21 June 1850. In one of their first ledgers, they listed a real estate inventory value of £ 750 for the complete establishment. This included the seven dwelling houses, 2 at £ 15 each (presumably the three-family units), and 5 at £ 13 each (the two-family units). It also included the "Island, Wharf, Boom, etc." at £ 500, blacksmith's shop at £ 10, foreman's house at £ 18, main dwelling house and out buildings at £ 25 and several stores at various values.⁴¹ For this they paid £ 1000; £ 500 as a down payment and two installments of £ 250 each to be made in June 1851 and June 1852.⁴² There is no explanation as to why £ 250 more than the real estate value was paid. Perhaps it was for the inventory of goods and deals of which there is no mention. These items must have existed, for business accounts show sales of goods beginning immediately upon completion of the purchase transaction. Perhaps also the £ 750 was not a true value for this self-contained community. In George Burchill's first ledger as a merchant, after the partnership dissolved in 1857, there is an account entitled "Estate of late Firm of Harley & Burchill." In the column to George Burchill's credit there is an entry "By J. Harley for his Purchase of Island - £ 2000."⁴³ With no major additions or construction having taken place, and before the days of "double digit" inflation, it appears unlikely

⁴¹ MBU/II/8/3/1, Draft of Purchase Agreement, 1849.

⁴² MBU/II/13/5/4, Purchase agreement, 21 June 1850.

⁴³ MBU/I/2/3/3, Ledger, Estate of Late Firm of Harley & Burchill.

that the value of the property would increase from £ 750 to £ 4000.

The amount of £ 1000 was indeed a bargain.

Could these two men have amassed this amount themselves?

John Harley had been a part owner of a ship in 1827 and had been a master builder for at least 22 years. He could possibly have saved his share, £250, in that period. But George Burchill was only 30 years old and had been employed as a store clerk for at least four years before he went to work for Joseph Russell. He worked for Russell as a clerk, a bookkeeper and finally a business manager, in all no more than ten years. We do not know his salary and wage rates are sketchy for this period. But from the following table of salaries of those engaged in lumbering or exporting, we may speculate on his income.

The classification most readily applied to Burchill is that of "Managers, clerks and sorters." In his employment with Joseph Russell he rose from clerk to manager. If one assumes that wages on the Miramichi were similar to those at Quebec and that Russell, a rather small operator when compared to the Quebec operations, paid the going rates, George Burchill's salary in the 1840's could have begun at £80 per annum and could have increased to £200 per annum by 1849, not a large income from which to save £250.

But it is possible to have saved this amount while engaged in lumbering on the Miramichi. It had been done by Robert Rankin who had arrived in Miramichi on 12 May 1818 to work for Gilmour, Rankin & Co.

TABLE 2 - WAGE RATES OF REPRESENTATIVE NINETEENTH CENTURY
OCCUPATIONS

Date	Occupation	Location	Wage	Equivalent Annual Income ⁴⁴
1818	Clerk/Cashier	Glasgow	£40/annum ⁴⁵	£40
1822	Manager	St. John	£100/annum ⁴⁶	£100
1836	Managers, clerks and sorters	Quebec	£80-200/annum ⁴⁷	£80-200
1836	Foremen	Quebec	35-40s/week ⁴⁷	£91-104
1836	Labourers	Quebec	3/-4/6/day ⁴⁷	£47-71
1840	Joiners	St. John	4/-/day ⁴⁸	£62
1850	Labourers	St. John	\$1 day + board ⁴⁸	£65
1850	Labourers	Fredericton	3/6d/day ⁴⁹	£55
1854	Labourers	Fredericton	7/6d/day ⁵⁰	£112
1854	Labourers	Ottawa	\$20/month ⁵⁰	£50
1854	Hewers	Ottawa	\$40/month ⁵⁰	£100
1860	Shipyard workers	St. John	£1/10-3/15 week ⁵⁰	£78-195
1871	Specification clerks	Quebec	\$280-350/year ⁴⁷	£58-73

⁴⁴ This assumes the unlikely conditions of six days work per week, 52 weeks per year for those wages not given on a per annum basis.

⁴⁵ John Rankin, A History of Our Firm (London, 1921), p. 72.

⁴⁶ Ibid. This was the salary for Robert Rankin for the year prior to his becoming a junior partner in charge of the St. John operation.

⁴⁷ Lower, Woodyard, p. 217.

⁴⁸ Spicer, p. 128

⁴⁹ New Brunswick Reporter and Fredericton Advertiser, Fredericton, New Brunswick, 31 July 1854.

⁵⁰ Lower, Woodyard, p. 118.

In the account books of that firm he had to his credit, £32/8/9. His annual income was to be £100 plus his room and board. He was transferred to Saint John in 1822, and when his account was transferred on February 1823, he had a balance in his favour of £398/6.⁵¹ He had saved nearly 80% of his salary.

Although the possibility remains that the down payment was made from his personal savings, a more likely explanation is that Burchill's purchase, and indeed the initial operations of the firm, were financed by Rankin, Gilmour & Co. of Liverpool through their Miramichi branch, Gilmour, Rankin & Co.

Gilmour, Rankin & Co. was an import, export, wholesale, retail, lumbering and shipbuilding firm located at Douglastown, Miramichi, about five miles down river from Beaubair's Island. As John Rankin described them they were "general suppliers and general employers"⁵². It was an offshoot of the Glasgow firm of Pollock, Gilmour & Co. In 1804 this parent company had been formed by two brothers, John and Arthur Pollock, and Allan Gilmour, all Glasgow merchants and timber dealers, and all formerly from Mearns, Scotland. Gilmour, the overseas trader and innovator in the partnership, made one or more voyages to the Miramichi around 1810-11. On his recommendation, a company office was established there in 1812; his brother James and Alexander Rankin, another native of Mearns, were sent out as

⁵¹ Rankin, pp. 71-72.

⁵² Ibid, p. 49.

junior partners to establish Gilmour, Rankin & Co. at Douglastown. This became their main British North American operation, the one at which new members of the firm served their apprenticeship (after Glasgow, of course), prior to being dispatched to operate other branches in the colonies.⁵³ There apprentices were almost always Scottish and from Mearns, and most often were brothers, cousins or in-laws of other partners. This firm on the Miramichi was a general wholesaler for the "North Shore" of New Brunswick, along with, and sometimes in violent opposition to, Cunard. "The tactics of either [Cunard and Gilmour, Rankin & Co.] were to oppose everything and in everything, in and out of season."⁵⁴ In time

Gilmour, Rankin, & Co. started their own shipyard, indeed, actively carried on this branch. The two rival firms [with Cunard] each having its own clients, supplied other builders with goods, materials, and cash advances and at the end of the season those clients' crafts would be sent home to Liverpool, the market then for the sale of softwood ships.

Among the builders who worked through Gilmour, Rankin & Co. were Joseph Russell, George Burchill and later, John Harley, each turning out two or three ships each year.⁵⁵

⁵³ Rankin, *passim*. John Rankin, the author, was the nephew of Alexander Rankin of Miramichi and of Robert Rankin of Saint John. He became a senior partner of Rankin, Gilmour & Co. of Liverpool and later became chairman of the surviving firm of Rankin, Gilmour & Co. He was made a director of Royal Insurance in 1892 and was chairman between 1909 and 1912. He was married to Catherine Currie, the sister-in-law of David Jardine. David Jardine was from the Richibucto shipbuilding but by this time was back in Liverpool. His future connection with George Burchill will unfold in due course.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

The above passage implies that Rankin, Gilmour & Co. did finance operating expenses for varying concerns. That George Burchill was mentioned separately from John Harley, when in fact they owned the yard together before Harley went on his own, suggests that Burchill's relationship was more than that of a shipbuilding customer. John Rankin was later to state that Burchill was "heavily weighted",⁵⁶ or financed by Rankin, Gilmour & Co.

Further evidence that the Beaubair's Island shipyard under its various owners may have had a special relationship with the Pollock and Gilmour group of companies is seen in John Rankin's sketch of John Ferguson of the Bathurst firm of Ferguson, Rankin & Co. John Ferguson came to North America in 1836. After the Bathurst firm was in operation, he returned to Britain at least one winter, spending "another winter in the Quebec shipyard and drawing office and yet another at Russell's yard on Beaubair's Island at Miramichi, a valued client of Rankin, Gilmour & Co."⁵⁷ Why did he not spend the winter with Gilmour, Rankin & Co. on the Miramichi? Was the relationship that close that Joseph Russell's yard was considered part of the family?

A letter of George Burchill of 17 November 1856 to Rankin, Gilmour & Co. in Liverpool indicated how close was the supervision that Rankin, Gilmour & Co. kept on Harley & Burchill. "... You are

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 199.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 125.

aware that all our transactions since we commenced in 1849-50 have passed through your hands⁵⁸

Perhaps this is not conclusive, but it is nevertheless convincing evidence that Burchill was financed by Rankin, Gilmour & Co. This latter firm, with their parent firm Pollock, Gilmour & Co., certainly were financially able to do so and it was in their interests to finance a new partnership. They bought and sold ships as well as supplied ship's outfittings. Harley & Burchill were thus a firm on which to gain a profit on supplies and on the finished product. In that year, 1850, the firm of Harley & Burchill would not be in competition with Rankin, Gilmour & Co. for the Miramichi branch, Gilmour, Rankin & Co., were not to begin shipbuilding until 1857. In addition, they were well aware of Harley's superior workmanship having purchased many of his ships. One he had built at the Abrams yard in 1838, and subsequently purchased by Rankin, Gilmour & Co., was still in operation in 1906.⁵⁹

The island purchased by John Harley and George Burchill, as the sponsor of the newspaper advertisement stated, was in an ideal location for shipbuilding and lumbering, as well as for general merchandising. Ships of over 1000 tons could be built there. As the confluence of the two major branches of a large river, and near the mouth of

⁵⁸ MBU/I/1/1, Letterbook, Harley & Burchill to Rankin, Gilmour & Co., 17 November 1856.

⁵⁹ Rankin, p. 27.

several small branches, it was well situated for carrying on lumbering in this heavily wooded and sparsely populated section of New Brunswick. Beaubair's Island, and the settlements on the shore opposite the island, were in Nelson parish. The parish covered 237 square miles of Northumberland County, an area of 4760 square miles. In the parish, there were only 3640 acres of improved land, 2.1% of the total; and in the county there were 30,221 acres improved, 1% of the total.⁶⁰ The density of population in the parish was 7.7 people per square mile.⁶¹ According to the census figures (Table 5), agriculture was the major occupation but the low percentage of cleared land in both the parish and the county lends credence to the contention that farming in New Brunswick was just a way to spend the summer between the timber cutting forays into the woods in the winter. These forays required provisioning which could be supplied by businesses like that established on Beaubair's Island.

In summary, Tables 3 through 7 show that Nelson parish was largely an agricultural parish, populated by native New Brunswickers, the majority of whom were of Irish descent. This makeup, of course, does not set it apart from the rest of the county nor does it make the county ideal for any particular business or industrial undertaking. It was the forests, the rivers, and the low population density

⁶⁰ New Brunswick, Journals of the House of Assembly, 1852, Population Returns, Appendix 1, p. XVI.

⁶¹ Ibid.

TABLE 3 - POPULATION AND HOUSING, NORTHUMBERLAND COUNTY

	1851 62		1861 63		1871 64		1881 64		1891 64		1901 64	
	Nelson	North.	Nelson	North.	Nelson	North.	Nelson	North.	Nelson	North.	Nelson	North.
Population	1816	15064	1504	18801	1646	20116	2724	25109	1907	25713	1948	28543
Families	269	2782	223	2777	272	3191	497	--	--	--	356	--
Houses	262	2116	212	2469	264	3085	458	--	--	--	356	--

TABLE 4 - RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, NORTHUMBERLAND COUNTY

TABLE 4 - RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, NORTHUMBERLAND COUNTY									
	1861 63	1871 64		1881 64		1891 64		1901 64	
		North.	Nelson	North.	Nelson	North.	Nelson	North.	Nelson
Baptist	1063	15	1157	38	1298	8	1464	17	1653
Catholic	8707	1148	9033	2002	11657	1306	12438	1370	14378
Anglican	1982	144	2177	220	2528	198	2405	260	2612
Methodist	649	19	901	44	1448	42	1591	15	1827
Presbyterian	6364	320	6816	413	7986	353	7685	345	7962
Other	36	--	--	7	192	0	130	1	114

TABLE 5 - OCCUPATIONAL CLASSES, NORTHUMBERLAND COUNTY

	1851 ⁶²		1861 ⁶³		1871 ⁶⁴	1881 ⁶⁴
	Nelson	North.	Nelson	North.	North.	North.
Agricultural	290	1517	227	2548	2399	4309
Commercial	3	62	2	150	367	476
Domestic	--	0	--	--	462	333
Industrial	68	601	33	848	1542	1096
Professional	1	25	6	99	204	302
Not Classified	50	1002	174	1852	1812	1617

TABLE 6 - RACIAL ORIGIN, NORTHUMBERLAND COUNTY

	1871 ⁶⁴		1881 ⁶⁴		1891 ⁶⁴	
	Nelson	North.	Nelson	North.	Nelson	North.
English	151	3002	240	3972	179	4569
French	10	1377	690	2736	102	5506
Irish	1136	8009	1234	9200	1321	8967
Scottish	325	6895	485	8329	324	8779
Other/Unknown	17	832	75	872	12	722

⁶² Ibid., pp. XVI, XVII.

⁶³ Journals, 1862, Census of 1861, pp. 68-69.

⁶⁴ Census of Canada. These figures were extrapolated from various tables for 1871, 1881, 1891, and 1901. Industrial Class workers, Table 5 includes such workers as bakers, blacksmiths, butchers, carders, coopers, tailors, printers, shoemakers, machinists, fishermen and various others for these years.

TABLE 7 - PLACE OF BIRTH - NORTHUMBERLAND COUNTY

	1851 '62		1861 '63		1871 '64		1881 '64		1891 '64		1901 '64	
	North.		Nelson		North.		Nelson		North.		Nelson	
	Nelson	North.	Nelson	North.	Nelson	North.	Nelson	North.	Nelson	North.	Nelson	North.
England	28	306	14	271	15	311	11	222	148	107		
Ireland	368	2095	272	2012	214	1586	123	937	522	245		
Scotland	64	895	71	740	28	916	24	459	253	137		
N.B.	1348	11581	1153	15073	1308	16257	2470	22391	23749	26570		
Canada	--	--	--	--	69	618	79	851	851	1690		
Europe	--	--	--	--	2	326	9	53	53	72		
U.S.	--	--	--	--	7	82	6	82	82	160		
Other	10	187	10	112	3	20	2	55	55	90		

of the county that made lumbering and shipbuilding logical and popular business undertakings.

Population returns for 1851 indicate that 601 inhabitants of Northumberland were classed as industrial workers. However, the majority of these were self-employed tradesmen or sawmill workers. It was not a broad industrial base. Thirteen gristmills employed 28 people; 17 tanneries, 21 people; one foundry, 11 people; and three weaving establishments, 5 people. Thus 34 non-forest industry establishments employed 65 people, 18 saw mills employed 240 people,⁶⁵ and 296 were probably included in such industrial class workers as blacksmiths, butchers, bakers, dress makers, carpenters, harnessmakers, printers, and others who could be called service industry workers.⁶⁶

There were two major industries in Nelson in 1851 and five small establishments. A sawmill employed 17⁶⁷ men and the smaller establishments, eight. The majority of the 43 remaining industrial workers would have been employed at or near the shipyard at Beaubair's Island for it was the only settlement of any size in 1851. In the whole parish there were only 1816 inhabitants. Beaubair's Island is two miles from Newcastle and six miles from Chatham. It was indeed

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ See note 64 for description.

⁶⁷ Journals, 1852, Population Returns, Appendix 1.

an outpost, quite out of the mainstream of county life. The previous owner, John Fraser, had sold the business to Joseph Russell because he wished to live in a community of some social and commercial life and where his children could attend school. In this isolated district, the establishment offered for sale on Beaubair's Island was the major merchandising establishment, and was indeed a "Valuable Property". In 1850, when the island was purchased, the future looked bright for Harley & Burchill. Ships were again in demand and the depression was over. Burchill was to thrive in this locale and survive as a family business for the next 128 years.

II

HARLEY & BURCHILL, SHIPBUILDERS, 1850 TO 1857

Harley & Burchill began their shipbuilding operations in the spring of 1850. Not surprisingly, the first entry in their Petty Ledger was the Ship Yard Account.¹ It was made on 25 June 1850, only four days after the formation of the partnership. By year's end, the debits of this account totaled £3400/10/11 1/2 while the credits totaled only £174/3/6 1/2. This latter amount was recorded for the sale of miscellaneous bits of timber and supplies. It was not until June 1851, upon completion of a ship, that a credit of £5300 was entered to offset the mounting debts. Even with this entry, the net debt at the end of 1851 was over £3000, a substantial amount for a small concern, ostensibly worth only £1000². Of such situations, John Rankin wrote, "Colonial shipbuilders got their outfits and much material shipped out periodically altogether on credit, the hulls in due time coming home for realization."³ Rankin continues, "Especially

¹ The major record book of any firm, the Ledger, is missing for the early years of Harley & Burchill. This book is a summary book and includes the Balance Sheet, Profit and Loss Account and the summary accounts of the various facets of a company such as Lumber Account, Ship Account, Goods Account. But since this is a summary book, its absence does not make the study of a company impossible, but might make it more thorough as the information must be gleaned from other sources.

² MBU/II/13/5/4, Purchase agreement, 21 June 1850.

³ Rankin, p. 245.

in Liverpool, there were many accounts running, besides those of foreign concerns, which were akin to banking accounts."⁴ As Rankin has mentioned only Joseph Russell, George Burchill and John Harley as the firm's shipbuilding customers at Miramichi, their most important colonial office, it would appear that Harley & Burchill financed their operations through Rankin, Gilmour & Co. Although the Harley & Burchill records indicate that this firm built ships with no firm orders and only the hope of selling them, they did send ships to Great Britain, to Rankin, Gilmour & Co., to be sold as best that firm saw fit. John Rankin states that his firm bought some of these vessels, but others were sold to various customers, probably with the help of Rankin contacts in Liverpool.

From 1850 to February 1857, Harley & Burchill built nine ships ranging in size from 568 tons to 1002 tons and having a total tonnage of 6690 tons. The total profit from the Ship Yard Account, as recorded in the Petty Ledger, was £26/4/6 1/2! And this figure included the value of the stock and furniture of the shipyard after the sale of the last ship. No wonder they were to say that it was quite impossible "for parties to build such ships as the Kylodyne [their last ship] in the Colonies at the prices running of late and keep solvent."⁵

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ MBU/I/1/1/1, Letter Book, Harley & Burchill to Rankin, Gilmour & Co., 28 July 1856:

In Ships of Miramichi, Dr. Louise⁶ Manny gives some figures which differ greatly from those of Harley & Burchill and which lead one to question the above conclusions. Unfortunately, Manny's figures are not footnoted and cannot be verified. The two Harley & Burchill ships for which she records sale prices are the "Clan Gregor" which sold for £8600⁶, and the "Algiers" for £8300.⁷ For these two ships, Harley & Burchill credit to their Ship Yard Account, £7000 and £10,800 respectively. Whereas one would probably discount an unfootnoted secondary source when it does not agree with historical manuscripts, in this instance both accounts may be correct, as the following examination of future accounts will show.

When the partnership was dissolved in 1857, Harley & Burchill had a credit with Rankin, Gilmour & Co. of £11,511/8. This certainly was not the £26 profit recorded in their Ship Yard Account. Perhaps the missing General Ledger would explain how this large amount was obtained. However, some light may be shed on this discrepancy by examining the bookkeeping methods employed by George Burchill in later years.

As a lumberman, George Burchill conducted woods operations, operated a saw mill and sold logs. Each of these operations was treated separately, almost as a separate company, capable of earning

⁶ Manny, p. 39.

⁷ Ibid., p. 44.

⁸ MBU/II/8/3/7, Current Account with Rankin, Gilmour & Co.

a profit or suffering a loss. This result was then entered in the Profit and Loss Account as a separate entry. In effect, each account contracted with another account to perform a task at a specific rate. The profit or loss on such an account cannot be accepted at face value, but must be viewed as part of the whole.

This system was probably practiced in the earlier period of shipbuilding. The Ship Yard Account was simply the account for the construction of ships. Another account in the General Ledger, possibly labelled the Ship Account, would tabulate the sales and operations of ships.

Although the above theory is based on bookkeeping methods employed at a later date, it would help explain how this firm of Harley & Burchill had a credit of over £11,000 with Rankin, Gilmour & Co. of Liverpool when the partnership dissolved in 1857. This theory gains credability when one compares the Ship Yard Account of 1854 with later correspondence. On 28 November 1854, a credit entry of £10,350 for the ship "Ocean Bride" was made.⁹ This is soon after the launching of the vessel, not after its sale. And it was not until 2 June 1856 that an outgoing letter acknowledged the sale of the "Ocean Bride" for an unspecified amount.¹⁰ Since the ship was not sold until 1856, the Ship Yard Account credit of November 1854 could only have

⁹ MBU/I/2/1/2, Petty Ledger, Ship Yard Account.

¹⁰ MBU/I/1/1/1, Letter Book, Harley & Burchill to Rankin, Gilmour & Co., 2 June 1856.

been an assumed worth. Dr. Manny's figures, though different from Burchill's, might well be true.

Harley & Burchill employed three different administrative methods to have their ships built. The first method was to directly administer and supervise all phases of the construction. They paid each man on a daily rate for his labour. The cost was totalled when, the ship was complete.

The second method was to contract with a two-man team, Gibbs and Daley, to build the ships for them. These men built in the company yards at Beaubair's Island and obtained their supplies from Harley & Burchill. Upon completion of the ship, at least to the point to which they had contracted, Gibbs and Daley received a credit for the amount of the contract to offset the debits they had incurred for supplies and cash advances. The ships so built were officially credited to Harley & Burchill with Gibbs and Daley listed as the master builders.

Harley & Burchill's third method of having ships built was a variation of their first method and can be seen in the accounts of one of their employees, Peter Day. Beginning in May of 1850, his debit entries were for groceries and household items. In September 1851, his first major credit reads "By cash on ship Equator per agreement-E95" and "By work on Barque Fleetwood per agreement-E90".¹¹ Day

¹¹ MBU/I/2/3/1, Ledger, Peter Day Account.

had obviously contracted to supply some type of shipbuilding labour; this type becoming evident upon payment for the next ship; "By joiner work, ship Chevalier per agreement-£150".¹² He worked for both Harley & Burchill and for Gibbs and Daley. In 1854, Day's credit entry reads "By Gibbs and Daley Joiner work on ship Selisteria - £140".¹³ In June 1857, Day received "By Joiner work Shop Algiers - 1066 Tons @ 5/- £266/10", thereby explaining his terms of employment as on a per ton basis.¹⁴ During their seven years of partnership, Harley & Burchill built nine ships with Peter Day receiving a large sum for joiner work on each. He was, in reality, their ship carpenter.

The ships built by Harley & Burchill were not sold at Miramichi. According to Rankin, "Generally the vessels built at Miramichi and Bathurst were, as soon as possible, marketed on arrival in this country [Britain] as were also, of course, those of the shipbuilding clients."¹⁵ Harley & Burchill did not always follow this system of building on credit and sending the ship "home" to pay off the debts accrued in building it. On at least one occasion they attempted to own and operate a ship themselves. The "Ocean Bride", launched in the fall of 1854, made its maiden voyage for Harley & Burchill in July 1855 with

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Rankin, p. 192.

a consignment of deals to Rankin, Gilmour & Co.¹⁶ On 2 November 1855, Burchill wrote to Rankin, Gilmour & Co. advising that the "Ocean Bride" had sailed again with a load of deals on consignment but this time he asked that the ship as well as the cargo be sold.¹⁷ Harley & Burchill felt that the insurance rates and wages were too great to be able to operate at a profit. During the winter of 1855-56, the "Ocean Bride" continued to be operated by Harley & Burchill, plying between the West Indies and Liverpool.¹⁸ In February 1856, Burchill blamed their tardiness in making payments on account on losses sustained in operating the "Ocean Bride".¹⁹ On one voyage the operating expenses were £1112/16/2 while the freight earned was only £426/15/9. In all they expected to lose £6780/5/2 on their ship-owning venture.²⁰ They acknowledged sale of the ship in a letter to Rankin, Gilmour & Co. that summer,²¹ but, as was their practice, they did not mention the sale price in the letter.

Harley & Burchill often complained of the high cost of insurance but, according to A.R.M. Lower, purchasing insurance was an

¹⁶ MBU/I/2/16/2, Invoice Book, July 1855.

¹⁷ MBU/I/1/1/1, Letter Book, Harley & Burchill to Rankin, Gilmour & Co., 2 November 1855.

¹⁸ Ibid., Harley & Burchill to Capt. W. Cumming of the "Ocean Bride", 30 January 1856.

¹⁹ Ibid., Harley & Burchill to Rankin, Gilmour & Co., 8 February 1856.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

exception to the general practice. Perhaps it was only Quebec practice Lower was describing when he states "There was no insurance affected as a rule, either on ship or cargo."²² However, S. Spicer, writing specifically about the Maritimes, states that "There were owners who shipped their own cargoes without carrying a cent of insurance but they were in the minority. Shippers demanded insurance coverage on their cargoes and most owners felt it prudent to so protect themselves."²³ Harley & Burchill were prudent owners, even if it was difficult to be so. They always insured their ships, even if it meant paying high rates and splitting the policy among several centers, such as New York, London and Liverpool.

Harley & Burchill obtained timber to built their ships in many ways. Beginning in October 1849, even before they officially owned the company, their Petty Ledger shows an account for "Lee and Condy, Lumberers" who paid for good received "By Ship Timber - £199/13/7."²⁴ From October 1849 to August 1850, another customer, Peter Clyde, received goods and paid "By Ships Timber - £199/0/8."²⁵ Other small local lumberers paid in juniper, white pine, birch logs, ships knees, and birch ship's planks.²⁶

²² Lower, Woodyard, p. 155.

²³ Spicer, p. 200.

²⁴ MBU/I/2/1/1, Petty Ledger, pp. 2-5.

²⁵ Ibid., passim.

²⁶ MBU/I/2/16/2, Invoice Book.

But good quality ships required some oak framing, and New Brunswick oak was not considered a top grade wood by Lloyd's, the ultimate judge of ships. Quebec was the nearest source of acceptable oak so Harley & Burchill bought from there. In 1855 they purchased, from Henry Noad of Quebec, several large pieces which were the key pieces of the frame; the keels, keelsons and stems. Unfortunately, the records for earlier years do not exist so one cannot determine if this was their regular practice.

In addition to materials either purchased or received as payment for goods sold, Harley & Burchill most probably cut some of the shipbuilding material themselves. According to Crown Land Reports, John Harley was the holder of timber licenses in 1850 and from 1852 to 1856. Since these were the days before stumpage was paid, we cannot determine how extensively these limits were worked but we can see that he held cutting privileges on large areas.²⁷ In 1850, the area was only 6 1/2 square miles but from 1852 to 1856 it was 22 1/2, 50, 35, 59 and 10 square miles respectively. These licenses, for which as good businessmen they never paid more than the "upset fee", that is, the opening, minimum bid, were on the South West Miramichi, Little South West Miramichi, Baraby River, Semiwagon River, Little Sevogle, Renous River, and North West Miramichi, all tributaries which emptied into the Miramichi River not more than a few miles from

²⁸ Journals, Crown Land Reports, 1852 to 1856 inclusive.

Beaubair's Island. We can assume that the limits were cut upon because Harley & Burchill had a saw pit on Beaubair's Island capable of sawing at least ship's timber.²⁹

The Invoice Book for 1855-56 gives some indication of the size if not the method of their lumber operation. Between July and October 1855, they shipped 1,009,454 feet of deals in two major consignments to Rankin, Gilmour & Co. and also made two small sales to Halifax. In 1856, they made four major shipments, again to Liverpool, totaling 2,009,668 superficial feet of deals. These figures show that while Harley & Burchill were not major operators, they were serious consistent businessmen and not mere speculators seeking to earn money quickly. Unfortunately, these are the only records of the lumber operations of Harley & Burchill.

In addition to being shipbuilders and lumber merchants, Harley & Burchill were also general retail merchants, probably the only ones in Nelson. As general merchants in those days before specialization in merchandising, their 1850 spring orders to Great Britain to Rankin, Gilmour & Co. were valued at £735 and included such items as fabrics, clothes, shoes, ribbons, linens, table covers, paint, plaster, scythes, books, slates, spices, tobacco, various

²⁹ The Gleaner, 21 February 1849. "Timber limits" describes the area of land leased from the Crown, and measured in square miles, upon which logs could be cut. The fees paid, as determined by auction, were referred to as mileage fees.

shapes of iron bars, furniture and other types of hardware and household supplies. From New York in the spring of 1850, they ordered breads, tobacco, raisins, beans, pork and hayseed. Orders were sent to Quebec for flour, oatmeal, vinegar, peas and ceramic ware, while Halifax supplied molasses, vinegar, sugar, vegetable seeds and spices.³⁰

In the fall of 1850, another series of orders was placed for a larger variety of items. The order to England included small pieces of hardware, tools such as files, saws, knives and chisels, crockery, and equipment and supplies such as blocks, one and one half tons of "Best Red Oakum" and 500 pounds of white oakum to outfit a ship. The fall orders to Scotland went to J. Cunard and Company for 3000 yards of "Bluebird Canvass" in various grades with the note "sail for a ship of 800 tons."³¹ Other items ordered were ropes in sizes from 1 3/4" to 4 1/4", sail yarn and other shipbuilding supplies. "Colonial Orders, Fall of 1850" went to Halifax for sugar, molasses, spices, fish, rice, vinegar, raisins and nuts; to New York for cornmeal, flour, pitch, tar, resin, varnish, turpentine, biscuits, beans, and hayseed; and to Quebec for oatmeal, pork, beef, flour, onions, apples, peas, a Buffalo robe and a stove.³² Clearly, Harley & Burchill had an extensive and growing business, not all of it connected with shipbuilding.

³⁰ MBU/I/2/15/1, Order Book, passim.

³¹ Ibid., Great Britain Orders, Fall of 1850.

³² Ibid., Colonial Orders, Fall of 1850.

From these 1850 orders we can see a certain pattern developing. Britain was the source of all fine, quality items and for the products of secondary industries. Orders for foodstuffs and primary industry products were placed in North America, but here also there was a division of sources. Both Quebec and New York were centers from which foodstuffs were ordered with New York being also the supplier of such primary manufactured goods as pitch, tar and rosin. Halifax was mainly a trans-shipper, a supplier of West Indian goods such as rice, spices, sugar, molasses and nuts. These centers, with Boston joining them in 1854, filled Harley & Burchill's spring and fall orders with an increasing variety of goods. In addition to the items mentioned, they also began ordering fine fabrics, mirrors, glassware, cutlery, candles, churns, matches, stones, rifles, burning fluids, oils, epsom salts, soap, rum, wine, brandy, tea, coffee, ale, lemon syrup, cheese and butter. To supply the needs of the inhabitants of Nelson Parish, little was purchased locally or in the remainder of New Brunswick, and only one order, for 1800 bushels of oats, went to a Prince Edward Island company.³³

We are given an indication of the size of the merchandising operation of Harley & Burchill from the size of their British orders. In 1853 these totaled £4945; in 1854, £6255; in 1855, £1426; in 1856, †

³³ MBU/I/1/1/1, Letter Book, Harley & Burchill to T. McNutt, 1855.

TABLE 8. COLONIAL ORDERS OF HARLEY & BURCHILL, 1855

Item	Quantity	City	Cost
Molasses	1309 gallons	Halifax	E 85/4/10
Molasses	12 puncheons	Halifax	173/3/0
Flour	445 barrels	Quebec	1113/7/0
Cornmeal	110 barrels	Quebec	166/17/6
Cornmeal	40 barrels	Boston	42/4/5
Cornmeal	120 barrels	New York	126/10/0
Rye Flour	30 barrels	Boston	40/1/0
Oatmeal	10 barrels	Quebec	21/11/3
Pilot Bread	13 barrels	Quebec	25/16/2
Navy Bread	20 barrels	Boston	37/11/0
Rice	1 barrel (308 lbs.)	Boston	4/5/0
Mess Pork	55 barrels	Quebec	272/10/0
Mess Pork	30 barrels	New York	139/0/0
Mess Beef	10 barrels	Quebec	33/25/0
Mackeral	1 1/2 barrel	Halifax	5/5/0
Cod fish	20 quintals	Halifax	18/0/0
Cod oil	1 barrel	Halifax	147/17/3
Butter	32 tubs (87 1/2 lbs.)	Halifax	42/4/5
Cheese	1 keg (77 lbs.)	Halifax	9/17/2
Ale	2 kegs (40 gal.)	Quebec	3/0/0
Tobacco	22 boxes	Boston	81/16/7

£4317.³⁴ North American purchases were in addition to these. The 1855-56 Invoice Book indicates not only the size of Harley & Burchill's orders in North America, but also the extent to which the Miramichi depended on imported foodstuffs. Table 8 lists the American purchases in 1855 at a total price of £2610/0/7.

To maintain the large stock, Harley & Burchill often supplemented the regular spring and fall orders with small "colonial" orders at any time between regular orders. The British orders were either placed with Rankin, Gilmour & Co., or sent directly to the supplier with a copy going to Rankin, Gilmour & Co. Payment was always made to Rankin, Gilmour & Co., and were shipped by them from Liverpool or Glasgow.³⁵ Rankin, Gilmour & Co. also acted as bankers for orders placed in New York with Maitland, Philips and Company, Harley & Burchill's major American supplier.³⁶ Their choice of this New York supplier is explained by John Rankin's statement that Maitland, Philips were "the strong and attached financial agents of the firm [Rankin, Gilmour & Co.] at New York."³⁷ Even Harley & Burchill's choice of an American supplier was directed, or at least suggested by Rankin, Gilmour & Co. Harley & Burchill's supplier and

³⁴ MBU/I/2/15/1, Order Book, passim.

³⁵ MBU/I/2/16/1, Invoice Book, 1855-56.

³⁶ MBU/I/1/1/1, Letter Book, Harley & Burchill to H.J. Noad, 5 September 1855.

³⁷ Rankin, p. 233.

agent in Quebec City was Henry J. Noad, a company seemingly unconnected with Rankin, Gilmour & Co.

Harley & Burchill sold these goods on a retail basis to local inhabitants who purchased regularly in quantities for personal use and paid in labour, other goods or cash. Many such customers were also their employees for at least part of the year and their wages were credited to their accounts. Unlike the popular notion of the "truck system", Harley & Burchill's employees were not in constant debt. A quarterly balancing of accounts most often showed a balance in the employees' favour. The men often received cash payments, either at balance times or in between. Many customers, including employees, sold goods to Harley & Burchill and had the amount credited to their accounts. These goods were all local products such as ships planks, logs, lumber, butter, barrels of salmon and alewives, oats, shingles and a particularly valuable item, ships knees.³⁸ In addition to the regular employees, others paid in "labour", "surveying" and by "Outward pilotage of Ocean Bridge."³⁹

The goods received by Harley & Burchill as payments were disposed of in several ways. Lumber, logs, knees, and ship planks would obviously go into ships or ships cargoes. Oats and butter,

³⁸ MBU/I/2/1/1, Petty Ledger, Donavon and Barret Account, 1851.

³⁹ Ibid., John A. Hern Account, 1855.

which were also imported in large quantities, would be sold locally. And fish and shingles were products to be exported. The Invoice Book of 1855 showed six barrels of shad and five barrels of bass going to H.J. Noad at Quebec. In 1856, J. & M. Tobin of Halifax received 367 barrels of alewives, 48 thousand pine shingles and 15 thousand cedar shingles. H.J. Noad took two barrels of shad and six of bass. Tobin, who supplied molasses, sugar and spices, probably shipped these fish on the the West Indies in this extended barter system.

In 1855, J. & M. Tobin of Halifax took delivery of 4600 barrels of salt from Harley & Burchill who in turn had received this salt as ballast on the incoming timber ships. They wrote Rankin, Gilmour & Co. on 5 May 1856 asking that when the "Ocean Bride" sailed to Miramichi for deals, salt or coal should not be used as ballast. There was an excessive amount of both on hand and instead they could use hard stone "... a quantity, say about 200 tons to Ballast the New Ships ..."⁴⁰ The "new ships" were the three they had in the stocks at that time, two of which were to be sent to Britain in ballast and the third to go with a load of lumber and deals.⁴¹ On 2 June 1856, the "Ocean Bride" arrived with advice that it had been sold, and with a load of unwanted salt as ballast.

⁴⁰ MBU/I/1/1/1, Letter Book, Harley & Burchill to Rankin, Gilmour & Co., 5 May 1856.

⁴¹ Ibid.

In the Petty Ledger another aspect of the Harley & Burchill operation can be seen. They operated a farm which was valued at £96/12/6 in December 1850. By 1856, when the "Farm and Farm Stock" account was balanced for the last time, its value was £191/15/6. The operating loss for that period was £372/12/8 1/2 for a net loss on the operation of £277/9/8 1/2. This figure may be treated with some scepticism, for the records were probably kept in a manner similar to the Ship Yard Account. Each year farm produce was sold, in large quantities, probably to their own retail outlet. In this manner, they would credit any profit to a "General Merchandising Account" in the General Ledger, a record book which is missing.

The output of the farm in 1851 was beef, buckwheat, potatoes, tallow and hides, all of which could be resold by a retail store. The only item sold which could not be called a consumer item was a horse. In 1852, the farm slaughtered and sold beef and pork; and as well sold buckwheat, turnips, potatoes, mutton, wool, hides, and tallow, plus several cows and horses. These types of animal sales continued through 1856. The only other credit entries in the Farm and Farm Stock account were for rental of horses. These animals were hired out to the shipyard, earning credit for the farm and keeping the accounts within the company separate from one another.

By late 1855 and early 1856, it was becoming quite evident that Harley & Burchill were going to dissolve their partnership and

discontinue their business. All seemed well with the business when they wrote Rankin, Gilmour & Co. on 20 December 1855⁴² advising that they would have three ships to launch in 1856, making that their most productive year. But their next letter, on 28 December 1855, gave the reasons for this large output.

As early as April last, having stock on hand suitable which would not benefit by lying over, in order to keep the few men we had together till required for launching, the want of which at the time, remotely situated as we are, might seriously embarrass us; considering matters in this light, we stated to you that we should go on with the frame of a third vessel when the former two were well advanced, ordering at that time for that purpose. Our views now are the same as then. We should either have adopted this course or stopped altogether. And although at present our outlay may be something more than it otherwise might have been, we should hope the result will be no worse. As we are almost persuaded that whenever a turn for the better takes place in England, Labour and material will be affected in such a way as to make it prudent to pause in Building ...⁴²

On 8 February 1856, Harley & Burchill informed Rankin, Gilmour & Co. that the three ships then under construction were to be the last for a period of time. They were not procuring timber or supplies for any others. Other evidence of a winding down of business is seen in the records of their timber license purchases. Whereas in 1855 they held rights to 59 square miles, in 1856 they held licenses for only 10 square miles. In 1856 they made no applications for licenses for 1857.⁴³

⁴² Ibid., Harley & Burchill to Rankin, Gilmour & Co., 28 December 1855.

⁴³ Journals, Crown Land Reports, 1854 to 1856.

On 17 November 1857 Burchill wrote Rankin, Gilmour & Co.

This revealing letter depicts a partnership about to be terminated.

We may now remark that acting on the Advice contained in yours of the 29th February last, we have ever since been endeavouring to Draw our business into as narrow a compass as possible and have refrained from making any new outlay or investment. The whole of the ships and the great bulk of our movable property has been forwarded to your side for disposal and we are now occupying ourselves in settling up our accounts, and collecting in what little means we can from persons owing us. We are exceedingly desirous to have all the property on your side disposed of as speedily as possible, with a due regard to the prospects of the market, in order that by the end of the year we may, if practicable, have your account and know our position with you.

- You are aware that all our transactions since we commenced in 1849-50 have passed through your hands and you are therefore fully aware of all the changes of fortune through which we have passed. Had we been so fortunate as to have closed our ship building in 1853, you are aware that our position then would have been much better than it can be now. We, however, acted on your judgement and proceeded with ships which resulted disastrously for us, we hope, however, notwithstanding the changes through which we have passed that we will be able to discharge all the past claims against us. We make these observations in the hope that in closing up the large transactions that have passed between us, you will take into consideration the losses we have sustained and the inconsiderable benefit that will result to us after a long and laborious devotion to a harassing business, and make such allowances for consequences, as you think we may reasonably expect. It has been our first anxiety all along so to conduct our business, and economize on our expenses as to make our creditors safe and while there have been gloomy periods in our short history, causing as much anxiety on your account, we are happy to believe that no one will sustain any loss by the result of our operations. We trust you will excuse these remarks, but we deem them due to ourselves as well as to be known to you.

We have not come to any final decision as to our future course at present. We intend to close our

business in February next, but in the mean time we want to see the final result of our business and at the time named we at present intend either to dissolve, or make such arrangements for the future as the prospects of business may seem to indicate most judicious for our individual interests. We will feel obliged by your striving to close up the whole of our accounts as early as you can in order to enable us to arrive at a definite conclusion for the future as early as after the end of December as you can.⁴⁴

Harley & Burchill, as a partnership, had hoped to wind up their affairs as of February 1857. Although the settling of accounts was to prove them wrong, Harley & Burchill believed they had not had a very successful business. Perhaps Rankin, Gilmour & Co.'s request that they make an accounting for not maintaining their accounts in the black was partially responsible for this attitude.⁴⁵ The attitude was a false one as the settling of accounts after the dissolution of the partnership was to show. It seems as if Rankin, Gilmour & Co. wanted to give Harley & Burchill that impression for it is almost inconceivable that the British firm would not know exactly the financial status of their best North American customer.

Rankin, Gilmour & Co. advised Harley & Burchill to get out of the shipbuilding business as the future looked rather bleak. Yet that same year, 1857, they began their own shipyard on the Miramichi at Doublastown.⁴⁶ Their knowledge of the extent of the profits of

⁴⁴ MBU/I/1/1/1, Letter Book, Harley & Burchill to Rankin, Gilmour & Co., 17 November 1856. (My underlining).

⁴⁵ Ibid., 8 February 1856.

⁴⁶ Manny, p. 46.

Harley & Burchill probably convinced them to go into shipbuilding themselves. By advising Harley & Burchill to cease production, they eliminated part of the competition on the river. It should be noted, however, that business was in a temporary slump.

The colonial mentality which has permeated all aspects of New Brunswick life was also a part of Harley & Burchill's way of thinking. They trusted the advice of the imperial concern and missed out on some of the best years of wooden ships. To wind up their partnership, Harley & Burchill subscribed to the following advertisements:

Co-Partnership Notice

The Co-Partnership heretofore existing between the Subscribers, being dissolved by mutual consent, all Persons having claims against them are requested to tender the same - and all persons indebted to them are requested to make immediate payment. All debts unpaid on the first day of June next will be put into an Attorney's hands for collection.

John Harley
George Burchill

Beaubair's Island, February 18, 1857

Valuable Stock For Sale

The Subscribers, in order to bring their business to a close, offer for Sale at very reduced prices, the whole of their

Remaining Stock on Hand

Consisting of -
Dry Goods, Hardware, Iron, Copper, Cordage, Salt,
English House Coal, Pine and Spruce Deals in
Shipping Order, Boards, Scantling, Juniper Footbooks
and Roots, Juniper and other Ship Timber, Tienails,

Blacksmith and Shipyard Tools and Furniture, Cooking and other Stores, Wagons, Sleighs, Carts and Farm Utensils, Harness, Shop and Store Furniture, Paints and Oils, Scows, Boat, Wraps, Ridges and numerous other articles well worthy the attention of parties engaged in Trade.

If not disposed of before the 25th of March next, the whole will be offered for Sale by Public Auction on their premises, at Beaubair's Island.

John Harley
George Burchill

Beaubair's Island, February 1857.⁴⁷

The business concern of Harley & Burchill was at an end. Ostensibly, these two men were leaving the shipbuilding, lumbering and merchandising business completely. Letters were sent to all major suppliers which said in part,

The Business heretofore carried on by and under the firm of Harley & Burchill has been dissolved by Mutual Consent and by the Terms of Dissolution our a/c with your Firm is to be closed by opening a private a/c with Each of us in our Individual names and one half of the Balance now Standing at a Credit with you to be carried to the Credit of each of our Individual or Private a/c.⁴⁸

John Harley and George Burchill were going their separate ways because they felt they had been unable to make a success of their business. The main cause of this failure, to them, was their inability to compete on the ship market at Liverpool. In 1854, Burchill had said,

⁴⁷ MBU/I/1/1/1., Letter Book, Harley & Burchill to Rankin, Gilmour & Co., 24 February 1857.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

"There is a strange prejudice against our Colonial Ships in Liverpool, and as regards the different description of wood, we have heard before of strange conclusions arrived at by the Liverpool surveyors, and indeed we doubt much if we shall obtain a seven-year class for a ship unless we go beyond the expense now -- say £12 per ton."⁴⁹

In reality, this prejudice was not so strange. British North American builders built ships from readily available materials and had a guaranteed cargo of timber or deals when they sent the ships to Britain for sale. The British shipping industry resented this "advantage" and waged a long campaign against their colonial counterpart through the General Shipowners' Society. In a letter to the Parliamentary Select Committee on British Shipping 1844, George Young, president of the society and a Thames shipbuilder, complained of the British North Americans' ability to ship timber as

... a direct bounty on Colonial shipbuilding amounting to £3 or £4 per ton and constitutes a serious disqualification to the competing British ship owner who has to purchase either the dearer timber of this country, or the timber of the colonies enhanced by the cost of freight and charges of importation for the construction of his ship which when completed, he has to send to North America in ballast to bring home the very timber the colonial ship loads at the point of construction.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Manny, p. 42

⁵⁰ Richard Rice, "The Wrights of St. John: A Study of Shipbuilding and Shipowning in the Maritimes, 1839-1855", in Canadian Business History, David S. McMillan (Toronto, 1972), p. 321, from "The Report from the Select Committee on Shipbuilding, 1844".

This society was very similar to Lloyd's, and both groups "... for most of the nineteenth century accorded Thames-built shipping a much higher rating than shipping constructed in other British regions, particularly that built in British North America."⁵¹ This imperial preference was the undoing of the colonial builder.

In 1856, the year Harley & Burchill built three ships, they said "it was quite impossible for parities to build such ships as the "Kylodyne" in the colonies at the prices ruling of late and keep solvent."⁵² In letters to Samuel Lapthorne, the Lloyds surveyor responsible for the Miramichi area, they complained of the difficulty in meeting the standards set by Lloyds. Although they might order fittings and supplies to meet the standards, by the time these arrived, often delayed by the winter freeze-up, the standards had changed.⁵³ Even changes to the laws caught them by surprise. The practice of building a ship in the colonies and then sending it "home" on a Governor's pass for registration in England ceased in 1856. In a letter to Rankin, Gilmour & Co. on 30 June, 1856, Burchill complained that

We had no idea until we went to have the Ships Papers made out that any alteration had been made in respect to sending home new Ships from the Colonies. The

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² MBU/I/1/1/i, Letter Book, Harley & Burchill to Rankin, Gilmour & Co., 28 July 1856.

⁵³ Ibid., Harley & Burchill to Samuel Lapthorne, 17 March 1857.

scanty information on the Subject arises from our not being considered in anything of this kind this some-time past, and having no other view but to send home under Certificate as hitherto, we were somewhat surprised to find that we could no longer do this as by the New Act, this system is done away with, and a regular Certificate of Registry is required in our own name which may or may not be accomplished by a Certificate of Sale...⁵⁴

These practical difficulties encountered by firms such as Harley & Burchill are as important as worldwide political and economic changes and must not be overlooked.

In retrospect, the Beaubair's Island operation and the end of the partnership should be seen as part of a major shift away from the British economic sphere, a shift deliberately fostered by the British. With more specific references to the lumber trade, historian Stanley Ryerson says that "After 1856, the old square timber trade showed a continual decline in exports. But during this Reciprocity, the saw-mill industry, particularly the enterprises situated at the mouth of the large rivers, expanded with the production of planks, boards, shingles and box shooks."⁵⁵ Maritime exports to the United States increased by two and one half times between 1854 and 1859 and New Brunswick's exports increased by a factor of four from 1854 to 1866.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Ibid., Harley & Burchill to Rankin, Gilmour & Co., 30 June 1856.

⁵⁵ Stanley B. Ryerson, Unequal Union (Toronto, 1973), p. 214.

⁵⁶ W.T. Easterbrook and Hugh G.J. Aitken, Canadian Economic History (Toronto, 1956), p. 248.

Unfortunately Harley & Burchill did not share in this greatly increased prosperity; their markets were not in the United States but in Great Britain. And in Britain, business was in a slump. Business was attuned to the Crimean war, from which New Brunswick and other colonial lumbermen had expected great things. Alas, their over-production had driven prices down. In addition, supplies continued to come in from Russia, albeit on a reduced scale,⁵⁷ for Russia seemed unable to stem the shipments from the Baltic. The trade circulars constantly brought bad news. In November 1855 they reported another dull season.⁵⁸ There had been a good demand for transports but this was mainly "confined to steam-ships to the neglect of sailing vessels ..."⁵⁹ The market demand was for steam-ships, particularly screw-steamers, when Harley & Burchill had three sailing vessels in the stocks. This circular blamed the retarded ship market on a general recession in all commerce, the war, now two years old, and the high "price of money".⁶⁰ In 1854, 730 ships of 380,000 tons has been sold at Liverpool. By 1855, this had slipped to 601 ships of 277,605 tons.

The Curry & Company's circular for 1856 reported another poor year. The only circumstances which had prevented both these years from

⁵⁷ Lower, Woodyard, pp. 118-119.

⁵⁸ The Gleaner, 1 December 1855.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 26 January 1856.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

being worse than they were, were numerous sea disasters of unspecified causes.

The number of vessels lost in 1855 on or near the coast of the United Kingdom amounts to 1141 sail, making an aggregate of 176,600 tons. The official returns for 1856 have not yet been completed; there is, however, too much reason to believe the destruction will be nearly, if not quite equal to that of 1855.⁶¹

The "Farnworth and Jardine Timber Circular" carried the same kind of news and warned that "if the colonists will continue to supply the home market with timber, deals, etc. far beyond the rate of consumption, (as was done during the past season) we must expect to suffer losses."⁶²

It was in this atmosphere of depression and hard times that John Harley and George Burchill dissolved their partnership. "Later that year, The Fredericton Reporter described the turmoil and confusion."

The country has had its long fit of craziness -- Timber has been felled and left to rot in the woods, - logs have been cut, sawed, exported, and sold at home [Britain] for half their original cost, - mills have been built, employed, and then shut down. - Ships have been built for trade and then sold at two-thirds their value...⁶³

Editorials in The Gleaner of Chatham rarely commented on business matters, so the appearance in December 1857 of a column on

⁶¹ Ibid., 7 February 1856.

⁶² Ibid., 21 February 1857.

⁶³ The New Brunswick Reporter, 16 October 1857.

the state of trade, underlined the seriousness of the situation.

We have witnessed many commercial pauses but never one so extensive -- that caused the failure of so many firms of long standing; in nearly every portion of Europe, the U.S., and we are fearful we will have to add, the British North American Colonies, at the present. We have fortunately, in this quarter, up to the present period been but slightly affected, but we are now entering into our own difficulties. The effects of the monetary crisis have at length reached us, and a good deal of anxiety exists on the subject."⁶⁴

John Rankin described "The Crisis of 1857 [as] caused by over extended trade due to the great stimulus given by the Crimean War expedition, and by immense depreciation of American railway securities. It is supposed that £80,000,000 of such stock was held in England."⁶⁵ During that autumn, there were numerous bank failures throughout England and the United States.⁶⁶

By the time the actual panic arrived, Harley & Burchill had gone their separate ways, having divided the remains of the company which they considered a failure. Although they had advertised that all goods were to be sold at a public auction on 25 March 1857, it was not until 1 April 1857 that John Harley and George Burchill divided their remaining goods and stock. The goods not sold by auction were valued at nearly £1000. Harley's share of this was

⁶⁴ The Gleaner, 5 December 1857.

⁶⁵ Rankin, p. 236.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

E504/10/8 while Burchill received E472/10/3 1/2. The division of goods indicated an intention to have two separate companies carry on the same business. Harley, the master builder, took such items as rigging, screws, augers, deck lights, saws, bolts, files, brads, [copper] nails, gages, hinges, brushes, blue, plane, glass, leather and a scow. With these shipbuilding items, it is evident that Harley intended to continue building ships. Burchill, the office manager, planned to remain in the merchandising business. His share of the goods consisted of items to be retailed, for these goods were all measured in boxes, dozens, barrels, and other bulk quantities. He also received the various accounts due to the store by the local customers.⁶⁷

The major accounts were divided almost equally, Burchill receiving slightly more than half to compensate for his receiving slightly less than half of the goods. His share came from the following sources.

Rankin, Gilmour & Co.	E5755/13/8
J. & M. Tobin, Halifax	107/14/9
Maitland Philips and Co., New York	2/3/10
E.T. Russell, Boston	17/10/2
John Harley	28/4/3
<hr/> Total	<hr/> E5911/6/8 ⁶⁸

The same account had an entry of a credit to George Burchill "By J.

⁶⁷ MBU/II/8/3/10, Harley & Burchill, Division of Goods, 1 April 1857.

⁶⁸ MBU/I/2/3/3, General Ledger, Estate of the late Firm of Harley & Burchill.

Harley for his purchase of Island - £2000."⁶⁹ George Burchill's business assets at dissolution of the partnership were £8383/17, a good return for a £500 investment in 1850 and from a business which they considered to be in trouble.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

III

GEORGE BURCHILL, MERCHANT, 1857 TO 1875

With the dissolution of the Harley & Burchill partnership in 1857 George Burchill severed his connections with Beaubair's Island and moved to Nelson, a small settlement on the south shore of the Miramichi River, just opposite the island. He already owned "Land, Store and Buildings" there and as the division of goods of Harley & Burchill had led one to believe, he set up a mercantile business.¹ In April, goods were purchased to supplement the goods on hand and the first sales were recorded in the Goods Account in May.² To increase his capabilities as a general merchant, he invested £1100 that year in a "New House, Barn, Out Houses, New Store, Wharf & Premises."³ By the end of 1857, his real estate was valued at £1342, his farm and stock at £180, and his Personal Estate and Household Furniture, including books valued at £50, at £350.⁴ The mercantile establishment thus set up was the vehicle upon which Burchill expanded his enterprise. As can be seen from Table 9, in only one of the 19 years between 1857 and 1875 did his Goods Account fail to show a profit.

¹ MBU/I/2/3/3, Ledger, Real Estate Account, 28 Feb. 1857.

² Ibid., Goods Account. Burchill used the term "goods" to describe all items purchased for resale. His "Goods Account" was his store or general merchandizing account.

³ Ibid., Real Estate Account, 30 Nov. 1857.

⁴ Ibid., Balance, 31 December 1857.

TABLE 9 - GOODS ACCOUNT⁵, GEORGE BURCHILL

YEAR	PURCHASED	SOLD	ON HAND	PROFIT OR LOSS
1857	E 4370	E 2756	E 1614	---
1858	4924	4369	2431	---
1859	5778	7388	2000	E1178
1860	6343	6815	2605	1078
1861	\$14382	\$19015	\$11800	\$5011
1862	7571	14785	11698	7110
1863	9174	12819	8000	-51
1864	21734	22431	8000	697
1865	6753	18619	7500	11367
1866	9338	18155	8700	10017
1867	15461	24005	9600	9444
1868	9568	18097	5771	4530
1869	8070	9537	6671	2299
1870	6335	7931	8241	2567
1871	8963	9685	9658	2133
1872	14543	15559	13031	4395
1873	13519	22557	10604	6613
1874	13910	18782	10199	4466
1875	10596	15018	9816	4039

Burchill's Goods Account consisted of two, one-line entries every month which read "By Sundries Goods sold this month" and "To Goods Purchased this Month". These two summarizing statements continued to be made throughout the years with the account being balanced at year's end and a profit being declared. When compared with the other money-making accounts, the Goods Account was the "bread-and-butter" certainty for George Burchill.

The goods purchased by Burchill for resale were similar to

⁵ Ibid., Goods Account.

those in which the partnership of Harley & Burchill traded. They included all the staple products of the day such as flours of all sorts, spices and cooking ingredients, dried fruits, meats and fish, salted products, and various small household requirements. Hardware and products for farming and for general work such as seeds, leather and harness, were also carried in the Burchill store. And as had been the practice in the 1850 to 1857 phase of his operation, goods were sold in small quantities to single households and in bulk quantities to lumberers for woods operations. Customers paid with cash, with labour or with locally produced natural products, or they bought on credit with their future work or products as collateral.

To sell goods to the local inhabitants during the 1860's, Everywhere, except the city of St. John, "the truck system" prevailed. The theory that employers would sell to employees at just prices was plausible but in actual practice the temptation to sell at high prices was too great. In some places the workmen never saw cash at all.⁶

Graeme Wynn holds a less harsh view than the above view of McNutt.

"In general ... the lumbermen received credit or cash for any timber in excess of the quantity needed to pay their debts."⁷ Burchill resisted the temptation described by McNutt; instead his lumber suppliers and workmen were treated as Wynn depicts. Although not numerous throughout this period, Burchill employees benefitted rather

⁶ McNutt, p. 404

⁷ Graeme Wynn, "The Assault on The New Brunswick Forest, 1780-1850" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1974), p. 235. This statement was made for the period just prior to 1850, but conditions perceived by Wynn in other activities continued into the last half of the nineteenth century and the same type of truck system probably did also.

than suffered from the truck system. A close examination of the account of one regular employee, Peter Nowlan, is an indication. He began 1869 with a credit of \$7.04 and ended the year with \$12.59 to his credit. His annual income for 270 3/4 days work was \$270.75, of which he received \$12.99 in cash. During the year he lived well, purchasing all necessary foodstuffs such as tea, sugar, flour, rice, peas, beans, fish, pork, beef, baking soda and cream of tartar; such essentials as oil, candles, glass, pencils, wool and cotton cloth; and needles; as well as such non-essentials as tobacco and silk, velvet and tweed cloth. Burchill paid Nowlan's monthly rent of \$2.00 to a "Mrs. H." Nowlan also took some small cash payments of \$.25 to \$1.00. Neither employee nor employer seemed to abuse the system. This man's account seemed typical of others kept by Burchill, though others did not work as many days. Throughout the period to 1875, wages paid ranged from \$.80 to \$1.40 per day with cash payments being made as well as credit entries to accounts.

Beginning in 1857 and for several years thereafter the sale of general merchandise remained Burchill's principal business. He did not re-enter the business of building sailing ships and was unlikely to have done so considering his limitations as a shipbuilder. His former partner had this expertise, but he was a bookkeeper and general merchant. As later records will indicate, he was a capable businessman and perhaps he had correctly read the signs for wooden ships. The Gleaner reported in 1854 that a regular steam packet ship

was plying between St. John and Portland, Maine.⁸ The same issue reported rumours of a semi-monthly propeller ship service to be established between St. John and Liverpool. The Throne Speech at the opening of the legislature in 1857 indicated that this had not occurred, but a similar link had been established by other colonies and there was hope that New Brunswick would soon follow suit. Indeed by 1862, a steamship was in operation in the Gulf of St. Lawrence between Quebec City and Pictou, Nova Scotia, "calling at Gaspé, Paspébiac, Dalhousie, Miramichi and Shediac ...[on] a fortnightly trip."⁹ The 21 July 1866 edition of The Gleaner carried among its notices of sailings one for a steam ship, bound for Liverpool with deals from Morrill to J.H. & S. Harding. This was the first steam ship to carry lumber from the Miramichi. When a port famous for its wooden sailing ships begins shipping lumber by steamships, the future for wooden ships is not bright.

Business in general, not just shipbuilding, suffered during the last few years of the 1850's. The Crimean War in the mid-fifties had retarded economic growth in Britain with only necessary construction and renovations being carried out.¹⁰

⁸ The Gleaner, 4 February 1854.

⁹ Ibid., 24 May 1862.

¹⁰ Ibid., 14 March, from the Farnworth & Jardine Circular.

The lumber cut during the 1855/56 season sold at very low prices during the 1856 shipping season.¹¹ Basing his predictions on the numerous crews in or on the way to the woods, the editor of the Chatham Gleaner, James Pierce, predicted another bad year for 1857. He condemned the absurd way of conducting the trade, of rushing to the woods to make a quick fortune by over producing and driving prices lower.¹² The end of the Crimean War and the end of the flow of British capital into Canada to build railways brought about another depression.¹³ This "panic" struck hard late in 1857 in both Britain and North America.¹⁴ Many banks stopped payments and some failed.¹⁵ Trade circulars throughout the year indicated high stocks of lumber on hand and low prices in Britain, an indication of a general malaise. In 1858, the Gleaner reported approvingly that New Brunswickers would have to rely on the "neglected and despised SOIL, and endeavour therefrom to reap a living, which they will find not more difficult to accomplish, than from the products of the FOREST."¹⁶

¹¹ Ibid., 8 November 1856, from various trade circulars.

¹² Ibid., 15 November 1856.

¹³ A.R.M. Lower, The North American Assault on the Canadian Forest (Toronto, 1938), p. 133.

¹⁴ David C. Smith, A History of Lumbering in Maine, 1861-1960 (Orono, Maine, 1972), p. 45, and Rankin, p. 236.

¹⁵ Rankin, p. 236...

¹⁶ The Gleaner, 17 April 1858.

The rather pessimistic Speech from the Throne in 1859 said in part,

... the demands for our Staple Exports have not recovered from the effects of the disasters which recently disturbed the trade of the world, but it is gratifying to observe some symptoms of improvement in our commercial property.¹⁷

Burchill's incoming correspondence echoed these sentiments when S. Tobin, Burchill's Halifax agent, wrote "... Nothing done in business. I hope some action is about to take place in timber at home which will give a little stir to matters in your province."¹⁸ Later he wrote of difficulties in disposing of Burchill's shingles.

The only bright spot during the period 1861 to 1866 as far as Burchill was concerned, was Reciprocity, but this too was dampened with the advent of the Civil War. This treaty, which came into effect in 1854, allowed for the free entry into the United States of natural products and unmanufactured raw material. Burchill took advantage of this by shipping barrels of salt fish, as well as small quantities of wood products, to Boston to pay for goods received.

Burchill proved to be a shrewd and able businessman in following closely the market's dictates, brought about by these international events. He did not re-enter the shipbuilding trade nor did he become totally involved in or committed to lumbering. From Table 15,

¹⁷ Journals, 1959, Speech from the Throne, 1959, p. 9.

¹⁸ MBU/II/5/2/1/5. Correspondence, Tobin to Geo. Burchill, 29 January 1859 and 6 August 1859.

it seems evident that he did not venture consistently into the lumber business until after the Civil War. Until that time, his Stock Account, that is, his capital assets, increased because of his extensive mercantile business. This business is recorded in his Goods Account, an account which included his fish sales to Boston during reciprocity until the American Civil War disrupted many aspects of British and North American business. His Profit & Loss Account and his Stock Account, summarized in Table 10, show that Burchill made an annual profit and increased his capital assets, with the exception of the 1863-1866 period. This was the three-year period when the Northern blockade of the Southern ports during the American Civil War was having its greatest impact on British industry and when Burchill's trade in fish to the United States was almost eliminated. In fact, 1863 was the only year between 1857 and 1875 in which Burchill's Goods Account failed to show a profit (see Table 9).

During this phase of the Burchill operations, 1857 to 1875, the value of the business increased greatly. Significantly perhaps, the influence of Rankin, Gilmour & Co. on the affairs of George Burchill decreased remarkably and perhaps unexpectedly. The large balance of £5766 held by Rankin, Gilmour & Co. in Burchill's favour in April 1857 was to be reduced to £3250 before the end of

TABLE 10 - GEORGE BURCHILL'S STOCK AND PROFIT OR LOSS ¹⁹		
YEAR	STOCK	PROFIT OR LOSS
31/12/1857	£ 8,579 ²⁰	-
28/02/1857	8,715	£ 135
1858	10,538	1123
1859	11,608	1070
1860	£12,563	£ 956
1860	\$50,254	\$3822
1861	53,681	3427
1862	58,366	4685
1863	52,248	-1531
1864	43,361	-8887
1865	42,183	-1178
1866	54,145	11,962 ²¹
1867	61,270	7125
1868	60,532	4330
1869	64,444	3912
1870	64,846	402
1871	68,492	3646
1872	75,215	6723
1873	80,000	4805
1874	91,617	11,597
1875	92,906	1289

¹⁹ MBU/I/2/3/3, MBU/I/2/3/4 and MBU/I/2/3/5, Ledger, Stock Account on Profit and Loss.

²⁰ This is composed of £6384 realized from the dissolution of the partnership, £2000 from the sale of his share of Beaubair's Island, and £195 of personal goods and real estate.

²¹ Although this large profit coincides with the final year of the reciprocity treaty, this treaty is not the cause of the profit. Burchill's sales to the United States that year were only \$4700. It was, instead, the resumption of the American shipments to Great Britain at the end of the Civil War which helped Burchill. His shipments to that country were \$7200 in 1865 and \$25,000 in 1866 (see Table 17).

the year by the issuance of drafts to other companies for supplies.²² This 1857 year-end balance included interest of £181/7/9 1/2, or approximately 5% per annum on the average balance. As can be seen from Table 11, Burchill's "bank account" with Rankin, Gilmour & Co. continues to decrease almost annually until the final balance of \$300 was transferred as a credit to his account with Robert Morrow & Co., the Liverpool lumber merchant with whom he had begun to conduct business in the mid 1860's. The only major increase in Burchill's account with Rankin, Gilmour & Co. during this period was in 1866. The American Civil War had just ended and business in Britain had quickly recovered with the resumption of cotton shipments from the South. For Burchill, and most New Brunswick businessmen, this meant a resumption in the sale of lumber to Britain. Whereas Burchill had sold lumber valued at \$7200 in 1865, his 1866 sales, most of which were to Britain, were valued at \$29,000, accounting for his large profit that year. He was then seeking a new British agent but was still using Rankin, Gilmour & Co. as his "bank".

Although the size of Burchill's financial relationship with Rankin, Gilmour & Co. declined, it remained quite active well into the 1860's. Credits of £850 and £1998 in 1859 and 1860 respectively.

²² Accounts with firms in Britain were kept in £ sterling. North American accounts and Burchill's internal accounts were kept in £ currency. To convert to £ currency Burchill added 20% to the value given in £ sterling. All figures quoted above are in £ currency and will not necessarily be numerically the same as the actual account. This has been done for accurate comparison of accounts.

TABLE 11 - BURCHILL BALANCE WITH RANKIN, GILMOUR & CO.²³

Year	Balance	Year	Balance
1 April 1857	£5756	1865	1014 ²⁴
31 December 1857	3250	1866	11,126
1858	2452	1867	6,926
1859	1562	1868	2,996
1860	£1392	1869	3,055
1860	\$5980	1870	581
1861	2137	1871	359
1862	2890	1872	207
1863	2319	1873	283
1864	3733	1874	300

from other Liverpool firms were made to his account. Burchill paid his British accounts with drafts on Rankin, Gilmour & Co.

But by 1867 Burchill had become independent of his former mentors and was conducting his financial transactions through the Bank of North and South Wales.²⁵ Burchill's final and complete break with Rankin, Gilmour & Co. came in 1874, shortly after that company's withdrawal from North America. In 1873 Rankin, Gilmour & Co. closed the last of their Canadian offices, at Miramichi.²⁶

²³ MBU/I/2/3/3 and 2/3/4 Ledgers, Rankin, Gilmour & Co. accounts.

²⁴ This large increase was the result of four deposits made by R.R. Dobell. Burchill had sold the major portion of his lumber to Dobell that year and was obviously still using Rankin, Gilmour & Co. as a bank.

²⁵ MBU/I/2/3/7 Ledger, Account with Bank of North and South Wales, begun 26 June 1866.

²⁶ Manny, p. 78.

An examination of the various suppliers' accounts kept by George Burchill indicate not only a lessening dependence on Rankin, Gilmour & Co. but also on Great Britain as a supplier of goods. In 1857, he began purchasing some small hardware from Richard Davidson, a Newcastle merchant, and some foodstuffs and hardware from Robinson Crocker of Chatham Head.²⁷ This was a change from the practice followed by the partnership of Harley & Burchill. Also in 1857, Burchill began to purchase from Boston the fine, quality items formerly purchased from Great Britain. More often than not in the early years these were paid for with fish and lumber. One large Boston supplier was J.N. Lawton & Brothers whose letterhead styled them as agents for British manufacturers in both Boston and New York. As it is unlikely that British goods were cheaper when purchased in Boston; it appears that Burchill took these goods in order to obtain a market for his fish.

Burchill also continued to buy from and to barter with his familiar colonial suppliers. H.J. Noad & Co. of Quebec and its successors continued to supply flours and meats, J.H. Tobin of Halifax continued to sell him West Indian products and salt and Archibald & Co. of North Sydney, Cape Breton, began to supply coal. In 1856 Burchill had found it necessary to request that Rankin, Gilmour & Co. use neither salt nor coal as ballast as there was an excessive

²⁷ MBU/I/2/3/7, Ledger, Robinson Crocker and Richard Davidson accounts.

amount of each on hand. This practice had obviously ceased.

During the early part of this mercantile business, trade in fish played an important role. In July and August of 1857, Burchill received in exchange for goods, 574 barrels of Alewives, 39 of bass, 30 of mackerel and 4 of salmon having a total value of £405/1. He kept no "Fish Account" as such, but in 1857 one entry in the Goods Account lists "Sales of Fish" to Boston. - £284/15/2²⁸. Except for one other entry, fish sales and purchases can only be seen in individual accounts. Presumably they are included in the Goods Account as goods bought and sold. In his first year of business without a partner, 1857, Burchill paid for goods from his major Boston supplier, Wise & Russell, with fish and by drafts, "To my Exchange on Rankin, Gilmour & Co."²⁹ In 1858, 1859 and 1860 all goods from Wise & Russell were paid for with fish. During that period he delivered fish valued at £5708 and received goods for £5613.

Fish seem to have been more a medium of exchange rather than a source of profit. When Burchill was paying the equivalent of \$2.60 to \$2.80 per barrel, selling prices in Boston were only \$3.50 per barrel.³⁰ This average mark-up of \$1.80, or 28%, had to cover transportation, handling and Wise & Russell's commission as well as

²⁸ MBU/I/2/3/3, Ledger, Goods Account.

²⁹ Ibid., Wise & Russell. There is no known relationship with Joseph Russell, the former owner of Beaubair's Island.

³⁰ MBU/II/5/1, Correspondence, Wise & Russell to G. Burchill.

Burchill's profit.

Dealing with a commission merchant such as Wise & Russell had its pitfalls. Early in 1859, they advised that they could sell 2000 to 3000 barrels of alewives as well as other fish.³¹ On 21 July 1859, Burchill received word that the alewives had been sold for 12 shillings per barrel and that on that date the price was down to 4 shillings with the market very dull. Burchill listed his shipments for 1859 as 2511 1/2 barrels of all kinds, valued at £2888/12/6.³² His Goods account entry for fish for 1859 reads "By Exports Fish, Boston, Nfld. £2763/10/7"³³ indicating a loss of £625/1/11.

He continued to deal in fish until 1875, but 1859 was the high point (see Table 12). Though he shifted his business emphasis towards lumber and away from fish, he did not forget this aspect entirely. In 1873, he wrote to the Department of Fisheries at Ottawa, voicing his opposition to proposed measures to curtail bass fishing in the Miramichi. In doing so he had the interests of his customers and neighbours in mind because fish purchases and sales had by this time become but a small part of his business.

³¹ MBU/II/5/2/2, Correspondence, Wise & Russell to G. Burchill.

³² MBU/I/3/1/1, Shipments, 1859.

³³ MBU/I/2/3/3, Goods Account.

TABLE 12 - BURCHILL FISH SHIPMENTS³⁴

Year	Shipments	Quantity (Barrels)	Value
1857	3	789	£ 737
1858	8	2516 1/2	2065
1859	4	2511 1/2	2889
1860	4	No entry	1758
1861	1	No entry	\$-514
1862	1	No entry	353
1863	0	No entry	No entry
1864	2	No entry	2768
1865	0	No entry	No entry
1866	1	No entry	1612
1867	1	No entry	1932
1868	0	No entry	No entry
1869	1	No entry	1237
1870	1	No entry	306
1871	1	498	1498
1872	1	660	1980
1873	1	No entry	1995
1874	mentioned in correspondence but no figures given		
1875	1	438	1314

Burchill received a large quantity of fish for local people who fished to supplement their income. But, in 1871 at least, he received fish from John R. & I. Doran of Shippigan, a community some 50 miles distant by sea. Burchill also supplied the fishermen with such items as salt and fish barrels which he had purchased locally.³⁵ Thus George Burchill was the middle man in the fish business in

³⁴ MBU/I/3/1/1 and 3/1/2, Shipments.

³⁵ MBU/II/5/3/1, Correspondence, D. & J. Ritchie.

Nelson parish which was not really a fishing district. The 1871 census listed only two full-time fishermen with one boat in that district.³⁶

Another aspect of George Burchill's business was his investment portfolio, evidenced by his Interest Account. In this account was recorded various amounts earned as interest on stock and bonds. As early as 1857 he had begun to invest in various companies and financial institutions, concentrating at first on local concerns such as the Bathurst Telegraph Company, the Newcastle Telegraph Company, the Chatham Gas Light Company, Commercial Bank of New Brunswick, as well as Province of New Brunswick debentures. In 1860, he ventured further afield, investing £500 in Atlas Bank of Boston stock and £500 in Quebec Bank stock. By the end of 1860, his stock and bond portfolio was valued at £3030. Unfortunately his Interest Account was not maintained or balanced annually so his success in the financial world cannot be accurately assessed. Table 13 is a summary of the amounts of interest earned during the years in which the account was balanced. And although some of the debentures, such as the £800 of Province of New Brunswick debentures, were to pay an annual fixed interest, in this case 6%, there is not always a record of this having been done.

³⁶ Census of Canada, 1871, Vol. 3, p. 258.

TABLE 13 - INTEREST ACCOUNT ³⁷			
YEAR	INTEREST	YEAR	INTEREST
1859	£207/2/4	1873	\$1952.01
1860	264/12/8	1874	2052.10
1862	\$ 60.00	1875	205.35
1870	347.46	1876	-16.25
1871	1511.27		

Obviously all of George Burchill's financial investments were not good ones.. In 1859, he invested £500 (\$2000) in Commercial Bank of New Brunswick stock which paid 6% interest in 1860. He sold it in 1864 for \$663.91, not having received interest again. Central Bank of New Brunswick stock, purchased in 1859 for £500 was kept on the books until 1874 when its estimated value was \$200, 10% of the purchase price.

In the mid 1860's, Burchill divested himself of all stock and debentures in commercial ventures, except the Chatham Gas Light Company and Central Bank of New Brunswick. None of his correspondence or accounts indicate that he used the facilities of either of these companies. The former continued to pay dividends well into the 1880's but the latter had decreased in value to the point of being unsalable. He continued to buy and hold municipal, provincial and dominion government bonds and debentures. In 1872, in an exception to this

³⁷ MBU/I/2/3/3, 2/3/4 and 2/3/5, Ledger, Interest Account and Profit and Loss. The 1876 "interest" is listed simply as "loss on debentures".

pattern, he purchased shares, valued at \$200 in a re-incorporated local company, the North West Boom Company. This company had existed as a public boom company in the 1820's and '30's³⁸ and had later been incorporated as a private company. But 1872 was the first time George Burchill was one of the shareholders.³⁹ As he was to use the services of this company within a couple of years, perhaps he was preparing for the future.

George Burchill obtained financial advice and advice on market conditions from Rankin, Gilmour & Co. in Britain and from his suppliers in North America in the form of trade circulars and in business correspondence. Noad of Quebec served as his broker for his shares in the Quebec Bank and Sprague & Soule of Boston for his shares in the Atlas Bank. He purchased no British stocks.

During this period Burchill held various mortgages which were secured by deeds. Table 14 gives the total amount of these mortgages as well as the amounts invested in stocks and bonds. Occasionally correspondence would indicate that one or another of these properties had been sold for bad debts and although Burchill benefitted from holding these mortgages, usually at 6%, he did not increase his real estate holdings by foreclosing on them. His annual balance sheet

³⁸ Wynn, p. 259.

³⁹ The Gleaner, 11 February 1862.

shows real estate of a constant value. As was the case with other accounts, mortgages were often repaid with lumber or logs.⁴⁰

TABLE 14 - STOCKS, BONDS AND MORTGAGES⁴¹

YEAR	STOCKS AND BONDS	DEBTS SECURED BY MORTGAGES & DEEDS	YEAR	STOCKS AND BONDS	DEBTS SECURED BY MORTGAGES & DEEDS
1857	E 20	E 720	1867	\$6173	\$6509
1858	20	850	1868	6173	5542
1859	2000	1005	1869	4340	5514
1860	E3030-\$12,120	1243	1870	4582	5293
1861	\$12,120	\$6102	1871	5540	4820
1862	11,120	6842	1872	6825	4744
1863	9,620	7333	1873	5640	4044
1864	4,720	8388	1874	15040	7978
1865	6,790	7002	1875	15040	4901
1866	3,590	7172			

Almost from the beginning of his business in 1857, George Burchill was a lumber merchant in varying degrees. But prior to 1866, this portion of the business was subject to wide fluctuations in shipments, sales and purchases. Although Burchill shipped lumber every year to 1865, the number of shipments varied between one and twelve (Appendix 4). His sales varied from \$0 in 1863 to \$17,495 in 1864 (see Table 15). After 1865, his sales increased dramatically with the smallest annual sales being \$14,000 in 1868.⁴²

⁴⁰ MBU/I/2/3/5, Ledger, Thomas Craig Account.

⁴¹ MBU/I/2/3/3, Ledger, Mortgage Account and Stock Account.

⁴² Prior to 1875, the figures are derived from a variety of Burchill's records; Balance sheets, Profit and Loss Account, Lumber Account, Shipping records as well as records of individual customers and correspondence. They may not be the exact figures.

Burchill's timber leases, summarized in Table 16, also indicate varying degrees of involvement in logging prior to 1866.

After 1866 regular and generally increasing leases on Crown Land were obtained. Although from Table 18 we can see that the market supplied by Burchill was mainly British, this division becomes more pronounced after 1865 when he becomes more involved in lumbering.

From Tables 15 and 16 it is evident that 1865 was the low point in the lumber business. These tables echo world events. Burchill had a good year in 1859 as the world economy recovered from the slump of 1857 and Britain recovered from the Crimean War. He anticipated a good year in 1860 for he increased his timber leases to 14 square miles. But the American Civil War had a devastating effect on British manufacturing. Since Britain was Burchill's major market, this is reflected in his lumber sales. This slump in his business for several years can be seen in his shipments, sales and timber limits. The year the Civil War ended was the low point in his operations. Sales that year were \$7200; no overseas shipments were made; and no land had been leased in 1864 for the 1865 cutting season.

The end of the Civil War brought a dramatic recovery. Cautious at first, Burchill leased only 8 1/2 square miles for the 1866 cutting season. While his sales reached almost \$30,000 in 1866, he leased 45 square miles in 1867. The British market had

TABLE 15 - LUMBER ACCOUNT SUMMARY ⁴³			
YEAR	SALES	PROFIT OR LOSS	YEAR-END INVENTORY
1857	No entry	No entry	199
1858	£ 1185 ⁴⁴	No Entry	80
1859	£ 2414 ⁴⁵	- 38	No entry
1860	£ 66	No entry	No entry
1861	\$ 328	No entry	\$1000
1862	1211	-\$892 ⁴⁶	10150
1863	No entry	-1680 ⁴⁶	10080
1864	17495 ⁴⁷	No entry	6900
1865	7200	No entry	13000
1866	29670	2900 ⁴⁸	7000
1867	17779	-2513 ⁴⁸	7644
1868	14000	1226	24259
1869	32424	3055	17461
1870	18300	-1653	13385
1871	27572	987	5083
1872	18931	3879	5698
1873	30680	-220	10998
1874	21721	5815 ⁴⁸	32611
1875	38358	-1799	26160

⁴³ MBU/I/2/3/3, Ledger, Lumber Account.

⁴⁴ No entry in Lumber Account. Credit of £850 in account with Rankin, Gilmour & Co. from sales to Robinson Crocker, and £335 in Goods Account for sales to Halifax.

⁴⁵ Includes £167 recorded only in Goods Account.

⁴⁶ Loss due to depreciation in book value.

⁴⁷ Credit to Rankin, Gilmour & Co. Account for sales to Dobell of Quebec.

⁴⁸ Includes profit on one shipment recorded only in Profit and Loss Account.

TABLE 16 - BURCHILL CROWN LAND LEASES ⁴⁷ (SQUARE MILES)					
YEAR	AMOUNT	YEAR	AMOUNT	YEAR	AMOUNT
1857	2	1869	17 1/2	1893	109
1858	12	1870	13 1/3	1894	118
1859	6	1871	19	1895	125 1/2
1860	14	1872	57 1/2	1896	129
1861	6	1873	67 1/2	1897	135
1862	10	1874	34 1/2	1898	135
1863	11	1875	29 1/2	1899	150
1864	3	1876	56 1/2	1900	150
1865	0	1877	6 1/2	1901	150
1866	8 1/2	1878	79	1902	150
1867	45	1879	64 1/2	1903	143 1/2
1868	22	1880	113	1904	143 1/2

TABLE 17 - DIVISION OF BURCHILL LUMBER MARKET ⁵⁰					
YEAR	BRITISH	NORTH AMERICAN	YEAR	BRITISH	NORTH AMERICAN
1862	0	\$1211	1869	\$28,655	\$3769
1863	No Entries	No Entries	1870	18,300	0
1864	\$14,405	2590	1871	26,398	1000
1865	7,200	0	1872	18,385	546
1866	24,958	4712	1873	30,280	400
1867	14,534	3246	1874	20,921	800
1868	14,000	NO DIVISION	1875	37,608	750

⁴⁹ Journals, Crown Land Returns, 1857 to 1904.

⁵⁰ MBU/I/3/2/1 and 3/2/2, Lumber Shipments.

In 1877 preferential stumpage rates for the North Shore was eliminated, annual cutting was made compulsory and non-competitive renewals of up to five years were made possible.

TABLE 18 - NEW BRUNSWICK TIMBER LICENSES ISSUED ⁵			
YEAR	AMOUNT (MI ²)	YEAR	AMOUNT (MI ²)
1870	2604	1876	3332
1871	2680	1877	2938
1872	3223	1878	3484
1873	3622	1879	2902
1874	3651	1880	3017
1875	2945	AVG.	3356

The new Crown Land Regulations did not deter Burchill from expansion. Indeed, he had purchased the steam sawmill the year after they went into effect, an acquisition which did not follow the pattern as described by A.R.M. Lower in his books on the Canadian forest industries. It was not financed from the United Kingdom with "old country" capital, from the United States, from illegal government funds, or by an agent turned miller.⁶ It was financed by Burchill himself from capital he had accumulated in over 25 years of ship-building, general merchandizing and lumbering. His early ventures in

⁵ Journals, 1869 to 1871, Crown Land Reports. Mileages are for all classes of licenses purchased to expire on 1 July of the year stated.

⁶ Lower, Assault, pp. 43-45, and Woodyard, p. 172.

shipbuilding had been financed from Great Britain some 20 to 25 years previous but by the late 1870's he had a surplus of funds for investment and business improvements. In 1880, he had \$10,000 in the Dominion Government savings bank.⁷

Nor did the depression deter Burchill's expansion or permanently harm his operation. Although he suffered losses in 1876 and 1877, his capital stock continued to rise. At the beginning of the depression in 1873, his business was worth \$75,215.04. By December 1875, when he purchased the mill, this had risen to \$92,906.14. By December 1880, it was up to \$99,844. The rate of growth had slowed down, but this was not only due to the depression and world events, but also to the lumberman's greatest and most constant fear, fire.

TABLE 19 - BURCHILL PROFIT OR LOSS AND CAPITAL STOCK ⁸					
YEAR	PROFIT OR LOSS				CAPITAL STOCK
	ON GOODS	ON MILL	ON LUMBER	TOTAL	
1875	\$4039	NIL	\$-1799	\$1289	\$92,906
1876	6357	NIL	239 ⁹	-4081	88,825
1877	2369	\$1564	-8363 ⁹	-7619	81,207
1878	3456	1480	-7884	128	81,335
1879	3354	235	2715	5282	86,616
1880	5533	-466	7570	13228	99,844

⁷ MBU/I/2/3/5, Ledger, Balance, 31 December 1880.

⁸ MBU/I/2/3/5, Ledger, Profit and Loss and Capital Stock Accounts.

⁹ The Lumber Account for 1877 has an entry of "depreciation of value and losses - \$8362.68 with no explanation of depreciation. The 1878 loss includes a depreciation of \$4874.47, or 15% of stock on hand when depreciation was affected.

The "Steam Saw Mill and Cove Property, Chatham Head", which had been acquired in December of 1875, was put into operation in May 1876 at an outlay of \$4570.27 in addition to purchase price and insurance fees. Burchill began to saw lumber in May and continued to do so until 23 July, 1876. On the 24th, the mill was destroyed by fire. Of the total cost of \$28,281 to that date, \$7000 was salvaged in the form of land, chimney and boiler, and out buildings and houses, plus \$9700 from insurance, leaving an estimated loss of \$11,580. Even with this loss in 1876, Burchill's net worth increased by \$24,630 in the eight years from 1873 to 1880, an increase of $1\frac{1}{3}$. During the five years of this phase of his business, he added \$6938 to his stock, over and above his fire loss. Insofar as it affected Burchill, the depression was simply a period of slow growth.

After the fire, George Burchill began immediately to rebuild his mill. By 23 April 1877, after having expended \$19,000, he had a mill valued at \$26,000 ready to begin spring sawing. George Burchill operated his mill as a separate unit, a small company within a company. He charged his lumber account a given rate for sawing. This rate was related to sawing costs and was large enough to ensure that the mill account would show a profit, barring unforeseen difficulties such as the fire. The sawing rate for 1876 was \$2.50 per thousand and for 1877, \$2.00 per thousand. When this operating account was balanced for the first time in December 1877, the operating profit was \$1564.¹⁰

¹⁰ MBU/I/2/2/1, Ledger, Mill Account, 31 December 1877.

Thus, the rate was reduced to \$1.90 for 1878, yielding a profit of \$1480. The continuing operating profit caused Burchill to use an average rate of \$1.35 in 1879 which in turn yielded a profit of \$235. The rate of \$1.40 in 1880 produced a loss of \$465 so the following year the rate was increased to \$1.75, yielding a profit of \$1367. Burchill's object was obviously to charge his Lumber Account a rate for sawing lumber that reflected the actual cutting costs. By estimating in advance what the costs would be, he was able to charge this account on a monthly basis. The year end balancing verified his estimate. If the rate was too high and yielded a profit for the Mill Account, the rate was lowered. If it was too low and produced a loss, the rate was raised. Businesses still follow this accounting practice. Each department has an operating budget and endeavours to show a profit, i.e. operating costs lower than the amount budgeted for. One department charges another for services rendered in much the same manner it would charge a customer for the same services.

The logs cut at the Burchill mill until 31 December 1880 were all logs cut or purchased by him. It was not until the next phase of his operations, 1881 to 1904, that he began to supply and sell a service by cutting lumber for other lumbermen who did not own mills.

As was the practice in New Brunswick, Burchill held timber limits to obtain logs. Table 20 indicates that his limits increased

from 14.5 square miles in 1875, before he purchased the mill, to 96 square miles in 1880. This latter figure represented 3.7% of the total Crown Lands of New Brunswick under timber license in 1880 and made Burchill the ninth largest lease holder in New Brunswick among 107 people holding timber leases.

In 1880 he paid \$1842, 1.8% of total stumpage paid to the Crown Land Department. This placed him 15th of 212 paying stumpage and ranked him in the top 10% of the lumbermen of New Brunswick. Unfortunately, total export figures for New Brunswick are not available for this period with which one could compare Burchill's export figures to those of his competitors.

The figures in these tables do not give a complete indication of the extent of George Burchill's mill operation. Table 22 shows a mill output sometimes twice as large as the output of Burchill's forest operations. At times, as in 1880, he also shipped more than he sawed. These additional amounts were made up from the purchase of logs and lumber from local lumbermen. This purchase was indicated in his books in a manner similar to "To pd. Sundries for Lumber; 1880 -- \$21,258.25."¹¹ "Sundries" supplied nearly two million feet of logs. "Sundries" also included the logs cut on his own limits. These logs were cut by "jobbers", not his own men, for until 1880 he did not maintain any camp accounts to indicate that he conducted his own

¹¹ MBU/I/2/3/5, Ledger, Lumber Account, 31 December 1880.

TABLE 20 - MILEAGE STATISTICS - CLASS II LICENSES¹²

YEAR	TOTAL LEASES (MI)	BURCHILL'S MILEAGE	BURCHILL'S % OF TOTAL	NUMBER OF PURCHASES	BURCHILL'S ABSOLUTE POSITION	BURCHILL'S RELATIVE POSITION
1875	1516.5	14.5	0.9	72	22	30.5%
1876	1539.5	44.5	2.9	86	9	10.5
1878	2160.5	66	3.1	86	8	9.3
1880	2558	96	3.7	107	9	8.4
1882	3361.5	79	2.3	139	14	10.3
1884	3251.5	50.5	1.5	125	18	14.4
1886	3664.5	68	1.9	171	15	8.8
1888	4072.5	69.5	1.5	184	16	8.7
1890	4335	69	1.1	221	14	6.3
1895	6493.5	122.5	1.9	238	15	6.3
1900	9219	150	1.6	283	14	4.9
1905	9919	143.5	1.5	241	19	7.9
1910	10181.75	143.5	1.4	256	19	7.4

TABLE 21 - STUMPAGE STATISTICS¹²

YEAR	TOTAL STUMPAGE PAID	PAID BY BURCHILL	BURCHILL'S % OF TOTAL	NUMBER PAYING	BURCHILL'S ABSOLUTE POSITION	BURCHILL'S RELATIVE POSITION
1875	\$ 67,918	\$ 199	0.3	152	44	29%
1876	63,344	1023	1.6	212	17	8.0
1878	129,235	1449	1.1	172	23	13.3
1880	100,322	1842	1.8	212	15	7.1
1882	129,278	2733	2.1	194	13	6.7
1884	108,262	1289	1.2	249	20	8.0
1886	105,574	1231	1.2	224	19	8.4
1888	98,134	771	0.8	245	27	11.0
1890	111,475	1404	1.3	236	18	7.6
1895	100,142	952	1.0	205	26	12.7
1900	112,316	750	0.7	196	37	18.8
1905	134,413	1994	1.5	159	21	13.2
1910	330,360	2661	0.8	159	30	18.8

¹² Journals, 1875 to 1911, Crown Land Reports.

TABLE 22 - BURCHILL LUMBER STATISTICS

YEAR	STUMPAGE ¹³ (FT.)	MILL CUTTING ¹⁴ (FT., DEALS)	SHIPMENTS ¹⁵
1875	1049,370	NO MILL	N/A
1886	1705,311	2,264,297 ₄	N/A
1877	1600,460	3,635,873	N/A
1878	1809,384	5,352,563	N/A
1879	1009,784	3,094,086	1,691,000
1880	2302,566	4,155,541	6,158,944
1881	2041,497	3,120,265	2,023,888

woods operations. His Mill Account did not include the procurement of logs. And the first wage entry in the Lumber Account in 1880 was on 17 May for "To Wages to date, -- \$82.00".¹⁶ This amount certainly did not pay wages for large crews in the woods.

As further evidence that during this phase Burchill "jobbed" out the cutting of logs from his limits, a typical annual entry read, "By Stumpage & Mileage Collected from operators -- \$1053.60".¹⁷ These entries were made in the summer, after the winter's cut had been received at the mill. From 1878 to 1880 inclusive, Burchill

¹³ Journals, Crown Land Reports, for the various years tabulated.

¹⁴ MBU/I/3/1/3, Shipments; and MBU/I/3/3/5, Ledger, Mill Account.

¹⁵ MBU/I/2/3/5, Ledger, Mill Account. In 1881, Burchill began to saw for other lumbermen. His total sawing that year was 6,791,480 ft.

¹⁶ Ibid., Lumber Account.

¹⁷ Ibid., 9 July 1879.

paid \$5024.03 to the Crown Land Department for stumpage and mileage while collecting \$4935.35 from "operators" for the same. This sub-contracting to a "jobber" was an old method of obtaining logs which came into its own in the nineteenth century and exists to the present.¹⁸

By 1880 George Burchill still had not arrived at a mode of operation which best suited his purposes, for he was unable to show a net profit from lumbering operations during this phase. From Table 24 we can see that even with the Mill Account profit his total loss on lumbering was \$2861. While total sales may not have been affected by the depression throughout this phase, obviously prices, and thus profits, were.

TABLE 23 - BURCHILL LUMBER SALES AND PROFITS¹⁹

YEAR	PROFIT ON LUMBER	PROFIT ON MILL OPERATIONS	TOTAL PROFIT	INVENTORY	SALES TO GREAT BRITAIN	OTHER SALES
1875	\$-1799	NIL	\$-1799	\$26,160	\$37,608	\$ 750
1876	239 ²⁰	NIL	239	39,453	19,359	1852
1877	-8363 ²⁰	\$1563.84	-6799	24,404	31,311	900
1878	-7884 ²⁰	1479.67	-6405	30,135	25,322	4345
1879	2715	234.84	3060	34,831	13,176	876
1880	7570	-465.92	7104	18,000	52,786	2343

¹⁸ Lower, Assault, p. 35

¹⁹ MBU/I/2/3/4, Ledger, Lumber Account and Profit and Loss:

²⁰ These figures include a depreciation in the value of the lumber on hand. For 1878, it was 15% at a specific time during the year while no percentage is available for 1877.

TABLE 24 - NEW BRUNSWICK EXPORTS²¹

YEAR	WOOD EXPORTS			ALL PRODUCTS		
	U.K.	U.S.	TOTAL	U.K.	U.S.	TOTAL
1850	£476,794	£42,865	£557,896	£489,551	£77,400	£658,018
1851	570,737	46,190	658,859	581,958	83,028	772,496
1852	592,033	36,181	662,430	603,295	83,792	796,335
1853	780,095	66,141	878,491	789,386	121,858	1,073,491
1854	787,889	48,151	883,501	811,108	97,930	1,104,215
1855	520,261	23,295	578,891	547,589	123,127	826,381
1856	732,602	89,162	873,350	747,790	173,485	1,073,351
1857	587,487	19,470	657,917	587,744	30,338	677,099
1858	491,966	21,865	577,556	500,330	93,605	677,028
1859	686,027	30,197	760,115	686,062	30,314	761,031
1860	518,143	43,899	587,096	538,349	172,887	758,249
1861	\$2889,335	\$215,972	\$3294,790	\$2969,761	\$667,808	\$3788,364
1862	2070,637	251,963	2520,693	2205,198	549,427	3109,822
1863	2744,993	336,734	3226,650	2870,548	740,964	3981,328
1864	2489,924	329,548	3186,993	2566,808	603,924	3618,233
1865	2286,431	408,229	3155,376	2353,729	794,080	3695,416
1866	2753,884	568,691	3924,829	2924,209	1040,881	4808,821
1867	923,994	211,881	1593,264	948,716	398,693	1869,522
1868	2282,428	333,391	2908,927	N/A	N/A	N/A

²¹ The figures for this table were obtained from the "Custom House Returns" or the "Report on Trade and Navigation in the Journals of the House of Assembly of 1851 to 1868 inclusive. Figures for 1867 are for the period to 30 June 1867. It was not until 1857 that a distinction between New Brunswick produced products and those trans-shipped was made. The figures for 1850 to 1856 include these trans-shipped products and are probably 15% to 25% higher than they would have been if only New Brunswick products were tabulated. By comparison, in 1857, 1858 and 1859, total shipments from New Brunswick were \$923,775, \$810,729 and \$1073,422 respectively while shipments of New Brunswick products totalled only \$677,099, \$677,028 and \$761,031. The following note from the 1852 report, p. cccxxxvii, indicates that the figures for early years may not be accurate. "A Large Portion of valuable Wood Goods and articles passes across the Saint Croix from New Brunswick by rafts and other conveyances, to various parts in the State of Maine; and it is well known that the controller at Saint Andrews, or at the Out-Bays, have no means at their command to ascertain either the quantities or the values."

Historically, New Brunswick lumbermen had sold the major part of their production in the British Isles, with American customers placing a distant second (see Table 24). There are many reasons for this historic division and for Burchill's fitting into the pattern. Among them are colonial preferences, American tariffs against Canadian wood, and the United States having a readily available supply of its own in the New England states. For Burchill, an additional drawback was distance. Boston, the closest major American city, is over 1000 miles from Miramichi along a rugged coast, hazardous to shipping. England, on the other hand, is only 2400 miles away towards which the prevailing winds blow, making sailing faster. Furthermore, England welcomed colonial timber with an almost total absence of tariffs.

Another market to which Burchill often shipped was Ireland. The merchant in Liverpool sold to the customer in Ireland and had the supplier ship direct since Ireland is even closer to America than is Liverpool.²² Of the Irish shipments in 1881 and 1882, 1,466,210 feet, or 81% was spruce; the remainder, pine.²³ These proportions were representative of all of Burchill's shipments, indicating that for New Brunswick, the age of pine had passed by the 1870's. Professor Lower contends that spruce was not important in New Brunswick prior to 1900

²² Rankin, p. 242:

²³ MBU/I/3/1/3, Shipments. These are five consecutive shipments.

and "to speak of the lumber industry before 1900 is to speak of the pine, chiefly the white-pine industry."²⁴

When he purchased the mill in 1875, George Burchill divided his operations into what could be called management and financial operations and outdoor operations. He continued the management or inside operations of the firm while his elder son, John Percival,²⁰ took charge of the outside operations.²⁵ His second son, George Junior, was not yet 15 and was not a part of the business. John Percival Burchill, or J.P. as he was called by all, including his father, had been born in South Nelson in 1855. His name first appeared in the company records, along with that of his brother's, in 1870 with the opening of an account in his name. His annual allowance, \$85 in 1870, was used to pay his expenses, including the purchase of clothing. Thus, when J.P. was 15, and George Junior 10, George Burchill began to introduce them to the business world by raising them as accounts. There were numerous letters from J.P. to his father in the period of 1870-72 from Fredericton, St. John, Boston, and St. Louis, Missouri, indicating that those two years of his education were in the form of travel to visit cities and relatives; an excellent manner in which to be introduced to the world beyond the Miramichi.

²⁴ Lower, Assault, p. 162,

²⁵ Defebaugh, p. 2

By 1873, J.P. was back in South Nelson, where his handwriting in the company ledgers indicated he was at work with his father. His pay, though still called an allowance, was increased to that of a worker. And although still in his father's employ, J.P. undertook a small business venture of his own in 1874. He purchased flour that year for \$288.78, and sold it the following year for \$311.50.

George Burchill had purchased a property in July of 1874 referred to as the "Davidson Store & Wharf Property". Then in 1876, in addition to his annual allowance of \$120, J.P. received an extra allowance of \$500. Early in 1877, he purchased the Davidson Store from his father for \$600. For a period of only one year, he received a monthly rental of \$10 "from Brown for Rent to 1st [month]."²⁶ This monthly credit to his account, presumably for the rental of the store, continued only for 1877, although there is no record of the store having been sold.

Though J.P. indulged in some business ventures apart from those of his father's organization, his main concerns were still the family firm. Many letters from inhabitants within the county were addressed to J.P. concerning lumbering and the hiring of men and horses and other matters pertaining to the outside operations. Also throughout this phase J.P. travelled on business trips to St. John, Halifax and

²⁶ MBU/I/2/3/5, Ledger, John Percival Burchill Account. This "Brown" is not identified further.

Bangor. In 1879, he was elected to the Northumberland County Council beginning a political career that was to continue into the twentieth century. He was reelected in 1880, 1881 and 1882; this last year, he was county warden. After 1882, J.P. dropped from municipal politics to concentrate on provincial politics.

Although company correspondence indicates that the lumbering and outside operations consumed most of the attention of George Senior and J.P., the other, older, aspects of the business were not neglected. As had been the case during earlier phases, the Goods Account was a constant money earner (see Table 17). The records indicate that the administration of this facet of the business had not changed from the earlier phases. Burchill simply ordered his supplies from wholesalers, in Boston, Halifax and Quebec for the most part, occasionally paying for them with goods but most often in cash. By 1880 Boston had almost ceased to be a supply center, being replaced by Montreal, Toronto and St. John. This was just four years after the completion of the Intercolonial Railway which passed two miles west of South Nelson.

Burchill continued to add to his investment portfolio. It included government bonds and debentures and shares in two local companies. His balance sheet as of 31 December 1880 lists the following cautious investments;²⁷

²⁷ MBU/I/2/3/5, Ledger, Balance, p. 370.

North West Boom Company	\$200
Chatham Gas Light Company	840
Central Bank of New Brunswick	50 (probable value)
Provincial Debentures	5000
Dominion Government Stock	1000
Dominion Government Savings Bank	<u>10000</u>
Total	\$17090

The only remnant of his early speculative investments was the \$50 of Central Bank stock, purchased for \$2000 some twenty years previous. An examination of these stocks and bonds reveals a side of Burchill's character which enabled him to survive as a businessman. His major investments were in the government. His speculative ventures had been terminated or maintained in companies which he needed for his business (North West Boom Company) or which were close by geographically, and could be watched personally (Chatham Gas Light Company). Burchill was a cautious investor, but by 1876 he was showing an interest in some other local speculative companies. Correspondence of that year indicates Burchill was a director of a new company, the Miramichi Valley Railway Company, during its organizational phases. However, in 1880, he had not purchased any stock or made any investments which appeared on his books.

Burchill's employees' accounts, in the "M" Ledger, were continued as before the purchase of the mill, but with a new debit for some men, that for rent or board. With the purchase of the mill in 1875, Burchill began immediately to rent twelve housing units on that property. These had not been destroyed by the fire of 1876. Mill workers, as renters, were charged from \$1.50 to \$2.50 per month.

In 1881, the total received was \$290 or an average of \$2.00 per unit. Other workers were charged board, and these same amounts were credited to the account of a Mrs. Gill, obviously a boardinghouse keeper. Amounts charged were usually \$2.50 per week before 1880, with Mrs. Gill receiving \$690.61 in ten months that year.

During a typical fortnight at the height of the sawing season, the first two weeks of August 1880, there were 61 men on the payroll, earning from \$.60 to \$2.00 per day. (The one man paid \$2.00 was a foreman). Of the 61 men, only 40 worked ten days or more in these two weeks and some worked as little as $3/4$ of a day. The total payroll was \$643.91 of which \$219.45 was paid in cash and the remainder credited to individual accounts. Once again Burchill's men seem not to have been abused by the "truck" system.

By the time he had purchased the mill in 1875, Burchill had terminated his business with Rankin, Gilmour & Co. and had acquired a new agent in the firm of Robert Morrow & Co. Through this firm, the major portion of the British business was conducted. By 1880, Robert Morrow & Co. had been relegated to a secondary position with the firm of Franworth & Jardine of Liverpool becoming the principal agent, supplier and advisor. The conclusive reasons for Burchill's changing of agents are unknown but several factors may have influenced his decision. The Jardine of Farnworth & Jardine was David Jardine of Richibucto, New Brunswick, and a member of the shipbuilding family of

Jardines. He had moved with his family to Liverpool in 1844 but his father's brothers and cousins had remained in Richibucto to build ships into the 1880's. Perhaps it was these family connections after all, that influenced Burchill. Farnworth & Jardine was also a large and respectable timber firm and in those times of depression, its size may have represented security. This feeling could have been intensified by David Jardine's connections with such firms as the Royal Insurance Company and Cunard Steamship Company Limited.²⁸ Then too there was a family connection within the firms of Farnworth & Jardine and Rankin, Gilmour & Co. that may have had a bearing on Burchill's change. David Jardine's wife and John Rankin's wife were sisters,²⁹ and thus there was perhaps more than a social connection between the two firms in the same business, and having New Brunswick connections. It is not inconceivable that when Rankin, Gilmour & Co. discontinued their North American affairs, they informed Farnworth & Jardine of this customer at South Nelson and that they tried to persuade Burchill to deal with Farnworth & Jardine. In any case, it proved to be a profitable arrangement for all parties.

The increase in value of Burchill's personal stock from \$75,215 at the beginning of the depression year of 1873 to \$92,906 by the end of 1875 may appear to have been remarkable, but the depression had not

²⁸ Marjorie J. Thompson, "Jardine Shipbuilders of Kent County, New Brunswick", Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society, No. 18 (St. John, 1963), p. 181.

²⁹ Rankin, p. 141.

yet reached New Brunswick. By 1876, however the Lieutenant-Governor, usually given to delivering glowing reports, opened the Legislature with a pessimistic Throne Speech.

I regret that the financial crisis which commenced in the United States more than two years since, and has more recently extended to Great Britain, has within the last year, led to depressing results in our own Province. The check given everywhere to Commerce, has considerably reduced the earnings of our vessels; the leading articles of our Export, with the exception of the products of our Fisheries have yielded less remunerative returns than formerly ... We cannot expect an immediate return to our former prosperity, but recent indications lead me to look with confidence for an early improvement in our Trade and Commerce.³⁰

George Burchill's profits suffered accordingly and his capital stock dropped to \$88,826. The effects of the mill fire were also felt and, as the depression continued, Burchill devalued his lumber on hand in two successive years.³¹ 1877 was the low point for Burchill's affairs and in 1878 his fortunes began to rise, despite the adverse news from Britain which he received from Robert Morrow in 1878 in a customary year-end report.

... Wars and rumours of war, failures in business and rumours of failures - depressed trade in manufacturing districts, a large number of workmen being discharged daily, there being no profits so that parties are curtailing operations in all directions. - The failure of the Glasgow Bank - and another bank in Heywood and now the failure of the West of England Bank, head

³⁰ Journals, 1876, Throne Speech Debate, p. 11.

³¹ MBU/1/2/3/5, Ledger, Lumber Account.

office in Bristol with 40 branches for 3.1/2 millions - The Branches are in different parts of the Bristol Channel and this is having a paralysing effect on trade and with the present outlook, the business horizon for good trade next year does not look promising. It is reported that many of the large Timber and deal importers throughout the country have made heavy losses through the state of Trade and the failure of very many of the smaller deals and builders, to which sources for distribution and consumption much of the import of wood goes and building will no doubt to a large extent be suspended until times mend, which seems a long time coming round - Manufacturing must cease to a large extent until the demand can keep pace with the supply which latter for the last few years has been excessive in all departments of trade -- There will always be a hand to mouth business and we fear no one will in the spring be willing to buy extensively on contract with the uncertain future before them - We must however be prepared to operate when any chance opens, but we fear no good prices will be obtained during next season to compensate for the disastrous prices ruling through the course of this season.³²

The Lumber Account showed a loss of \$7884.24 that year, including the \$4874.47 depreciation, but the other accounts, notably the Goods and Mill Accounts, inched his capital worth ahead by \$127.70. 1879 and 1880 were complete recovery years with his stock increasing from \$81,616.05 to \$99,843.93.

The population, on the other hand, by emigrating to the United States and the North West in 1878 and 1879, showed that they felt the depression was continuing.³³ The Liberal leaning Saint John Weekly Freeman painted a gloomy picture.

³² MBU/II/5/21/3, Correspondence, Robert Morrow & Co. to George Burchill, 12 December 1878.

³³ Poynter, p. 44.

In no part of the Provinces are the hard times felt more severely than in New Brunswick; in no part is the additional load of taxation [from the National Policy] more oppressive. In no month of June for a quarter of a century have so many been unemployed in St. John, or has the number in steady employment been so small. The rolling mills, the foundries, ... are shut down or working only occasionally. The saw mills have done comparatively little work this year, scarcely one, we believe having so far worked steadily. Shipbuilding is at a standstill, and from all quarters come the cries of men willing to work and unable to find employment, of men and children suffering from want of bread.³⁴

Modern historians support this nineteenth century New Brunswick view. They contend that the recovery, which was just beginning, was not because of the National Policy, but in spite of it.³⁵

The lumbermen of the 1870's blamed the depression, or at least the continuing low prices for lumber, on over cutting.³⁶ Farnworth & Jardine's comments on excessive amounts of lumber on the market bear this out. "We have no improvements to note in the market. The shipments during the month have been far too heavy and much in excess of the demand and we fear prices will go still lower."³⁷ A letter later in the year from Robert Morrow & Co. indicated what could be achieved when restraint was exercised by the lumbermen and the shippers. "As the season has advanced and the idea that not much

³⁴ Ibid., p. 41, from The Weekly Freeman, 7 June 1879.

³⁵ Lower, Assault, p. 152.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ MBU/II/5/22/3, Correspondence, Farnworth & Jardine to George Burchill, 24 July 1879.

was to come forward as was expected parties have been more inclined to buy and there is an advance in the price of wood."³⁸

News from Britain early in 1880 was cautiously optimistic. Early in January, Farnworth & Jardine reported a dull market but "on the other hand we cannot but hope that consumption of wood will increase as the year advances, looking at the improvement in our general trade and even making allowance for the fact that the wood trade is always behind all others in improving."³⁹ By February they reported some improvement and, later in the year, that they sold several cargoes.⁴⁰ On the home front, after 1879 had closed on a rising note, all was optimistic.

....The operations of the present winter are from 30 to 50% greater than those of last winter; lumbermen's wages are from 30 to 100% better, according to the locality; many extensive manufacturers have already sold next season's sawing at an advance of 20 to 30% on last year's prices, while some kinds of deals are selling at 50% better than they were last year... Sawmills which have been idle for a year or two will be running full time during 1880.⁴¹

The optimism of New Brunswick and the cautious anticipation of Great Britain were justified. By June 1880, consumption was

³⁸ Ibid., Robert Morrow to George Burchill, 9 October, 1879.

³⁹ Ibid., Farnworth & Jardine to George Burchill, 15 January

1880.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 3 February 1880 and 19 February 1880.

⁴¹ Poynter, p. 51, from the St. John Daily Sun, 10 January,

1880.

beginning to increase.⁴² Reports throughout the summer and until early September indicated all was well and sales were good. But, as the report of the Daily Sun predicted, the extensive operations and probable overcutting caused a sales slump in September.

Farnworth & Jardine attributed the slowing down of the market to the fast pace and excessive shipments of June to September.⁴³ This firm continued to report a weakened market all through the autumn and on 16 December 1880, indicated that no sales had been transacted in the previous fortnight. Although in 1879 the lumbermen had blamed the continued low prices on over-cutting, as soon as prices had begun to rise, they over cut again, driving prices down. Burchill was also guilty of this practice having increased his stumpage from 1,010,000 feet in 1879 to 2,303,000 feet in 1880.⁴⁴

Nevertheless, 1880 had been a good year for George Burchill. Having increased his capital stock from \$88,616 to \$99,844, he decided on the next major change in his operations. From the 1880 year-end balance, he extracted several items; "Sundries Liabilities", "Sundry Assets Running a/c's here in the Country", "Lumber Stock on hand", "Lumber Timber Berths", and "Goods Stock on hand". The balance of these

⁴² MBU/II/2/23/3, Correspondence, Farnworth & Jardine to George Burchill, 3 June 1880.

⁴³ Ibid., 16 September 1880.

⁴⁴ See Table 23, p. 135.

was a Credit of \$32,500 and on this next amount he based a new partnership, Geo. Burchill & Sons, with his two sons, J.P. and George Junior (see Appendix 2).

V

GEO. BURCHILL & SONS, 1861 TO 1906.

On 27 January 1881, George Burchill sent out the following letter to all his customers and suppliers:

Sirs:

I beg to inform you that I have taken into partnership with me my two sons and the business hitherto carried on by me will be continued hereafter in the name of Geo. Burchill & Sons.

Any balance now standing with you in my own name you will please transfer to the name of the new firm.¹

The partnership thus announced continued as per their agreement until December 1891 when the stock was redivided with George Sr. retaining \$12,500, J.P. getting \$12,000 and George Jr., \$8,000.²

When the partnership came into effect, two balances were kept, one for the company and one for George Senior. The balance for the firm, the Capital Stock, was always \$32,500, and any year end variation from this figure was declared as profit or loss. Prior to the partnership, these profits had been put back into the company and served to increase the capital worth. The second balance began as the capital worth of the firm as it was before J.P. and George Jr.

¹ MBU/I/1/2/6, Letter Book, various letters of 27 January 1881.

² MBU/I/2/17/1, Articles of Co-Partnership. In the MBU/I/2/17/1, Private Ledger, the redivision of stock began in 1887 and was concluded in 1890.

became partners but minus the \$7500 given to them as stock. The second balance was kept by George Sr. in his Private Ledger. It was a list of his assets, including both his share of the stock of Geo. Burchill & Sons and the assets of an account called Geo. Burchill & Sons Special Account.³

This Special Account, begun in January 1881, was a method by which the new partnership was given operating capital over and above the stated value of the firm. The initial amount in this special account was the credit balance with Farnworth & Jardine. The amount owed by the partnership to this account was also this same figure. This liability at a constant level persisted even when the partnership had to its credit in bank deposits much more than the liability. For example, in 1895, the partnership Balance sheet showed an amount owed to the special account of \$10,938, - "To Geo. Burchill liability to him on special account." The same sheet shows \$20,000 on deposit by the partnership in three banks.⁴ No attempt was ever made to eliminate this debt and no interest was paid on it.

George Sr. controlled the Special Account as a kind of "slush fund" from which he withdrew sums to balance the General Account of the Co., noted by entries similar to the following. "To Balance

³ MBU/I/2/17/1, Private Ledger, Balance Account, 1882-1904.

⁴ MBU/I/2/3/6, Ledger Balance, 1895.

of General Account fo. [foliq] 476, P.L."⁵ He continued to make credits to this account equal to the annual surplus of his personal general account and continued to make supplementary payments to his sons until 1906. In that year, the final entry reads, "To amount transferred to J.P. Burchill's Stock acc't. fo. 2 in accordance with Geo. Burchill's letter this date, - \$25,133.73."⁶

Thus the Special Account, so-called, fulfilled two purposes. It was a means whereby J.P. and George Junior could receive an income when profits from the business were non-existent or were too low to yield an adequate income. The Special Account was also used to help keep the partnership afloat. In years like 1888, when a large loss followed one the previous year, this loss was made good from the Special Account.⁷

The business of the firm did not change with the formation of the partnership. The account which accounted for the sale of consumer items and general supplies, the Goods Account, continued to be a constant money earner, as it had been since the formation of the firm. As the company set its own retail prices, there is no reason that this account should not have been so (see Table 25). This Goods Account kept the firm going during the lean years in the lumber business,

⁵ MBU/1/2/3/6; Ledger, Balance, p. 37.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

TABLE 25 - BURCHILL PROFITS ⁸				
YEAR	LUMBER	MILL	GOODS	TOTAL
1881	\$4930	\$1367	\$4825	\$4814
1882	-3563	728	6764	1558
1883	-1971	1890	4170	2191
1884	-160	537	2455	1402
1885	-3094	263	3661	-2316
1886	212	723	2965	2876
1887	-2526	105	2744	-1554 ⁹
1888	-2264	-1423	3466	-2869 ⁹
1889	2246	-889	3566	3779 ¹⁰
1890	445	1183	4652	-1440 ¹¹
1891	-898	287	3875	0 ¹¹
1892	-154	1752	4216	2335
1893	1502	808	4066	5019 ¹²
1894	-220	-1473	3799	-416 ¹²
1895	-1587	538	4015	1115
1896	2833	2077	4892	9278 ¹³
1897	2002	1095	4333	-3766 ¹⁴
1898	-220	750	3699	-1389 ¹⁴
1899	2253	3040	4279	8282
1900	10766	782	3515	13148
1901	2485	1988	3147	7345
1902	17619	1686	3164	21128
1903	3854	3860	4108	7034
1904	1221	1173	5219	5000
1905	6626	242	3765	7894
1906	13459	2573	3689	20817

⁸ MBU/I/2/3/7, Ledger, Profit and Loss Account. The three accounts listed in this table are not the only accounts which produce profits or losses but they are the major ones. The Total in the table is made up of all such accounts, not just the three listed.

⁹ MBU/I/2/3/6, Profit and Loss. This loss was made good by a payment from George Burchill Senior's Special Account to the partnership.

¹⁰ Although the major accounts all show a profit in 1890, two large and unusual losses are entered in the Profit and Loss Account. The first is a loss. "Shipment per 'Ilmatic' @ London - \$1882" and the second is a loss "Big Brook Lumber operations 1888/9 & 1889/90 - \$3987. Normally these should be part of the Lumber Account, and no reason is given for their separate entry in the Profit and Loss Account.

¹¹ Major abnormally entered losses in 1891 were "North Branch Lumber operations 1890/1 - \$1219" and "On Holdings' Cargo - \$578".

especially between 1882 and 1888. During those seven years, while the Burchill Lumber Account lost \$13,568, the Goods Account showed a profit of \$26,225.

An examination of the previous phase of business, 1875 to 1880, revealed that George Burchill had begun to shift his source of supply for goods from Great Britain and the United States to Canada and often to New Brunswick. After 1881, the shift to these suppliers was completed. By 1885 dry goods were coming from Montreal and flour and grains from Ontario. Tea was being ordered from St. John. Whereas Halifax had been the supplier of West Indian products, by 1890 most of these, including molasses, were being purchased from Hall & Fairweather of St. John. Sugar was purchased in Moncton, hardware and foodstuffs from St. John and petroleum products from Imperial Oil's St. John office. Most dry goods were ordered from St. John and meat and dairy products from the Fredericton and Sussex areas. By 1900 the most notable import was flour which continued to come from Manitoba via Guelph, Ontario.¹⁵ With most of the orders

¹² The major loss for 1894 not evident in this table, was on "North Branch Lumber operation, 92, 3 & 4 - \$3980.

¹³ The major loss for 1897 not evident in this table was on "North Branch Lumber a/c ... 1895/6 & 1896/7 - \$6265".

¹⁴ The major loss for 1898, not evident from this table was "North Branch Lumber operations - \$2511". This particular operation continued to record a loss in the Profit and Loss Account for several years, but after the other facets of the partnership were able to produce an overall profit.

¹⁵ MBU/II/5/43/2, Correspondence, James Goldie Co. Ltd.

placed within New Brunswick, the supply lines were being considerably shortened, reflecting better rail lines and improved banking services.

The firm of Geo. Burchill & Sons rented from George Burchill Sr. the store from which the goods were sold. This was part of the Steam Saw Mill and Cove Property; it rented for \$1200 annually, and also included storehouses, wharfs, dwelling houses, the sawmill and related facilities.

The houses leased as part of the Mill Property were rented to the mill employees, yielding an annual profit which varied as the rents dropped with the deepening depression. At the height of the depression which had begun in 1873 the highest rent was \$2.50 per month. As the depression slackened in the late 1870's, the maximum rent crept up to \$3.00, and in 1882, when the economy took a short-lived upward turn, one house rented for \$4.00 per month. By 1884, business had plummeted into the depression again and the highest rent was again \$2.50. The rents continued to vary according to the economic situation and by the early twentieth century were up to \$3.50 per month for some houses. Burchill was a humanitarian landlord as well as a benevolent employer.

The wharves, which were part of the integrated facility leased by George Senior to the partnership, also became profitable, earning fees in two ways. The first way was at the ballast wharf where

incoming ships were charged for unloading their ballast. They were also charged wharfage at a daily rate while tied up at the loading wharf taking on cargoes. The ships were also charged a stowing fee, recorded in the Stowing Account. It indicated the supplying of labour and services related to the loading and unloading of ships. As the Lumber Account does not record a debit for stowing, we can assume these fees were paid by the captain, and indirectly, the customer, and that shipments were not made f.o.b.

By far the most important account related to Burchill's operations was the Lumber Account, which recorded the expenses related to the acquisition and sale of lumber. Geo. Burchill & Sons was a medium size lumbering concern, worthy of mention in trade circulars and books on lumbering.¹⁶ Their relative and absolute position in the lumber business in terms of quantity can be seen from Table 26. The size of their operations increased gradually to 1906. Whereas in the early 1880's, the mill was annually sawing about four million board feet, by the first few years of the twentieth century they had increased the output to over six million feet per year (see Table 27).

The major market during this period for New Brunswick in general and for the Miramichi in particular continued to be Great Britain. J.B. Snowball's Miramichi Wood Trade Circulars to 1890

¹⁶ MBU/II/14/3/1, Trade Circulars, and Defebaugh, p. 236.

TABLE 26 - NEW BRUNSWICK LUMBER SHIPMENTS TO EUROPE¹⁷

YEAR	MIRAMICHI	SAINT JOHN	ALL OTHERS	TOTAL	BURCHILL %	BURCHILL RELATIVE N.B. POSITION
1879	114,618,000	153,279,000	59,441,000	327,339,000	1,691,000	22 of 41
					.52%	
1882	117,007,000	193,769,000	65,088,000	375,864,000	3,572,000	12/20
					.95%	
1885	87,251,000	152,250,000	51,954,000	291,747,000	2,946,000	17/38
					1.01%	
1887	68,122,000	118,451,000	63,714,000	250,286,000	3,068,000	16/34
					1.21%	
1889	109,670,000	180,167,000	79,194,000	369,031,000	4,521,000	14/32
					1.22%	
1890	87,638,000	132,609,000	73,118,000	293,365,000	6,143,000	11/30
					2.1%	
1904	94,500,000	172,996,000	81,386,000		4,000,000	--
					1.1%	

TABLE 27 - BURCHILL MILL SAWINGS¹⁸

YEAR	AMOUNT X 1000 FEET	YEAR	AMOUNT X 1000 FEET	YEAR	AMOUNT X 1000 FEET
1879	1691	1888	3467	1899	7941
1880	6159	1889	5526	1900	7073
1881	2034	1890	7164	1901	7333
1882	3500	1891	5627	1902	6534
1883	2566	1892	7030	1903	7512
1884	612	1893	6691	1904	6312
1885	2946	1894	4410	1905	5695
1884	3630	1895	5710	1906	6944
1885	3297	1896	7683	1907	5508
1886	4056	1897	7809	1908	5135
1887	3855	1898	6789	1909	5801

¹⁷ MBU/II/14/3/1, Trade Circulars.

¹⁸ For 1879 to 1882, the figures given are for shipments to Great Britain taken from Burchill's records. The figures for 1883 to 1885 are also for his British shipments, from The Saint John Sun, 17 March 1886. The second figures for 1884 and 1885 and the figures for 1886 to 1909 are from Burchill's records of Mill cuttings.

hardly mentioned the other markets.¹⁹ Thus Burchill's sales pattern did not run counter to the provincial and Miramichi trend. The early 1880's saw the Burchills ship over 90% of their products to Great Britain; while the remaining 10% was divided among the West Indies, the United States and Canadian and local markets. In the first few years of the twentieth century, they still shipped approximately 83% of their wood products to Britain (see Table 28).

Geo. Burchill & Sons continued to acquire their logs for sawing in the same manner as prior to the formation of the partnership. They jobbed out this process to various operators by sub-leasing their timber berths to jobbers who then sold their winter's cut at the prevailing rates. But in the 1881-1882 season, they also began to operate their own camps. Each camp, designated by the name of the foreman and/or the location, was operated as an account which, in most cases, showed a loss; that is, it produced logs to a value less than the cost of production. In 1882-83 the North Branch Camp produced logs valued at \$4417²⁰ while the cost of producing them was \$5004. The loss of \$587 was entered in the Lumber Account as "To North Branch Lumber a/c extra cost of Lumber on past winter operations."²¹ Geo. Burchill & Sons "bought" the winter's cuttings

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ MBU/I/3/3/3, Lumber Received and Delivered.

²¹ MBU/I/2/3/6, Ledger, Lumber Account.

TABLE 28 - BURCHILL LUMBER SALES AND PROFITS²²

YEAR	SALES TO GREAT BRITAIN	OTHER SALES	YEAR END INVENTORY	LUMBER PROFITS ²³
1880	\$ 52,786	\$2,343	\$18,000	\$6474
1881	22,507	6,151	22,604	4550
1882	36,454	1,634	23,648	-3568
1883	24,147	2,689	36,343	-263
1884	5,228	2,354	39,950	31
1885	24,577	4,881	23,909	-3168
1886	21,416	3,667	34,570	911
1887	25,618	5,355	47,709	-2602
1888	43,013	4,185	25,358	-4704
1889	44,925	9,636	30,935	997
1890	60,688	7,168	38,805	-4389
1891	36,657	6,386	35,068	-2503
1892	72,328	8,059	32,483	-1004
1893	40,997	6,708	45,967	1896
1894	60,565	4,685	12,782	-6308
1895	36,596	7,999	34,380	-1806
1896	66,800	6,352	31,368	4369
1897	47,013	9,060	84,182	-6198
1898	61,431	6,503	49,221	-3387
1899	81,163	10,272	43,989	4446
1900	70,360	14,078	50,265	10796
1901	52,709	19,339	65,017	6300
1902	102,129	14,878	36,329	19669
1903	83,626	19,884	50,528	6182
1904	55,677	15,183	63,508	4102
1905	67,358	18,433	55,633	9142
1906	89,233	15,365	58,850	17477
1907	78,138	15,891	73,123	6239
1908	41,776	18,936	74,368	6330
1909	105,481	21,559	55,801	6072

²² MBU/I/2/3/6 and 7 Ledger, Lumber Account.

²³ This includes Lumber and Mill Accounts and Profit and Loss Account entries for specific shipments or camp operations. It does not include \$1200 annual rent paid on mill property which included the houses, stores and wharfs as well as the mill.

from their own operations at \$7 per thousand, an amount slightly higher than that which they paid to independent suppliers that year.

The loss sustained by the woods operations was real; it was not simply a book-keeping loss. In reality, it was a much greater loss than an examination of the Lumber Account indicated. For some unexplained reason, large losses sustained by the woods operations in the procurement of logs were left from the accounts of these operations but were entered in the Profit and Loss Account as separate losses. Between 1881 and 1906, the period of the partnership, entries in this latter account, similar to "The Big Brook Lumber operation ...", recorded a total loss of \$23,253 on individual camp operations.²⁴ This figure is in addition to the \$4213 losses recorded in the Lumber Account as attributable directly to the operations of various camps.²⁵ What this meant was that between 1881 and 1906, Geo. Burchill & Sons paid out \$27,466 more for logs than would have been necessary if they had jobbed-out this operation. The profit on the lumbering operations of the partnership for that 26 year period was \$54,070, two-thirds of what it could have been.

Independent operators and jobbers who sub-leased Burchill timber berths supplied most of the logs to the Burchill mill. In 1883,

²⁴ MBU/I/2/3/6 and 7, Ledger, Profit and Loss Account.

²⁵ Ibid., Lumber Account.

one of the first years in which the Burchills ran their own operations, the total value of logs received was \$26,740 while less than \$6,000 worth was acquired by their own operations.²⁶ This was their manner of operating during the partnership (see Table 30). In any given year, the quantities bought varied greatly. In 1900, for example, one man supplied 4200 feet while another supplied 4,556,000 feet.²⁷ In 1905 the firm purchased 1084 feet from one supplier and 1,779,000 feet from their largest supplier.²⁸

TABLE 29 - LUMBER RECEIVED ²⁹		
YEAR	TOTAL RECEIVED	FROM OWN OPERATIONS
1890	7,640,000 FT.	2,086,000 FT.
1895	7,123,000	1,445,000
1900	6,325,000	1,000,000
1905	4,633,000	1,380,000

The woods camps which the Burchills began to operate in 1880 were up to date and above average in their bills of fare and their facilities. According to Lower, about this time "a revolution in camp diet came about which within a few years, to the original pork,

²⁶ Ibid., 1883.

²⁷ MBU/I/3/3/3, Lumber Received and Delivered, 1900.

²⁸ Ibid., 1905.

²⁹ Ibid., passim.

beans, bread and tea were added all manner of things including fish, meat, canned vegetables and the like."³⁰ David Smith, on the other hand, dates this change as a decade later. "In some camps by the 90's, items like preserved fruits and cod fish were served."³¹ Burchill camps were part of the "revolution" described by Lower. In the 1881 to 1883 period, two camps, the Mullen Stream Lumber Camp and the North Branch Lumber Camp were furnished with the following provisions: tea, beans, pork, codfish, corned beef, molasses, potatoes, oatmeal, cornmeal, butter, flour, pilot bread, lard, dried apples, cod oil, mustard, pepper, ginger, baking soda, and alspice.³² While Smith says "baking soda did not come until late [1890's]",³³ the Burchill camps were supplied with it in 1881. In addition to these items of food, the camps received soap, matches, plates, knives, forks, spoons, pints [mugs], towelling by the yard, blankets and carpeting by the yard, buckets, window panes, lamps, pots, stove, oven bakers, paraffin oil, and lumbering tools. Like the non-abuse of the truck system, these operations show Burchill to have been a benevolent employer. But while the employees benefited, the partnership suffered a loss on the woods operations.

³⁰ Lower, Assault, p. 31.

³¹ Smith, p. 16.

³² MBU/I/2/1/7, Petty Ledger, North Branch Lumber Camp Account and Mullen Stream Lumber Camp.

³³ Smith, p. 28. From The Industrial Journal of 3 April 1896, he quotes the following recipe for molasses cake then used in lumber camps. "Take a gallon of molasses, one quart of lard, flour enough to thicken, a handful (two spoonful) of spices, and three spoonful of soda. Mix well and bake."

Since Geo. Burchill & Sons purchased logs at a low price from the same suppliers year after year, these suppliers must have been earning profits on their woods operations. This interaction must have necessitated the operation of less than adequate facilities, the use of monotonous low quality food, and the driving of the workers to the limit. It is a sad commentary on New Brunswick lumbering operations which says that adequate conditions for the men meant a loss for the employer.

It is never clear why Geo. Burchill & Sons continued to operate their camps for twenty years while absorbing a loss almost every year. Perhaps it was with the hope that each succeeding year would yield a profit. This did not occur until 1900. Although the camps were a market for the highly profitable Goods Account, that is, the store, the loss on woods operations was often more than the total profit of this account. If the woods operations had been jobbed out, these jobbers would probably have purchased supplies from the Burchills. So the creation of a market was not the reason for the continued camp operation and the reason for the twenty-year absorption of losses remains a mystery.

The Burchills' benevolent attitude may have helped them to retain the services of some of their employees for many years and to have an annual average employee return rate of 65% (see Tables 30 and 31). Fully 16% of their employees had returned to their employ after an

absence of one or more years indicating that this was at least a tolerable establishment. Considering the type of seasonal employment offered, these are respectable figures.

TABLE 30 - BURCHILL EMPLOYEES - ANNUAL ³⁴				
YEAR	TOTAL	FORMER EMPLOYEES		MAXIMUM WEEKLY POSITIONS
		NUMBER	% OF TOTAL	
1876	154	-	-	78
1877	144	73	51	71
1878	114	77	68	65
1879	92	67	72	57
1880	87	67	77	65
1881	148	93	63	77

TABLE 31 - BURCHILL EMPLOYEES - RETURNING ³⁴		
EMPLOYEES	NUMBER	% OF TOTAL
Worked 1 year	205	55%
Worked 2 years	75	20%
Worked 3 years	34	9%
Worked 4 years	25	7%
Worked 5 years	22	6%
Worked 6 years	14	3%
Total	375	100%

³⁴ MBU/I/4/2,3 & 4, Time Books. Records were kept for May to November each year.

The Burchills, whose woods camps were the most modern, were slow in modernizing their shipping methods. In 1862, steam was the "modern" way and there was a steam ship operating on a regular packet run into the Miramichi.³⁵ In 1866 The Gleaner recorded the first load of deals leaving the Miramichi by steam ship.³⁶ But it was not until 1892 that Burchill made his first shipment by steamer. On 19 May 1892, the "S.S. Helen" arrived to take on 931,000 feet of deals for Belfast. A barque, which had docked one day earlier, took on 668,000 feet of lumber, but sailed one week later than the steamer. Probably due to higher freights, haste was made to load the steamship, causing the smaller cargo to wait, or at least to be loaded less speedily. Three more steamers were loaded by Geo. Burchill & Sons in 1892 and in one other instance, a barque in port first sailed after the steamer.³⁷ Into the twentieth century, both steam ships and sailing ships called at Nelson. In 1905, the Burchills loaded three steamers, two barques and one barguentine.³⁸

The change to steam was not the only change in the transportation of lumber. Throughout Canada from 1870 to 1890, railways began to supplant the waterways as the means of transport.³⁹ During this period,

³⁵ The Gleaner, 24 May 1862.

³⁶ The Gleaner, 21 July 1866, "Ship, steamer, Morrell, Liverpool, deals. J.H. & S. Harding."

³⁷ MBU/I/3/1/4, Lumber Shipments.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Lower, Assault, p. 160.

Geo. Burchill & Sons also made the change to rail, a logical decision considering that Nelson is situated only a couple of miles from the main Intercolonial line between Halifax and Montreal. By 1885 they were using rail exclusively for North American shipments; from 1885 on, all ships which left Nelson with lumber sailed to Great Britain.⁴⁰

In the last two years prior to the formation of Geo. Burchill & Sons, George Burchill had turned a reasonable profit (see Table 19). The partnership continued this trend into the 1880's, despite the prolonged depression. The first loss was recorded in 1885 (see Table 25). It is imprecise to consider separately all individual accounts which contribute to the total profit picture. The Mill Account, the Stowing Account and the various camp accounts can all show profits, but these are at the expense of the Lumber Account. Even the amount earned as wharfage fees resulted in higher freight rates, and hence a lower profit from lumber sent to Britain on consignment. And the Goods Account earned part of its profit by supplying the woods camps. However, since each of the services supplied to produce the lumber would cost a similar amount if the firm had paid an outside supplier rather than another account or department of the firm, the Lumber Account will be examined as it is recorded.

The first year of the partnership, 1881, saw the new firm turn a good profit on lumber (see Table 25). The depression had reached a

⁴⁰ MBU/I/3/1/4, Lumber Shipments..

low point in 1878-79; business had begun to improve in 1880 and was still on the upswing in 1881. Lumber usage in Liverpool, Burchills' main market, was near the 30,000,000 cubic feet point. This was below average, but was, nevertheless, a respectable amount⁴¹ (see Table 32). Despite a high demand at Liverpool, 1882 was not a good year for Burchill. The winter had been unfavourable and costs for driving, especially on the smaller streams, were much higher than usual.⁴² In that year, they lost \$3560 on the Lumber Account.

By 1883 the depression had intensified.

The business of the past year [1883] has been very much a repetition of the previous one in all its principal features, and at no time has there been any real life or activity. The supplies have been free and always beyond the demand; ... The result to shippers has been generally unsatisfactory, as prices here have rarely covered import costs ... Stocks are too heavy, ... Reduced supplies are indeed a necessity if the trade is to be placed on a profitable basis.⁴³

The Burchill business operated in accord with Farnworth & Jardine's description. The prices they received did not cover costs and they suffered a loss of nearly \$2000 on their lumber account, despite having heeded the advice about curtailing cutting and increasing prices. In 1881 they had 118 square miles under license; in 1882 this was reduced to 79 square miles and in 1883 to 58 square miles. They were to reduce it even further to 50 square miles in 1884 (see Table 16).

⁴¹ MBU/II/14/3/27, Trade Circulars, Farnworth & Jardine.

⁴² MBU/II/14/3/1, Trade Circulars, J.B. Snowball.

⁴³ MBU/II/14/3/27, Trade Circulars, Farnworth & Jardine, 1883.

In 1883, the total value of their shipments dropped to \$27,000 from \$38,000 the previous year (see Table 28). The amount shipped to Great Britain was down to 2,600,000 from 3,500,000 feet the previous year (see Table 27). The year-end inventory was only \$3600 whereas it had been \$24,000 the year previous. Mill sawing was sharply reduced.

Continuing to follow Farnworth & Jardine's advice, Geo. Burchill & Sons shipped lumber worth only \$5227 to Great Britain in 1884, recording a loss of only \$160. At Liverpool, prices had dropped (see Table 33). Imports were down but consumption was also down (see Table 32). In the personal report to the Burchills, Farnworth & Jardine advised against increased cutting.

If it is reported that the production in the coming winter is to be again small, we trust it will prove so, as there are no signs of any better consumption here and present stocks are very extensive.⁴⁴

One reason for low consumption and poor prices was high transportation costs. "Freights again promise to rule - if the steamers are again engaged in the Deal trade this year as last, it will make the trade all the more difficult and uncertain as cargoes so carried cannot be handled so easily & cheaply as if by sail."⁴⁵ It appears as if "progress" had become the ruling philosophy. Since the newest, most advanced technology was steam, shipping firms felt it "had" to be employed, even

⁴⁴ MBU/II/5/28/3, Correspondence, Farnworth & Jardine to Geo. Burchill & Sons, 24 Dec. 1884.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

though shippers found it more costly and less adaptable to the facilities available. Steamers were faster, but there was certainly no need for speed in the lumber trade. Sail, though slower, was cheaper, but gradually it was relegated to a secondary position.

TABLE 32 - LIVERPOOL LUMBER USAGE⁴⁶

YEAR	IMPORTS (X1000 FT ³)			CONSUMPTION (X1000 FT ³)			YEAR END CARRY-OVER (X1000 FT ³)
	COLONIAL	FOREIGN	TOTAL	COLONIAL	FOREIGN	TOTAL	
1876	26,745	9,352	36,097	24,751	9,342	34,193	10,917
1877	26,608	10,475	37,083	26,046	9,408	35,454	13,547
1878	19,439	6,993	26,432	20,680	8,234	28,914	9,065
1879	16,120	6,166	22,286	17,103	7,184	24,287	8,064
1880	23,551	9,977	33,528	21,001	8,842	29,863	11,749
1881	17,363	8,144	26,507	20,830	8,763	29,593	7,663
1882	20,638	11,495	32,133	19,937	10,547	30,484	9,312
1883	22,057	10,572	32,629	21,597	10,283	31,880	10,062
1884	19,095	9,607	28,702	19,206	10,309	29,515	9,248
1885	18,185	11,886	30,071	18,590	11,652	30,242	9,087
1886	16,733	8,834	25,567	27,693	10,036	27,729	7,905
1887	16,161	10,872	27,033	17,206	10,414	27,620	6,318
1888	18,232	12,432	30,664	19,316	12,826	32,142	3,850
1889	26,004	16,062	42,066	22,734	14,279	37,013	9,883
1890	20,628	14,136	34,864	19,815	14,644	34,259	10,188
1891	15,851	13,951	29,802	17,695	13,388	31,083	8,887
1892	18,575	14,675	33,250	17,789	14,200	31,989	10,148
1893	19,208	12,778	31,986	19,588	12,788	32,376	9,758
1894	20,533	13,810	34,343	19,701	13,667	33,368	10,733
AVG., 1906-10	30,992	8,861	39,138	32,138	11,629	43,767	2,314

Geo. Burchill & Sons did not always heed the advice of Farnworth & Jardine. In 1884/85, they increased their cut by a considerable

⁴⁶ MBU/II/14/3/27, Trade Circulars, 1876 to 1910.

TABLE 33 - LIVERPOOL LUMBER PRICES (PER STANDARD)⁴⁷

YEAR	PINE - 1st s/d	PINE - 2nd s/d	PINE - 3rd s/d	SPRUCE s/d
1883	20-22	15-16	9/10-10/5	7/5-7/7/6
1884	19/10-22/10	14/10-15/10	8/10-9	6/10-6/15
1885	20-23	15-16	9-9/10	6-6/5
1886	N/A	N/A	N/A	5/15-6
1887	20-24	15-16	8/10-8/15	5/15-5/17/6
1888	20-23/10	15-17	8/15-9/5	6/10-6/12/6
1889	21-24	15-16/10	10-11	7/15-8/5
1890	21-24	14-15/10	9/10-10	7/7/6-7/10
1891	20-24	15/10-17	8/10-9/5	6/- -6/5
1892	20-25	15-16/10	9/10-10	6/10-6/15
1894	20-25	15-16/10	8/10-9	5/17/6-6/2/6
1895	20-25	15-16/10	8/10-9	5/15-6
1909	23-37/10	17-25	14/10-17/10	7/15-8/2
1910	25-38	7-25	13/10-17/10	7/17/6-8/10

amount of their reduced limits, increasing their year end inventory to \$39,950. And despite the admonition that the situation was not expected to improve for the coming year, they increased their timber limits to 62 1/2 square miles for 1885, following instead the opinion of the North Shore lumbermen as reported by the Snowball trade circular that the depression had bottomed in 1884. The 1885 circular admitted an error in judgement.

The depression that existed during 1884, and that was supposed to have reached bottom has continued through the year 1885 now closed. The same discouraging results have been repeated, and a further entailment of production resorted to.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ MBU/II/14/3/1, Snowball Circular for 1885.

The "discouraging result" for Geo. Burchill & Sons was a year end loss of \$3094 on total sales of \$29,457. Farnworth & Jardine's report of 1885 mirrored the pessimism of the Snowball circular⁴⁹. The market decrease in shipments to Liverpool was reflected in a reduction in New Brunswick's total exports from 333,192,000 superficial feet in 1884 to 291,747,000 superficial feet in 1885.

One hope for salvation from the prolonged depression was a familiar one - war.

... A good many are also wishing that the present strain on the relations between England & Russia will result in war believing that should it so result it would be beneficial to the Canadian Wood Trade, as the Baltic Ports would no doubt be closed. I have no doubt that this would be the result although it does not seem to be a charitable way of reaching a desired result.⁵⁰

Once again in 1886, the Burchills did not heed the warnings of Farnworth & Jardine. They increased their timber limits to 70 square miles; the mill sawing from 3,297,000 feet to 4,056,000 feet; and their inventory by \$10,000. Although prices continued to fall and their sales decreased, they managed to turn a small profit of \$212 on the lumber account. Farnworth & Jardine reported another bad year

⁴⁹ MBU/II/5/28/3, Correspondence, Farnworth & Jardine to Geo. Burchill & Sons, 19 Dec. 1885.

⁵⁰ MBU/II/5/28/2, Correspondence, J.P. to George Sr., 26 March 1885. J.P. was writing from Fredericton, during the spring session of the Assembly and relaying the opinions of the Members and hangers-on.

when imports were much higher than consumption and prices were extremely low.⁵¹ New Brunswick exports dropped by another 15,427,000 feet.⁵² Although Farnworth & Jardine did say that business seemed to be ready to take a turn for the better, they cautioned that the timber trade was always the last to improve, so once again reduced supplies was their answer to low prices.

The timber trade experienced another bad year in 1887, but that proved to be the low point before another upswing in the business. Prices for spruce and third quality pine, which made up the major part of exports, reached a new low (see Table 32). Consumption was at a minimum (see Table 33), and New Brunswick's exports fell even further to 250,286,000 feet, compared to 378,600,000 feet in 1883! In commenting on this depressed business, J.B. Snowball reported that "Besides the general curtailment, of cutting and sales a number of our principal operators have gone entirely out of business."⁵³ Geo. Burchill & Sons operated contrary to this general trend and maintained the same amount of Crown Land under license and increased their sales and their inventory. But they also increased their losses on lumber.

⁵¹ MBU/II/5/30/3, Correspondence, F.&J. to G.B. & Sons, 23 December 1886.

⁵² MBU/II/14/3/1, Snowball Trade Circular, 1887.

⁵³ Ibid.

Recovery began in 1888. Liverpool consumption and prices were up and exports from New Brunswick increased by 25,000,000 feet. Geo. Burchill & Sons increased their sales from \$31,000 to \$47,000, decreased their sawing and thus their inventory. However, the lumber account and the total business showed a loss for the year. George Burchill Senior absorbed this loss personally, allowing the company to break even.⁵⁴

In 1889, a bumper year, prices were up and Liverpool consumption was greatly increased. New Brunswick's exports reached 369,031,000 feet, the highest quantity since 1883. Logging conditions on the Miramichi had been excellent while those on the St. John had been poor, thus giving the Miramichi lumbermen the advantage of lower procurement costs. And since drive conditions were ideal, it also gave them a time advantage in reaching the market. While maintaining its timber berths at 70 square miles, but increasing its sawing, the Burchill firm was able to increase its sales to \$53,600 from \$47,200 and to show a profit of \$2246 on lumber, the first substantial profit since 1881.

By the end of 1889 however, prices were falling again and inventories were large. In their annual circular, Farnworth & Jardine cautioned against large winter operations, but, "... notwithstanding prices having again declined in Europe, there has been during the present season 1889-1890 more than usual activity in lumbering

⁵⁴ MBU/I/2/3/6, Ledger, Profit and Loss.

operations."⁵⁵ J.B. Snowball summed up the situation:

The operations in the forest this season are larger than present prospects justify ... operators getting logs for the market, elated by last season's success, having increased their production and - forcing beyond their facilities - are working at an extra first cost, which they are not likely to realize.

The weather so far has been very favourable for winter operations, and the scarcity of skilled labour and higher rate of wages paid are the only drawbacks.⁵⁶

The Burchills were no exception to this trend. They increased their woods cutting, as witnessed by the increased stumpage paid, and their mill sawing jumped to 7,164,000 feet. It had been only 3,467,000 feet in 1881. Both prices and consumption dropped in Liverpool and New Brunswick's exports fell back to 293,000,000 feet. Miramichi exports to Liverpool were down by 69%.⁵⁷ Despite these negative events, Geo. Burchill & Sons increased their sales to \$68,100, though their lumber profits dropped from \$2246 to \$445.

Of 1891, Farnworth & Jardine wrote, "The Timber Trade of this port during the past year may be considered fairly satisfactory and profitable on the whole, though at a very reduced scale."⁵⁸ At the

⁵⁵ Journals, 1890, Speech from the Throne, p. 16.

⁵⁶ MBU/II/14/3/1, Snowball Trade Circular, 1889.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 1890.

⁵⁸ MBU/II/14/3/35, Farnworth & Jardine's Timber Circular, 1891.

end of 1892, they reported, "Stocks, generally, are too heavy, and as there is no indication of any improvement in this demand, it is necessary that imports for the coming season should be on a reduced scale."⁵⁹

Following these two rather poor years, the recession reached crisis proportions in 1893, probably due to over-trading, land speculation causing inflation, and over-advancing by some speculative banks.⁶⁰ These actions created a nervous business community, resulting in a cutback in building and a curtailment of expansion. Then in 1894, consumption increased, but prices remained down. 1895 was another year of low prices.

In the five years from 1891 to 1895, Geo. Burchill & Sons succeeded in showing a profit on lumber only in 1893. Their sales varied greatly, from a low of \$43,000 in 1891 to a high of \$80,400 the following year. Figures for their saw mill output were equally erratic. In 1892, they cut 7,000,000 feet, while in 1894 they had reduced production to 4,400,000 feet.

The general recovery which began in 1896 brought a prosperity to Geo. Burchill & Sons which was to last until after the dissolution of the partnership in 1906. During that eleven year period the

⁵⁹ The Saint John Daily Sun, 1 March 1893.

⁶⁰ Rankin, p. 240.

partnership experienced a loss in its Lumber Account only in 1898, and that, a rather small one of \$220. By comparison, this one account recorded a profit of \$10,766 in 1900, \$17,619 in 1902 and \$13,459 in 1906 (see Table 25). Their sales grew from \$45,000 in 1895 to a high of \$117,000 in 1902 (see Table 28). Their timber limits which had been only 70 square miles in 1892 stabilized at 143½ square miles in 1903 (see Table 20).

The prosperity which the Burchills experienced after 1896 was general. By 1900, all aspects of the economy had recovered.⁶¹ The business world, through caution and increasing experience in dealing with a depression, had pulled itself out of one after more than twenty years of almost constant hard times. Of the New Brunswick lumbering firms, Geo. Burchill & Sons had become a seasoned survivor.

⁶¹ Lower, Assault, p. 186.

VI

THE POLITICAL CAREER OF J.P. BURCHILL, 1881 TO 1903

What was the secret of George Burchill's success? On the surface it seems to have been a combination of experience and good management plus a congenial relationship with his partner/sons. Another extremely important asset to those engaged in the New Brunswick lumbering business was political connections. Geo. Burchill & Sons had this asset in the person of John Percival Burchill. At 27 years of age, J.P. first actively campaigned for provincial elective office in 1882 and was elected in the provincial election of June of that year. He was defeated in the next provincial election in 1886 but was re-elected at a by-election in April 1887. He was a member continuously from 1887 until his defeat in 1903. Although he served again as a member from 1908 to 1912 and from 1917 to 1920, these periods of his political career will not be examined here as they are beyond the time scope of this study. During his terms in elected office, J.P. served two terms as Speaker of the Assembly, from 1893 to 1899. But more important to his career as a politician and a lumberman, he was instrumental in having several major changes made to Crown Land Regulations.

J.P. Burchill was elected as a Liberal, but as McNutt says,

It is possible to show that for many years after Confederation, owing to the large number of "loose fish" in the legislature, the two party system in New Brunswick

was not firmly established.¹

While never a "loose fish", J.P. was to show later on an independent nature which was to serve him well as a politician. During his initial term as a member however, he conformed to the party line and only once did he indicate he might not always do so. In 1884, in answer to a remark that members should think and vote independently, he replied, "The advice tendered that Government supporters should not blindly follow the Government was wholly unnecessary for the members were men of intellect and being such would decide for themselves."² This was to be J.P.'s only public burst of autonomy during his first term of office, his only deviation from the party line.

In 1882, J.P. had been elected in opposition to the government of Conservative Premier D.L. Hannington. After much political manoeuvring, (in which J.P. as a freshman member seemed to play no active part) and after several by-elections, this government was defeated in the Assembly in February 1883 and resigned on 2 March 1883.³ A.G. Blair, the leader of the Liberal opposition, formed the new government and J.P. became a supporter. During his first term of office he was a loyal member of the government, and was a conscientious worker for his constituents. He sponsored and introduced bills and petitions for his

¹ McNutt, p. 429, footnote 23 of Chapter 12.

² Synoptic Report, 1884, p. 101.

³ The Saint John Daily Sun, 3 March 1883.

county as well as government bills for the province, and served on various standing committees. None of these actions involved him in controversy. Even when the government introduced some changes to the Crown Land Regulations, changes which were to effect him as a lumberman, he played no evident part, but then these new regulations were considered beneficial by most observers.

The Hannington government had changed the timber lease system from an annual lease system to a five-year lease system in 1877. Under the new regulations, competitive bidding was held only for the first year of a lease and a non-competitive annual renewal of the leases thus gained was possible. But most important for the lumbermen, the mileage fees were deducted from the stumpage fees due on the timber cut. What this meant for the woods operator was timber limits free of mileage fees!

These regulations expired in the spring of 1882, after the election and before the first session of the new assembly. The cabinet of D.L. Hannington (not the assembly) met in July and decided to reinstitute one year leases with both mileage and stumpage to be paid in full.⁴

There was little adverse reaction to the new regulations. The Saint John Sun reported that sales were brisk and friendly but

⁴ The Saint John Daily Sun, 5 August 1883.

approximately 1000 square miles of former leases were not taken up again.⁵

When the lumbermen had the mileage refunded, they were not particular as to the quality of territory they covered. Now that the mileage goes into the Provincial Treasury, the lumbermen have dropped the berths they do not really need for their operations.⁶

This newspaper observation can be verified by examining the mileage due (see Table 34). The average annual mileage fees paid in the five years after the change in regulations was only 54% of the average due, in the five years prior to the change.

While there was no verbal reaction either to the new regulations or the changed fee structure, the response to the one year lease took a different form. Of 1883, the year of the one-year lease, the Surveyor General, J. Mitchell, reported that "the holder of the lands felt it incumbent upon him to strip them as much as he could during the one year for which he was certain of his holding."⁷

Following the formation of the Blair government in March of 1883, new laws were passed which increased the stumpage from \$.80 per thousand feet to \$1.00 per thousand feet for spruce and pine. They also set a

⁵ Ibid., 1 September 1883.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Journals, 1884, Crown Land Returns for 1883, p. 6.

TABLE 34 - PROVINCIAL REVENUE

YEAR	CROWN LAND RETURNS ⁸				PROV. REV. FROM INTERNAL SOURCES ¹⁰	MILEAGE % OF PROV. REV.
	STUMPAGE	MILEAGE ⁹	MILEAGE % OF TOTAL	TOTAL		
1878	\$ 81207	\$24948	22	\$111344	\$149754	17
1879	47308	22375	30	75220	98147	23
1880	86256	39374	26	145251	182288	22
1881	81117	40746	28	147650	182941	22
1882	92436	40862	27	152141	166567	25
1883	127469	47884	27	175353	200348	24
1884	107727	19997	15	134924	153796	13
1885	82918	20454	18	110299	199716	10
1886	103503	18597	14	130490	145098	13
1887	87558	21493	18	120700	176910	12
1888	98217	23472	17	134604	167573	14
1889	113323	22147	15	149573	165927	13
1890	110897	19229	14	140857	162278	12

minimum log size for the first time and tried to prevent speculation in timber leases. The collection of full stumpage and mileage fees was maintained, and a ten-year lease system was introduced. The Blair administration explained that its actions were to secure a fair revenue,

⁸ Journals, 1879 to 1891, Crown Land Returns for 1878 to 1890. Figures taken from summary table in introduction to Returns.

⁹ For the period to 1882 inclusive, this amount, though collected, was deducted from the total stumpage due, resulting in the stumpage as tabulated. In effect, the limits were given free of mileage fees.

¹⁰ Journals, 1879 to 1891, Report of Public Accounts for 1878 to 1890, Receipts section. Internal Sources means sources within the province and excludes the Dominion Subsidies which for this period averaged \$465,000 per annum.

to conserve the forests and for the "protecting of the best interests of the operators".¹¹ J.P. Burchill, as a member of the government, and as a lumberman protecting his "best interests", voted for the measure which was generally supported by the lumbermen.

The innovations upon the existing state of affairs were not made without careful consideration, and I am happy to report that, with but few exceptions, they were cordially received by the great body of lumber operators.¹²

The following year, 1884, the Blair administration again increased the stumpage fees, this time to \$1.25 per thousand feet of spruce or pine logs. J.P. supported this measure as a member of the government, thus acting against his best interests as a lumberman.

On 7 March 1886, William Park, an opposition member from Northumberland, moved an amendment to the supply bill which deplored the high stumpage fees of \$1.25 per thousand during the then existing depression. He introduced a resolution:

That the Estimated Revenue for the current year should be based upon a reduction of the rates of Stumpage now chargeable upon timber, logs and other lumber.¹³

Attorney General Blair, the government leader, accepted this amendment as a challenge to government policy and a motion of non-confidence. He opposed it on the grounds that the government had based its spending

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Journals, 1885, p. 41.

estimates on the expected stumpage and could not forget the public interest.¹⁴ Blair also labelled the amendment as a blatant political move, reminding the Assembly that the government and lumbermen had a contract which could not be altered. Yet it had been only the previous year, 1884, that Blair's government had altered an existing contract by increasing the fees from \$1.00 to \$1.25 per thousand.

The pro-amendment forces charged the government with favouring large lease holders, but the Provincial Secretary produced statistics to support the opposite view. In 1882, under the former government and regulations, 118 lumberers held one or two licenses. In 1883, with new regulations, 108 fell into this category and in 1884, when stumpage rates had been increased, 117 were in this group. Moreover, in 1882, the 16 largest holders of timber limits controlled 2109 square miles while this group's limits decreased to 1943 square miles in 1883.¹⁵ The large holders were in fact losing ground. During this three year period, Geo. Burchill & Sons' timber holdings dropped from 79½ square miles to 50½ square miles, while those of J.B. Snowball, the largest Miramichi lumberman, decreased from 535 to 411 square miles.¹⁶ These figures do not indicate an opposition to government policy but a reflection of the economics of the day. By 1884, the slight reprieve

¹⁴ Synoptic Reports, 1885, p. 26

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 48

¹⁶ Ibid.

from the depression, which had been felt in 1881-82, was no longer in effect.

J.P. did not speak out on the resolution proposed by Park, but he and another government supporter from Northumberland, T.F. Gillespie, were singled out for special comment by the Conservative newspaper, The Saint John Daily Sun,

Will Messrs. Burchill and Gillespie vote against the lumber interests and in support of Blair's single lumber king, who is using the government to kill off all rivals? Of course they will. But will the people of Northumberland forget their votes? Certainly not.¹⁷

The Daily Sun was correct on both counts. Burchill and Gillespie voted with the government in defeating the amendment by a vote of 28 to 10. But there was one more episode to add to the displeasure of the electorate before the 1886 election.

Late in January 1886, J.P. seemed to have changed his stand on the stumpage question.¹⁸ At that time he told a meeting of the Northumberland County Council that:

¹⁷ The Saint John Daily Sun, 9 March 1885. The "single lumber king" was meant as a concept, not an individual lumberman. It probably referred to the 16 largest operators, each of whom operated as a "king" in his chosen area.

¹⁸ Ibid., 29 January 1886, from the Newcastle Advocate.

It is the duty of the government to bring the stumpage to a fair basis. To meet the loss to the revenue thereby occasioned, there ought to be a reduction in the expenses of legislation, for it was apparent to everyone that we were too much governed.¹⁹

Then, on 25 March 1886, William Park introduced an amendment to the reply to the Speech from the Throne which amounted to a vote of non-confidence in the Blair government. In the ensuing vote, Burchill supported Blair in defeating the amendment by a vote of 27 to 8.²⁰ This was in apparent contradiction to his position as stated to the County Council. But he continued to push for relief for the lumber industry and, of course, his own business, albeit in ways not evident to the voters. In writing to his father he expressed his displeasure with Park for introducing the amendment he was forced to vote against. He also reported on behind the scenes action.

... So far as stumpage matters are concerned, I am hopeful of getting a temporary concession. The members from the North Shore who are more or less directly interested have waited on the gov't and had a consultation with them and we are to meet again and I think we will accomplish something. Park ignored us very much by moving the resolution as it brought out the fact that a majority of the members are in favour of the stumpage as it stands and the gov't feel more secure but you will observe he carefully avoided any illusion to the matter of stumpage in the resolution -- we shall see however what we shall see and perhaps we may accomplish more in a quiet way than otherwise.²¹

¹⁹ Ibid., 24 March 1886. Burchill does not give his solution to big government or how the expenses of legislation are to be reduced.

²⁰ Synoptic Reports, 1886, p. 6.

²¹ MBU/IV/18/8, Correspondence, J.P. to George Sr., 5 March 1886.

J.P. continued to push in the Assembly as well, and on 24 March he presented a resolution which described the effects the world depression was having on the province and the North Shore in particular. He deplored the hardship and suffering caused by the high fees and resolved that

... the Government should take this matter into serious consideration and take such steps as will afford some special relief at this time to those engaged in the lumber trade.²²

But these moves were for naught. The house was dissolved within a few days and an election called.

In Northumberland County, Burchill and Gillespie were the only government candidates, but the vote which took place on 26 April 1886, unseated both. As The Daily Sun had speculated in 1884 when Burchill and Gillespie voted against the Park amendment to reduce stumpage fees, the people of Northumberland had not forgotten. After the election, The Daily Sun, an arch-Conservative newspaper, insinuated that Burchill was the cause of Gillespie's defeat.

... the full opposition ticket is elected, Adams leading the poll. The parishes to hear from cannot possibly change the results. Gillespie's personal popularity was killed by the heavy weight he had to carry.²³

The results of the voting indicated that this was not the case. Gillespie came in last, behind Burchill. M. Adams had received 1974.

²² Synoptic Report, 1886, pp. 86-87.

²³ The Saint John Daily Sun, 27 April 1886.

votes; W.A. Park, 1806; L.J. Tweedie, 1716; E. Hutchison, 1752; J.P. Burchill, 1568; and T.F. Gillespie, 1535.²⁴

In the new Assembly in 1886, Attorney General Blair had accused Michael Adams, the former Surveyor General, of using his office to obtain grants of river property for himself and his friends for fishing purposes, and of refusing to allow others the same privileges. He was also accused of using influence to obtain other land grants and privileges.²⁵ Although these charges were examined by a special committee consisting of five commissioners, three appointed by the government, they could not be substantiated,²⁶ and the people re-elected him. Then in January 1887, he resigned in order to contest the federal election. (He was defeated in the federal contest on 27 February 1887).

The vacancy created by Michael Adams' resignation necessitated a by-election in Northumberland County. On nomination day, Burchill, Gillespie and Morresey filed as candidates. On 15 March 1887, the day before the election, there appeared in the press a letter to the editor from J.P. in which he said he realized he had lost the previous election because he did wrong in supporting the government's policy on stumpage and if he was elected this would change. He would continue to support the government but he would do all he could to have the stumpage rates

²⁴ Ibid., 28 April 1886.

²⁵ Synoptic Report, 1886, p. 84.

²⁶ The Saint John Daily Sun, 6 April 1886.

reduced for the northern counties. He admitted that there was little chance for this change because the southern counties would probably not yield and they held all the power.²⁷

On 27 March 1887, Burchill was elected with 1166 votes compared with 972 for Morresey and 299 for Gillespie. Gillespie's "personal popularity" was of no assistance in this election either.

J.P. Burchill seems to have learned his lesson. During his second term of office, 1887-1890, he was not involved in any controversial or emotional debates. He continued to serve his constituents and, although no changes in the Crown Land Regulations were forthcoming, he continued to press for changes, particularly for reductions in stumpage fees. A letter to A.G. Blair, the government leader indicates J.P.'s tactics.

Nelson, 16th August 1888

Hon. A.G. Blair

Fredericton

Dear Sir,

Your favour of 11th & 14th instant is at hand and contents carefully noted. I must say in view of the occurrences last winter and the several conversations we have had on the subject of stumpage, I am very much disappointed with the decision you have arrived at, and which I venture to hope even yet is not unchangeable. I am glad you have confirmed the reduction upon Hemlock Bark, but the following clause in your letter I cannot understand viz --
 "I think you yourself will admit that it would be entirely impossible and would meet with the violent opposition of some of your own colleagues to make the reduction mentioned and allow the leases to remain

²⁷ Ibid., 15 March 1887.

in the hands of the present holders untouched, there would be a tremendous chorus raised over that which we do not feel like undertaking to confront." Why is it entirely impossible, and which of my colleagues would give it such violent opposition. If any of them did their views must have undergone a radical change within the last year or so. And besides how should the violent opposition which you say will be raised prevent an act of fair play and justice being done of them. As to the chorus which you do not feel like meeting what about the storm your supporters had to confront on account of the RR subsidy, the Departmental Buildings, etc., these importative sales? Would you not be willing to meet a like storm in order to make matters a little straight with those who have always stood by you or is the buffeting of the storm to be all on one side. There is another point to which I would also like to draw your attention it is this. Heretofore we could and did in reply to demands for stumpage reduction plead the poverty of the gov't, but our sales last winter on the questions already mentioned completely knocked the plank from under your feet. And we stand confronted with the fact that the tax cannot be reduced upon the lumber of the North Shore where people are working at a loss and at a decided disadvantage as compared with other parts of the province on account of poverty while thousands can be spent in the interest of those very places which have the advantage over the North Shore in the matter of lumber. You yourself must admit that this is a very stubborn fact to get over and it is not only a stubborn fact but one which takes a great hold upon the people and makes a great impression before them. I ask you to place yourself in my position and look at the matter from my stand point and then treat me under all the circumstances as you would like to be treated yourself. I have yet one more request to make, it is this. If you cannot at once decide to make the reduction for the coming year will you and Mr. Mitchell meet the lumber operators either in Chatham or Newcastle at an early date which will be agreed upon & discuss the matter in all its bearings pro & con with them with a view of meeting us in some way. I am satisfied the operators will not agree to surrender their leases.²⁸

²⁸ MBU/I/1/3/1, Letter Book of J.B. Burchill, J.P. to A.G. Blair, 16 August 1888.

Among the papers of Geo. Burchill & Sons is a copy of a "Memorial on the subject of the Stumpage Tax on Crown Lands in New Brunswick and its adverse effects on the Lumbering Interests of the Northern Counties..."²⁹ This petition presented to a conference of members of the Government by a "Committee representing the North Shore Lumbermen" outlined a few statistics showing a discouraging trend in the lumber trade urged "that the lumber industry of the North Shore, which is being paralyzed by the enormous burden of the Crown Land tax, is worthy of the prompt and considerate attention of the Government".³⁰ The petition outlines the hardships caused by a stumpage fee collected in the North where the Crown Lands were situated while the lumbermen in the South held their lands in fee simple, having acquired same for a nominal fee. Several meetings between this committee and the Premier were held with apparently no results. On 11 March 1889, Attorney General Blair simply reported to the assembly that such meetings had taken place.³¹ In the assembly the following day, J.P. criticized the treatment of the committee by the government, the government of which he was a part. In the general discussion that followed, he supported a reduction in the stumpage rates. But the government was opposed to any reduction at that time and no changes came about.

²⁹ MBU/II/14/1/15, Miscellaneous, Printed Petitions, 1889. For the full text of this unsigned petition see Appendix 3. There is no evidence that J.P. was a party to this memorial but its inclusion in the firm's papers and his questions in the Assembly denote his interest in this committee.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Synoptic Report, 1889, p. 26

The Assembly was dissolved in the fall of 1889 and an election was called for 20 January 1890. As The Daily Sun was quick to note, an election at that time of year, the middle of winter, would effectively disenfranchise many people, especially the lumberers who would be deep in the woods.³² Perhaps Blair had good reason for wishing to "disenfranchise" these men for there was still a strong sentiment to have the stumpage reduced to give aid to the faltering lumber trade.

The election, though held on 20 January, was not finally decided until February. Depending on their political persuasions, the newspapers of the province reported a victory for either side. Perhaps the out-of-province newspapers summed up the situation best when they reported a fairly equal split between government supporters and anti-government members but with 7 or 8 of the 41 members elected called independents.³³ The members elected from Northumberland, Burchill, L.J. Tweedie, J. O'Brien, and J. Robinson, were included either in this group of independents or in opposition.

Northumberland, after a straight and sharp fight, sends four opposition men, of whom two are experienced politicians while the others are men of weight and influence at home. Northumberland is one of the most independent counties in New Brunswick, and the result of the election is no surprise.³⁴

Fully realizing the independent character of the members from Northumberland, Premier Blair began.

³² The Saint John Daily Sun, 1, January 1890.

³³ Ibid., 24 January 1890, from the Halifax Herald.

³⁴ Ibid., 21 January 1890.

... making desperate efforts to obtain the support of the Northumberland ticket elected to oppose him ... He is bidding for the lumbermen's vote by offering to reconsider the stumpage question.³⁵

On 4 February, The Daily Sun charged Blair with back-tracking on his Crown Land policies and of abandoning his principles to hang on to political office. For the support of the four members from Northumberland, including J.P. Burchill, Blair made the "Northumberland Deal", as it came to be called, whereby the regulations would be changed, reducing the stumpage fees and increasing the length of leases. In addition, L.J. Tweedie, who like the others had been elected on a platform of opposition to the government, was to become Surveyor General. The Daily Sun also reported that O'Brien and Robinson were to receive an additional benefit. It appears they had built a bridge for the Public Works Department during the previous term of the government and had over spent their budget. Blair had refused to fulfill their request for additional funds, but now, for their support, he was willing to pay the additional costs.³⁶ Only Burchill, who had been a former government supporter, was satisfied with a change to the Crown Land Regulation in return for his continuing support. Of course his main business was lumbering.

The Newcastle Advocate attempted to marshal forces against this deal,

³⁵ Ibid., 31 January 1890.

³⁶ Ibid., 18 February 1890.

In consequence of this corruption in high places, a wave of indignation is sweeping over the county and everyone is asking how can this corrupt deal be prevented and who can we look to come out and oppose the re-election of Mr. Tweedie.³⁷

But, despite this "wave of indignation", and following his resignation to accept the post of Surveyor General, Tweedie was re-elected on 21 February.

With the opening of the next session of the Legislature, Blair began to fulfill his part of the "deal". In the Speech from the Throne, there was an indication of the changes to come.

... and even in the great lumber industry, notwithstanding prices having again declined in Europe, there has been, during the present season, more than usual activity in lumbering operations.

The subject of the right of stumpage imposed on the licensees of the crown operating on its lumber lands has been much discussed between my government and the licensees, and frequent attempts have been made by negotiation during the past year to arrive at an understanding which would afford some relief to this important industry, and at the same time would not necessitate a reduction in the usual grants for necessary public services. You will be fully informed of the nature of these negotiations, and I shall ask you to consider the propriety of appointing a special committee to investigate and report upon the whole question of stumpage dues upon the timber lands of the crown.³⁸

During the first week of the session, Blair introduced a motion to reduce

³⁷ Ibid., 6 February 1890.

³⁸ Synoptic Report, 1890, p. 1.

... the stumpage tax to the extent of 25 cents upon one thousand superficial feet pending the report of the proposed special commission and upon such conditions as the governor-in-council might impose.³⁹

The ensuing debate was long; practically every member spoke. All manner of argument was employed and the reasons for or against a reduction embraced the railways, religion, public works, education, business, and the sale of Crown Lands. Finally, a vote was taken on 20 March 1890 and the motion carried by 24 to 16. Stumpage rates were reduced to \$1.00.⁴⁰

Subsequently, on 2 July 1890, a special commission, which did not include J.P. Burchill, was appointed

... to investigate and report upon the best method of administering the Crown Timber Lands of the Province" and in so doing "to consider and report upon the relative merits of long and short leases; as to the rate of Stumpage proper to be charged, having regard to the state and condition of the lumber market and the competition to which the New Brunswick product is subject in European markets; also as to relative advantages and disadvantages to which the trade is subject in the northern section of the Province as compared with the southern section; also as to what aid, if any, can properly be given and upon what rivers and streams towards facilitating driving operations; also as to what changes could with advantage be proposed and adopted in respect to the scaling of logs and lumber, also as to the permanent employment of scalers or rangers by the year and the mode of compensation to those officials; also as to the protection and conservation of the forest wealth of the province."⁴¹

³⁹ Ibid., p. 19

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 91.

⁴¹ Journals, 1892, Crown Land Report, p. D.1.

The Commission studied the question for two years. Then, in replying to the Speech from the Throne in 1892, J.P. Burchill, speaking as a member of the government, reported to the assembly that the commission had completed its report and this matter would come before the assembly during that session. The recommendations were presented and, after the usual debate and name-calling, were adopted. The main provisions which differed from those in effect prior to 1890 were a reduction in stumpage fees to \$1.00, the temporary level at which they had been placed in 1890, and the auctioning of leases with renewal rights for 25 years, an increase from the ten years then in effect. The "terms" of the "Northumberland Deal" were finally fulfilled.

These changes had a marked effect on lumber operations. The Burchills were cutting and otherwise obtaining approximately 5,000,000 feet of logs a year. The reduction by \$.25 per thousand feet meant an annual saving of \$1250 on their operation. The monetary saving in mileage fees by lengthening the period of the license was not so dramatic. During the period 1890 to 1906, they achieved a saving only in 1903.

The real benefit was the twenty-five year lease. It enabled lumbermen to make long-term plans for cutting and improving their methods and their limits. There is a definite financial saving to be achieved by this longer lease, but a saving which is difficult to show on a balance sheet. The savings were achieved by allowing concentrated

cutting in one area instead of necessitating cutting on a wide area. Lumbermen could build roads, the cost of which could be amortized over a longer period. The same also applied to the cost of stream improvements and dams. An examination of Geo. Burchill & Sons' profits, Table 27, shows a marked increase, partially the result of lower fees and a larger lease. However, by 1896, the depression was over and the return of prosperous times was probably more responsible for this increased profit than was the change to Crown Land Regulations.

J.P. Burchill assumed a low political profile after the Northumberland Deal. In 1893 he was appointed Speaker by Mr. Blair who called him "a gentleman whose urbanity, kindly disposition, tact, judgement, experience and ability were recognized on every hand."⁴² His nomination was seconded by Mr. Stockton, the leader of the opposition, and his appointment was unanimously approved by the assembly. The hard feelings generated during the "Northumberland Deal" episode only three years previous had been forgotten. This appointment effectively removed him from partisan politics until he was replaced as Speaker in 1899.

From 1899 until his defeat at the polls on 28 February 1903, J.P. continued to take an active though noncontroversial part in provincial political life. He served on various standing committees

⁴² Synoptic Report, 1893, p. 5.

and sponsored many bills and petitions. The most notable petition was one for 80 Newcastle women calling for complete women's suffrage. This was part of a co-ordinated effort by women from many New Brunswick centers to gain voting rights. But when a resolution was introduced to grant the franchise to all regardless of sex, it was defeated, and despite his sponsoring of the petition, J.P. voted against it.

J.P. Burchill's defeat in the provincial election of 1903 can be attributed to the one fact that the voters of Northumberland County simply sought a change. On nomination day J.P.'s speech was met with mild applause. When he noted he had been a member for 21 years, hecklers cried that it was time for him to go home.⁴³ And when the votes were counted, J.P., along with two other government candidates in Northumberland had been defeated. Only L.J. Tweedie on the government ticket had been elected, and he had placed fourth of the four members elected.⁴⁴

In 1904, changes were made to the Crown Land Regulations which had remained unchanged since 1893. Mileage rates were increased to \$20 from \$8 per square mile and stumpage fees to \$1.25 from \$1.00 per thousand feet. But J.P. had no part in this enactment for he had returned to private life and was devoting his full time to the

⁴³ The Saint John Daily Sun, 23 February 1903.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 3 March 1903.

partnership. This is not to say that he had neglected the affairs of the company while he had been a member of the assembly. The sessions rarely lasted over two months and were held during the winter months when affairs within a lumber business were routine in nature. When events began to move at a quicker pace and the drive had begun, the session was over. During the high season for sawing, selling and shipping, J.P. was on the Miramichi. Even while in Fredericton, he did see to the business of the company, perhaps in a manner better than if he had been at Nelson. In addition to the legislative aspect of aiding lumbermen, he had access to information that would only have reached the public at a later date. This involved such matters as changes to tariffs to be made by Ottawa.⁴⁵

Other lumbermen, those who were not members of the assembly, also gathered in Fredericton during the session. From meetings with them, J.P. reported back to Nelson on conditions and operation elsewhere. One large operator with whom he was in annual contact in Fredericton was Michel Welsh of Miramichi from whom the firm annually purchased over 1,000,000 feet of logs. In 1899 they purchased 4,000,000 from Welsh who had already sold over 12,000,000 feet to other lumbermen that year.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ MBU/IV/19/13, Correspondence, J.P. to George Jr., 8 February 1897.

⁴⁶ MBU/IV/18/19, Correspondence, J.P. to George Sr., 3 April 1899.

These letters to and from Fredericton also indicate that George Sr. was still very much the active senior partner. In reporting to his brother, George Jr., that Welsh had wood to sell in 1889, J.P. said "... I do not know that it is advisable to secure some from him now. If Papa thinks so, you might advise me by telegraph on Monday and I shall ..."⁴⁷ The people on the Miramichi also saw George Sr. as the boss. In requesting a loan, one wrote, "We thought of asking your Father if he could advance about two thousand dollars at once ... P.S. When do you expect your father home."⁴⁸ However, by 1896, J.P. was in control as the dominant partner. It must be remembered that by 1896 George Senior was 76 years old. From Fredericton, J.P. wrote his father, for example, advising against operating the mill on a double shift as had been suggested. Instead he felt some overtime would be more in order.⁴⁹

On 1 January 1904, George Senior retired from the family business at the age of 84. Prior to his retirement he had controlled \$12,500 of the \$32,500 of company stock. His share he divided so that J.P. controlled \$20,000 and George Junior \$12,500.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ MBU/IV/19/3, Correspondence, J.P. to George Jr., 5 April 1889.

⁴⁸ MBU/IV/19/3, Correspondence, Letter to J.P., 20 December 1887.

⁴⁹ MBU/IV/18/6, Correspondence, J.P. to George Sr., 10 March 1896.

⁵⁰ MBU/I/2/3/7, Ledger, Balance Account, 31 December 1904. As all accounts were not included in the partnership, this is only a partial indication of their worth. Two years later, when all accounts are tallied, George Junior's estate was \$45,177 and J.P.'s worth was \$88,362 for a total of \$133,539.

The partnership of the two brothers was to last only one year. In 1905, George Junior died at the age of 44. This left J.P. the sole member of the family in the business. In 1906 George Senior died and J.P. assumed full control. His assets, after settlement of George Junior's estate, amounted to \$88,362.⁵¹

Following the death of his two former partners, his father and his brother, J.P. began a new phase of company operations. The business succession assured, he was able to concentrate on the lumbering business and to insure its continuation in that period of change in New Brunswick. Pulp and paper mills were beginning to replace saw mills as New Brunswick's key industry. Furthermore family concerns were being bought out by large foreign or Upper Canadian interests.

On the North Shore, the list of take-overs was long. In 1905 William Richard Co. Ltd. of Chatham was acquired by International Paper,⁵² which also acquired E. Hutchinson and Co. of Douglastown in 1907.⁵³ The Sumner family mills, formerly the limits of Rankin and Ferguson in Bathurst, were purchased in 1907 by the Bathurst Lumber Company, a concern composed mostly of American businessmen.⁵⁴ In 1908, the Burns family interests were acquired by Nepisiquit Lumber Co.,⁵⁵

⁵¹ Ibid., 31 December 1906.

⁵² Pulp and Paper Magazine, Vol. 3, No. 6 (June 1905), p. 186.

⁵³ Ibid., Vol. 5, No. 10 (October 1907), p. 227.

⁵⁴ Ibid., Vol. 11, No. 1 (1 January 1913), p. 4.

⁵⁵ Ibid., Vol. 6, No. 1 (January 1908), p. 20.

which was financed from Springfield, Massachusetts and New York. The New Brunswick Pulp and Paper Company at Millerton, a ~~mill~~ mill owned by James Beveridge, was soon purchased by C. Howard Smith of Montreal who quickly closed it down.⁵⁶

But J.P. Burchill and his heirs were to resist this trend. To 1978 this firm remains a family operation, and as such, an object for study beyond 1906.

⁵⁶ Ibid., International Number, 1921.

CONCLUSION

Geo. Burchill & Sons has survived as a family-owned and family-operated business from 1850 to the present day without having been swallowed up by a larger firm during the period of industrial takeovers around 1900. The survival of a firm as a one-family operation from 1850 to 1978 is nothing short of remarkable. The reasons for this company's endurance are numerous and complex. The major ones are internal, related to the character of George Burchill and the nature of the company he established in 1850 and controlled to 1904.

As the manager of his first partnership with John Harley, George Burchill employed business methods and developed the practices and facets of the business in the 1850's which were to serve him well during the next half century. He used accounting methods whereby the various operations of the company were kept separate with each one capable of showing a profit or loss every year. These methods are still acceptable methods in the business community. They effectively isolate separate operations, allowing easy identification of losing operations and accurate establishment of rates, rents and fees for services or goods being sold.

The shipbuilding partnership of Harley & Burchill diversified to supplement its income. The partners became lumber merchants simply by sending their new ships to Britain loaded with lumber. They developed

a good general merchandizing business which provided a large portion of their profits. And they farmed to obtain produce for sale. Indeed this diversification was one reason for their survival. With the division of the company by their accounting methods, they concentrated on the profit making division in the lean years and shifted their concentration in the prosperous years.

Goods for sale in the "general merchant" part of the partnership were acquired in various ways. Items such as salt and coal arrived as ballast in returning timber ships. Fish, timber, farm produce and knees for shipbuilding were accepted in exchange for goods sold to the local inhabitants. They also sold for cash or labour. For bulk supplies of West Indian products they exchanged salt, fish and wood products in Halifax. This bartering was another acceptable business practice in that era and area.

John Harley and George Burchill also owned a ship but found it to be risky and money-losing proposition. Freight rates were low and insurance was expensive, if it was available at all. Owning one ship for one year was the extent of this experiment. In other words, they knew when and how to cut their losses.

In their principle business, shipbuilding, Harley & Burchill experimented to find the most economical way. They tried three methods: contracting the entire job; sub-contracting specific types of work;

and having the ships built by their own employees. Each method had its merits and all seemed equally profitable. The firm also procured the timber for its ships and the lumber for ships' cargoes by several methods; by outright purchase, by exchange for goods, and from their own timber berths. This vertical integration for economic protection is still a successful business technique late in the twentieth century.

Despite the use of seemingly experimental methods, the partners were in fact very cautious. They refused to ship without insurance, quite unlike the shippers and shipbuilders of the Upper Provinces. Like all New Brunswickers they were dependent on and had a reverence for Great Britain, and for a good practical reason. The partnership of Harley & Burchill was dependent on its British agent and mentor, Rankin, Gilmour & Co., for financing and for supplies, as a customer, and as a middle man both in buying and selling. Their reverence manifested itself in their reliance and total dependence on that firm for financial advice, a reliance and trust which proved to be ill-founded. When this happened they sought and found alternatives.

From 1855 to 1857 the British firm implied that the Miramichi partnership was in debt and behind in its payments and that shipbuilding was a dying business. This impression was fortified by difficulties in obtaining insurance, poor ratings on ships, losses sustained in operating a ship and the general attitude in Britain towards colonial ships. Harley & Burchill accepted the advice of Rankin, Gilmour & Co.

and dissolved their partnership in the spring of 1857. With the settling of accounts, they discovered that each partner had equity of over £8000, 16 times their original investment of seven years earlier. Later in 1857 they were to see their former advisers, Rankin, Gilmour & Co., establish a shipyard on the Miramichi, leaving one to wonder whether the British firm had been devious about its advice to Harley & Burchill.

After the dissolution of the partnership, neither Harley nor Burchill recorded any opinions on the causes of their "failure". Prior to the break up they felt that their main problems were the real difficulties experienced in competing on the British market and the attitude of British authorities. Indeed, ship buyers in Great Britain held an unfounded but low opinion of New Brunswick ships. The size of the ships had increased and the quality had improved tremendously from the 1820's, so that by the 1850's New Brunswick-built vessels ranked with the best. But Lloyds regulations were constantly changed without adequate notice and certainly without consultation, and British shipbuilders lobbied actively against colonial-built ships. To counter this, Burchill got out of shipbuilding and used his profits for new ventures. Harley, the long-time shipbuilder, could not.

Upon the dissolution of the partnership, George Burchill moved to South Nelson, just opposite Beaubair's Island. There he continued as a general merchant, using his former methods and contacts, buying

and selling the same type of goods. His business grew and his benevolent character developed. In relatively remote South Nelson his prices were not exploitive. He utilized the truck system, yet, contrary to the practice so common elsewhere, his employees received at least part of their wages in cash and were not in debt to the company. A system open to abuse was not abused by the humanitarian George Burchill.

Wooden ships were still to enjoy a few years of popularity before iron ships took over, but Burchill was shrewd enough to realize his shortcomings in this business. He had been a manager, not a builder, and therefore did not attempt to re-enter this sometimes lucrative business. Neither did he rush into the lumbering business. It was not until after the cessation of hostilities in the American Civil War that he became involved in extensive lumbering. Prior to 1866 he simply dabbled in lumbering. His involvement swayed with changing economic conditions. He had the good sense to remain on the periphery so long as British commercial relations were unsettled.

Between 1866 and 1875 Burchill intensified his efforts in lumbering, but he continued in the low risk aspects of it. He did not undertake any woods operations, but simply bought logs in the spring on the open market and from jobbers. He invested no money, other than credit to woodsmen, and did not depend on the whims of the weather to make good on an investment. This degree of caution was unusual in New Brunswick. It was, however, good strategy in the traditionally fluctuating industry.

In his merchandizing business, George Burchill shrewdly shortened his lines of supply. His main sources had been Britain and the United States, but as Toronto, Montreal, Saint John and Halifax became capable of supplying the needs of his business and his customers, he severed his ties with the old suppliers. Rankin, Gilmour & Co. ceased to be business associates in 1866.

While developing into a shrewd and perceptive lumber and goods merchant in both buying and selling, Burchill also ventured into speculative stocks, cautiously but not always successfully. A few early investments failed to yield the expected return so they were soon disposed of and the money put into secure government bonds and debentures. His subsequent speculative ventures were only those on which he could personally keep his eye, that is, those in the Miramichi area. He also held mortgages on Miramichi properties. His few foreclosures were to recoup his investments by reselling the properties.

One mortgage purchased with foresight in 1873 was that on the Charles Sargent mill where most of his logs were being sawed. In 1875 he bought this mill; he did not foreclose. The depressed real estate prices of the depression were an incentive to buy, and the depression itself probably aided his expansion. Contrary to what we are told about agents who became lumbermen in Quebec and Ontario, the mill was purchased without a mortgage, loan, government grant, or partner. Instead George Burchill used his own capital accumulated over 25 years as a successful merchant.

The purchase of the mill and the immediate expansion which resulted placed George Burchill in the top 10% of New Brunswick lumbermen. While the different facets of his operation were not unique, his combination of the various aspects was custom made and proved highly profitable. He was not only a lumber agent, buying and selling lumber, but also a lumberman, a sawyer and a supplier of goods and equipment.

A further indication of his financial acumen was his decision to rebuild after the accidental burning of his mill in 1876. His capital, shrewdness and business ability allowed him to invest in a sawmill during a depression and shortly after an increase in government timber fees, while prophets of gloom and doom were everywhere decrying the ruinous effects of such a measure.

George Burchill drew on his 25 years of experience in conducting his ever-profitable Goods Account. Indeed this account was often the salvation of the lumbering operations during the protracted depression. Although the volume of lumber sales remained high, prices and thus profits plummeted. George Burchill, ever the benevolent employer, continued to adjust goods prices and rents to fluctuating conditions, thus keeping a reasonably stable work force. He was benevolent, not paternalistic; he accounted for changing conditions but did not place a protective umbrella over his employees.

Burchill's methods of operation were essentially conservative, not a bad stance during a depression while others around him were going under. His financial investments were in "safe" government bonds and debentures or in local companies. His lumbering methods were restrained; he preferred to expand slowly in "good" years, hedging against the almost inevitable plunge the following year. His markets were tried and true, that is Great Britain and Ireland, with special emphasis on Liverpool and his former customers. With markets overseas, the National Policy, like Reciprocity in the 1850's and 1860's, was not particularly beneficial to him, and conversely, he did not have to depend unduly on them.

With an eye to the future, George Burchill introduced both of his sons to the business world at early ages. Special care was taken with J.P., giving him an education by travel and supplying him with capital to undertake small business ventures. In 1881, the partnership of Geo. Burchill & Sons was formed. This was neither a complete nor an equal partnership. It was based on the lumbering operations only. The ownership of the property and the stocks and bonds remained in the hands of George Sr., as did the majority of the shares of the partnership. It was not until ten years later that this agreement was altered so that George Sr. and J.P. had nearly equal shares, 37.7% and 36.9% respectively, with George Jr. holding the remainder, 24.4%. Throughout this period, J.P. was the heir apparent in the operations of the company as well as in the division of the stock.

The partnership, formed in the midst of a depression, survived until the end of that depression in 1893-96, and then flourished for a number of reasons. It continued to operate in a cautious manner; old transportation methods were maintained until new ones were well established; former customers were nurtured; and old business methods were adhered to. The Goods Account continued to be a large part of the operation. Indeed, during most of the years to 1893 it was the only profit-making facet of their concern.

One of the major reasons for the partnership's survival was the equity achieved by George Burchill prior to the beginning of the depression in 1873 and prior to the formation of the partnership in 1881. He continued to put money into the partnership in the lean years in the form of a loan but he did not demand repayment when the good times returned.

In 1881 the partnership undertook its own woods operations for the first time. Until 1896 this part of the business constantly showed a loss. Often hidden in the ledgers, this loss was probably rationalized by the fact that goods were supplied to the camps at retail prices, thus producing a profit, and the wages earned by the workers were spent at the company store. There is nothing to suggest that the Burchill operations were inefficient, just more "luxurious". The jobbers ran profitable operations, benefiting by the hardship and discomfort of their employees. Keeping the well equipped camps operating at a loss when logs could be purchased more cheaply, and

thus providing men with work, was also a part of George Burchill's benevolent character.

The growth of a \$2000 investment in 1850 to \$90,000 in 1873, the beginning of the depression, is evidence of George Burchill's managerial ability. And the firm's continuing survival during this 20-year depression was also partially due to his skill. However, during this period the one-man operation became a partnership, and one of the partners, J.P., became a politician.

Throughout New Brunswick's history, lumber and politics mixed well. Politicians were able to influence legislation concerning Crown Lands and were able to benefit from changes they knew were to take place. "Conflict of interests" was not a part of the political vocabulary of J.P.'s years in public life. And it was natural that a province which was 85% forest-covered and which owed much of its gross natural product to the forests should have many lumbermen among its leaders.

J.P. Burchill did influence the changes to Crown Land Regulations, but these were not always to his advantage as a lumberman. In 1884, he voted against his interests as a lumberman by voting for an increase in fees paid by lumbermen to the government. Between 1887 and 1890 he voted with his party, the government, in suppressing amendments to bills which would have reduced fees, but during that period he worked

behind the scenes to try to persuade the government to endorse such a fee reduction.

The 1890 election and its aftermath saw J.P. exert his greatest influence as a politician and a lumberman. In what was labelled the "Northumberland Deal", he and three other members from Northumberland County refused to support the government unless changes were made in Crown Land Regulations. Those four members represented the balance of power as both the government and the opposition had equal representation. Changes were promised, and subsequently made, to the benefit of lumbermen. But these changes were also beneficial to the province in the long term. And unlike the three other members of the "Deal", Burchill sought and received no personal gain or aggrandizement. The lumbering partnership, however, did gain.

While J.P. was in politics, he was slowly assuming control of Geo. Burchill & Sons. However, George Sr. retained the leadership, albeit ever decreasing, until the mid 1890's. After 1890 the company correspondence shows that J.P.'s opinion held sway. He had been groomed from youth to assume leadership and the mantle was being passed on. While George Jr. was also a partner, he was often a non-participating and always a minor one.

Yet even minor partners can present succession problems. This was not the case with Geo. Burchill & Sons for in 1905, when George Sr.

was 85, George Jr. unexpectedly died at the age of 44. This family tragedy was probably the salvation of the firm. When George Sr. died the following year, there was no power struggle or disagreement on the future direction of the firm. George Sr.'s shares had been divided prior to his death, but his remaining assets passed on to J.P.

In 1906 the company was in the hands of one man, J.P. Burchill. He was able to put into practice the excellent business skills learned from his father, George Burchill. He was able to resist any attempts at a takeover by larger, often international, concerns and to continue to prosper as a family firm.

. APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

THE NEW BRUNSWICK FOREST INDUSTRY PRIOR TO 1875

The first record of a sawmill in New Brunswick is that of the d'Armours brothers, Louis and Mathieu, who had established their small mill near Fort Nashwaak in L'Acadie by 1696.¹ Probably the next sawmill owners were Simonds and White in Saint John in 1767 and Colonel Beamsley Glasier at Nashwaak in 1768.² William Davidson established the first mill, a large double mill, on the Miramichi in 1784-85,³ and by 1790 there were two small mills at Saint John. A steam sawmill was constructed at Saint John in 1822 and a new era had begun. Prior to that time, timbermaking had been the major facet of the forest industries. This facet required no mechanical apparatus, either water driven or steam driven, to carry it out. Squared timber was simply hewn with an ax. But steam changed all that, making power readily available for the sawing of logs into lumber.

By the time the Napoleonic Wars had drawn to a close, the large trees capable of being made into squared timber had been cut from southern New Brunswick and the timber-making operations began to move

¹ J.E. Defebaugh, The Lumber Industry of America, Vol. I (Chicago, 1906), p. 221.

² Ibid.

³ Manny, p. 11.

north. Sawmills for lumber-making were then established in the southern portion of the province, often using the newly introduced steam engines for power. As the large timber-making trees disappeared from the province, sawmills proliferated. Defebaugh states that in 1831 there were 229 mills in New Brunswick and in 1836, there were 320.⁴ The high point in numbers of mills was reached in 1861 when the census recorded 689 (see Table 35).

As the northern timber-making operations drew to an end, the southern lumber-making operations were also slowing down. The mills moved north (see Table 37), following the population shift. The political power, in numbers of members, kept pace with the population shift and was ahead of the mill shift (see Table 37).

Milling methods and lumbering areas were not the only elements of the lumber business that changed in New Brunswick from its creation until the time of the Burchill operations. Crown Land Department regulations governing the procuring of logs changed many times with respect to fees paid by lumbermen and areas over which they could obtain logs. Before New Brunswick came into legal existence as a separate province, during the reigns of George I and II, acts had been passed forbidding the cutting of pine trees of twelve inches in diameter and larger. These acts applied to townships and granted lands

⁴ Defebaugh, p. 227.

TABLE 35 - MILLS AND EMPLOYEES

COUNTY	1840 ⁵		1851 ⁶		1861 ⁷		1871 ⁸		1881 ⁹	
	MILLS		MILLS	EMPLOYEES	MILLS		MILLS	EMPLOYEES	MILLS	EMPLOYEES ¹⁰
Albert ¹⁰	--		97	237	105		79	237	77	105
St. John	49		51	808	75		52	2261	52	2141
Charlotte	103		102	1617	64		48	997	27	435
King's	68		75	197	84		60	237	47	337
Queen's	28		24	104	42		31	227	16	69
Sunbury	15		12	60	14		6	96	7	50
York	31		35	241	42		48	680	37	456
Carleton	22		12	35	33		28	213	30	188
Westmorland	181		108	261	140		123	766	75	525
Victoria ¹¹	--		9	13	15		17	60	20	64
Kent	31		29	379	34		32	523	37	459
Northumberland	33		18	240	28		23	624	27	1543
Gloucester	7		6	90	10		10	67	14	492
Restigouche	6		6	25	9		8	146	12	114
TOTAL	574		584	4305	689		565	7134	478	7175

⁵ Census of Canada, 1871, Vol. 4, p. 129.

⁶ Ibid., p. 229.

⁷ Ibid., p. 339.

⁸ Ibid., 1871, vol. 3, p. 346.

⁹ Ibid., 1881, vol. 3, p. 734.

¹⁰ Albert County was set apart from Westmorland 1845.

¹¹ Victoria was part of Carleton until 1844.

Government reserving the right to make sales of land during the said term to actual settlers.

Applicants to have the right to cut and carry away, the Timber and Lumber from the Lands thus sold.

Applicants to have the rights, power and privileges of Government to protect themselves against trespass and aid them in collecting stumpage.³⁰

The Telegraph supported the application of these seven petitioners, all St. Stephen businessmen, collectively worth over \$1,000,000. They would make a large profit but the government would greatly increase its revenue, now averaging \$13,000 per annum. That newspaper lamented that the Surveyors General never change the laws so a change could not be expected now. But, "the country expects a change and must have it even though the influence of extensive lumbermen in the Legislature and out of it may be expected to prevent it."³¹ The Gleaner agreed with the Telegraph that the offer should be accepted to increase revenue and to conserve the forests which are so "wantonly destroyed by those who work therein."³² The government might learn how to manage the forests from this experience and any resultant cut-back in production might be beneficial to all concerned.

The Surveyor General also began to press for reform. His annual reports for 1864 and 1867 recommended an increase in rates of mileage to correct the ridiculous situation which gave lumbermen their wood at 5¢ per thousand. An increase from the current \$4.00 per square

³⁰ Ibid., 21 March 1863, from the St. John Telegraph.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

mile to \$25.00 per square mile would only increase the cost to lumbermen to \$.27 per thousand while private woodlot owners were receiving \$.75 to \$1.00 for spruce and \$1.00 to \$2.00 for pine.³³ In Maine at that time, private owners controlled most of the land and they were able to obtain a stumpage rate of \$1.25 per thousand for spruce, \$4.00 for pine, and \$2.00 for cedar stumpage fees from lumbermen. These rates increased to reach a peak in 1871-72 of \$3.25 for hardwood, \$10.00 for pine, and \$6.00 for spruce on lands near settlements. Rates were lower for more isolated areas.³⁴ Some slight changes were effected in the 1860's, most notably in 1863 when the option to renew for one or two years was added and in 1868 when the mileage was increased to \$6.00 per square mile, effectively, 7¢ per thousand.

Confederation in 1867 brought an end to the export duties for New Brunswick but a grant of \$150,000 per annum from the new federal government more than made up for this loss. Then federal duties were imposed, some argued to pay the debts of Upper and Lower Canada and the high paying positions created by Confederation, at the expense of the Lower Provinces.³⁵ However, these duties were mainly on logs and cord wood and probably would not have affected the Lower Provinces to any great extent. Logs and cord wood were not extensively exported.

³³ Journals, 1867, 6th Annual Report of the Surveyor General in New Brunswick.

³⁴ Smith, pp. 212-213.

³⁵ The Gleaner, 16 May 1868.

With his annual report in 1871, the Surveyor General, began again to call for a change in the licensing system. In August of that year, an order-in-council increased the upset mileage to \$8.00 per square mile. The average paid the year before had been \$13.00. In 1874, with the depression having begun and the average competitive fee down to \$10.00, the systems were finally changed. The mileage fee remained the same but a stumpage fee was added; \$.60 per thousand feet of lumber for the North Shore and \$.80 for the remainder of the province; spruce sawn logs to be assessed a universal rate of \$.60 per ton, and pine, \$.80 per ton. Lower rates were applied to the North Shore because of several natural disadvantages of the area such as more severe winters; rivers and thus ports frozen over for several months; and higher freight rates because of longer distances to markets. For items which comprised a small portion of the total exports, uniform rates were imposed. Hardwood and hachmatac timber were assessed \$.60 per ton and pine \$.80 per ton. The mileage fees bid for the timber limits were deducted from the total year-end stumpage assessments. Licenses were renewable for an additional two years at the reduced rate of \$4.00 without being subject to competitive bidding. By comparison, stumpage rates in Maine at that time were \$1.00 to \$1.50.³⁶

³⁶ Smith, p. 213.

APPENDIX 2

Articles of Copartnership made and concluded this twenty — day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty one between George Burchill of Nelson in the county of Northumberland in the Province of New Brunswick Merchant John P. Burchill of the same place and George Burchill Junior of the same place Sons of the said George Burchill as follows - Whereas for many years past the said George Burchill has been carrying on a lumber-milling and general business at his business premises in Nelson aforesaid assisted by his said sons who now have agreed with the said George Burchill for an Interest in the said business as hereinafter mentioned and whereas an inventory and stock list was taken by the said George Burchill of his said business up to 31st December last shewing as well certain Debts owing by the said George Burchill as certain Debts due to the said George Burchill in connection with his said business and also the stock of Lumber and Merchandise on hand and it is agreed by all the parties hereto that the value of the said stock and debts after deducting therefrom sufficient to fray the said Debts of the said George Burchill therein named is -- Thirty Two , Thousand five Hundred Dollars -- at which the said George Burchill is willing to sell the same to the new firm And all the parties above named agree to purchase and accept the same - paying the said Debt due by the said George Burchill and assuming and undertaking all other

liabilities or obligations made by him prior hereto - on the one hand - and receiving and collecting the Debts due to the said George Burchill for the benefit of the new firm on the other - as the basis of the stock and plant of the new firm - and all the said parties have signed the said stock list in token hereof and of their approval thereof.

Now these articles of Copartnership Witness as follows - that the said parties do now form a copartnership to carry on the said business under a new style and firm as hereinafter mentioned - and they mutually bind and engage themselves each to the other their and every of their executors and administrators to perform and carry out faithfully the terms hereof as follows.

1st The Style of the said Copartnership shall be George Burchill & Sons and it shall continue for the term of Four years from the 31st day of December last except in the case of the death of any of the said parties within the said term.

2nd The said George Burchill puts into the said concern the sum of Twenty five Thousand Dollars. The said John P. Burchill puts into the said concern the sum of Five Thousand Dollars and The said George Burchill Junior puts into the said concern the sum of Two Thousand five Hundred Dollars amounting in the whole to the said sum of Thirty Two Thousand five Hundred Dollars the capital of the said new firm as mentioned and contained in their Stock Book and of the

which and all other stock and property of the said firm the said parties are the proprietors in the proportion of Twenty five Thousand Dollars to the said George Burchill five thousand Dollars to the said John P. Burchill and Two Thousand five Hundred Dollars to the said George Burchill Junior and the said parties shall continue to be owners of the Joint Stock in the same proportions and in case of any addition being made to the same shall be advanced by the said parties in the same proportions - The Profits or Loss of the said concern shall be had or borne by the respective partners in the following proportions namely to the said George Burchill Five Tenths to John P. Burchill Three Tenths and to George Burchill Junior Two Tenths and this to be in full for all services by its partners..

3rd The said John P. Burchill and George Burchill Junior shall each devote and give all their time and attention to the business of the said firm and the said George Burchill shall devote so much of his time as may be requisite in conducting the correspondence and in advising overseeing and directing the business generally and he shall be considered and recognised as the head and general manager of the firm. and no business of any importance or out of the usual course shall be done or undertaken without his consent and approval first had and obtained.

4th The said George Burchill shall rent to the firm for the term of the Copartnership all his Stores - Wharves - Mill - Boom and

appurtenances as presently occupied by him situate in the parishes of Nelson and Chatham and the said firm shall pay him therefore the annual rent of Twelve Hundred Dollars and for all purposes between the said parties the Articles shall be deemed and considered as a lease of the said premises to the said firm for the term thereof at the said rent and the said Mill and her engines and boilers and machinery of every description and all other the premises shall be kept and maintained in a good state of repair by the firm during the whole term.

5 All the purchases sales transactions and accounts of the said firm shall be kept in regular books which shall always be open to the inspection of all the said parties and their legal representatives respectively - the books shall be balanced and an account of stock shall be taken and an account between the said partners shall be settled as often as once in every year - and as much oftener as any partner may desire and in writing request.

6 None of the said partners shall subscribe any bond sign or endorse any promissory note accept sign or endorse any draft or Bill of Exchange or assume any other liability verbal or written in the name of the firm for the accommodation of any other person or persons whomsoever without the consent in writing of all the members of the said firm - nor shall they or any of them lend any of the funds of the copartnership without the like consent.

7 None of the said partners shall withdraw from the joint stock at any time more than his share of the profits of the business than earned nor shall any of the said parties be entitled to Interest on his share of the Capital but if at the expiration of the year a balance of profits be due to any partner he shall be at liberty to withdraw the said Balance or to leave it in the business provided the other partners consent thereto - and in that case he shall be allowed Interest on such Balance.

8th At the expiration of the said term or earlier dissolution of this Copartnership if the said parties or their legal representatives cannot agree on the division of the stock then on hand the whole partnership effects except the Debts due to the firm shall be sold at public auction at which all partners shall be at liberty to bid and purchase like other individuals and the proceeds after payment of the Debts of the firm shall be divided between the partners according to their Interest

9 And it is distinctly understood and agreed that the new firm assume and carry out all arrangements obligations or liabilities made or incurred by the said George Burchill in England or elsewhere since the 31st December last or at any time prior to the date hereof as part of the business of the new firm.

10 For the purpose of securing the performance of the foregoing

agreement it is agreed that any party in case of any violation of them or any of them by the others or they or its partners shall have the right to dissolve the Copartnership forthwith on his becoming aware of such violation.

In Witness whereof the said parties have hereto set their hands on the day and year first above written

Geo. Burchill

J.P. Burchill

George Burchill Jr.

This foregoing agreement of Copartnership is hereby extended and continued in every particular as mentioned therein by the respective parties thereto for the further period of four years from 31st Dec.

1884

Geo. Burchill

J.P. Burchill

Geo. Burchill Jr.

This foregoing agreement of Copartnership is hereby extended and continued in every particular as mentioned therein by the respective parties thereto for the further period of three years from 31st

Dec. 1888

Geo. Burchill

J.P. Burchill

Geo. Burchill Jr.

Miramichi N.B. 31st Dec. 1891

Memorandum of agreement in amendment and further continuation of articles of Copartnership between the undersigned dated 27 January 1881 and continued and extended from time to time till the present date. Having settled up the Partnership business under the annexed agreement to date we agree now that the original Capital of \$32,500 shall be apportioned and held by the respective parties in the proportion as follows

Viz George Burchill share \$12,500

John P. Burchill share 12,000

Geo. Burchill Jr. share 8,000

and division of Profits or losses shall hereafter be had or borne by the respective parties in the proportion of one third each partner say

Geo. Burchill 1/3

John P. Burchill 1/3

Geo. Burchill Jr. 1/3

and all other terms of partnership to continue same as heretofore and shall continue for the term of four years from date hereof

Geo. Burchill

J.P. Burchill

Geo. Burchill Jr.

1st January 1904

The said George Burchill having this day retired from the above partnership and having assigned his share therein to the other

partners, he hereby releases and discharges them from all liability
when for or by reason of anything and stating to the same or which
may hereafter arise there out and the said other parties also severally
likewise release and discharge the said Geo. Burchill

Geo. Burchill

J.P. Burchill

Geo. Burchill Jr.

APPENDIX 3

MEMORIAL on the subject of the Stumpage Tax on Crown Lands in New Brunswick and its adverse effects on the Lumbering interest of the Northern Counties of the Province, submitted at a conference between members of the Government and a committee representing said interest, at Fredericton on Thursday, January 3rd, 1889.

In the interest of the North Shore of New Brunswick, the prosperity of whose people, generally, depends mainly on that of the lumber trade, the facts and conclusions set forth in the following memorial are respectfully submitted for the consideration of His Honor the Lieutenant Governor and the Hon. the members of the Government.

The unprofitable and discouraging condition of the lumber business on the North Shore, which was the subject of a conference between members of the Government and representatives of the trade at Fredericton early in 1886; of a resolution of the Municipal Council of Northumberland, addressed to the Lt. Governor-in-Council in January of the same year, and, subsequently, of a memorial appealing for relief in the form of a rebate in the Stumpage charges imposed under the Crown Lands Regulations, - still continues, and imperatively urges another call upon the Government for the consideration which has, up to the present, been withheld.

Those actively engaged in the business submit, that for the past six or seven years, they have continued their operations in the face of the discouragements and reverses which have been marked features of the trade during that period. They have been impelled to this course by the fact that many of them had every dollar they were worth, and even more, invested in mills and other property, to prevent which from lying idle, going to decay and becoming valueless, they had no choice but to continue business, even at a loss.

They were, however, not without hope from year to year that the business would regain some of its former activity, but in this they have been disappointed, the result being that although the greatest economy has been practiced in all departments of their operations, the outlook affords no hope of the trade continuing, in this section of the province, to exist in even its present condition, unless such reductions are made in the stumpage charges as will place the North Shore operators on Crown Lands nearer on an equality than they are with their Quebec and Nova Scotia competitors in the British and continental markets.

The statistics of the lumber trade between Great Britain and the countries from which she draws her wood supplies; show results which suggest that the excessive stumpage impost of the New Brunswick Government is having a very damaging effect on this the most important industry of the Province. They show that while the Baltic ports are

increasing their output for the British market and Nova Scotia and Quebec are about holding their own, the imports from New Brunswick are sharply declining, the relative decrease of trade from the North Shore being much greater than from St. John and other Bay of Fundy ports.

The fact that the shipments of the Miramichi have steadily declined since 1883, when they were 149,000,000 superficial feet, until they were only 68,000,000 - less than one half - last year, and that a corresponding decline has taken place in Bathurst, Dalhousie, Richibicto and other North Shore ports, is proof of the startling wane of this important industry, and of the necessity for special effort to avert its gradual extinction.

We submit that the importance of this industry as a contributing factor in the maintenance of the general business of the country, demands for it fostering regard and treatment, rather than excessive taxation, at the hands of the Government. The supplies which go so largely into the production of our lumber are furnished very evenly all over New Brunswick and if - owing to the fact that lumber can be obtained as a mercantile commodity more cheaply in Quebec and Nova Scotia than in this province - such capital now employed here as is floating, be transferred to those provinces or elsewhere it follows that the whole of New Brunswick must suffer. In these days of easy and rapid communication and transit and of keen competition, no business

that is fettered by state restrictions or handicapped by discriminating, excessive or special government imposts, can hope to survive. It is for this reason that the protection of manufactures has become a recognised policy of both the great governments of the North American continent. Not only so, but in Germany, France and other leading countries in Europe, the attention of their statesmen is occupied with fostering and protecting every industry within their boundaries. Those that are threatened with competition from abroad are protected; others that are weak and struggling are encouraged to continue and extend by bounties and having extra facilities afforded to them. May we not urge, then, that the lumber industry of the North Shore, which is being paralyzed by the enormous burden of the Crown Land tax, is worthy of the prompt and considerate attention of the Government.

We earnestly desire to impress upon the Government the fact that the natural and geographical disadvantages against which the North Shore counties have to contend are not recognised in the present, even to the meagre extent they were in the earlier stumpage regulations; not only so, but it has, unfortunately for us, been the practice and policy of Provincial administrations in the past, while they were ever ready to meet the demands and facilitate the operations of the trade in other sections of the province, to withhold from the North Shore equally fair consideration. The effect of this policy is seen today in the fact that while the North Shore Crown Lands are held and administered as if all the Provinces were equitably entitled to a common interest in

them, those of the Central and Southern counties have, for merely nominal considerations, and to aid local enterprises, been transferred to private and corporate owners who, in turn, have influenced public sentiment in favor of excessive Government stumpage rates, in order that their own cheaply-obtained areas might have imparted to them a high value, which is acquired almost entirely at the expense of the Northern section of the province, paralysing its most important industry, destroying the investments embarked in it, and giving the people cause for discontent and despondency which are gradually leading to the depopulation of the country.

Even if it were not true that the Crown Lands of the Central and Southern portions of the Province had been transferred as stated, and that the government parted with the greater portion of them avowedly for the purpose of promoting the local interests of the counties in which they are located, the fact that the northern ports are closed to navigation for seven months of the year, while the great Atlantic port at the mouth of the St. John is open all the year round, ought to entitle the northern counties to compensating consideration at the hands of the Government. Atlantic freights from our Northern ports are from 5/ to 7/6 per standard higher than from St. John and Nova Scotia, while we are practically shut out of the great American market for our small lumber, because coastwise freights are from \$2 to \$2.50 per M higher than those ruling from the Southern ports.

Instead of these adverse natural and geographical conditions being recognised and acted upon by the Government in our behalf, the hardships of our position have been intensified by our being forced to bear the burden of the revenue necessities of the whole province, which the Government would be in a position to so adjust as to make the necessary taxation fall more equitably, but for the discrimination that has always been made in favor of the south and central sections, to the prejudice of the north.

As an illustration of the trend of governmental policy by which the North Shore lumber interest has been most unfairly prejudiced, we beg to remind you that when the Export Duty of 20 cents per M was levied, that impost bore equally upon the trade throughout the Province, the four Northern Counties contributing about one-third of the revenue under that head. By pleading the interests of the lumbermen of the Province at Ottawa the Dominion Government - largely with a view of relieving the trade - was induced by the New Brunswick Government to grant to this Province an additional subsidy of \$150,000 a year in perpetuity, in lieu of the export duty; and the local Government of the day is on record as having claimed the abolition of the export duty as a boon to the lumbermen, obtained by their efforts. Subsequent events, however, have proved that only the corporate and private holders of provincial lumber-lands outside of the North Shore were benefitted and while the Government continues to receive the export subsidy, it has laid upon the North Shore trade alone a new burden in

the form of the stumpage-tax greater in amount than that of which the whole lumber interest of the Province was relieved with the implied understanding that it would never be reimposed in any form.

We also beg to direct attention to the fact that while nearly \$2,000,000 of provincial money has been given in aid of merely local railways in other sections of the Province - without at all reckoning the aid given to such important lines as Eastern Extension, Western Extension and New Brunswick and Canada Railways - only about one quarter of the sum has been expended in like manner in the four Northern Counties. If interest on the enormous cash, subsidies, and stock subscriptions paid by the province in aid of many of the roads named, and stumpage derivable from the land grant of over 1,700,000 acres of Crown Lands to the New Brunswick Railway, - in the benefits of which works the Northern Counties in no way participate - were available for the public services of the whole province, as the revenue derivable from the stumpage tax is, the lumber industry of the North Shore would not now be threatened with extinction by reason of the excessive taxation placed upon it under the plea of the revenue necessities of the province; and we respectfully but firmly state our conviction that so long as the relative positions of the two sections of the province, in this regard, are ignored, and the injustice of the treatment accorded to the North unrecognized, we will feel that the central and southern counties - because they are numerically the stronger, and against right and equity - are abusing their constitutional privileges by working,

wrong and oppression upon the people of the North.

We recognise the fact that the revenue of the province is not as large or elastic as full justice to all the public services requires, but we claim that it is unjust to impose upon one industry alone the burden of making up for all the deficiencies in the various sources of income. Moreover, may we not fairly suggest that in view of the new and extraordinary expenditures recommended by the Government and authorised at the last session of the Legislature, the revenue of the Province is sufficient to maintain its ordinary services, without the excessive stumpage-tax being continued.

In view of the experiences of our operators, mill-owners and shippers during the last six or seven years, we are impressed with the conviction that the question of the continued existence of the lumber business on the North Shore must be settled by the inexorable laws of demand and supply, and it is being settled to our loss and that of the whole country. True wisdom suggests that threatened extinction can only be averted by the Government assisting the natural tendency of business to advance in the direction of the least resistance. If, however, the alleged necessities of revenue are superior to the claims and demands of our commerce in this competitive age, we shall see, in the end of the conflict, what is rapidly coming to pass, that both trade and revenue, so far as lumber is concerned, will disappear together; for with a mileage tax of \$4 on New Brunswick Crown Lands, against \$3 in Quebec,

a stumpage tax of \$1.25 per M on spruce logs in New Brunswick against only 65 cents in Quebec - while the Nova Scotia trade pays neither, but obtains its logs at a cost of about 40 cents per M., coupled with the fact that the Quebec scale is fully ten per cent. more favorable than that of New Brunswick to the operator, the result other than a gradual decline and final extinction of the business of those depending on our provincial Crown Lands for their logs, can be reasonably expected.

We beg, in conclusion, to appeal for relief because the excessive stumpage rates of the Crown's Lands Department are more than double those in competing provinces. We urge the claims of the large capital invested in mills and other property connected with the working of the lumber industry at the North Shore - representing, in many cases, the results of years of industry and self-denial on the part of the investors, many of whom, we regret to know, have been forced to go out of the trade, having lost all they had in it, while others are engaged in a constant struggle to avoid being driven into actual bankruptcy, and others are obliged to introduce new branches of business in connection with their lumber operations to make up for the losses they sustain in the latter. We claim that the investment of this capital has imparted to the lumber lands of the Crown a value that they would not have otherwise have acquired. We direct attention to the comparatively large number of our idle and decaying, or only partially-worked mills as proof of the position to which the trade at the north is driven. We

appeal for the consideration asked in the interest of a population that is waning, not only because the accustomed work of the lumbermen is diminishing, but also because the decline of the trade affects the usual employment of the agricultural and laboring classes - especially of our young people, who have no other recourse but to leave the Province and seek, beyond its borders, the means of livelihood which they have ceased to find within them. We ask for relief, not only because we are handicapped by ice-closed ports for seven months of the year, while St. John and other ports of the south side of the province are open all the year round, and have, at all times, the advantage of us in Atlantic freight-rates; but, also because, for the same reason, we cannot at all compete in the American market, even during our short shipping season with those ports. We appeal for consideration in order that the feeling, that we are oppressed because of the undue influence and in the interest of other sections of the province, which have already secured the lion's share of our common revenue and public heritage, may not continue until it becomes a serious element of discord, bitterness and strife between the two great sections of the Province. We claim that we have, in the past, given the government of the day no reason to complain of our attitude towards it, notwithstanding its having failed to give tangible effect to the friendly assurances and implied promises, with which it has met our former appeals. We, therefore, again present our case, relying on its justice for the favorable consideration, heretofore denied us, and earnestly expressing the hope that immediate relief from the existing excessive stumpage impost will be granted.

APPENDIX 4

BURCHILL LUMBER SHIPMENTS¹

YEAR	NO. OF SHIPMENTS	QUANTITY OF DEALS X 1000	VALUE OF DEALS ³	VALUE OF OTHER PRODUCTS	TOTAL VALUE OF WOOD EXPORTS	DESTINATION	CONSIGNED OR SOLD	CUSTOMER OR AGENT
1858 ²	3	1	2	333	335	HALIFAX	CONSIGN.	J. & M. TOBIN
	1	285	606	NIL	606	N.B.	SOLD	DEBRISSEY
	3	142	205	NIL	205	CHATHAM	SOLD	CROCKER
1859 ²	2	NIL	NIL	278	278	HALIFAX	CONSIGN.	J. & M. TOBIN
	3	N/A	N/A	NIL	2160	CHATHAM	SOLD	CROCKER
1860 ²	1	132	270	NIL	270	CHATHAM	SOLD	CROCKER
	6	776	1674	NIL	1674	CHATHAM	SOLD	DEBRISSEY
1861	12	1614	3156	105	3261	CHATHAM	SOLD	CROCKER
1862	1	2	7	220	227	HALIFAX	CONSIGN.	TOBIN
1863	4	124	722	525	1247	ST. PIERRE	CONSIGN.	A. HUGHES
	2	15	141	925	1076	HALIFAX	CONSIGN.	TOBIN
	1	36	N/A	N/A	282	CAPEBRETON	CONSIGN.	ARCHIBALD
	1	68	693	NIL	693	LIVERPOOL	SOLD	ALEX MORRISON
								OF CHATHAM
1864	3	127	717	293	1010	HALIFAX	CONSIGN.	TOBIN
	2	775	5640	852	6492	LIVERPOOL	CONSIGN.	RANKIN, GILMOUR
	2	48	403	538	941	ST. PIERRE	CONSIGN.	HUGHES
	1	28	126	170	296	CAPEBRETON	CONSIGN.	ARCHIBALD
	2	498	2998	407	3405	HULL	SOLD	SMITHSON, LEE
	1	349	2513	NIL	2513	HULL	SOLD	TRALBY
	1	374	2533	NIL	2533	HULL	SOLD	HARRISON

YEAR	NO. OF SHIPMENTS	QUANTITY OF DEALS X 1000	VALUE OF DEALS	VALUE OF OTHER PRODUCTS	TOTAL VALUE OF WOOD EXPORTS	DESTINATION	CONSIGNED OR SOLD	CUSTOMER OR AGENT
1865	3	116 s.f.	\$ 1122	\$1060	\$ 2186	HALIFAX	CONSIGN.	TOBIN
	2	75	663	420	1083	ST. PIERRE	CONSIGN.	HUGHES
	1	26	104	168	272	CAPEBRETON	CONSIGN.	ARCHIBALD
	1	NIL	NIL	167	167	HALIFAX	CONSIGN.	W.I. FRASER
1866	2	89	1061	698	1759	ST. PIERRE	CONSIGN.	HUGHES
	1	12	88	NIL	88	ST. PIERRE	SOLD	J. HARLEY
	2	8	59	1036	1095	HALIFAX	CONSIGN.	FRASER PAINT CO.
	1	25	212	NIL	212	P.E.I.	SOLD	GEO. MCKENZIE
	1	5	10	262	272	PICTON	SOLD	W. MCPHERSON
	1	64	818	336	1154	ST. JOHN'S	CONSIGN.	W. BOYD
	1	39	212	160	372	CAPEBRETON	CONSIGN.	ARCHIBALD
	3	1149	9126	2645	11771	HULL	SOLD	R.R. DOBELL (OF QUEBEC & ST. JOHN)
	1	427	3590	NIL	3590	LONDON	SOLD	DOBELL
	1	340	3031	NIL	3031	CARDIFF	SOLD	DOBELL
	1	292	2923	NIL	2923	CARDIFF	SOLD	TRAYES & CO.
	1	443	4021	NIL	4021	CARDIFF	SOLD	WATSON & CO.
1867	1	45	192	140	332	CAPEBRETON	CONSIGN.	ARCHIBALD
	1	22	93	127	220	PICTON	CONSIGN.	R.P. GRANT
	2	148	2035	29	2064	ST. JOHN'S	CONSIGN.	BOYD
	1	29	496	42	538	ST. PIERRE	CONSIGN.	HUGHES
	3	1546	11209	NIL	11209	BRISTOL	SOLD	JONES & NASH
	1	127	1139	NIL	1139	LIVERPOOL	SOLD	DOBELL
	1	463	3733	NIL	3733	CARDIFF	SOLD	WATSON
	3	233	3166	NIL	2166	LIVERPOOL	SOLD	ALEX. MORRISON

YEAR	Nº. OF SHIPMENTS	QUANTITY OF DEALS X 1000	VALUE OF DEALS	VALUE OF OTHER PRODUCTS	TOTAL VALUE OF WOOD EXPORTS	DESTINATION	CONSIGNED OR SOLD	CUSTOMER OR AGENT
1868	1	36 s.f.	\$ 206	\$ 147	\$ 355	PICTON	CONSIGN.	GRANT
	1	37	322	203	525	CAPE BRETON	CONSIGN.	ARCHIBALD
	2	51	320	199	519	CHARLOTTE-TOWN	CONSIGN.	NEILL RANKIN
	1	38	236	22	258	ST. PIERRE	CONSIGN.	HUGHES
	1	278	1271	NIL	1271	PHILADELPHIA	SOLD	DOBELL
	1	83	438	114	552	BOSTON	CONSIGN.	SPRAGUE & SOULE
	1	435	3413	NIL	3413	LIVERPOOL	SOLD	RICHELIE BROTHERS
	3	1312	9557	NIL	9557	BRISTOL	SOLD	JONES & NASH
	1	56	415	158	573	ST. PIERRE	CONSIGN.	HUGHES
	1	106	1234	70	1304	ST. JOHN'S	CONSIGN.	BOYD
1869	1	52	247	42	289	CAPE BRETON	CONSIGN.	ARCHIBALD
	1	140	1033	142	1175	BOSTON	CONSIGN.	SPRAGUE & SOULE
	1	64	367	61	428	BOSTON	CONSIGN.	DRAKE, LEWING & CO.
	1	598	4787	NIL	4787	WARRENPOINT	SOLD	GUY STEWART (ST. JOHN)
	1	330	2126	NIL	2126	BRISTOL	CONSIGN.	F.K. BARNES
	3	1684	14156	328	14484	LIVERPOOL	SOLD	DOBELL
	1	476	3993	NIL	3993	DUBLIN	SOLD	DOBELL
	1	362	3534	NIL	3534	BELFAST	CONSIGN.	SAMUEL HUSTON
	1	330	2537	NIL	2537	LIVERPOOL	CONSIGN.	HOUGHTON SMITH
	2	814	7582	NIL	7582	LIVERPOOL	SOLD	DOBELL
1870	1	332	2156	NIL	2156	BIRMINGHAM	SOLD	THOMAS ADAMS
	1	480	3592	NIL	3592	MAMMOUTH-SHIRE	SOLD	LOVEL & CADLE
	2	740	6558	NIL	6558	BELFAST	SOLD	HUSTON

YEAR	NO. OF SHIPMENTS	QUANTITY OF DEALS X 1000	VALUE OF DEALS	VALUE OF OTHER PRODUCTS	TOTAL VALUE OF WOOD EXPORTS	DESTINATION	CONSIGNED OR SOLD	CUSTOMER OR AGENT
1871	1	43 s.f.	\$ 167	\$ 7	\$ 174	CAPE BRETON	CONSIGN.	ARCHIBALD
	1	614	4244	NIL	4244	LIVERPOOL	CONSIGN.	HARRISON, ROBINSON
	1	456	3998	NIL	3998	LIVERPOOL	SOLD	LLOYD & STATHORN
	1	383	2938	NIL	2938	LIVERPOOL	SOLD	HOLME, WAINWRIGHT
	1	375	3321	NIL	3321	ABERDOVY	SOLD	JONES & GRIFFITHS
	1	427	2974	NIL	2974	BRISTOL	SOLD	JONES & NASH
	1	364	2843	NIL	2834	HULL	SOLD	BRYSON JANISON
	1	514	4064	NIL	4064	BELFAST	SOLD	HUSTON
	1	304	2121	NIL	2121	GLOUCESTER	SOLD	ADAMS
1872	5	952	N/A	NIL	N/A	LIVERPOOL	SOLD	GUY STEWART
	2	1000	15508	NIL	15508	BARROW	SOLD	PRICE, POTTER & WALKER
	1	391	4865	328	5193	ABERDOVY	SOLD	JONES & GRIFFITHS
	1	403	4242	NIL	4242	LIVERPOOL	SOLD	HOULE, WAINWRIGHT
	1	333	4890	NIL	4890	LIVERPOOL	CONSIGN.	ROBERT MORROW
1873	3	1175	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	1	341	4091	NIL	4091	GLOUCESTER	SOLD	HICKS & CO.
	1	335	3880	NIL	3880	BORROW	SOLD	PRICE, POTTER & WALKER
	1	451	5875	NIL	5875	LIVERPOOL	CONSIGN.	ROBERT MORROW
1874	1	489	6358	NIL	6358	LIVERPOOL	SOLD	JAMES BLAND
	1	418	4974	NIL	4974	BARROW	SOLD	PRICE, POTTER & WALKER
	1	362	4370	NIL	4370	HULL	SOLD	BARKWORTH & SPALIN
	1	387	4996	227	5223	ABERDOVY	SOLD	JONES & GRIFFITHS

YEAR	NO. OF SHIPMENTS	QUANTITY OF DEALS X 1000	VALUE OF DEALS	VALUE OF OTHER PRODUCTS	TOTAL VALUE OF WOOD EXPORTS	DESTINATION	CONSIGNEE OR SOLD	CUSTOMER OR AGENT
1875	5	1885 s.f.	\$17161	\$ NIL	\$17161	CARDIFF	SOLD	JOHN BLAND
	1	442	4040	NIL	4040	LIVERPOOL	SOLD	HOULE, WAINWRIGHT
	1	443	4214	NIL	4214	BARROW	SOLD	PRICE, DAVIS & CO.
	1	726	7784	NIL	7784	BARROW	SOLD	PRICE, POTTER & WALKER
	1	395	4693	NIL	4693	ABERDOVY	SOLD	JONES & GRIFFITHS

¹ MBU/I/3/2/1, and MBU/I/3/2/2, Lumber Shipments.

² MBU/I/3/3/1, Lumber Receipts and Deliveries. Lumber delivered to customers on the Miramichi was not included in the figures of the Lumber Shipments Ledger.

³ For this table, "Deals" include deals, deal ends, boards, scantling and palings; i.e. items sold by the board foot.

⁴ "Other products" includes shingles, laths, broom handles and spars.

⁵ Includes three shipments recorded only in MBU/I/3/1/2, Shipment Specifications.

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