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This is the Family
Crest of the
Steeves Family.
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Samphire Greens

The Story of The Steeves

Esther Clark Wright.

by

ESTHER CLARK WRIGHT

Obtainable from the author,
407 Island Park Drive, Ottawa #3,
or, June to September,
Kingsport, N. S.

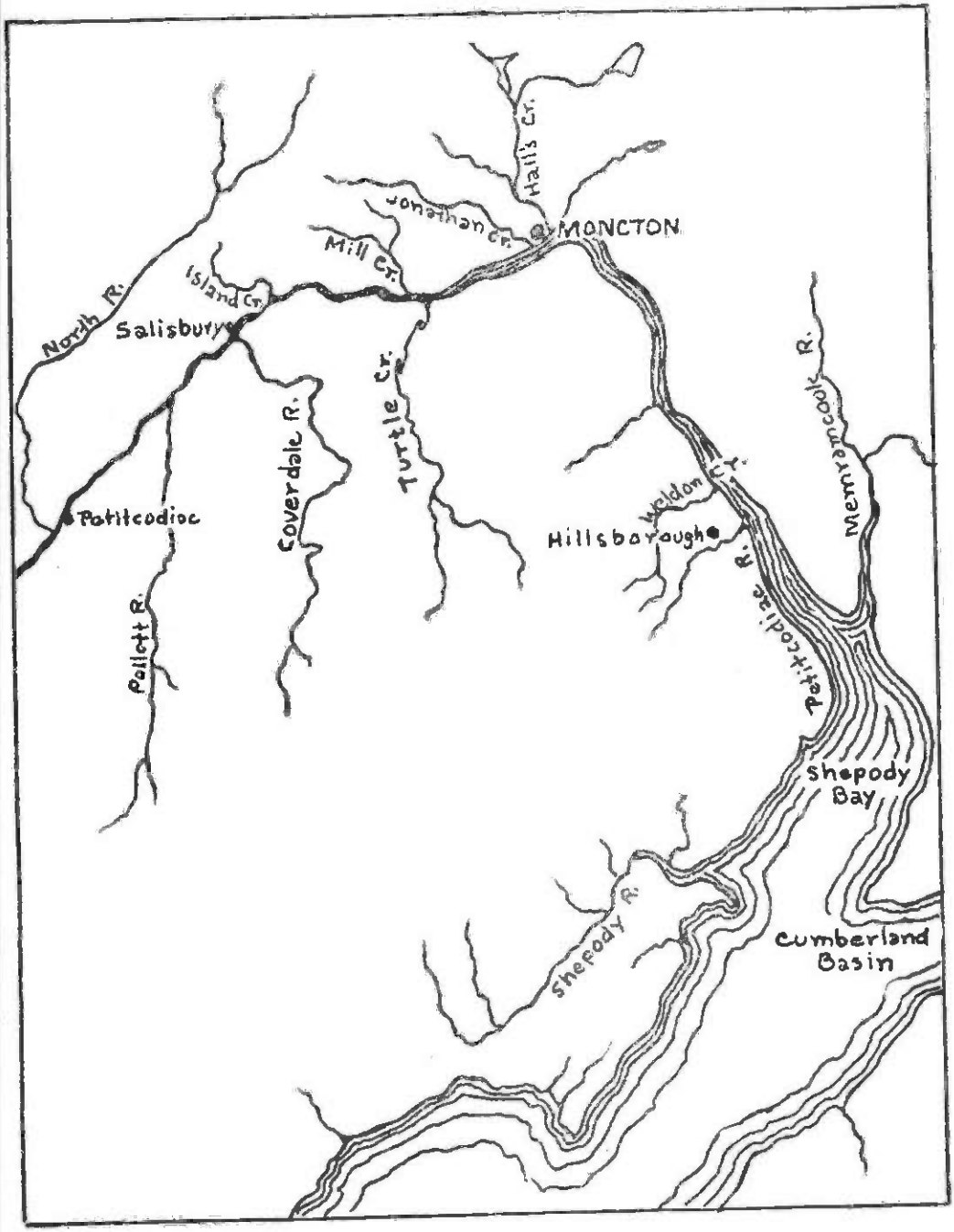
AUTHOR'S NOTE

Twenty years ago, I followed up a clue in one of the *Monographs* of Professor W. F. Ganong and found in Philadelphia the agreement between John Hughes and the settlers on the Petitcodiac River, the text of which is herewith reproduced in Appendix A. Part of the story of the coming of the Steeves was told in *The Petitcodiac,* published in 1945. Further intensive research on the Steeves family has enabled me to expand the story to its present form. Two circumstances have spurred the present effort, the approach of the two hundredth anniversary of the coming of the Steeves, Lutz, Trites, Somers and Jones families to the Petitcodiac, and the ignoring by the *Encyclopedia Canadiana* of the Pennsylvania German settlers on the Petitcodiac.

In the course of the narrative, it has generally been possible to include references to important sources. *Memorials* in the Crown Land Office, Fredericton, registries of deeds, wills, census schedules at the Public Archives, Ottawa, newspapers have also been used, and hundreds of people interviewed. My thanks are due to many librarians, custodians of records, and hundreds of Steeves descendants for their courtesy and assistance. Professor Helen D. Beals of Acadia University has drawn the map.

ESTHER CLARK WRIGHT.

Kingsport, Nova Scotia.
September, 1961.


Halls Cr.
Jonathan Cr.
MONCTON
Mill Cr.
Island Cr.
North R.
Salisbury
Turtle Cr.
Coverdale R.
Petitcodiac
Pollett R.
Weldon Cr.
Hillsborough
Petitcodiac R.
Memramcook R.
Shepody Bay
Shepody R.
Cumberland Basin

PART I

HEINRICH STIEF

CHAPTER I: THE DAY OF DECISION.

Heinrich Stief wrote his name in the careful, upright German script he had learned in his homeland, and yielded place to the next man. His decision was made. He would go to Nova Scotia and take up land under this scheme proposed by John Hughes, the Philadelphia merchant. There were eight others who had made a similar decision. Matthias Somers, Vallon Tin Miller, and Charles Jones had already signed the Articles of Agreement. Andrew Criner, Michael Lutz, Jacob Cline, Matthias Lentz, and Jacob Trietz were scrawling their signatures below his.

It was the Twenty Seventh Day of January in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty Six, according to the document the land seekers were signing. How long had Heinrich Stief been in Pennsylvania looking for land? Since his name has not been deciphered from among the thirty thousand or more names of immigrants from the German States who arrived in Pennsylvania during the course of the eighteenth century, it is impossible to answer that question. He had certainly been there for more than four months. On September 22, 1765, he had taken the sacrament in the church at Roxborough, Philadelphia County, a necessary preliminary to naturalisation in the September-October Court of the county.

One tradition current in the family is that six of the seven sons of Heinrich Stief, Jacob, John, Christian, Frederick, Henry and Lodovic or Lewis, had been born in Europe, and only the youngest, Matthias, in Pennsylvania. On the other hand, in the new country to which he went in accordance with the agreement signed on January 27, 1766, the census of 1767 set down the seven sons as Americans. It seems probable that Heinrich Stief had been a comparatively late comer to Pennsylvania and had found the available land near Philadelphia taken up by earlier comers. One of his descendants had heard a tale of Heinrich Stief's having farmed in Virginia and suffered a crop failure.

Was that why he had decided to try farming in a colony north of Philadelphia? Or was he following a pattern of life his forefathers had known? There is some vague idea that Heinrich Stief may have belonged to the Plain People, non-

conforming groups of devout believers who had developed a simplicity of worship and a communal type of living based on the practices of the early Christians. When either the zealous churchmanship or the covetousness of their neighbours threatened their communities and their way of life, these Plain People had been accustomed to flee further, generally northward, into the forests, and begin again. Many of the countries around the Baltic sea have found the origins of many of their settlements due to these refugees from religions and civil persecution.

Although Heinrich Stief carried with him on the voyage to Nova Scotia a German Bible which contained a life of Luther, it seems unlikely that he was a Lutheran. Anything known of the life and practice of the family in their early days on the Petitcodiac suggests that Heinrich and Rachel Stief belonged either to the Plain People or to some sect akin to them. Another family tradition, that they left Philadelphia because of the likelihood of compulsory military service in the near future, tends to confirm this hypothesis. The Plain People and kindred sects believed in the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God and took no part in wars.

In any case, no matter when he had come to Pennsylvania, whence he had come, why he had come, there seems no doubt that the signing of this agreement to settle in Nova Scotia was an important decision for Heinrich Stief. For John Hughes, the Philadelphia merchant and ironmaster, it was also an important day, the culmination of many years' effort. He had become involved with the man described by J. B. Brebner as "that highly persuasive, distinctly untrustworthy Ulster immigrant to North America, Colonel Alexander McNutt", who had dazzled the Board of Trade in London and the Nova Scotia Council in Halifax with his proposals for bringing in settlers to the lands vacated by the French.

Hughes had informed his friends in Pennsylvania and elsewhere of directions sent him by McNutt and of the purport of McNutt's advertisements. As a consequence, "Several persons of Merit and Fortune" had undertaken to engage settlers for the colony of Nova Scotia, and "Great Numbers" had put themselves in a "posture for Removing this Spring", as Hughes wrote to McNutt on May 29, 1764. These people were threatening to have him arrested, Hughes declared, and were ready to

tear him to pieces. "It is Realy very Extraordinary that you Shou[d] Enter into Such engagements as you have done with me & as I have done with others on your Credit and by your Order," John Hughes complained, "And Afterwards to Leave the place and go home to Brittain and Leave me a Sacrifice to the people."

In July of the same year, 1764, another letter to Alexander McNutt was drafted, this letter to be signed by Benjamin Franklin and John Foxcraft, as well as John Hughes. By January 1, 1765, negotiations had proceeded so far as to enable the three gentlemen and several others to enter into an agreement with McNutt that he would use his "Best Endeavours to have four Townships alotted in the province of Nova Scotia for them and their Associates." As a result of this, John Hughes' agent, Anthony Wayne, set sail for Nova Scotia, along with McNutt, Captain Caton, and Mr. Jacobs.

During that summer, Anthony Wayne discovered for himself how untrustworthy McNutt was. There were endless difficulties in the negotiations for the grants of townships, some due to McNutt, others to the desire of members of the Nova Scotia Council to retain in their own possession some of the more desirable lands, and in the end Wayne secured for Hughes and his associates rights to parts only of two townships. This long sojourn of Wayne's in Nova Scotia, the presents he made to officials, and the fees required, had made the Nova Scotia lands expensive, and it was urgent to get settlers on the land in order to get some return from it.

This sense of urgency on John Hughes' part was important to Heinrich Stief and the other intending settlers on this day of decision. It made possible certain concessions which were added to the Articles of Agreement as drawn up by John Hughes. The original offer had been of a town lot, in a town which was yet to be laid out, and two hundred acres of good land for every family of five Protestant persons. The town lot was to be fenced and a house with a stone or brick chimney built upon it. For the farm land the settlers were to pay at the rate of £5 Philadelphia currency for each hundred acres. When they had built a house with a stone or brick chimney, fenced and improved or tilled two acres of "Corn Land", cleared, fenced and mowed one acre of meadow ground, planted fifty apple trees, and paid or secured the payment of the purchase

price, with interest from the first day of May next, the land was to be released to them. The settlers were also responsible for paying the cost of surveying and releasing their town lots, and for planting, each year, after the first two years, a quarter acre of hemp.

The first demand the settlers made was for a "Water Lott . . . . free and open forever for the use of the persons within named and their Heirs forever for a publick Landing". A clause was added to provide for that, and John Hughes, Anthony Wayne, and John Hughes, jr., signed the statement. John Hughes further agreed that the people he sent to Nova Scotia should "have the use of what Clear Land falls to his share for the space of five Years If Necessary they Dividing it Equally Between them and also alowing any people he may hereafter send, an equal part they alowing an Equal part of the Expence of fencing the same."

Heinrich Stief must have had a special interest in the third concession obtained from John Hughes, that any single man going to settle in Nova Scotia should have one hundred acres on the same terms, "and If he Marry's he shall have forty Acres for Every Child he has within four years from the first Day of May next, And a Married man & his wife shall have the same Terms." Since Jacob and John, the oldest sons, were sixteen and fourteen past, we may imagine that Heinrich Stief argued strongly for this concession. Each of the boys would get one hundred acres by this arrangement; Jacob, at least, might qualify for forty or eighty acres additional; perhaps Heinrich himself might have another child or two and obtain another forty or eighty acres.

It would be interesting to know if Heinrich Stief had met, previous to this fateful day in January, 1766, any of those who signed the Articles of Agreement. Were any of them related? Did they worship together? In years to come the families of Lutz, Somers, Trites, Jones and Steeves were to become very closely linked. Had other ties than land hunger brought them together? The other four signers, despite the ominous sentence at the end of the agreement, that the parties bound themselves "each to the other in the Sum of One Thousand pound Sterling . . . . for the Neglect or Nonperformance . . . . . in all or any part of the above Agreement", failed to carry out their part of the undertaking. No evidence has

turned up to indicate that Vallon Tin Miller, Andrew Criner, Jacob Cline, and Matthias Lentz sailed to Nova Scotia in the spring of 1766, or at any other time.

For those four, then, January 27, 1766, was not a day of decision. For Matthias Somers, Michael Lutz, Jacob Trietz or Trites, Charles Jones, and Heinrich Stief, it was a turning point in their lives. They made their decision and they stuck by it. For them, and for that part of Nova Scotia, later the southeastern part of New Brunswick, to which they went, the consequences of that decision were immense and far-reaching.

CHAPTER II: THE VOYAGE

On April 14, 1766, the minutes of the Second Presbytery of Philadelphia noted that the Rev. John Eagleson proposed shortly to sail from that port for Nova Scotia. The vessel in which he intended to take passage would be ready to put to sea in a few days, and Mr. Eagleson had made request that the Presbytery might be called together without delay. When the meeting took place, Mr. Eagleson requested from the Presbytery a "Dismission".

There was a little hesitation about granting the request. Mr. Eagleson, who had arrived in Philadelphia the previous year, from Ballymena, Ireland, had been accused of conduct unbecoming to a Presbyterian minister during the passage out from Ireland. This charge had been disposed of at an earlier session, but there remained a charge of indecent conversation. Since the servant girl who had brought the charge refused to appear, and since, as the minutes put it, "Somebody present heard nothing", the Presbytery decided that it could grant Mr. Eagleson's request.

There is a note of relief in the entry made a month later. "Since our last Mr. Eagleson has left our Bounds & sailed for Nova Scotia." Consequently, his name was ordered removed from the list of the Second Presbytery. Although the Second Presbytery had no further dealings with Mr. Eagleson, one of the members, Rev. Dr. Allison, was honoured with a letter a year and a half later.

Curiously enough, Mr. Eagleson did not mention in the letter to his Presbyterian colleague in Philadelphia that, at the request of the Halifax Committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, he was going to England to be admitted to ordination in the Church of England in order that he might serve as S.P.G. missionary in Nova Scotia. Neither did he say that his letter was written at the urgent request of a parishioner-to-be, Samuel Wethered, brother-in-law of Lieutenant Thomas Dixson of Fort Cumberland. In the course of getting around to the real purpose of his letter, that Dr. Allison would pass on to Dr. William Smith Wethered's desire for payment of his bill for supplies furnished to settlers, Mr. Eagleson men-

tioned the "settlers with whom I came Passenger distined for Petitcoodiac". He explains further that Mr. Hall, the master of the vessel, "saw every difficulty that might arise to them & did everything in his power to remidy it by impowring Mr. Wethered to supply them with whatever necessaries they might want which he was at some considerable pains to do in the best & most convenient manner he possibly could; which I am sensible he did by borrowing supplies for them out of the Kings Stores when they were disappointed of the Provisions purchased for them by Mr. Wayne at Halifax . . ."

Parson Eagleson apparently thought that the settlers with whom he travelled were sent by the company headed by Dr. William Smith (a well known Philadelphian who was the founder of the University of Pennsylvania), and there may have been on board the vessel two or three settlers sent by that company. The mention of Mr. Wayne and the provisions purchased in Halifax shows that John Hughes' settlers were certainly also among the fellow passengers of the Rev. John Eagleson. Thus, thanks to the letter from him and the concern of the Second Presbytery about Mr. Eagleson's conduct, it is possible to state that Heinrich Stief and his family sailed from Philadelphia between the 14th of April, 1766, and the 14th of May in that same year. Possibly the vessel had actually sailed before the end of April, the time stipulated in the Articles of Agreement signed by Heinrich and his four fellow passengers.

What had Heinrich Stief done during the three month interval between the signing of the agreement and the sailing? One could guess that a man with a wife and seven sons to feed probably took any employment that offered, and that the older boys found work as well. Would Rachel have a loom and the wool for providing a stock of blankets and clothing for the new country to which they were going? Would she, from the loom, direct the younger boys in the performance of the household tasks? As far as is known, she had no daughters to help, either then or in the later years.

It can be suggested that Heinrich Stief, Matthias Somers, Michael Lutz, Jacob Trites, and Charles Jones might not have been able to do more than maintain their families during the winter and spring of 1766, and that they had pressed John Hughes for supplies for the voyage and for their maintenance

until harvest. A statement of expenditures for the Nova Scotia Lands, evidently drawn up by John Hughes in 1766, includes these items:

To Flower &c for Matthias Summers	£3: 2:0
To D°----------for Henry Stief	4:13:6½
To D°----------for Michael Lutz	1:11:5
To D°----------for Charles Jones	6:16:10
To D°----------for Jacob Trites	6: 2:4.

Several features of this account should be noted. Jacob Trietz had become Jacob Trites, and the name of Heinrich Stief had been party anglicized. (It is proposed to continue to refer to him as Heinrich Stief to distinguish him from his fifth son, Henry Steeves.) "Flower" is, of course, intended for flour; but what did the "&c" include? Beans, dried peas, sauer kraut, salt pork, or lard?

For the first three families, the amount charged for supplies seems to be roughly equivalent to the size of their known families, with an allowance of ten shillings or so to a man and woman, and a lesser amount for daughters and infants. If Charles Jones received supplies at the same rate, it would look as if he had a family of eleven children. I have been able to find only three, two sons, John and Henry, and a daughter, Margaret, who married Abraham Trites. The charge for Jacob Trites suggests a family of ten. I have knowledge of three sons, Christian, Abraham, and Jacob Jr., and one daughter, Rosanna, who married Christian Steeves. There may have been other children in both families, children who succumbed to the hardships of the first years on the Petitcodiac, or there may have been other reasons for allowing larger supplies for Charles Jones and Jacob Trites. Charles Jones may have been specially favoured because he was a relative of John Hughes' wife, whose maiden name had been Jones. Jacob Trites may have threatened to withdraw from the enterprise and default as the other four signers had defaulted, and John Hughes may have found it necessary to offer special inducements to get him and his family to sail.

In addition to the "Flower &c", John Hughes provided Bar Iron and Steel, but there is no indication as to how much or what price was charged. Since he was ironmaster as well as merchant, he probably furnished the iron and steel from

his stock of those useful commodities. Seed Buckwheat and Smiths Bellows, lumped together as amounting to £2:5:0, are also listed. Anthony Wayne's accounts add two further items, fish hooks and lines for the settlers, for which he charged £2:14, and cash paid Col. Deschamps for seed grain, £5:17:0. The last two items would be purchased in Halifax, but the other supplies, and their own clothing and possessions would be crammed into the hold of the vessel.

The account rendered in November, 1766, by Anthony Wayne, gives a clue to the time of arrival in Nova Scotia: "To my time & Expence from the 8th of June till the 19th of Nov^{r} in Nova Scotia, in Servises done in Obtaining a Minit of Councill for 2000 acres of Land for youself & Son & purcheasing Provisions for Settlers &C^{a}, £33:5:5." This tract of land was in the Annapolis area, and it looks as if Anthony Wayne disembarked at Annapolis Basin and proceeded from there to Halifax. The Steeves family chronicles mention that the vessel stopped at either Digby or Annapolis. Did the fact stick in mind because that was the last they saw of Anthony Wayne, who was supposed to attend to matters in connection with their arrival and settlement? Mr. Eagleson mentions Mr. Hall as the person who took charge on arrival, and, significantly, mentions Mr. Wayne only in connection with the non-arrival of supplies from Halifax.

Did the voyage include a sail up the St. John River? John Hughes' land included a share in the township of Francfort, at the head of tide on that river, and at the time of the signing of the Articles of Agreement, on January 27, 1766, it had not been decided which township the settlers were to have. It seems likely, therefore, that they went up the St. John to view this land, and, for some reason, decided against it. Perhaps the ninety miles from the mouth of the river seemed too far. Perhaps the nearness of the Maugerville settlers, who had come some three years previously from Essex County, Massachusetts, did not appeal to the German folk. Or, they may have been warned off the area near the head of tide by the Indian and Acadian inhabitants on the river, who had dissuaded the Massachusetts scouts from settling on the very desirable interval land where the City of Fredericton now stands.

Another reason for thinking that the vessel sailed up the St. John River is that Captain Hall is known to have left cattle

at Maugerville, where he had some intention of settling. "Sir," wrote Francis Peabody, the leader of the Maugerville settlement, when he visited Halifax, on August 6, 1767, "your Cattle are all alive at St. John's & in good Order . . . . Sir, I am sorry you did not come as you talked of doing . . . ." Later in that year, Charles Morris, Jr., the Surveyor General of Nova Scotia, likewise expressed his regrets that Captain Hall did not perform his promise of coming to settle in the province, and hoped he had not laid aside the thought.

Was it the expedition up the St. John River which made the voyage to Annapolis so lengthy, or did that come after the stop at Annapolis? There are no clues in any of the few documents available. One of the accounts of the Steeves family, compiled several generations later, is very positive that June 20 was the date of their arrival on the Petitcodiac. That was late in the season for settlers who had to have their townsite decided upon, their land surveyed, shelter provided, and soil made ready for the planting of seed.

By the time they reached their destination, up the Petitcodiac, had the settlers begun to get some understanding of the tides? They had come to a bay which displays the highest rise and fall of tide in the world, and to a river where the tide comes swirling in twice a day, occasionally piling up a tremendous bore, and then flows rapidly out until only a trickle of muddy water remains in the middle of the channel. How many tides did it take to carry the little vessel up to the landing place? Monckton township, part of which was John Hughes' land, extended from the creek at the bend of the river, called Panaccadie on the contemporary map, to the head of tide, some fourteen miles. According to tradition, the landing was made at this creek, and the settlers named it Hall's Creek, in gratitude to the master of the vessel, who, as Mr. Eagleson believed, "saw every difficulty that might arise to them". The creek is still called Hall's Creek, a reminder of that voyage from Philadelphia to the Petitcodiac River, in the spring and early summer of 1766, when Heinrich Stief, Michael Lutz, Matthias Somers, Jacob Trites, and Charles Jones, with their families, and possibly a few other settlers sent by other companies, began their fruitful settlement.

CHAPTER III: MONCKTON TOWNSHIP.

During the nineteenth century, the descendants of Heinrich Stief developed a theory that the vessel which brought the settlers to the Petitcodiac River dropped the Steeves family at Gray's Island, in Hillsborough, on the way up the river. A closer scrutiny of the history of the granting of townships on the Petitcodiac River will convince even the most determined upholders of the Steeves family tradition that this could not have happened. Moreover, there are several pieces of evidence which confirm that the Steeves family spent their first few years in Monckton township.

When Anthony Wayne had visited Nova Scotia, in 1765, in order to obtain grants of land for John Hughes and his company, he sent long letters concerning his mission to John Hughes, and these letters are preserved among the Hughes Papers in the Manuscript Department of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Upon arrival at Halifax, Wayne reported that gentlemen who had estates in the country told him that the land would produce any kind of grain. They raised excellent spring wheat, which yielded sixty or seventy bushels to the acre. He was told, also, that there were great bodies of iron ore on the River Petitcodiac and Baie Verte, but nobody with money to carry on iron works.

On April 10, Anthony Wayne wrote of plans for exploration: Captain Caton and Mr. Jacobs, the other two Philadelphians who had come up with him, were to sail for the St. John River two days later, and he, with Col. McNutt and Parson Lyon, would sail west along the coast to Minas Basin, then up the Bay of Fundy and the Petitcodiac, where they would meet Caton and Jacobs. These plans did not work out. Wayne, after being left for three weeks at Port Roseway, on the South Shore, to wait for McNutt, returned to Halifax, where he found that the gentleman had obtained a reserve of five townships, three on the St. John River, and two between that and the Petitcodiac. Moreover, as Wayne wrote bitterly, McNutt had "Embibed a Notion in many of the Gentlemen of the Councell here" that he would be the only person capable of complying with the terms of settlement and had tried to make the other companies appear insignificant.

By using his persuasive powers on the Council members, Wayne succeeded in getting them to vote sixteen townships of 100,000 acres each for sixteen companies. Ten of these townships were to be on the River St. John, two on the Petitcodiac, one on St. Mary's Bay, one on St. Mary's River, one at Pictou, and one at Merimache (Merigomish). He had joined some of the names Mr. Hughes had sent him, along with Hughes, Franklin, and himself, for two townships, which he was to choose. He was to meet the sloop at Minas Basin and sail to the St. John River.

When Wayne returned to Halifax, on September 18, he found that McNutt had engaged in further intrigues against the Philadelphia agents. As a result, the four Philadelphians, Wayne, Caton, Jacobs, and Matthew Clarkson, combined their efforts and waited on Council to see if they could get less onerous terms for the grants than those the Council had set. The business dragged on, and although the Philadelphians had a reserve on the lands applied for, one township on the St. John River, at the head of navigation, one on St. Mary's Bay, and two on the Petitcodiac, they were still not obtaining their grants.

"They want to Cull part of the best lands on Petticoodiack for Some of the favorite Gentlemen of Halifax," Anthony Wayne explained, "which has caused the Difference between them and us". It had taken until October for Wayne to find out what had been going on for two or three years. As early as September 17, 1763, Colonel John Burbidge and William Best had obtained a grant of 600 acres on the south bank of the Shepody River, which flows into the estuary of the Petitcodiac. On March 15, 1765, Elias Burbidge, a nephew of the Colonel, and James Hardy of Cornwallis had obtained a grant of 1500 acres between the Shepody and Haha rivers.

Furthermore, Joseph Frederic Wallet Desbarres, who had been engaged since 1763 in surveying the coasts of Nova Scotia, had been urging upon friends of his the desirability of taking up grants in Nova Scotia, and a grant to this group had actually passed a few days before Anthony Wayne was writing to John Hughes. DesBarres, the Swiss born surveyor, was a friend of Major General Bouquet and Colonel Frederick Haldimand, who were engaged in expeditions against the French and Indians in western Pennsylvania. Hugh Wallace, Haldimand's busi-

ness agent in New York, Adam Hoops, who had been in charge of supplies for Bouquet's expedition against Fort Duquesne, and Peter Hasenclever, a German ironmaster with business interests in London, England, and in Morris County, New Jersey, were associated with Bouquet and Haldimand in the grant of Hopewell Township, which was passed on September 24, 1765.

The area included in Hopewell Township had been, in the later years of the Acadian regime, the Seigneury of *Chipody,* discovered and settled by Pierre Thibodeau, the miller of Prée-Ronde, above Annapolis. In the spring of 1698, Pierre and his sons, in a little vessel they had built themselves, sailed up the Bay of Fundy and found, what earlier explorers seem to have missed, the crooked little river which the Indians described as *Es-ed-a-bit,* it turns back on itself. Here were tidal flats such as they had known on the Annapolis River, and Pierre and his sons began ditching and dyking at once. After the fall of Fort Beausejour, in 1755, Pierre's descendants had beaten off one attack, but eventually had been forced to flee into the woods or else be carried into exile. Until the Burbidges had obtained their grants and had sent settlers over from Kings County, and until Desbarres secured a township grant for his friends, the lands of the Acadians had remained idle and untended.

Since Benjamin Jacobs and Isaac Caton had purchased, on September 11, 1765, a tract of land on the River Chipody, which the owner, John Easson, Master Carpenter of the Garrison at Annapolis Royal, had bought in 1742, it looks as if Jacobs and Caton had hoped to obtain a grant of Hopewell township. Anthony Wayne probably had his eyes on the adjoining township, where friends of Pierre Thibodeau had settled, but this was so desirable a tract that the favorite Gentlemen of Halifax were retaining it. The Petitcodiac River is remarkable, not only for its tides and its bore, but also for its right angled bend, where the City of Moncton now stands, and for another bend, higher up, where, as the Indians knew, the river turns round in a bow. It was this upper bend, above Petitcodiac village, where the North River turns sharply, that their name for the river, *Pet-koat-kwee-ak,* described, but it was the lower bend which made the township within it so valuable. Two sides of the township bordered on the river, an enormous advantage because of the extent of marshland,

and because of the ease of communication by river.

When the grant for this township passed, on October 31, 1765, the name of Hillsborough was given it, in honour of Lord Hillsborough, the Secretary of State and one of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations. The grantees were Robert Cummings, John Collier, Joseph Gerrish, Henry Newton, and James Boutineau, and wherever possible the grantees were referred to as Robert Cummings and others. This is amusing, because Robert Cummings was an insignificant person, the nephew of Bouquet's friend, Adam Hoops. Cummings' name is worth noting, however, for he was to play a considerable part in the story of the Steeves family. Of the others, John Collier, Joseph Gerrish, and Henry Newton were members of the Nova Scotia Council, and James Boutineau was the brother-in-law of Michael Francklin, one of the most active and influential members of the Nova Scotia Council.

With all these influences working against them, Anthony Wayne and the other three Philadelphians were forced to be content with shares in two townships, Francfort, at the head of tide on the St. John River, and Monckton, at the head of tide on the north side of the Bend of the Petitcodiac, not on the desirable south side of the Bend. Moreover, they had to submit to the inclusion of Alexander McNutt as a partner in each township. Thus, instead of the two townships he had hoped to obtain for John Hughes and his friends, Wayne, after a long sojourn in Nova Scotia, had obtained only two shares, some 22-23,000 acres each, in two townships.

It will be seen that settlers sent up by John Hughes could not have been disembarked on Hillsborough land. Heinrich Stief and his family, with the other settlers sent by Philadelphia companies, were set down in Monckton township, at the Panaccadie Creek which they named Hall's Creek. The prospect before them must have been dismaying. The mud, that sticky red mud of the Petitcodiac River, and the coming and going of the tides would have made the task of unloading their belongings very difficult. They might have been cheered by finding along that creek evidences of clearing by the Acadians; possibly some dyking had been done along the creek; perhaps there were clearings and dyked meadows further up the Petitcodiac River. The map put out by William Smith and Company marked an old mill, probably at the mouth of

the creek still designated as Mill Creek. But the land had been left for ten years, and what state would it be in? It was the third week of June, and seed should be sown at once, if any sort of harvest was to be reaped.

It is not surprising that stories of hardship and suffering were handed down from generation to generation of the Steeves family. One of the tales is of their having no cereals and having to live, for at least one winter, on turnip mush. This story is confirmed by an item in the Hughes statement of expenditures, "To Mr. Wayne Draft for Flower", and by Mr. Eagleson's letter. Mr. Wethered, he says, borrowed supplies for them "out of the Kings Stores when they were disappointed of the Provisions purchased for them by Mr Wayne at Halifax: this he did by hiring a Vessel & procuring hands when y^{e} Season was so far advanced that it was very difficult to procure persons who wou'd undertake it & y^{e} men who went one lost his Life & y^{e} other was so much frost bit in his feet that he is not able of doing anything to procure himself a subsistence."

Unfortunately, Mr. Eagleson does not make it clear whether these men delivered to the settlers in Monckton the provisions Mr. Wethered had borrowed for them, or whether they were compelled to turn back with their mission not accomplished. Neither does he mention the names of these unsung heroes of the Petitcodiac, one of whom died and the other suffered severe frost bite. In the eyes of the authorities at Fort Cumberland they were expendable. Mr. Wethered's debt was mentioned again, in a letter of 1769, but nothing was said about the men who had lost life and means of livelihood. None of the memoirs of the Steeves family contains any reference to this tragedy, nor is there any hint that they knew anything about this attempt to bring them succour.

All the accounts tell of an Acadian named Belliveau, who appeared out of the woods and, when he found that the newcomers were not speaking English, timidly approached. He is credited with having taught them how to snare rabbits, moose, and other animals, to make maple sugar, and to procure other means of living. Was it his method, or their own invention, to go out on the flats in the bed of the river, after the tide had receded and left the flats nearly bare, and kill shad and salmon in the shoal water with sticks? Had the fish hooks and lines purchased by Mr. Wayne in Halifax not reached them? Later,

the settlers used a method the Indians had devised, of building a brush fence or weir across a little creek on the river bank and trapping fish in this way.

The accounts of Belliveau are embroidered by successive tellers of the tale until it is difficult to determine what is real and what is imagined. All the writers, too, think of the Steeves as living in Hillsborough, which involves them in difficulties with regard to Belliveau, whose home was across the Petitcodiac, on what the Steeves later called the French Shore. Thus, Howard Steeves, writing of Belliveau's alarm when he heard the guns at Fort Cumberland, says that his fears grew so great, "that he disappeared from the settlement, travelled around the head of the Petitcodiac and reached a point on the opposite side not more than a mile or two from where he started. Here he settled where his descendants still live."

What seems a more probable occurrence is that Heinrich Stief and Belliveau started out from Monckton in a dugout, went down the Petitcodiac, around Folly Point, across the Memramcook, and were making their way around Cape Maringouin to Cumberland Basin, when the sound of the guns seemed so near that Belliveau lost his nerve and fled around the head of the Memramcook, rather than approach nearer to the fort. At the head of the river he is supposed to have found a settler and to have been so famished that he seized the wife's raw dough and ate it without waiting for her to bake it. Since it is known that settlers on the Memramcook had escaped the attentions of the English authorities and remained relatively undisturbed, it seems more probable that Belliveau fled around the head of the Memramcook rather than the head of the Petitcodiac.

The implications of the story as to the character of Heinrich Stief are of the greatest interest. He cut down a huge pine tree and hollowed it out to serve as a dugout. (He also used hollowed out pines for evaporating sea water to obtain salt.) He was not satisfied to sit back and see his family suffer, but ventured out to find Fort Cumberland and get help. He must have known of its existence from Captain Hall, who was going on to Fort Cumberland after he deposited the settlers at Monckton township. Whatever the exact circumstances of the adventure, it bears witness to the initiative, the leadership, the determination of Heinrich Stief.

When did Heinrich Stief make his first expedition to Fort

Cumberland? Was it in the autumn of 1766, when the settlers had looked in vain for the supplies Anthony Wayne was to send from Halifax? Was it his visit that told Wethered of the dire straits of the settlers and prompted him to send aid? Or was this first expedition made in the spring of 1767, when, according to one account, he secured seeds from which they separated a few precious grains of wheat? Certainly, all the accounts of the settlement agree that the settlers looked for a vessel which did not come with promised supplies. One version of the story is that, at long last (would this be in the spring of 1767 or later?), a vessel came in sight. Heinrich Stief and two of his sons rowed out with their winter's gathering of furs, obtained either from their own trapping and shooting or from trading with the Indians. The price offered, however, was so niggardly, that Heinrich said, as his youngest granddaughter told the story,

"Well, boys, let's go back to our turnip mush."

Strangely enough, in view of the accounts of privation and suffering in Monckton township, there was, in that very year of 1766, prosperity and plenty at the mouth of the Petitcodiac, in Hopewell township. The German families for the Hopewell settlement, whose arrival in October, 1765, had been mentioned in a letter from Governor Wilmot to the Lords of Trade, had done well with the 39 cows, 39 calves and one bull, shipped to them by Benjamin Faneuil Jr., of Boston on the Sloop, *CHARMING MOLLY,* at the beginning of June, 1766. They had been able to send to Philadelphia, to the proprietors of the township, four or five hundredweight of cheese, as well as cheese for sale for themselves, potatoes, spruce, and sixty grindstones.

It certainly looks as if the Monckton township affairs were badly managed, and the settlers had to endure suffering and hardship that could have been avoided. It must also be admitted that the Steeves family chronicles have exaggerated the suffering. When one writer, immediately after telling of the help received from Belliveau and the Indians, goes on to say, "In this manner they lived for six long years, and never saw the face of man other than themselves", he is certainly letting his imagination run wild. Heinrich Stief had certainly seen and talked with men outside his family within three years of his coming to the Petitcodiac, and from that conference a new chapter in the history of the family was about to open.

CHAPTER IV: THE MOVE TO HILLSBOROUGH.

On July 24, 1769, a letter was written to John Hughes concerning his settlers at Monckton township. The letter is important, not only as the only known contemporary account of the state of the settlers, but, in addition, as a foreshadowing of events to come. The writer of the letter was Charles Baker, who seems to have acted for some years as agent for Robert Cummings, the Hillsborough grantee. Baker was the son of an Englishman who had settled in Virginia, and is said to have fallen in love with a daughter of Edward Barron, an officer who had taken part in the siege of Quebec, and later had been posted to Fort Cumberland. Charles Baker had followed the Barrons to Nova Scotia and had become involved with the Petitcodiac River townships through doing surveys for the proprietors. For a few years, he was a resident of Hillsborough township, where he owned land at the lower end of the township.

His letter was written from Summerseat, near Philadelphia, the residence of Adam Hoops, one of the Hopewell proprietors, and uncle of Robert Cummings. "About four weeks ago I arrived in the Province from Nova Scotia and thought to have Call'd on you in Philad^{a}," Charles Baker wrote to John Hughes, "but as my Busyness Call'd me out of Town soonner than I expect^{d} I had not Time." Even if he had found time, Charles Baker could not have called upon John Hughes in Philadelphia in 1769, for John Hughes had had to leave Philadelphia. Had Charles Baker not found that out?

John Hughes had been a friend and business agent for Benjamin Franklin, who had been absent in Europe at the time of the sending of the settlers to the Petitcodiac. Through Franklin's influence in London, Hughes had been named as Collector of Stamp Duties when the new Stamp Act came into force. Unfortunately for him, the Philadelphians had been so enraged by the Stamp Act that life in that city had been made intolerable for the Collector. John Hughes had been forced to flee, first from the city and then from the province of Pennsylvania. In 1769, he was in Piscatua (Portsmouth), New Hampshire, and two years later at Charlestown, South Carolina. On July 25, 1771 he wrote from the latter place to his

son, Isaac, "Whatever may be the Sentiment of Pennsilvanians relative to me, I have now the pleasure to say, that in the Greatest of my popular Credit in that province, I was not by any Means as happy as I am now." Only brief time was left for him to enjoy that happiness, for death came the following year. It seems unlikely that his sons forwarded the letter from Charles Baker.

The letter continues:

My Busyness with you was On Acc^{t} your Settlers in Nova Scotia they all of them when I was comeing away Begg'd that I would take the Trouble to Call on you and See what you had a mind to do as they must move of your Land unless you Assist them very Soon, it being Impossible for them to live any longer without assistance.

They beg that you would let them have some Working Cattle and Some Cloaths and Provisions untill they will be able to raise it to themselves which they think will not be long. I think it is a Very Great Pitty that they should be lett Suffer so much as they have done ever since they went there as they are a Set of the Best Setlers in them Parts it has Surprised every one that knew them to see how they have lived since they went there Mostly on Herbs which they Gathered in the Marsh in the Spring &c.

M^{r}. Wethered also begged the favour of me to Speak to you and See whether you would answer his Acc^{t} or not as it has been a Very Great Hurt to Him he has Attach'd all the Cattle on acc^{t} of the debt but does not care to sell them untill he knows whether you w^{d} any thing or no. I am Sinseable that he had done nothing which he as your Agent or indeed as a Christian could well avoid, and that he had a Great deal more Trouble Ab^{t} it than all the Profits were Worth even if you had Setled his acc^{t} at first.

I have had an opportunity of being Well acqtd with your Township and am Sorry to See that you are so Backward in doing anything on it as you have a great deal of very fine Marsh Land and the Upland Which has been Cultivated Yields Grain Very Well I am perswaided it is only for Want of being thoroughly acquainted with the Value of it that makes you so Backward in setling it I am

Senseable that as long as you keep it lying waste you loose Annually some thousands of Pounds which might very Easyly Gain by Setling it in a Proper Manner.

This at the Request of M^{r} Wethered and your Setlers I have made free to Write you and should be Glad if you think proper that you would write me an answer as Soon as Conveniant as I intend to go Back to them parts very soon again.

I am Sir

Your most obed^{t} Hum^{e} S^{t}

Charles Baker.

Actually, this letter is an ultimatum. If the settlers do not get Working Cattle, that is, oxen, clothes, and provisions, they will move away from Monckton. They are "the Best Setlers in them Parts", and the Hillsborough proprietors will be very glad to have them in their township, where oxen, clothes and provisions will be provided to enable them to start afresh. The Hillsborough proprietors believe in settling their land "in a Proper Manner." That, in essence, is what Charles Baker is saying, behind all this apparent interest in John Hughes' taking advantage of the excellence of the Monckton township land. The proof of this interpretation of Charles Baker's letter is in the 1770 returns from Hillsborough, which show that Heinrich Stief with his wife and seven sons, Jacob Ricker, with wife, one son and six daughters, and Michael Lutz, with wife, two sons and two daughters, were inhabitants of that township.

The paragraph about Mr. Wethered is also very revealing. Evidently the Monckton inhabitants had had cattle. Were these cattle brought up with them in the spring of 1766? It seems unlikely, since the cattle were the property of the Monckton proprietors, that they had been purchased at Hopewell from the offspring of the 39 cows, 39 calves and one bull shipped by Benjamin Faneuil Jr., in the summer of 1766, or that they resulted from Heinrich's building a boat large enough to transport a cow from Fort Cumberland, a tale that found its way into the Steeves family chronicles. And what happened when Wethered or his emissaries came to Monckton to attach these cattle? Had the tenants protested that it was an unchristian

act to remove the cattle? Was that why Charles Baker was explaining that Wethered had "done nothing which he as your Agent or indeed as a Christian could well avoid"? There can be no doubt that Mr. Wethered had had a great deal of trouble if he had attempted to remove those precious cattle from the Monckton tenants. Perhaps the vigorous protests of the tenants had led to his attaching the cattle only, and not taking them away or selling them.

Another very revealing remark in the letter is that concerning the surprise of every one that knew the Monckton settlers about how they had lived, "mostly on Herbs which they Gathered in the Marsh in the Spring &c." These herbs were the samphire and goose tongue greens and the cow cabbage which grew on the salt marshes. Had the settlers learned about the greens from the Indians, or from Belliveau, or had they in their previous homes known about salt water greens? Generation after generation of Steeves have gathered samphire greens on the marsh in spring and summer. My mother, who was brought up by her grandmother, the youngest daughter of the youngest son of Heinrich Stief, would tell of going down on the marsh to gather greens, during her childhood days in Hillsborough, and to the end of her long life she enjoyed a mess of samphire or goose tongue greens.

But who were these acquaintances of the Monckton settlers? Charles Baker may have been thinking of some account by Robert Cummings of a visit to Monckton and finding the people out on the marsh gathering greens. Robert Cummings was the proverbial young man with lightly turning fancy, in the spring, and he had gone up river to court Rosanna Trites, the daughter of Jacob Trites. Whether she was his only love, or whether some other girl had borne his son Benjamin, is not known, but his daughter, Elizabeth Cummings, was certainly Rosanna's child. Benjamin was taken to Pennsylvania, but the girl remained on the Petitcodiac with her mother, who probably considered herself Robert Cummings' wife.

Behind Charles Baker's letter, is the urgency of the Hillsborough proprietors to find tenants for their lands. In 1770, a census would be taken to determine whether the terms of the grant had been fulfilled. According to the terms set forth in the 1765 grant, one third of the township was to be planted,

cultivated, improved or inclosed in ten years, two thirds in twenty years, the whole in thirty years, or the whole would be forfeited. Furthermore, one fourth of the grant was to be settled within one year, at the rate of one Protestant to every 200 acres. Hillsborough township would be expected to have 500 Protestant settlers when the 1770 census was taken, and the proprietors needed to bestir themselves.

Of the original proprietors, James Boutineau had transferred his holdings to Michael Francklin, as might have been expected; Henry Newton and John Collier seem to have disposed of their shares to Joseph Gerrish and Robert Cummings, who each held two-fifths of the township. It was fortunate that Michael Francklin and Joseph Gerrish had sufficient influence to get the period of bringing in settlers extended, for by the end of 1770 they could show only fifteen families on Hillsborough township, and seven of these were Acadians, and not Protestants. There were only one hundred persons in the area, when there should have been five hundred. Charles Baker's visit to Philadelphia may possibly have been for the purpose of recruiting additional Protestant settlers, and of impressing upon Adam Hoops and Robert Cummings the seriousness of the situation with regard to the townships.

Possibly, Charles Baker was able to persuade Heinrich Stief to move down to Hillsborough in the autumn of 1769, or during the ensuing winter. It seems likely that some of the cultivated upland, whose excellent yield of grain was mentioned by Charles Baker, had been cleared and tilled by Heinrich Stief and his sons. It also seems likely that they had established themselves some distance up the Petitcodiac River, in the vicinity of Island Creek. A few years later, documents concerning the Monckton lands refer to a piece of land jutting into the river as Steef Point, and it would appear to have been their first abode on the Petitcodiac. Had they built the stone or brick chimney prescribed by the Articles of Agreement? Had they fulfilled the other conditions which should have given them possession of the land? John Hughes made no response to appeals, and the Hillsborough proprietors were offering better terms, and the oxen so much needed. Anyway, by the end of 1770, Heinrich Stief was listed as an inhabitant of Hillsborough, and in possession of two oxen, four cows, five young neatcattle, and eight sheep.

Besides Heinrich Stief, two other Monckton tenants made the move to Hillsborough, Michael Lutz, with his wife, two sons and two daughters, and Jacob Ricker, with wife, two sons and six daughters. Ricker was one of the settlers sent by William Smith and Company. At some time in the course of the early years on the Petitcodiac, his wife died, Matthias Somers died, and Jacob Ricker married the Somers widow, but it is not certain whether these changes had occurred before the move to Hillsborough. Charles Jones, because of his relationship to John Hughes, might hestitate to make the move. Jacob Trites may not have cared to have any further dealings with Robert Cummings, or he may have been unwilling to make another move.

The Acadians, who are named as "James Deboy, John Babbinno, Joseph Surat, German Tebbudo, John Duboy, Supervan dupey, Paul Babbinno", presumably had been in hiding since the supposed clearing out of the Acadian settlements on the Petitcodiac. Their families ranged in size from Paul Babbinno's four to German Tebudo's ten. They had certainly learned the art of survival, under more difficult conditions than the Monckton tenants had known.

The other families on the 1770 list for Hillsborough had probably been sent to the township from Halifax by Michael Francklin and Joseph Gerrish. One of them was Moses Delesdernier, who acted as agent for both proprietors, and who kept turning up hither and yon in the early history of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The Swiss born Delesdernier had probably brought along the other Swiss born settler, Peter Joannah or Jonah, whose descendants were to become closely linked with those of Heinrich Stief. Another family was that of James Smith, who had come from Ireland to Halifax, and thus to the Petitcodiac. John Brown may have been at Fort Cumberland previously. No clues have been found as to the previous abode of the Irish born Martyn Hatt, who was also at Hillsborough with wife and two sons.

Thus, in 1770, Heinrich Stief was established in Hillsborough township, under more favourable conditions, with more fellow settlers, drawn from a more widely varied background. Incidentally, it may be noted, that on this census of 1770, taken by Moses Delesdernier, Heinrich Stief is first given the name that was to become so familiar in Hillsborough: Steeves.

CHAPTER V: THE HILLSBOROUGH YEARS.

The lean years, the three and a half years at Monckton, had passed. The good years had come. The returns for 1775 (they were copied by Joseph Gray, son-in-law of Joseph Gerrish, and sent in to the government after the Revolutionary War when he was trying to assert his claim to Hillsborough lands) show that Heinrich Stief's two oxen had increased to twelve, his four cows to fourteen. He had a bull, ten yearlings, eight heifers, four bullcalves, two mares, a colt, twenty six sheep, sixteen lambs, six hogs, twenty four pigs. He had raised in that year 150 bushels of wheat, 18 bushels of rye, 16 of barley, 50 of peas, 100 of oats, 150 of turnips (and no need to live on turnip mush the winter through), 160 bushels of potatoes, and 30 pounds of flax. Furthermore, Jacob, the eldest son (whom Joseph Gray writes down as James Steeves), had been set up on his own, and already had two children, not to mention two oxen, four cows, three yearlings, two heifers, two bull calves, a mare, a colt, two ewes, a lamb, two hogs and eighteen pigs. And Jacob had raised that year 50 bushels of wheat, 18 of rye, 13 of barley, 24 of peas, 4 of oats, 60 of turnips, 50 of potatoes, and 10 pounds of flax.

The population of the township of Hillsborough had increased, from the fifteen families, one hundred souls, of 1770, to thirty eight families, with a total of two hundred and thirty nine persons. The seven Acadian families had increased to eleven. The Delesdernier, Jonah, Hatt, James Smith, John Brown, Jacob Ricker, Michael Lutz, and Steeves families were there as before, with the addition of one Steeves family. Another Monckton tenant had appeared, George Wortman (Gray calls him Warterman), sent to the Petitcodiac originally by Matthew Clarkson and Company. Charles Baker and his family were residents of Hillsborough in 1775. There was a J. Brackman, who died soon afterwards, and a Frederick Bourkstaff, who may have been one of the Hopewell settlers, and Martin Beck, who had been in the Commissariat at Fort Cumberland. In addition, Gray's list shows that a number of settlers from Yorkshire were living in Hillsborough, John Weldon, Bryant Kay, Joshua Gildart, Ralph Siddall, Joseph Jacks (Jaques), Richard Lawrence (Lowerison), John Hopper, John Mitton, Thomas Briggs, and Christopher Horsman. There

was also Robert Crossman and his French wife, Suzanne Govang.

1775, as it happened, was a peak year in the history of Hillsborough township. The turbulence in the Thirteen Colonies, which had disturbed John Hughes several years previously and driven him from Philadelphia, was by then beginning to affect the Petitcodiac. It was putting a stop to the emigration from England which had so greatly increased the population of Hillsborough. Soon afterwards, rebel vessels made their appearance on the Petitcodiac, and for several years their depredations menaced the safety and the livelihood of the settlers. Charles Baker, Moses Delesdernier, John Weldon, Ralph Siddall, Richard Lowerison, and perhaps others, took refuge in the area around Fort Cumberland. The rest stuck it out, some of them perhaps doing as the Acadians had done twenty years before, burrowing into the woods or retreating further up the river, beyond the reach of marauding vessels.

One of the stories handed down in the Steeves family concerns the arrival of a band of twelve rebel pirates at Jacob's house, while he was away hunting. When they ordered the wife to get them something to eat, she protested that she did not have enough in the house for a meal, but she was so afraid of them that she said she would get what she had. The men went out and killed the only calf Jacob had, and forced her to cook it for them. Later, when the men were sleeping, Jacob would have killed them, had his wife not persuaded him against such an act of violence. Whether rightly or wrongly, the Steeves blamed Abiel Peck of Hopewell for showing the rebels where they lived, and would have nothing to do with the Pecks for many years. It is rather interesting to note that, although there were so few people in the area, it was several generations before the grievance was forgotten and there was any marriage between the Steeves and the Pecks.

The war may have made it easier for Heinrich Stief to increase his holdings of land in Hillsborough. One quaint document, registered in 1779, but possibly drawn up at an earlier date, was a transfer of property from Ebenezer Barnam, Yeoman of Hillsborough, for a "sum of money to me in hand daily paid & to me unknown the dayly payment of which is by these presents to be Continued unto me the said Ebenezer Barnam as long as it shall please God of his Infinite mercy to

spare me a Natural life upon Earth to live by Henry Steef His Heirs Executor administrator & Assigns..... (who) shall procure & provide for the said Ebenezer Barnam a Sufficiency of meat Drink Washing & Lodging together with a sufficiency of wearing apparel during the said Time."

This Ebenezer Barnam or Burnham was a millwright, who, in 1769, had exchanged his Sackville lands for William Maxwell's Hopewell lands. He would thus know about the suits against the proprietors of Hopewell which their agent, Thomas Calhoun, had commenced in the October term of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, in 1771. (There is an interesting story there, but since it concerns the Steeves family only indirectly we can not go into it here.) Barnam himself had brought a suit and obtained a considerable parcel of land in Hopewell. He had sold that property, however, and had moved up to Hillsborough, where he had put up a mill for one of the Hillsborough proprietors, probably for Joseph Gerrish, who had died in 1774. Once again, Barnam had sued his employer, and had obtained, through the suit, the 50 acres of marsh, 600 acres of cleared upland and woodland which Heinrich Stief thus obtained. In 1781, the Steeves sons bought the land, and one dwelling house and outhousing, for £60.

It may have been Ebenezer Barnam's experience which suggested to Heinrich Stief the idea of bringing suit against the proprietors of Monckton township for nonfulfilment of terms of contract, or the plan may have been suggested by Charles Baker, who had a claim for services in surveying. The scheme seems to have been very carefully worked out, and there must have been a series of meetings of the Monckton tenants past and present to work out the details. The isolation of Nova Scotia during the Revolutionary War, and particularly of that corner of the province, the indignation aroused by the depredations of the American pirates, were factors which doubtless made it easy to bring the suits in the local courts and to obtain judgment against the absent proprietors.

The land was seized by the Sheriff of Cumberland County and put up for auction, where it was bid in by the parties who had claims against the former proprietors. Jacob Trites, for his award, £55 damages and £7:17:3 costs, bid in over 2000 acres, extending from the lowest end of the township to Jonathan Creek, that is, a large part of the present City of Monc-

ton. Jacob Ricker, whose suit was brought against William Smith and Company, for his £44 damages, bid in 1900 acres on the west side of Jonathan Creek, apparently up stream from the land which went to the heirs of Matthias Somers. Michael Lutz, whose damages were £45, bid in 1927 acres, beginning at a spruce tree marked No. 6. Charles Baker got 45 acres marsh and 1580 acres upland, as a result of a judgment for £35:3:9¾, plus £9:3:3 costs, against Matthew Clarkson and Company. He sold the property to Abraham Trites, Jacob's son. The heirs of Charles Jones had 2163 acres, beginning at Island Creek, "joyning to Mr Steefs" and continuing to a pine tree marked No. 4, opposite the Village. Presumably this was an Acadian village at the mouth of Turtle Creek.

Heinrich Stief brought suit for £52 and was enabled to bid in 2163 acres extending from Island Creek to "Steef's Point". It is this mention of Steef's Point which suggests that this was the area where Heinrich Stief had lived from 1767 to 1769. One wonders whether the family had altogether abandoned the land, or whether two of the sons had camped there part of the year, pastured cattle and sheep, and tended crops. Was that why, after the land came into their possession by Sheriff's sale, Christian and Frederick, the third and fourth sons, were allotted this property? On the other hand, Robert Colpitts claimed to have built a hut and to have cleared land when he visited the country before the Revolutionary War, and when he returned, at the close of the war, he found the land in the possession of the Steeves family. A century and three quarters has not wholly eradicated a feeling of bitterness against the land-grabbing Steeves!

Above Heinrich Stief's land, there were two more parcels, the next going to Judith Copple and the furthest up to George Wortman. Judith Copple's father, John Copple, had brought suit against Matthew Clarkson and Company, but John Copple and his wife had died, and the property, and Judith, had been looked after by an Irish settler, William Wilson. The Copples were evidently not suited to the life of the pioneer, for Judith, too, died soon afterwards, and William Wilson petitioned for a grant of the land. The 1750 acres, at the high end of Moncton township to the lowest end of the great interval, were bid in by George Wortman, whose suit had been against Clarkson's Company. Wortman at once sold most of the property to Joshua Geldart, Gentleman of the Township of Hillsborough.

It is supposed to have been his daughter Eleanor who had married Joseph Jaques on the voyage out from England. Their son, John Jaques, married one of the many granddaughters of Heinrich Stief, and they kept a tavern at Moncton Bottom, but of that, more anon.

The deeds for the land sold at Sheriff's auction were recorded in January and in July, 1778, at the Registry of Deeds for Cumberland County, Nova Scotia. For some reason, they were recorded again, in 1780. This second recording is of special interest for the story of the Steeves family, since the second deed is made out to the "Heirs of Henery Steif". This is the only clue we have to the time of death of the founder of the family. Some time between 1778 and 1780 he had died, apparently when he was barely fifty years of age. Joseph Gray's petition of June 1, 1783, noted that Henry Steeve Senr had lately died and left a widow. How long she survived her husband is not known.

Heinrich Stief, it may be suspected, had driven himself too hard in the effort to get his family established and prospering in the new land. It is good to know that he had had the satisfaction of seeing two, and perhaps three, of his sons married and starting families of their own. It is good to know that there were cattle on the marshes, horses in the stables, oxen pulling loads of hay, grain ripening in the fields, pigs grunting in the yard, sheep nibbling on the hillside, turnips and potatoes ready for the digging or stored in the cellars and root houses. And he had this latest satisfaction, of having obtained the land at Monckton for his family. It was some repayment for these years of anguish and what had seemed to be unrewarded toil.

PART II

THE SEVEN SONS

CHAPTER VI: JACOB.

In one of the Steeves family memoirs, there is a delightful account of Jacob's marriage: "Jacob was pretty young, but as he was a man of about 200 pounds in weight his mother and father thought it would be all right, and Catherine was willing, so Jacob took to himself a wife, brought her home and built a log house about 30 rods from his father's."

Actually, Jacob was not so young as the writer of this account seemed to think. As far as can be ascertained, Jacob was married in 1772, when he was twenty two years of age, probably older than his father had been when he married. Behind the apparent naivete of the suggestion of great weight as a prerequisite for marriage, is the basic fact that the family had by then reached comfortable circumstances and it was possible to set up another household. It might be observed, too, that if Jacob had attained a weight of 200 pounds, the period of privation could not have been as lengthy nor as severe as some writers have tried to picture it.

One of the many Scots who came to Hillsborough early in the nineteenth century, Alexander Barnett, described Jacob as a stout man, quite straight and erect, with long hair, mingled gray and black, his face shaved to the jaw. Barnett thought this was three years before Jacob's death, but it is unlikely that he ever saw Jacob. The wife, Catherine Lutz, Barnett recalled as quite stooped, but very lively on foot. When a child upset a pan of beans, she gathered them up quickly. She was industrious and saving. Like her husband, she was stout and had dark hair. Her complexion was also dark. She wore a cap, and a jacket with petticoat, somewhat open in front.

Anything that can be learned concerning Jacob indicates that he had inherited a full measure of his father's determination to get ahead. His 1775 crop of 50 bushels of wheat, and so on, is a remarkable record of achievement. A statement that he and John and Henry built, somewhere around the year 1800, a small schooner called *THE BROTHERS,* cannot be verified. He is said to have ventured into trading, bringing in goods for sale to the settlers on the Petitcodiac, and to have found, as most traders did in those early days, that it was easier to sell goods than it was to collect the money owing for them.

He was compelled to borrow from William Crane of Sackville in order to pay his creditors, and his sons found, when their father died, that his estate was badly involved, and they "set to work to redeem the place from all arrearages. John became a blacksmith, Leonard went to sea, William conducted the farm, and George taught school. It was not long until they had paid all claims."

This account by Will Keating, in the *Busy East* of April-May, 1925, gives also an account of Jacob's death. "One fine sunny afternoon in autumn Mr. Stiff hired two men to thrash his buckwheat, which was close by the place for thrashing. Mr. Stiff carried the buckwheat from the field in a sheet, while the hired men did the thrashing. From fatigue and a bad cold he received thus, he died the next day." Thus untimely, in October, 1803, the eldest son of Heinrich Stief died, at an age only three years more than his father's, fifty three. As this was several years before Alexander Barnett came to Pictou and to Hillsborough, the description of Jacob must have been given him by somebody, or else he was confusing him with King John. One gets used to such discrepancies in dealing with the history of the Steeves family.

So far as is known, only six children were born to Jacob and Catherine Lutz. The first was John, born in 1773. He died in December, 1858, in his eighty sixth year. The eldest son of the eldest son, he was known in Hillsborough as King John, a fitting title for a man of his vigour and vitality. About eight years before his father's death, John had married Jane or Jennie Beatty, daughter of John Beatty, and had sired five or six children by 1803. In all, his wife bore him fourteen children, six of whom died before their father.

John Beatty is supposed to have been a blacksmith who had come from Nova Scotia to the Petitcodiac and died in 1787. Did King John serve an apprenticeship with John Beatty and his son, and fall in love with the daughter during his stay with the Beattys, and thus repeat a frequent romance of the period? If King John did work as a blacksmith, it was probably not a full time occupation, but was carried on in the intervals of farming. One of the stories about King John, told by a grandson, Howard, came from Howard's mother, Susanna Cameron. She remembered being in the house one day when King John returned from taking cattle to Halifax for sale to the British Naval Stores. The bag he had brought with him was lying on

the floor, and somebody challenged her to try to lift it. She could not budge it.

Jacob's second son, Leonard, was born in 1775, and, like his father, died in his fifties, in his case, in his fifty eighth year. He, too, married a Beatty, Rebecca, I think a cousin of Jane. Of their three sons and five daughters, all but one married. Although she lived to the age of seventy, Leonard's daughter Olive remained unmarried. So few of the Steeves daughters remained unmarried, that one wonders how families managed without unmarried aunts to care for the old folks and to assist with the large families of nieces and nephews. Very often a new mother had to get along with the help of a younger sister, sometimes twelve or less.

It is probable that in the six year interval between the births of Leonard and the next son, William, the birth of the daughter Rachel occurred Nothing is known of her except that she died young. Later generations, having heard rumours of a daughter who died young, were apt to attribute her to Heinrich's family. As will be seen in a later chapter, there was much confusion among later generations regarding Jacob and Heinrich.

William, the third son, was born in 1781, after the death of his grandfather, Heinrich Stief. He followed the example his older brother and took a wife from the Beattys, Esther, sister of Leonard's Rebecca. William and his seven or eight children have proved difficult to trace.

George, the fourth of Jacob's sons, was supposed to have taught school. Where did he get his education? From some itinerant schoolmaster? Or did he go to one of the schools started by the Loyalists? He was born in 1785, the year the province of New Brunswick came into being. The influx of Loyalists had led to the part of Nova Scotia north of the Bay of Fundy being set up as the province of New Brunswick. Although the main stream of Loyalists had gone to the St. John River, one group, the Westchester Loyalists from New York, had been sent to Fort Cumberland. A few of them had declined the lands assigned to them in Wallace and Cobequid and had strayed to the Petitcodiac, where, inevitably, they became absorbed into the Steeves family.

One consequence of the setting up of a new province was that the former Cumberland County of Nova Scotia, which had

embraced all the eastern part of the present New Brunswick as well as the adjacent area of Nova Scotia, was divided into a smaller Cumberland County in Nova Scotia, and Westmorland County, New Brunswick. (Hillsborough and Hopewell townships were not made into the County of Albert until 1846.) The shiretown was placed at first in Sackville parish but was later moved to Dorchester on the Memramcook, which was more accessible to the Petitcodiac River settlements. With the increasing population, there was greater need of more careful recording of land ownership. In later years, Jacob's fourth son was known as Squire George, which suggests that he handled the legal business of Hillsborough inhabitants.

George had broken with the family custom of marrying a Beatty and had married Martha Smith, a granddaughter of the Londonderry born James Smith who had been one of the Hillsborough settlers of 1770. James' son Charles Smith, had married Suzanne Govang, supposed to have been a young lady of high rank from Quebec. The old folks said of her that she "could dress in her silks", and that she was an excellent horsewoman. She had come to Hillsborough as the wife of Robert Crossman, whose name was also on the list of settlers of Hillsborough in 1775, but who had died not long afterwards. Suzanne had then married Charles Smith, and after his death she married one of the Wallaces of Coverdale. Into the sober texture of the German and Scottish-Irish families on the Petitcodiac, the gayer thread was woven by the marriages of Suzanne Govang's daughters.

Martha Smith, like her mother, ran rather to daughters than to sons, so that Squire George's family consisted of eight daughters and three sons. As one of the sons did not marry, and one had only daughters, Squire George did little to perpetuate the Steeves name.

Jacob's last child, so far as is known, was a daughter, Nancy, born in 1787. King John's will contains a provision for care for "my sister Nancy, who is blind". She may have been the victim of the accident which was mentioned in the account in the *Busy East*. When the older folk were away at meeting, the children amused themselves with striking jackknives on gunflints. A spark ignited gunpowder and caused an explosion. One has a fleeting glimpse of the smallest member of the family, watching eagerly, not knowing enough to jump clear when the spark touched off the gunpowder, her agony, the

contrition of the older brothers. There is no hint regarding the age of the child, and one wonders how she filled in her time in the long years ahead. She was still living, in 1861, at the age of eighty four, in the household of King John's son, John L. B.

That, as far as could be learned, is the reckoning of Jacob's family. One puzzling aspect of the record is that Jacob did not carry out the usual method of naming his sons. The first son was usually named for the mother's father, Michael it would have been, and the second son for the father's father, Henry. Jacob's sons did not use the names Michael or Henry for their children, and only Leonard and George used their father's name. This is only one way in which Jacob's family displayed a lack of cohesiveness and family interest. Whether Jacob's early death, his determination to get ahead, his debts, his broken English, accounted for this lack of cohesiveness can only be matter for speculation. Sheer weight of numbers did not operate, as in some branches of the Steeves family, to split the family apart. Jacob's descendants did not wander far afield as those of other sons did: their divergence was of interest rather than of geography.

CHAPTER VII: JOHN.

Jacob and Catherine Lutz may have been remiss in the naming of their children, but John and Peggy Lutz made up all arrears of courtesy to the older generation and obligation to traditional methods in the names they gave their children. Their first son was called Michael, after Peggy's father, their first daughter, Rachel, after John's mother. The second son was properly called Henry, after John's father, and the second daughter, who put in an appearance much later in the family, was called Katharine, presumably for Peggy's mother.

On April 1, 1773, John Steeves bought from Joseph Gerrish, through the latter's attorney, Moses Delesdernier, one lot of land, consisting of 50 acres upland, 10 acres marsh, and 150 acres wildnerness, in fee simple, at a yearly rent of one penny, one farthing, per acre per annum forever. Charles Baker and Michael Lutz witnessed this deed, which was not registered until 1782. The land was described as being north of lands belonging to Robert Cummings, that is up river from Heinrich Stief's land, and from the present village of Hillsborough. John evidently spent the ensuing year getting his land in order, for it was not until April 30, 1774, that he and Margaret or Peggy Lutz were married. John's is not listed as a separate establishment in Joseph Gray's list for 1775, although his household of six persons is named on the 1783 list. Perhaps he and Peggy moved in with Heinrich and Rachel Stief.

Alexander Barnett recalled John's residence as a log house, sided and shingled on the outside, and looking as though it had been enlarged. Indeed, it would have needed enlargement to accommodate the twelve children born between 1774 and 1800. John he thought taller and not so fleshy as Jacob, with light complexion and long hair streaked with gray. For the latter part of his life, John was in bed, perhaps off and on for twenty years, Barnett remembered. Peggy was smaller and lighter than her sister, and died at a younger age. John died on February 1, 1821, and Peggy on January 2, 1828.

After John was incapacitated, his eldest son, Michael, carried on the farm. Michael, in 1801, had married Mary Smith, daughter of Caleb Smith of Windsor, Nova Scotia. There was more than one Caleb Smith in Windsor with a

daughter Mary, but this Mary, according to her descendants, had been born in Kilkenny, Ireland, of English parents. Of the thirteen children born to Michael and Mary, all lived to maturity, and all but one, who died in his twenty second year, married.

Rachel, the second child of John and Peggy, married Thomas Dawson, who, in 1797, was reported as improving land up Weldon's Creek, back of Gray's land, in company with her brothers, Michael and Henry, and three Islers, Christian, Thomas, and James. Thomas Dawson's memorial for land does not mention whence he had come; he may have been the son of one of the Loyalists or he may have come directly from Ireland. Three of the Dawson boys remained at Dawson Settlement, up Weldon Creek, but Thomas and Rachel and the others moved to Upper Canada. In later years, when one of the sons made the long journey to Upper Canada to see his mother, he found that she was no longer in full possession of her senses, and did not recognize him.

"I have no son Isaac," she said, and Isaac felt that his time and money had been wasted on the journey.

Dawson Settlement, or Dawson, on a high plateau with a magnificent view of the valley of the lower Petitcodiac River, remains as a memorial of Thomas Dawson, and the three sons who remained behind have numerous descendants in New Brunswick.

The third child, and second son of John and Peggy, Henry Steeves, married Ann or Nancy Hopper, the oldest daughter of John and Margaret Hopper. John Hopper was one of the 1775 settlers in Hillsborough township. Although Nancy was older than Henry, she outlived him. Of their thirteen children, three died in childhood; the rest grew to maturity, married, and, with one exception, produced numerous offspring.

Henry had kept on going up Weldon Creek and had reached the pleasant little valley known as Salem. A group of Irish settlers had gone in to that area, but had been disheartened by the death of all their children in an epidemic of diphtheria that swept down upon them. They willingly sold out to Henry and other members of the family of John. Meanwhile, most of Henry's children had been born, presumably in one log cabin after another. It is not surprising that they kept on moving

and that their descendants are to be found in Idaho and New York, in northern Ontario and California.

David, the fourth child and third son of John and Peggy, exceeded the not inconsiderable number of children of his older brothers, but it required two wives to achieve the record. By his first wife, Jane Boyd (daughter of Hugh Boyd?) he had four daughters, and by his second, Susan Lutz, daughter of Peter and Mary Ricker Lutz, he had six more daughters and five sons. The first daughter may have died in infancy; one son was foolish and one died at the age of twenty one; the rest of the family married and did their best to increase greatly the population of what by then was Albert County.

Abraham, the fifth born of John and Peggy, married Elizabeth Brown, a granddaughter of another of the Hillsborough settlers of 1775, John Brown, who had died of smallpox in 1776. After twenty six years, during which time she bore him twelve children, Elizabeth died. Abraham then married Mrs. Sarah Steeves (whom I have been unable to identify), and lastly Elizabeth, daughter of John Rogers and widow of John Wortman. Three of Abraham's sons died without issue, and three others had small families, but his six daughters, all but one of whom married into the clan, did their best to fulfil for him the promise to the first Abraham that his seed should be numbered as the dust of the earth.

Of the next son, Peter, born on the 17th of December, 1785, nothing further is known. Probably he died in infancy. Although Peter is a Biblical name, it is used remarkably few times in the Steeves family.

The seventh child was named John. On records of deeds and other official documents, he is called John 4, because he was the fourth to bear the name of John Steeves. The first was his father, the second was Jacob's oldest son, King John, and the third was the oldest son of Henry, the fifth of the original sons. Henry's John was John 3 officially and Cupboard John locally. John 4 was known as John-under-the-hill.

John-under-the-hill married Rebecca Woodworth, daughter of Joseph and Rebecca Wright Woodworth. The Woodworths were Connecticut Planters in Kings County, Nova Scotia, some of whom had moved across the Bay of Fundy to Hopewell. After bearing three children, Rebecca died, and John married Lydia Jones, daughter of Henry Jones, one of the two

sons of the Charles Jones who had signed the Articles of Agreement in Philadelphia. Her nine children brought the total of John-under-the-hill's children to twelve. After Lydia's death, he married Mary Osborne, widow of William Taylor. In 1960, two grandsons of John-under-the-hill were still living in western Canada.

Katharine, the second daughter of John and Peggy Lutz, married William Duffy, and that was the beginning of one of the most interesting alliances of the Steeves family. William, son of Patrick Duffy of Donegal, Ireland, had been born in Donegal, in 1778. After emigrating to Rhode Island, he was attacked by a stranger and, in defending himself, killed his attacker. Fearing he would have no chance to clear himself if an action were brought against him, he fled northwards. About 1798, he arrived in New Brunswick, where he obtained 200 acres at Salem and built a house for his bride, Katharine Steeves.

William persuaded his older brother Dennis, with his wife, Margaret Clarke, and the four children, Margaret, Patrick, James and Biddy, and his sister, Eunice, to come out to New Brunswick, which they did about 1815. Dennis secured land in Dawson Settlement, where four more children were born. Most of his family married Steeves, or Dawsons, who were Steeves descendants, so that practically the whole Duffy family was engulfed in the rising tide of Steeves.

In their native land, the Duffys had been used to attend church regularly. In these new settlements in which they found themselves, they continued to attend church, although the only church was Baptist. Thus they became absorbed, not only into the Steeves family, but into the Steeves way of worship. Dennis' son, Patrick, and several members of later generations, became Baptist ministers.

Nine sons were born to Katharine and William Duffy, before, she died, in 1827, at the age of thirty eight. William then married Elizabeth Steeves, daughter of Matthias, the youngest of the seven sons.

Four more sons were born to John Steeves and Peggy Lutz, Isaac, Thomas, Joel and Stephen. Isaac, who lived to the ripe old age of ninety five, married Ann Smith, daughter of Lewis and Elizabeth Colpitts Smith, and granddaughter of

the Hillsborough settler of 1770, James Smith. The first five children of Isaac and Ann carried on the Steeves custom of large families: the four younger children did not marry, or, if they did, had no issue.

Thomas Steeves married Judith, daughter of Richard and Margaret Hopper Wilson. Only three children are known, the twins named Rachel and Richard, and a daughter Margaret. One of the neighbours handed down a story concerning Thomas which illustrates one of the hazards of pioneer life. Thomas had made a clearing on a creek back of Salem, grown wheat on the burnt land, and stacked it. In the winter, when he went to get the wheat, a bear walked out of the stack. . . . .

Joel, the next son of John and Peggy, married Mary Smith, sister of Isaac's wife, Ann. When Mary died, in 1836, after bearing four sons and a daughter, Joel married a Rebecca Smith, probably a cousin of his first wife. There were three more children by the second marriage. Joel, too, lived in Salem, and many of the tales of the early days come from his grandson, James.

Stephen, who was born in 1800, and did not marry until 1830, seems to belong to the fourth generation, rather than the third. His oldest brother, Michael, married the year after Stephen was born, and Michael's first son married before Stephen did, and his second son the same year. Stephen married Jane Garland, probably a granddaughter of the James Garland who had enlisted, in 1777, in one of the companies of the Royal Fencible Americans, who were stationed at Fort Cumberland. The family of Stephen and Jane consisted of five sons and two daughters.

John may not have inherited in the same measure as Jacob the determination and shrewdness of the father, but he certainly inherited and passed on, even to the third and fourth generation, the philoprogenitiveness. There was and still endures among the descendants of John a much stronger sense of family cohesiveness. They have kept in touch with one another; they have Family Bibles, or records of entries in those of their grandfathers. They return more often to visit the folks back home.

John and his sons were farmers, tillers of the soil, builders of farming communities such as Salem, Shenstone, Dawson

Settlement, Steevescote. They were lovers of home and the homefolks. It was several generations before John's descendants went into other occupations, and these other types of work seem to have been forced upon them by the changing circumstances of the century, and to have caused, at first, considerable strain. The kindliness which is suggested by anything one knows about John is a marked characteristic of his descendants. Possibly he was a favourite among his brothers and that was why both Jacob and Henry named their first sons John?

CHAPTER VIII: CHRISTIAN.

Most historians of Moncton—the city of Moncton as distinct from the township of Monckton—begin their account with the grant by the government of New Brunswick, in 1792, of the area between Hall's Creek and Jonathan Creek to Christian Trites and Christian Steeves. It did not seem to occur to any of these writers to inquire why the site of the future city should have been granted to these two individuals with the same first name. Thus none of them found out that the grant was merely official recognition of a *fait accompli,* and that the interesting part of the story lay further back.

As far as can be ascertained, the Jacob Trites or Trietz who was the last to sign the agreement with John Hughes in January, 1766, had three sons and one daughter. The eldest son, Christian, remained on his father's land. Abraham, the second son, purchased from Charles Baker the land he had bid in at the Sheriff's sale. Six years later, Jacob, the youngest, bought from Jacob Ricker the land he had acquired through suit against William Smith and Company.

When Jacob[Sr] became too old to farm, he and Elisina made over half the land to their son, Christian Trites, in consideration of "a hundred weight of meat, half beef, half pork, six bushels of wheat grinded into meal, six Cord of firewood laid at the Door and one Cow kept summer and Winter to be paid Yearly and every year . . . . . during the Natural Life of the said Jacob Trites and his Wife". The other half of the land Jacob leased to Reuben Mills, a Loyalist from New York, and his partner, Ichabod Lewis, for twelve years. The first six years, Mills was to pay eight bushels of wheat, sixty weight of pork, fifty pounds of beef, six cords of wood, and for the second six years of the lease, forty shillings in produce additional. When Reuben Mills gave up the idea of dyking, some sort of agreement was made, about 1787, with Ichabod Lewis, under a mortgage.

If Ichabod Lewis were able to pay the interest on the mortgage, it would be a remarkable occurrence in the history of the New Brunswick Loyalists. Most of them lost their land. In this case, Jacob Trites died two or three years after the arrangement of the mortgage and that upset the agreement.

Since Abraham and Jacob had been provided for, the land Jacob Sr. had owned was divided between the remaining heirs, Christian Trites and the daughter Rosanna Trites, who had married Christian Steeves. Married women, in that era, did not retain control of property; therefore the grant of 1792 divided the site of Moncton between Christian Trites and Christian Steeves.

Christian Steeves had other land in Monckton township. When Heinrich Stief died intestate, the brothers agreed that Christian and Frederick, the third and fourth sons, would have the Monckton land which had been obtained through the suit against the former proprietor, John Hughes and Company. In 1788, when Stephen Milledge reported on Monckton township, Christian claimed to have been thirteen years on the land. He had cleared forty acres and dyked thirty. His stock consisted of two horses, five oxen, seven young cattle, sixteen sheep.

The report by Stephen Milledge seems to have vanished and is known only through a summary of it made by W. C. Milner. The original report might have thrown further light on conditions in Monckton township and on the families of the residents. It might, for instance, have explained whether Christian had been living on the place since 1775 or 1776, or whether thirteen years settled meant thirteen years married. The first child of Christian Steeves and Rosanna Trites was born in 1779, which suggests that they had been married in 1778. By that time, word would have reached the Petitcodiac of the death of Robert Cummings. That young blade had deserted Rosanna and her daughter, who is referred to always as Elizabeth Cummings, in 1772, when he left the Petitcodiac very suddenly. Possibly, he had received word of the death, during the previous year, of his uncle, Adam Hoops. His friends, he wrote Charles Baker, had persuaded him to purchase an estate nearer home. At the new place, about twenty miles from Baltimore, which he had called "Monkton Mills", in memory of the Monckton on the Petitcodiac where his love remained, he died, in 1777, and Rosanna was free of him.

Elizabeth Cummings lived with Christian and Rosanna until she married Reuben Stiles. When Reuben Stiles died, in 1798, leaving her with five young children, Christian Steeves was administrator of the estate. Later, she married William Colpitts, and thus it is that the daughter, Elizabeth Colpitts, to whom Christian's will left £50, is his stepdaughter. "My

granddaughter, Rosanna", who was to receive £20, was Elizabeth's daughter. Elizabeth was evidently fortunate in her stepfather. Charles Baker, perhaps at Christian's urging, had written to the New Brunswick Council on her behalf and had persuaded them to put her name on part of Cummings' land in Hillsborough township.

When Robert Cummings had made his hasty departure from the Petitcodiac, in 1772, he had left his belongings at "chipotee", that is, Hopewell. His letter instructed Charles Baker to hand these over to Rosanna, and directed that she sell them, buy furs with the proceeds, and invest the profits in land. Possibly, the land thus purchased was the Hillsborough property that Christian, when he made his will in October, 1820, evidently within hours of his death, left to his eldest son, Henry.

Henry lived on the Hillsborough side of the river, in what had become, when the province of New Brunswick was created, the parish of Coverdale. He had married, in 1800, Ann or Nancy Sinton, daughter of William Sinton, whose name had been listed among the Hillsborough settlers of 1775. William Sinton, a miller, aged 21, had been one of the Yorkshire settlers arriving on the *ALBION,* in 1774. Joseph Gray's list does not state whether the second person in the household was a wife, but Sinton probably was married. Ann was born about 1778. Henry and Ann had seven sons and four daughters, and the pursuit of their descendants across the North American continent has been a most fascinating and endless task.

The second child of Christian and Rosanna, properly named Rachel, for Christian's mother, married Robert Colpitts, second son of Robert Colpitts and Margaret Wade of Norton, County Durham, England. The father had come in the *JENNY,* in 1775, had cleared land and had put up a cabin on what was later the farm of Charles Trites, a few miles from Moncton. On returning to England for his family Robert Colpitts was delayed by the outbreak of war. By the time he was able to return across the Atlantic, his family had increased to seven, and two more children were born in New Brunswick. As all nine children married and had large families, it is not surprising that the name of Colpitts recurs frequently in the story of the Steeves family.

The older Robert Colpitts settled on the Pollett River,

where numerous descendants are still to be found. The younger Robert moved further west, to Dickie Mountain, above the Kennebecasis River's upper windings, where descendants still live. The first list given me contained ten children, but a later finding suggests that Robert and Rachel had thirteen children. When he was past sixty, Robert Colpitts was ordained a minister of the Free Christian Baptist Church by the Rev. Samuel Hartt, who was of St. John River pre-Loyalist descent.

Mary, the second daughter of Christian and Rosanna Steeves, married John Jaques, son of Joseph Jaques, a fellow passenger of William Sinton on the *ALBION*. During the voyage out from England, Joseph Jaques had married Eleanor, thought to be Eleanor Geldart. Then, when he was helping William Sinton fell trees, Joseph Jaques was killed by a falling tree. The widow, left with two infants, was rescued from her hapless state by her husband's friend, who, presumably, had lost his first wife and was in a position to marry her.

John Jaques and Mary kept a tavern at Moncton Bottom, not far from the present village of Salisbury. When John fell ill, Mary nursed him devotedly. After his death, with the help of the youngest son and daughter, she carried on the tavern. Later on, according to the tale told by the Jaques descendants, she cared for an older member of the Steeves family—it is not clear whether this was her mother, Rosanna, or Frederick, who was her son's father-in-law—until death came. Whoever the invalid was, there was a bag of gold which Mary's son, John, had expected would come into her possession. When the Steeves boys, after the funeral, march off with the bag of gold, John Jaques was indignant, and a family quarrel erupted. Eventually, John declared that he was not going to live anywhere near the Steeves boys, and he departed to Upper Canada, where he took up land in North Norwich township. All but three of the family followed him, and after she had sold her land to John Parkin, a Yorkshire settler who had come out at the close of the Napoleonic wars, Mary, with her youngest son, Christian Jaques, also removed to Upper Canada. Mary did not remain, but returned to spend her last years with her daughter, Rachel Shearman.

Christian Steeves, it will have been noted, had named his first son Henry, after his father rather than after his wife's father. Probably the child was born shortly after the death

of Heinrich Stief. When the second son appeared, he was named Jacob for Rosanna's father. Jacob did not choose a wife from among the Yorkshire settlers as his brothers and sisters had done, but married Sarah Ricker, a granddaughter of Jacob Ricker, the one of their fellowsettlers and compatriots whom the Steeves family regarded with little enthusiasm. Whether Sarah Ricker's upbringing was at fault or not, two of their eleven children died in infancy, and Jacob himself died in 1932, when several of the children were still very young. In the nineteenth century, the four sons were to be found struggling to make a living in back settlements, and some of their descendants are still doing it in obscure Maine villages and towns.

The third daughter of Christian and Rosanna, Ann, found a husband with a very different background. The New Brunswick government had offered a bounty to settlers who would take up land on the Westmorland Road, particularly on the portage between the Kennebecasis and the Petitcodiac, and keep a house of entertainment for travellers. Among those taking up the offer was a certain Robert Carlisle, who had served in the Royal Fencible Americans at the mouth of the St. John River. He had refused to remain on the land assigned to that group down the Bay of Fundy, on the Mascarene peninsula at the mouth of the Magaguadavic River, and had made his way back to St. John and up the Kennebecasis. In descriptions of the Westmorland Road, Carlisle's is mentioned as a stopping place on the Salmon River, and Christian Steeves' place was the landmark three stages further on. It was not surprising, therefore, that Robert Carlisle's son, James, should marry Christian's daughter, Ann.

In 1819, Christian bought 730 acres for them, apparently with the intention of setting them up for life. The land reverted to him, however, when they followed the rest of the Carlisles to Maine and took up land in Charlotte, back of Pembroke. There a tenth child was born to them, in 1830, the year that Christian died and left directions that the Carlisle farm in Sussex parish was to be sold and the proceeds divided between his sons, Jacob and Christian. Ann did not long survive her father, and her descendants seem not to have moved far from the rocks and inlets of eastern Maine.

The last three of the children of Christian and Rosanna married into the old families who had come to the Petitcodiac

in 1766 under agreement with John Hughes. Susanna married Abraham Trites, who must have been a first cousin. Abraham's will, drawn up in 1835 and probated in March of the following year, directs that he is to have a burial becoming his degree and station in life. It also says that his son Jacob is to have the privilege of building a barn in his father's barnyard, and that his son Christian is to have five shillings, if he demands the same. Did Christian dare to ask for it?

Little is known of Christian Steeves' son, Christian, save that he married Olive Lutz in 1813, that the Moncton property Rosanna inherited from her father was transferred to him by his father, in 1819, and that he died in 1830. The Duffy list ascribed to him a son William, but that William was the son of Charles, son of Frederick, the fourth of the original sons. Since Olive gave up her dower rights in the Moncton land to her brother-in-law, Job Steeves, it looks as if she might have remarried. Whether she had any Steeves children, and if she did have any, what became of them, remains a mystery.

Job, the youngest of the family of Christian Steeves, married Catharine Jones, daughter of Henry and Christina Jones, and greatgranddaughter of the original settler, Charles Jones. Job, too, died young, in 1840, leaving two sons, one of whom did not marry, and three daughters, who married but only one of whom had any posterity.

Thus, feebly, Christian's family trailed away. Like John, Christian seems to have been a kindly man, but his family lacked cohesiveness. The early deaths and the struggle for existence of the survivors may have been partly accountable for this. The other branches of the family have never known anything about Christian's descendants, and the various branches of his own family know little of their own immediate kin, let alone of other lines of Christian's descendants. Family Bibles do not exist and seem never to have existed. And yet, many of the descendants are pious folk, the mainstay of little churches in their communities.

CHAPTER IX: FREDERICK.

The contrast between the third and fourth sons of Heinrich Stief is very great. Although both Christian and Frederick settled on the Monckton lands, although both married at about the same age, and although both married daughters of their father's compatriots and fellow signers, there was a great difference in their families and in their descendants. Whereas Christian's family, on the whole, showed signs of being weak and ineffectual, Frederick's showed great vigour, and the younger members of the family were as prolific and as competent as the older ones.

Rachel Somers was only sixteen when she and Frederick Steeves were married. Her father had died when she was only a child, and her mother had married Jacob Ricker. Despite all these apparent disadvantages, Rachel proved to be a most successful wife and mother. All her twelve children married, and most of them raised families as numerous and as competent as their father's.

Frederick, like John, had a Family Bible, and his family, like John's, displayed a family cohesiveness which survived despite the weight of numbers and consequent wide dispersal of grandchildren and greatgrandchildren. It is a moot question whether John or Frederick had the greatest number of descendants: so far I have been too much occupied with pursuing them and noting them down to count them.

Frederick and Rachel named their first son, not for her father, but for her brother, Andrew, who had probably taken the father's place for the little sister born only two years before the family moved to the Petitcodiac. Andrew Steeves married Elizabeth or Betsey Smith, daughter of Charles and Suzanne Govang Smith, and sister of the Martha Smith who was Squire George's wife. There was, in consequence, some visiting back and forth between the two families, and, in later generations, some intermarrying between them. All of the eight sons and two daughters of Andrew and Betsey grew to maturity and married. It was their youngest son, Manoah, who was the founder of Steveston, on Lulu Island, Vancouver, and his daughter, a remarkably vigorous woman of ninety one, was still living there in 1961.

Hannah, the second child of Frederick and Rachel Somers, married John Wortman, son of the George Wortman who bought suit against William Smith and Company. I have been unable to ascertain whether the Jacob, Frederick, John and Isaiah Wortman reported in Moncton parish in 1851 and 1861 were Hannah's children or not.

Lewis, second son of Frederick and Rachel, married Elizabeth Trites, who was probably the daughter of Abraham Trites, Jacob's son. Lewis, the son of Frederick, and Frederick, the son of Lewis, are frequently confused by unwary climbers of the family tree. Five children seem to be the contribution of Lewis and Elizabeth to the descendants of Frederick.

Reuben, next in line, married Elizabeth's sister, Lydia. Of three children attributed to them in the Duffy list, I can find no trace, but the other six, most of whom lived on Steeves Mountain, were typical of the vigorous and ongoing grandchildren of Frederick.

Charles, the fourth son of Frederick and Rachel, married Ruth Stiles, daughter of Reuben and Elizabeth Cummings Stiles. Charles' death at a comparatively early age, in 1846, when he was fifty five, resulted in that same sort of severance among the branches that was so noticeable in Christian's family. At least one branch of the family went up the St. John River and not only lost touch with their near relatives but lost as well all knowledge of their forebears. It was one of the major triumphs of the quest for Steeves to be able to establish that Charles Steeves, the millwright at Tracy's Mills, was a younger son of Charles, the third son of Frederick, that the Ruth Araline, who married Zebulon Miller, was a daughter of his oldest brother, Enoch, and that William, the farmer at Intervale and local preacher, not to mention being the father of seventeen children, was also a son of Charles and Ruth.

Joshua, the sixth of Frederick's sons, was the first of the family to fall into what became all too common a practice, marrying a Steeves descendant. His wife was Rosanna Jaques, daughter of John Jaques and Mary Steeves, the daughter of Christian. Joshua and Rosanna took no part in the migration of the Jaques family to Upper Canada. They were well established on the Pollett River, the first of Frederick's family to cross into the Hillsborough township area. Joshua's five sons

and five daughters did their bit in the fusing of descendants of all seven sons in the melting pot up the Pollett River.

Frederick's second and third daughters, Rosannah and Margaret, born in 1796 and 1800, married John Lutz and Charles Lutz, both sons of Peter Lutz and Mary Ricker. John and Rosanna Lutz lived at Turtle Creek, Margaret and Charles Lutz at Lutz Mountain, on the other side of the Petitcodiac, but the distance was not too great for a daughter of one couple to marry a son of the other.

Nancy, the fourth of the daughters of Frederick Steeves and Rachel Somers, married John Jaques, brother of the Rosanna Jaques Joshua had married, and was carried off to Upper Canada by her hot-tempered husband. Her grandson told me that Nancy was red-headed: it sounds like a lively household. Nancy lived only a few years on the alien soil, and John married again and added five more children to the five Nancy had borne him.

Ephraim and Daniel, the eleventh and twelfth of Frederick's children, were hardly older than the first grandchildren. Ephraim was born a few months before Hannah married, and Daniel the year after Andrew married. Both brothers married Mitton daughters. Ephraim's wife was Jane or Jennie Mitton, daughter of Ralph and Catherine Trites Mitton: Daniel's was Margaret Mitton, but whether she was a sister or a cousin is not known. Neither is it known whether they were descended from the John Mitton who was reported settled in Hillsborough in 1775.

Each of the couples, Ephraim and Jane, Daniel and Margaret, emulated Frederick and Rachel in having twelve children, but in each of the younger families two children died unmarried. Ephraim's descendants have a remarkable record educationally: Daniel's for the distance they have travelled from the birthplace of their forebears. Only the Pacific Ocean has put a terminus to their wanderings.

Frederick lived to see all his children married, and one of them, Rosanna, buried, but Rachel died while the younger members of the family were still small. In 1816, Frederick married Rosanna Ricker, widow of Jacob Trites, Jr., but she, too, seems to have predeceased him. His will, drawn up shortly before his death in 1830, omits mention of Joshua, to whom

land had been deeded previously, and of Moses, the third son. Moses may have died young.

The descendants of Frederick tend to be fair, with blue eyes and wide foreheads. In the course of interviewing hundreds of Steeves descendants, I have come to recognize a "Fredrick type". Many of them have had more than ordinary mechanical ability. The women have been good cooks and capable housekeepers, the men good farmers and efficient managers. In general, there has been, and still is, a uniformly high standard of living among the descendants of Frederick Steeves and Rachel Somers, a pride in themselves and in their forebears.

CHAPTER X: HENRY.

In his visits to Fort Cumberland in the early days on the Petitcodiac, Heinrich Stief had been greatly helped in his transactions with the English speaking authorities there by a fellow countryman whom he found at the fort, Martin Beck. Various legends have gathered around the origin of this Martin Beck, that he was of Polish descent, that he was of princely rank and had been forced to flee because of marrying beneath his rank. These are not entirely confirmed by a story handed down of his being challenged by a sentry one day when he was rowing on the river, and replying.

"I am Martin Peck, der King's Paker, tamn you."

He probably did pronounce his name Peck, because it was written that way on the records in several places, and he and his descendants have sometimes been confused with the family of Abiel Peck, the New Englander who lived at Hopewell. Martin Beck soon joined the other German speaking settlers on the Petitcodiac and thus furnished wives for two of the sons of Heinrich Stief, Henry and Matthias.

Henry married Mary or Polly Beck, described by Alexander Barnett as a small woman, very active, light (in complexion). Henry, whose house stood on the site of the Bay View Hotel, Mr. Barnett recalled as a larger man than the others, light complexioned, with dark brown hair and whiskers. He was saving, Mr. Barnett added. He told also of a meeting attended by Mr. Wallace, Mr. Cameron, and Squire George, for the purpose of hiring a minister, a Methodist minister, Barnett thought. When Henry Steeves came in, he said,

"I'm not going to sign today, for I'm a Baptist." He then put on his hat and walked out. That broke up the meeting.

The incident epitomizes the religious situation in the area. Many of the first settlers of Sackville had been Baptists from Rehoboth and other settlements in the vicinity of Providence, Rhode Island, and at the end of the eighteenth century, one of the Baptist missionaries from Nova Scotia, Joseph Crandall, had come to Sackville to carry on the Baptist church, which had meanwhile declined because of the return to New England of many of its early members. The Yorkshire set-

tlers, who came to the Isthmus of Chignecto in the 1770's, had been influenced by the preaching of John Wesley in their home communities, and they organized Wesleyan Methodist churches in their new abodes. It was a long time before there were settled ministers for either of the congregations, and between visits from Father Crandall and other Baptist stalwarts, and from Bishop Black and other Methodist preachers, local resident carried on services of worship. Henry was referred to by old timers as Henry the preacher, and was credited with being largely responsible for the organization of the Baptist church in Hillsborough.

The family of Henry Steeves and Polly Beck, though the smallest of any of the seven sons, became perhaps the best known of any of the branches. For several generations, it was Henry's descendants who dominated Hillsborough, and it was from among their number that some of the most illustrious and some of the most successful of the descendants of Heinrich Stief have been found.

It has been mentioned that Henry's eldest son was John 3, the third of the name. Like his father, he was "saving", and from that characteristic came the name his neighbours, who may have been somewhat envious, gave him, Cupboard John. John, too, married a Trites, Mary Ann or Nancy, daughter of Christian Trites, who will be remembered as the eldest son of the original signer of the agreement with John Hughes, Jacob Trites. Six sons and six daughters were raised by John and Nancy and given a good start in life. Their descendants, who are numerous and widely scattered, have a pride in their family and in their achievements which is pleasant to encounter.

Martin, the second son of John and Nancy, married Oranda, or perhaps Orenda Milton, daughter of Henry Milton. Milton was a Loyalist from New York, who had served in the New York Volunteers, and had settled in Nova Scotia. There, in 1785, he had married Rhoda, daughter of Peter and Rhoda Wickwire. When Henry Milton was asking for land in Hillsborough, in 1818, he stated that he was fifty eight years of age and had thirteen children. The migration of some of his wife's relatives across the Bay of Fundy from Kings County, Nova Scotia, had evidently induced him to make the move. The Steeves family hailed with joy the advent of a family of thirteen: here was somebody to marry, and they swooped upon

them. The Miltons, like the Duffys and many other family groups, became inextricably interwoven with the Steeves.

After she had borne him two daughters and a son, Oranda Milton died, and Martin then married Mary, daughter of James Smith (perhaps a son of the original James Smith of the 1770 list, but it is difficult to be sure of the Smiths after a few generations and the advent of other Smith families.) Mary added four daughters to Martin's family, and then she died, in 1869. Martin evidently believed that man was not made to live alone, and he married again, Susan Hayward, of a family who had moved from Colchester County, Nova Scotia, to Albert County, New Brunswick.

Hannah, the only daughter of Henry and Polly, would seem to have been born between Martin, in 1784, and James, in 1788. She, too, married three times. Her first husband, William Berton or Burton, seems to have been attracted into the Hopewell area by the shipbuilding. After Berton died, leaving Hannah with five daughters and one son, she married Branch Milton, whose first wife had died. When Branch, too, died, she married Samuel Copp, whose son, Samuel William Copp, had married her daughter, Elizabeth. The Copps were planters from Connecticut, who had come to Horton, Kings County, Nova Scotia, in 1760, and had moved across the Bay of Fundy to Hopewell township area. They had settled first at New Horton and then at Waterside, beyond Cape Enrage, on the shore of the Bay of Fundy, where they became well known seamen and ship captains.

The children of Hannah's brother, James, likewise moved down the county to Hopewell, but as lumbermen rather than sailors. James had married Mary Ann, daughter of John Cameron, one of the Scots who had come to Hillsborough and become absorbed into the Steeves entourage. James died in 1831, leaving ten children, the oldest eighteen, the youngest a few months. Only the infant, who had been named for his father and grandfather Steeves, died in childhood. The rest somehow survived, and the families on both sides came to the rescue, sometimes to the extent of marrying the fatherless children. Mary Ann married again, and the family scattered, as families do when the father dies and the mother marries again.

Neither did Henry's fourth son, Joseph, attain to any great age. He was, however, more fortunate than James, be-

cause he lived to his fifty fifth year, and he had the satisfaction of seeing many of his eleven children married and established in homes and businesses of their own, and their sons and daughters gathering around them. Joseph had married Martha, the second daughter of Richard and Mary Taylor Gross, and this was the first of many alliances between these two families.

Richard Gross, born in Hingham, Massachusetts, came of a family of Huguenots, whose forebears had fled from France to Ireland, and then had crossed the Atlantic to New England. At one time they had owned a considerable part of the area now covered by the City of Boston, Massachusetts. Richard's father and mother had died of smallpox, and, once again, there was a case of a family scattered and rootless. Richard became a shipwright, and is supposed to have come to the Petitcodiac, about 1790, in search of ship timbers. He probably found what he was looking for, and he found also an Irish girl, Mary Taylor, whose parents, William Taylor and Martha McReady, north of Ireland Scots, had come to the Petitcodiac a few years previously. William Taylor had bought land on the lower edge of Hillsborough township from Charles Baker, who had settled in Amherst at the close of the Revolutionary War. Richard Gross purchased a portion of land from his father-in-law and apparently settled down very contentedly in Hillsborough. He had no reason to feel lonely, for he had thirteen children. Three of them married members of the Steeves family, and in later generations there were further unions between the two families.

Martha Gross brought into the Steeves family a lively intelligence, a grace and distinction that were valuable assets. The eleven children born to Joseph and Martha, and their descendants, have an important place in the developing story of the Steeves, and a little of that story will find place in a later chapter. Martha lived to her ninetieth year. After the death of Joseph Steeves, she had married William Calhoun, whom she also survived. A visit to Aunt Mattie Calhoun was always a memorable event for her brother's granddaughter, who never forgot the lively and interesting old lady.

Henry died in 1826, of a fever, it was said. His wife went to his funeral, was taken ill, and died soon afterwards. It is too bad we do not know more of Henry beyond the impression that he possessed a combination of piety and thrift.

CHAPTER XI: LODOVIC OR LEWIS.

Lewis was the most venturesome and the most enterprising of the seven sons of Heinrich and Rachel Stief. That he was not financially the most successful, may not have been wholly his fault: the times were not ripe for ventures that had to be financed by borrowing.

He was the only one of the sons to take to himself a wife from outside the German families on the Petitcodiac. She was Elizabeth Porter of Nova Scotia. The Porters of Nova Scotia are as numerous as the Steeves of New Brunswick, and their family history as poorly recorded. The only clue to Elizabeth's parentage is that she and Lewis named their first son Samuel. Alexander Barnett described her as a tall, spare woman. She died in 1850, at the age of seventy nine, having outlived her husband by nearly twenty three years.

Lewis did not marry until he was nearly twenty six. There is a vague reference in one of the family memoirs to his having been concerned in taking plaster to Lubec. If he did that, he probably brought back goods to sell. In 1799, he purchased from Martin Beck of Hillsborough land on Mill Creek, about three miles above the Hillsborough-Hopewell boundary, and expended £400 in building mills. In September, 1802, a petition for a warrant of survey for 400 acres of land was certified by Robert Dickson of Hopewell.

Unfortunately, to finance this venture, Lewis had had to borrow, and had evidently mortgaged his property. When he had become "involved in his circumstances", the property was taken at execution and sold. (In 1818, Lewis' younger brother, Matthias, made a trip to Saint John to purchase from John Bentley, trader, land taken in execution from Lewis. I suspect that Bentley had held the mortgage.) In 1813, at the age of fifty three, with a wife and fourteen children (the oldest daughter had married), Lewis was petitioning for land on Turtle Creek. There he and Elizabeth lived out their days and there they were buried. The names of one son, Enoch, who died young, and of one daughter, Elizabeth, who had died in 1826, a few months before the father, are on the tombstone.

Margaret, the first born of the fifteen children of Lewis and Elizabeth, in 1808 had married John Milton, son of the

New York Loyalist who had moved over from Nova Scotia. Margaret died only a few months after her father, but she left seven sons and two daughters, all but two of whom married, generally within the narrow range of families available, thereby knitting more closely families already related.

Rhoda, the second daughter, married John Woodworth, son of Joseph Woodworth whose ancestor had come with Governor John Winthrop to Massachusetts, about 1630. A Joseph Woodworth born in Lebanon, Connecticut, had come to Horton in Nova Scotia with the Planters, and one of his sons, also Joseph, had moved to New Brunswick. Rhoda was one of the more rugged of Lewis' children. She outlasted her husband by thirty three years, and lived to see most of her ten children married and innumerable grandchildren growing up.

Miriam, third daughter of Lewis and Elizabeth, married Thomas Prince, who had come as a trader to the Monckton area about 1807. He was descended from John Prince who had come from Hull to Newburyport and whose numerous descendants had moved up and down the Maine coast. Miriam lived only four years after her marriage, but left three children. Emily, the oldest, married John A. Newcomb, and their son, Simon Newcomb, was the world famous mathematician and astronomer who taught at Johns Hopkins and at Harvard.

Samuel, the first son of Lewis and Elizabeth, was the progenitor of a very vigorous branch of the family, for his three daughters and five sons all married and had a large and lively progeny. His wife, who lived to her ninety second year, was Nancy, daughter of John Jones, one of the two known sons of the Charles Jones whose name was signed above Heinrich Stief's on the agreement with John Hughes. Samuel seems to have inherited and passed on to his descendants the mechanical skill and entrepreneurial ability of Lewis, which they, in more fortunate times, have been able to put to more successful employment.

Susannah, who was probably the fourth daughter, also died before her father. She was the first wife of that Branch Milton, whose second marriage, to Hannah, daughter of Henry, has been mentioned. Susannah left one son.

Frederick, the second son of Lewis and Elizabeth, was less fortunate than Samuel. He had married Ann Smith, daughter

of James and Mary Ann Smith, but misfortune seemed to pursue the children and their descendants, so that Frederick's descendants are far fewer than Samuel's.

Either before or after Frederick, there was a daughter, Rachel, who married Isaac Dawson, son of the earlier Rachel, daughter of John, and Thomas Dawson. Their first three sons were vigorous and prolific, but a twin son and twin daughter died in infancy, and only one of the other four children is known to have married and had descendants.

The next son, Lewis, married Jane, daughter of William Kay, yet another of the Yorkshire settlers of the 1770s, and Charity Wheaton, daughter of a New England settler in Sackville. Lewis almost equalled his father's record, for he had thirteen children, twelve of whom married. This Lewis, son of Lewis, was a sturdy, thickset man, who was distinguished from the many others of the name as "Lewis eight by ten". His children, born in the 1830s and 1840s, grew up with the railroad, and several of them went into railroading.

Elisha, the next son of Lewis and Elizabeth, remained at Turtle Creek. His wife, Delia or Delilah Smith, belonged to one of the families of Smith by then so numerous in the hinterland of Hillsborough. Of their four sons, one did not marry and another died of smallpox in his early forties. The six daughters greatly increased the Berry, Fillmore, Leeman, and other names in the vicinity.

After Enoch and Elizabeth, the two children who died in 1826, there came Abigail, who married William Ricker, known as "Old Bill Ricker". The answer of the Steeves family when asked concerning the eight Ricker children is rather like that of the theological student who had counted on a question about the prophets and was faced instead with one concerning the kings of Israel:

"The less said about the kings of Israel the better."

David, the thirteenth of the children of Lewis and Elizabeth, died in his forty second year. He had married Jane Steeves, daughter of John's son, Abraham, and he left two, or perhaps three daughters.

Lewis did not use his father's name until faced with the arrival of yet another son, his seventh. Henry, too, married

a Steeves, Rosanna, daughter of Christian's son, Jacob. Apparently only three of their eleven children reached maturity and married, and only two of the large family attained to any considerable age.

The youngest of the daughters of Lewis and Elizabeth was given the name of Erizena or Arizenia. Where the name came from is uncertain, but either Erizena herself was popular, or else the name was popular, for it keeps reappearing in a fantastic variety of spellings. Erizena married Solomon Steeves, brother of Henry's wife, Rosanna.

It seems probable that these last children suffered from the discouragement and frustration of the last years of Lewis. He had retired to a back settlement where standards were not as high as in Hillsborough village, where educational advantages were nil, where opportunities for meeting outsiders were few. The younger children seem to belong to a different world from the confident one in which the older ones moved. Lewis' family, like Christian's, seems to peter out in somewhat dispirited fashion, and his grandchildren were often cut down by the epidemics of diphtheria and the plague of tuberculosis, which lie like a black cloud across the face of New Brunswick in the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth.

CHAPTER XII: MATTHIAS

Matthias, Mottus as the old folks called him, attained to the greatest age of any of the sons, eighty seven. He was not, according to Alexander Barnett, as heavy a man as Henry. He was dark complexioned and shaved to the jaw. His wife, Sophia Beck, sister of Henry's wife, was a stout, fleshy woman. Matthias, the same authority tells us, built a big, two storey house. He needed it, for he had thirteen children.

Matthias was a tool user, it is evident. Not only did he build himself a house, but he built a schooner as well. The schooner was called *SOPHIE* after his wife, and was in charge of Matthias' fourth son, William, when it was lost in the Bay of Fundy in 1828. At least three other men were on board, John Gunning, husband of Matthias' daughter, Elizabeth, James Dawson, husband of his daughter, Ann, and a man named Williamson. That disaster shook the Hillsborough community. William had married a Nova Scotia girl, Ruth Randall, and four children had been born to them and another was on the way. For the next year or two, every son born in the Hillsborough Steeves households had the name William tacked on his name, and the name Bill became as common as John had been.

King John's son, Israel, married the widow of William. King John took the oldest son, who was known henceforth as King's Bill. He, too, was lost at sea, in the early sixties, his wife died, and his two children were brought up by their grandmother, who was the youngest sister of the first William. The girl died of what was called at the time a "quick consumption". The boy, Richard Burpee, grew up to manhood, and worked in the woods in winter and went to sea in summer. The vessel on which he sailed was in collision with another vessel outside Saint John Harbour, and the youth was swept off the deck by the boom. It was no wonder that the grandmother, when Captain Steeves came home and told her what had happened, walked the floor in agony, with loud lamentations. The cruel sea had taken her brother, her nephew and son-in-law, her grandson.

Aaron, the eldest son of Matthias and Sophia, had married Freelove Lewis, daughter of Ichabod Lewis, who had taken

over part of Jacob Trites' land in Monckton township. One daughter died in infancy, but the other nine children married. Five of the sons settled outside the Hillsborough area and thereby escaped the practice, which was becoming much too common, of marrying other Steeves descendants.

Aaron went across the Petitcodiac for his wife: Jacob, Matthias' second son, went up the river for his and married Eleanor or Nellie Bleakney, daughter of William Bleakney. The Bleakneys were Irish people who had settled in South Carolina, near Fort Ninety-Six, and had become involved in the defence of the fort against rebels. As a result, they were among the South Carolina Loyalists who arrived in Nova Scotia in the autumn of 1782, and they were part of the group who followed Colonel John Hamilton to the St. John River. After taking up land on the Belleisle, they were attracted by the offer of a bounty for settling on the Westmorland Road and thus arrived at the upper reaches of the Petitcodiac. Jacob and Eleanor settled up the Pollett River, where their two sons married granddaughters of Henry, Christian's son, although the two daughters managed to find husbands outside the Steeves family.

Alexander, the third son of Matthias and Sophia, married Sarah Horsman. She was a daughter of Christopher Horsman, a farmer who had come out on the *JENNY*, with other Yorkshire immigrants, when he was twenty seven. In later generations, there were many marriages between the Horsman and Steeves families. Alexander and Sarah settled at Lower Hillsborough—was it for him that Matthias had purchased the property formerly owned by Lewis? In that area, it was almost inevitable that their two daughters and two of their four sons should marry other members of the Steeves family.

Elizabeth, William, and Ann, the three affected by the loss of the *SOPHIE* came next in the family. Elizabeth, left with four daughters, married William Duffy, and added two sons to the nine Katharine, the daughter of John, had borne him, and one daughter. The older of the boys, Matthias Duffy, went to sea and was never heard from again, the all too common story in the nineteenth century. Ann, after the loss of James Dawson, seems to have remained a widow until her two daughters married. Then she married John Taylor, and lived on to the age of ninety four.

Allen, next in the long line of the children of Matthias and Sophia, went down river to Hopewell for his wife. She was Elizabeth Calkin, either daughter or granddaughter of James Calkin and his wife, Elizabeth Wickwire, who had moved from Horton in Nova Scotia to Hopewell. Allen and Elizabeth had eight children, seven of whom married and had numerous descendants who are to be found in Hillsborough, in Maine, in Connecticut, and in California.

The next son, Charles, also married the daughter of a man who had moved across the Bay of Fundy, Martha Carlisle, whose father, William Carlisle had been born in Cornwallis, Nova Scotia. William Carlisle had married Elizabeth Gross, eldest daughter of Richard Gross, the shipwright from Hingham, Massachusetts. As far as is known, there was no connection between this William Carlisle and the Robert Carlisle, whose son, James, had married Christian's daughter, Ann. There were eight daughters and three sons in the family of Charles and Martha Carlisle Steeves. One of the sons, Jordan, was a well known merchant in Hillsborough, where some of his descendants still remain, but by no means all. One of Jordan's younger daughters married a Norwegian sea captain and succeeded in living unnoticed by the enemy in her Norwegian home throughout the second world war.

Hannah, the third of the daughters of Matthias and Sophia, married Henry MacDonald, a school teacher, who had come to Hillsborough from Sackville. When he died, a few years later, and left her with two small daughters, she married, secondly, Edwin Mollins. The Mollins, who had come from England after the Napoleonic wars, were another family who became very closely allied with the Steeves. Three of Hannnah's five Mollins children married Steeves.

Simon, the next of Matthias' family, married twice, both times choosing a daughter of the German families so often mentioned hitherto. His first wife was Mariah Somers, his second, Eliza Ann Wortman. Mansfield, the next son, married Ann Mollins. A granddaughter of their oldest brother, Aaron, who came up frequently from Hopewell to visit in Hillsborough and Salem, wrote that the old uncles were a disgrace. They had become a prey to the appetite for alcohol and left their families ill provided for.

Mary, the youngest daughter of Matthias, was the first

girl from Hillsborough to go away to boarding school. Beside me, as I write, is the sea chest her father made for her to pack her clothes in: I also have the leather trunk that was bought for her in Saint John. Probably she sailed down the Petitcodiac and down the Bay of Fundy in the *SOPHIE,* the schooner in which her brother was lost a year or so later. Soon after her return, she married Richard Gross, seventh child of Richard Gross and Mary Taylor, the younger brother of the Martha Gross who had married Joseph, Henry's youngest son. Four of the five daughters of Richard and Mary died shortly after marriage, one of consumption, two of typhoid, one as the result of an accident. When she was getting out of the sleigh, her dress frill was caught by the runner, and she was dragged some distance, if I recall correctly, by her unwitting husband. Of the two sons, one was caught in the mill race at Turtle Creek and carried over the dam, to his death: the other went to Nebraska.

The other daughter lived to the age of ninety two and slipped away quietly in her chair. The story my mother attributed to her, of the small thirteenth child, I am inclined to think belongs rather to Mary's mother, Sophia. When this child was born, he was so small that his head would go into a teacup. His oldest brother, (Aaron?) then about twenty eight years of age, came to see the latest addition to the family.

"Mother," he said firmly, "this will do. No more. He looks like the fall run of shad."

According to the list my mother copied from the Family Bible, Matthias and Sophia had thirteen children, the youngest, Matthias, born in 1813. It is the only mention of him I have ever found. After my mother left her grandmother's home, the house was destroyed by fire, and all the treasured relics of the past were lost, including the records of the family of Matthias, the youngest of the seven sons of Heinrich Stief, and his wife, Sophia Beck.

Rachel ~~Dem~~ DeLaur

STEEVES UNLIMITED
PART III

CHAPTER XIII: GRANDCHILDREN AND SO ON.

There was a span of forty years between 1773, when King John, eldest son of Jacob, was born, and 1813, when Matthias, youngest son of Matthias, was born. Forty years, in an era when girls married at seventeen or eighteen and boys at nineteen or twenty, nearly included two generations. During the time when the grandchildren were appearing on the scene, a great many of the fourth generation were being born, and the first arrivals of the fifth generation followed very closely the last arrivals of the third. The line between the generations is further confused by marriages between third and fourth generations of different branches. It thus becomes impossible to distinguish any era or any characteristics as predominantly those of the grandchildren.

From present information available, there seem to have been seventy one grandchildren of Heinrich and Rachel Stief. Jacob had six children, John had twelve, Christian eight, Frederick twelve, Henry five, Lewis fifteen, Matthias thirteen. The families of the seven sons averaged ten and a bittock. Sixty five of the seventy one grandchildren married, and most of them added to the total number of descendants of Heinrich Stief.

From the records compiled, I counted, the last time I went through the sixty five families, five hundred and twenty six greatgrandchildren. There are still a few gaps, which further research may fill in, but most of the greatgrandchildren have been listed. It will be noted that the sixty five grandchildren did not maintain the average size of family of the seven sons. Apparently their average family was between eight and nine.

Of the five hundred and twenty or more greatgrandchildren, some four hundred and fifty married. Most of them had large families, but there were some who had no children or only one or two. So far I have been too busy pursuing greatgrandchildren over the North American continent and Europe, and trying to find out from their grandchildren and greatgrandchildren details of their families, to make any attempt to count the numbers in the generation of the greatgreatgrandchildren.

During the 1940s a fairly complete record of the descendant of one greatgrandson, Hugh Steeves, son of Henry, John's

second son, and his wife, Jane McLatchy, was compiled by one of their descendants. By 1946 there were more than one hundred and eighty descendants from this one couple. By 1961, it might be estimated that there would be about two hundred descendants. Hugh and Jane had had nine children, but only five had married, and one of the daughters had accounted for only four additions to the roll, two sons and two grandsons.

Since many of the grandchildren of Heinrich and Rachel had far exceeded Hugh and Jane in numbers of descendants, and others had fallen far below their numbers, the list of Hugh's descendants seemed to offer a basis for calculation. The more than five hundred greatgrandchildren could be estimated to have produced between fifty and one hundred thousand descendants. As a New Englander said, after hearing something of the ramifications of the family,

"It is more than a family: it is a nation."

Was it the turnip mush or the samphire greens that proved so potent?

In addition to cultivating the home field so intensively, the grandsons were extending the area of cultivation of land up and down the Petitcodiac and along the creeks emptying into the Petitcodiac. Whether or not there had been in Heinrich Stief's forebears a way of life which took them into the forest to carve out their own farms and communities, his grandsons and greatgrandsons seemed to take naturally to this mode of existence. Mention had been made of the way in which John's sons penetrated into the wilderness up Weldon Creek, and some of Lewis' sons did the same on Turtle Creek. Frederick's sons and grandsons went north to the long ridge which parallels the Petitcodiac, part of which ridge became known as Steeves Mountain. Others of Frederick's family went south of the Petitcodiac and followed up the Pollett River. Jacob's grandsons and one or two of Matthias' sons crossed the Petitcodiac to Dover on the French shore. Christian's grandsons went northwest, beyond North River, to establish Steeves Settlement; others went up the Pollett River and beyond.

As far as is known, the grandsons of Heinrich Stief remained within the area now comprised in Westmorland and Albert Counties. Some of the granddaughters were carried further afield. John's daughter, Rachel, and her husband,

Thomas Dawson, went to Upper Canada. Christian's daughter, Rachel, and her husband, Robert Colpitts, settled at Dickie Mountain, in Kings County, New Brunswick. Christian's daughter, Ann, was carried off to Maine with the Carlisles. Frederick's daughter, Ann or Nancy, went to Upper Canada with John Jaques and most of his brothers and sisters.

The restless urge which had brought Heinrich Stief across the Atlantic to Pennsylvania, and then up the coast to Nova Scotia, had by no means disappeared. It so happened that there was plenty of scope for it in the Petitcodiac area during the time when the grandchildren were growing up and taking to themselves wives and begetting children. There was country to be explored and opened up. There was land to be won from the tides. There was a demand for cattle, and plenty of travel and excitement in the long jaunt to Halifax, driving the cattle down and returning with bags of gold, which excited the cupidity of other travellers and kept a man on the alert. There were other products in demand, lumber from the richly wooded hills and valleys, and need of schooners and brigantines for carrying the lumber to outside markets. There were two special products in the Steeves area, also, the plaster which could be obtained from the gypsum quarried in the hills adjacent to the village of Hillsborough, and the Albertite, an asphaltic mineral, which was discovered on Frederick Brook, a branch of Weldon Creek, by Peter and John Duffy, in 1849.

During the first two thirds of the nineteenth century, life on the Petitcodiac was as stirring and effort was as well rewarded as anywhere on the Atlantic seaboard. The population was growing, not only as a result of the not inconsiderable efforts of the Steeves family themselves in that line, but also as a result of the influx of English, Scottish, and Irish immigrants after the close of the Napoleonic wars. They came to farm in the back settlements; they came to work in the plaster quarries; they came to mine the shiny, black Albert coal at Albert mines. The farmers had a market for their surplus butter and vegetables; the merchants could sell the goods on their shelves and have schooners built to carry lumber to market and bring back merchandise; house joiners were called upon to build houses for workers and mansions for the shipbuilders and merchants; blacksmiths, besides shoeing horses, could fashion the ironworks for ships, rings and bolts and fastenings, hinges and stanchions and stoves.

The Steeves grandsons built a few schooners. Jacob's sons, John and George and Leonard built the *THREE BROTHERS,* one of fifty eight tons, in 1819, at least it was registered in 1819. In 1825, King John owned half the vessel and was master. The *MARY JANE,* a schooner of the same tonnage and almost the same dimensions as the *THREE BROTHERS,* was built by Joseph, Henry's son, in 1832, and sold at once to Halifax. Although Joseph is registered as builder, owner, and master, one wonders if he had help and advice in the building from his father-in-law, Richard Gross, the shipwright. In 1834, King John and Squire George backed up John's son Israel in the building of a schooner of eighty four tons, *INDEPENDENCE.* Five years later they sold it to John Steadman of Moncton. In 1840, Henry, John's son, was registered as builder and owner of the *HILLSBOROUGH,* a schooner of one hundred and sixty three tons, but it seems likely that his son, Edward, who was the master, was the prime mover in the undertaking.

The grandsons passed on to the greatgrandsons the interest in shipbuilding and shipowning. Joseph's sons, for instance, became shipbrokers, and one of them, Gilbert Martin Steeves, went on to Liverpool, England, as many other Nova Scotia and New Brunswick shipbrokers had done. King John's sons, Dawson and James, owned half the *G. F. WILLIAMS,* a schooner of eighty two tons built in 1858, and Dawson is registered as shipbuilder and part owner of the *SEA BIRD,* a brigantine of one hundred and fourteen tons, launched at Hillsborough on the 10th of August, 1860. Hugh, son of Henry, John's second son, owned a quarter of the brigantine, James' son Milledge an eighth, and Dawson's son Nelson another eighth. Henry's son, Edward, and other members of the Steeves clan bought shares in the *SEA BIRD* in 1864 and 1865, just in time to be in at the death. On or about April 26, 1866, the *SEA BIRD* was lost on a voyage from Hillsborough to Boston, with a cargo of coal. The crew and papers were lost, the Registry of Shipping noted, but, in its usual impersonal manner, made no mention of the names of master or crew.

A grandson of Abel, eldest son of Henry, eldest son of Christian Steeves, told a tale of another type of loss of a vessel. Abel and others had built a vessel and had found a purchaser, who offered $40,000 for the vessel. Abel took the would-be purchaser home to dinner, and while they were eat-

ing dinner, the crew which the guest had brought along took the vessel off the stocks and sailed away with her. One would like to know more details of that extraordinary affair. Was it the hi-jacking of the vessel that led to Henry's descendants scattering far and wide?

In addition to building ships, the Steeves sailed them, not only up and down the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic coast, but to far distant harbours. Captain John A., son of Joseph and Martha Gross, was lost, so it is said, in one of his brother's vessels. Captain Lon, a nephew, was lost on the Pacific coast in a steamer belonging to the fleet of his Uncle Gilbert of Liverpool. Captain Lon's lovely daughter, Lena, perished with him. His widow and the other children returned to Canada, but where? His brother, Captain Tom, likewise sailed out of Liverpool, but his grandson knows nothing of his career.

These and other seafaring descendants of Heinrich Stief must have taken to their graves stories that would have filled many volumes. The Steeves might take a steering wheel in hand, or a hammer or saw, or a scalpel or a hoe, but they seldom took a pen in hand. As one of them said, after searching vainly for a clue to her greatgrandfather's records, the Steeves were very circumspect people who kept out of trouble and out of official records to an amazing degree. It was the Steeves way, to do the job in hand and to suffer, without making a song about it.

CHAPTER XIV: IN 1864, FOR INSTANCE.

It chanced that 1864 was a significant date in the lives of several members of the Steeves family, and a closer look at events of that year and the people concerned in them will illuminate many facets of the Steeves story.

On June 7, 1864, Deacon Isaiah's workshop, forge, and house were destroyed by fire. Isaiah, son of Isaac, the seventh son of John, lived in Salem and was a deacon in the Salem Baptist Church. He had married Mary Parkin, the daughter of John Parkin, the post-Napoleonic war Yorkshire settler, who had bought the land of Mary, widow of John Jaques, and Parkin's wife, Elizabeth MacLean. (Mary Parkin's youngest brother was the well known New Brunswick teacher who became Secretary of the Rhodes Trust, Sir George Parkin.) Isaiah Steeves and Mary Parkin had a large family, Elizabeth, Eliza Ann, Charlotte, Jane, Judson, Esther, Earl, Fanny, Havelock, Edith, Everett, Belle, Ingram, and Lambert, only four of whom survived those diseases of the late nineteenth century which proved more devastating than the hardships of the eighteenth.

The fire of June 6 started in the forge and workshop, which were connected with the house, and the flames spread quickly. In his efforts to stop the spread of the flames, and then to rescue what he could, Deacon Isaiah took no thought for his own safety. He was struck by a falling timber, and his leg was broken, a calamity for a farmer in June. The neighbours came to the rescue, with offers of shelter and of assistance in getting the crops planted. Isaiah's cousin, John L., sent a thirteen year old lad, Laban Burpee, who wheeled Deacon Isaiah around the farm in a wheelbarrow to superintend operations on the farm.

During the following winter, Laban Burpee developed tuberculosis and died in March, 1866. The family always felt that he had strained himself the previous summer in pushing around the farm in a wheelbarrow the large and heavy Deacon Isaiah. The community sorrowed with John L. and his wife, the Irish born Lucy Duffy, in the death of their promising son. It was probably an expression of their sympathy which prompted Aaron, son of Aaron, the eldest of Matthias' family,

and his wife, Lydia, who was daughter of Caleb, eldest son of Michael, eldest son of John, (it has been mentioned that the generations were getting mixed up), to name their next son, Laban Burpee.

Not long after this, Aaron and Lydia left Salem and moved to Prince Edward Island. From there, they went to Salem, Oregon, where Laban Burpee studied medicine. While practising in Weiser, Idaho, he served for a year as governor of that state. Later, he returned to Salem where he founded the Eye, Ear, Nose and Throat Clinic, and served for a term as Mayor of Salem. In 1919, Laban Burpee, with his wife and daughter Muriel, returned to visit his boyhood haunts in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. On the way west, they stopped to see his cousin, Josephine, daughter of his mother's brother, Michael Q.

Josephine had married Ernest Morse, son of Edward Manning Morse Jr. of Paradise, Nova Scotia, and his wife, Caroline Wentworth of Dover, New Hampshire, who, after her graduation from Mount Holyoke Ladies Seminary in Massachusetts, had gone to Nova Scotia to assist in starting the school which later became Acadia Ladies Seminary. Ernest Morse, who had graduated from Acadia College and had taught there for a time, was then teaching at Westport High School in Kansas City. During the visit, Laban Burpee's daughter fell in love with the son of Josephine and Ernest Morse, and they were married two years later. Laban Burpee, who was born in Salem, New Brunswick, and whose name resulted from the chain of events set in motion by the burning of Deacon Isaiah's house on June 6, 1864, was buried in Salem, Oregon, where grandchildren and greatgrandchildren continue the Steeves story.

In 1864, it will be remembered, the American Civil War, or, as it is now called, the war between the states, was still going on. At least two of the descendants of Heinrich Stief were fighting on the side of the northern states, and one was supporting the southern states. It is easy to see how two of them became involved, but still a mystery as to how the third came to take up arms.

Several of the grandchildren of Christian Steeves moved to Ohio, among them John, son of Christian's oldest son, Henry. John lived near New Rumley, Harrison County, Ohio,

but his son, John Clark Steeves, born in Ohio in 1840, moved to Iowa, where he located in Van Buren County, near Keosauqua. There he married, when he was just over twenty, Mary A. Knox. From Iowa he enlisted in the Union army and served until his discharge, on the 15th of July, 1865. Shortly after his discharge from the army, John Clark Steeves moved to Page County, Iowa, where he operated a farm, a blacksmith shop, a general store, and also received appointment as postmaster. That sounds very much like the sort of thing the Steeves had done in New Brunswick a generation or two earlier in pioneer days there. One son, William had been born in 1861, and 1864 must have been for Mary an anxious year as the war dragged on, and for John a year of longing for peace and for the chance of being united again with his wife and son.

How did William Douglas Gross happen to be fighting with the armies of the north in 1864? He was the son of Richard Gross and Mary Steeves, the youngest daughter of Matthias, the youngest of the seven sons. Possibly he had been sent down to Massachusetts and had there become infected with the fervour of the crusade against slavery. In 1759, his mother had received a pitiful letter from the son-in-law in Massachusetts to say that "Amanda is very sick and has been for ten days I have a doctor tending her she has got what he calls the tifoid fever . . . . she dont think she will get bettwe she says you must not have any trouble about her she is perfecably satisfied to die she wants you to have the children if she does die . . . " Amanda died a few days later, and her mother took the children, until the father married again. Possibly, William Douglas Gross went down to get the children or else to take them back later and was drawn into the war.

After the war, he returned to Hillsborough for a few years, and helped his parents move to the village from Turtle Creek. On February 21, 1867, Richard and William Douglas Gross, "thankful for the patronage extended to them while keeping an entertainment at Turtle Creek," begged to announce that they had "taken that large and commodious building formerly occupied by Mr. John Beatty, and known as 'Beatty's Hotel' ", where they could accommodate permanent and transient boarders. Good stabling was attached to the premises, and horses and carriages were always on hand. W. D. Gross was also the Proprietor of the Royal Mail stage and would carry passengers and parcels, according to his advertisement in the *Eastern Advocate* of November 8, 1866.

Meanwhile, he had married Maria Martin, who had been brought up in the lower part of Albert County, and a daughter was born in Hillsborough, in October, 1867. But William Douglas had become restless again, and was off to Nebraska to homestead. Maria and the infant daughter joined him soon afterwards. Later, a nephew, daughter of his oldest sister, Martha, joined him in Nebraska.

Years later, William Gross's second daughter was teaching in Omaha, Nebraska. One day, a man came to her office when she was busy and she asked him to leave his card, so that she could get in touch with him later. To her amazement, the name on the card was Steeves. He belonged to a branch of the family who had settled in Iowa: he was, indeed, a grandson of the other Steeves descendant who had fought in the armies of the north, John Clark Steeves.

More than fifty years ago, that school teacher brought her mother back to New Brunswick for a visit. They stayed for a few days with her cousin, my mother, and I can still recall her telling of this incident. In 1960, when I was calling on Steeves descendants on the west coast, I talked with a Mrs. Steeves in Portland, Oregon. She referred me to a cousin of her husband in South Dakota. He referred me to a cousin in Iowa, who referred me to a cousin in Alexandria, Virginia. After correspondence which enabled me to place John Clark Steeves as grandson of Henry, Christian's eldest son, I asked if she remembered her father's mentioning this contact with a school teacher who was a Steeves descendant, and she did. Her father tried to ferret out the family history, but had not been able to make the connection with the New Brunswick stock.

The Steeves with the armies of the south was Jacob Beck Steeves, the eldest son of Daniel and Christianna Beck Steeves of Salem. Daniel was the second son of Michael, eldest son of John. How it chanced that Jacob Beck Steeves went to the Louisville Medical University in Kentucky to study medicine is unknown. The only clue is the name of his first child, William Boyd, the name of a doctor in Saint John in the early part of the nineteenth century. After graduation, Jacob settled down to practise in Kentucky, and in 1858 married Martha Lidinia Elbert at Lexington. The eldest son, William Boyd, died in 1860. The next child, a daughter, survived, but another daughter died during the war, in 1864, and a son in 1866.

Jacob served as a surgeon in the Confederate Army, first with General E. Kirley Smith, and then with General John H. Morgan. Twice during the course of his service he was taken prisoner. When the war was over, Jacob settled down once more to practise in Kentucky. The names of the three children born in these years suggest a longing for home, Maggie Brunswick, Jacob Beck, and E. Christianna. But Jacob died in 1876, at the early age of forty five, and the folk back in Salem lost touch with his descendants. All they knew was that Laura had two sons, Steeves and Eugene Arnspiger, and that Maggie Brunswick married a man named Davis. Daniel and Christianna, back in Salem, outlived their son by many years, and most of his brothers and sisters lived until the twentieth century.

One of the first, if not the first, of the Steeves descendants to reach British Columbia was Manoah, the youngest of the eight sons of Andrew, the eldest son of Frederick. By 1864 he was on his way, although he may have thought then that Upper Canada was his goal. It was not surprising that Manoah had been seized with the wanderlust, for his father had died when this youngest son was in his teens. After living for a time with an older brother, Milledge, Manoah had married Martha Taylor, daughter of William and Mary Osborne Taylor. In 1869, they were still in Chatham, which by that time was Chatham, Ontario, but in a few years Manoah journeyed out to the Pacific Coast, where he decided to settle on Lulu Island, in the delta of the Fraser River.

In 1878, his family came out, by train to San Francisco and up the coast by boat. Ida, one of the daughters, who was nine years old at the time, still remembers this journey. Although she was born in Upper Canada and has lived all the rest of her life in British Columbia, Ida knows New Brunswick and its people through her mother's tales. When I mentioned the name of Matthias Steeves, she nodded.

"Matthias used to twitch out logs for my grandfather."

On the way across the continent, Manoah dropped one letter from his name, so that his descendants are Steves, and the town they began on Lulu Island is Steveston. Ida, however, is Mrs. Steeves, for, even in that distant habitat, she married a member of that widely scattered group, the descendants of Henry, Christian's eldest son. Her husband, Willard, was a

son of William W., son of Abel, the eldest son of Henry, who married Leah, daughter of Lewis, son of Frederick. Billy Steeves, as he was called, was driver of the stage coach which ran between Steveston and Vancouver. In 1895, as he was driving along what is now Granville Street, a tree fell on the coach and killed him. The only son was killed in the first world war, and the only daughter is an invalid. Bravely and uncomplaining, Ida carries on, and can talk by the hour of people she has known and of others whom she knew only through the tales of her mother, Martha Taylor of Hillsborough.

On the first of September, 1864, a conference met at Charlottetown to discuss proposals for union of the three Maritime provinces, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. When they assembled, they received word that delegates from Canada were coming and they were asked to postpone their discussions until these representatives had a chance to put forward their proposals. One of the New Brunswick delegates to the Charlottetown Conference was the Honourable W. H. Steeves, a member of the Legislative Council of New Brunswick, formerly Surveyor General of New Brunswick, and twice Commissioner of Public Works for the province. When the Charlottetown Conference had concluded its session, meetings were held in Halifax and Saint John. Later, a steamer was sent to the Maritime Provinces to convey the delegates to Quebec as guests of Canada. On October 10, 1864, the Quebec Conference began the deliberations that were to result in the setting up of the Dominion of Canada. The delegates to these Conferences are known as "Fathers of Confederation", and it was very fitting that there should be a member of the Steeves family amongst them.

William Henry Steeves, who had been born in Hillsborough on May 20, 1814, was the eldest son of Joseph Steeves, the youngest son of Henry, the fifth of the seven sons of Heinrich Stief, and Martha Gross, daughter of Richard and Mary Taylor Gross. Martha Gross, with her Huguenot, New England, and North of Ireland Scottish inheritance, saw to it that her sons and daughters received a good education, what formal schooling was available and a continuing interest in the pursuit of knowledge. W. H. had the advantage of instruction from a Scot, Duncan Shaw, one of the many Scottish immigrants to the Petitcodiac, whose family became closely linked with the Steeves.

Henry's descendants were noted for their shrewdness and business acumen, and none more so than Joseph's eldest son, William Henry. Starting, it is said, in tiny premises no larger than a room, he built up a business as merchant, lumber dealer, and ship broker. He was elected to the New Brunswick Legislative Assembly in 1846, and appointed to the Legislative Council five years later. His family were still resident in Hillsborough in 1861, but soon afterwards they moved to Saint John. During the later years of his life, his business as ship broker and managing owner of various ships took him to Liverpool, England. In May, 1867, he was appointed to the Senate of Canada. He died on December 9, 1873, at his home, Cedar Cliff, Saint John.

In his early twenties, W. H. had married Mary Steeves, eldest daughter of Squire George, youngest son of Jacob, the oldest of the seven sons. After her husband's death, Mary decided to remove to England, where her husband's brother, Gilbert Martin Steeves, had gone to carry on the shipbroking and ship managing affairs of Steeves Brothers. They escaped the fire of 1877, which the brothers left behind in Saint John suffered from, but they did not escape the depression of 1879, which was so disastrous for ship brokers and ship owners the world over. Mary succeeded in getting three of her four daughters married, though all three were widowed very soon, and the two sons (a third one had died in childhood) through medical studies, though the older one died during a voyage across the Atlantic.

Lucinda, the third daughter, had married an elderly gentleman whom she met at Torquay, where he maintained a residence. (Torquay sounds a little like the Bath of Jane Austen's day.) He died in a few years, leaving her with one daughter and a much reduced income. Lucinda took the daughter to France so that she might learn French (Mary Steeves' grandmother had been the Suzanne Govang, whose silks and horsemanship had been part of the Steeves legend), and eventually W. H.'s only granddaughter became the Duchess of Somerset, wife of the seventeenth Duke.

Gilbert Martin Steeves survived the crisis of 1879 and was able to reestablish himself in business. His children and his children's children became as completely English and as much a part of the country to which they had gone as Heinrich Stief's children and children's children became a part of New

Brunswick. It is all part of the fascination of the story of the Steeves.

CHAPTER XV: THE STEEVES CONSIDER THEIR HISTORY

"I feel it is very weak in me not to know more about my family," an old lady wrote to her inquiring niece. There was some excuse for her, since her father had left New Brunswick some eighty years previously, and the family had moved two or three times.

It was a weakness that afflicted many members of the Steeves family, and one they share with many other families. In the case of the Steeves, there were special reasons for their lack of knowledge of the family. There were so many descendants that the task of finding the way along all the limbs and branches of the family tree was extremely difficult. Several people who attempted it gave up in despair. After filling notebooks or boxes with notes and information, they then found it impossible to put the pieces together. The numbers of names acquired and the complications of intermarriages were baffling without careful filing and strict adherence to the genealogical techniques required.

In the early days on the Petitcodiac, the Steeves were so busy clearing land, building up flocks and herds, providing adequate shelter, feeding the many mouths and clothing the many backs, that they had no time to think of the past. Always their thoughts and their concern were with the present and the future. Heinrich Stief and his eldest son, Jacob, both died comparatively young, before their families were of an age to appreciate and to desire further knowledge of the past history of the family. Heinrich's wife, Rachel, lived for a few years after her husband, but she probably made her home with John, and in that household the babies were coming so fast that everybody must have been much occupied.

Another reason for the lack of knowledge of the past was the all too frequent loss of dwelling and contents by fire. Karl Duffy told me that the homestead, where John had lived, was burned and with it papers and records of the past. It happened that the German Bible had been loaned to another member of the family and so escaped the fire. Unfortunately, the Bible did not contain any records of births, marriages or

deaths, only, in German script, a list of the names of the seven sons.

Pioneer communities seldom have very adequate educational facilities, and New Brunswick's were notoriously inadequate for the first eighty years of its existence. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the villages were beginning to have schools, but the backwoods settlements seldom had any formal schooling, and it was several years after the establishment of the system of free schools in the province before school houses and teachers became available. Stories were handed down from one generation to another, but with few people able to write them down, the stories were changed or forgotten, exaggerated or whittled down until they were unrecognizable, or carried away to alien soil where they ceased to have meaning.

There was, however, one occasion when the Steeves family made a concerted and deliberate effort to look back and put together the story of the family. The occasion was singularly appropriate, for it was July 1, 1867, the birthday of the Dominion of Canada. To celebrate this event, in the preparation for which one of the family had played a significant part, it was arranged to have a gathering of the family in Hillsborough.

According to the account of the affair, as set down by Howard Steeves, a school teacher at the time, and a grandson of King John, a large crowd assembled, probably four hundred of the Steeves family and other connections, on the grounds of Christian Steeves. Christian Albertus, son of John, eldest son of Henry, the preacher, had married his cousin, Martha, daughter of Joseph, Henry's youngest son, and sister of the Hon. W. H. Steeves. W. H. himself was probably not present: he had been called to the Senate in May, 1867, and would be celebrating with that august body or at his home in Saint John.

The Steeves gathered early in the day on Christian Steeves' grounds where they had dinner and amusements. The Lower Hillsborough brass band was on the ground and supplied the music. Howard's account does not mention it, but Howard's son, Little How as he has always been called, was there. Little How told me about it, in October, 1960. He was only three weeks old, but his mother wrapped him in a shawl, and put him on a trundle bed, presumably one Martha pulled out from under a bed in one of the bedrooms in her house.

Howard Steeves gives no further account of the picnic, whether each family brought its own basket, whether they ate at long tables, or whether each family spread its own picnic on the ground. He does not mention any further details of the day except the meeting in the afternoon, and so we are left to guess that the children had been out the day before on the marsh to gather samphire greens and wild strawberries, that there was much competition among the women as to who had the firmest butter, the lightest bread and rolls, the flakiest pie crust. And was there sauer kraut left over from the previous autumn, or had most people already scraped the bottom of the barrel?

No, Howard Steeves' interest was in the meeting held in the old Baptist Meeting House on the afternoon of that first Dominion Day. His father, James Steeves, the eldest son of King John, was appointed chairman, and Richard E. Steeves, the postmaster, and a brother of Hon. W. H., was secretary. Each of the seven branches of the family then proceeded to appoint for itself a Chief and Secretary. For Jacob's descendants, John L. B., another of King John's sons, was Chief, and Howard, Secretary. John's branch chose Caleb, eldest son of Michael, as Chief, and Henry B. as Secretary. (There were two Henry B.s, one son of Caleb and one son of Squire Ned, Henry's son.) Christian and R. E. were appointed for Henry's descendants. The Solomon and Absalom representing Christian's family were both sons of Jacob, so presumably Henry's family was not represented. Milledge, son of Andrew, Frederick's eldest son, and Noah, son of Lewis, were chosen from Frederick's descendants. Lewis's youngest son, Henry, was appointed Chief for Lewis's branch, and Joseph D. from Elgin, one of Frederick's sons, was Secretary. Jordan, son of Charles, and Duncan, son of Allen, were chosen for Matthias' descendants.

There were to be annual gatherings of the Steeves family, it was decided, and Caleb was to convene future meetings of the officers. Caleb, as the eldest grandson of John, would expect the honour of being head of the family, but he was sixty six, he lived back at Salem, and he was not the executive type. If the officers were called together and if the annual gatherings were held, no record of them exists.

Apparently, the family then tried to put together the

family history, and differences of opinion were expressed on several matters. "The Christian name of the father of the Seven Sons who immigrated will in all probability never be settled", Howard declares. Apparently James, his father, insisted that the name was Jacob, and it was probably James who declared that "if any of the family was named from the father it is likely to have been the eldest, Jacob." It is rather curious that James did not know that the conventional pattern of naming was to call the first grandson after the maternal grandfather and the second after the paternal grandfather, but, as was noted earlier, Jacob had not followed the traditional method.

There was also uncertainty about the name of the mother of the seven sons. At that time, a monument in the old graveyard gave her name as Margaret. "This," says Howard, "is undoubtedly wrong. The best authority on this is old Aunt Hannah, daughter of Henry. The writer has heard her say her name was Rachel and that she must have outlived her husband several years, as she could remember when a child every one going to the house would speak of it as going to 'Aunt Rachels'." On the face of it, that explanation is not very convincing, since the mother of the seven sons was not an aunt but a grandmother. However, it must be remembered that there were in Hillsborough so many people of the name of Steeves, that everybody was known by first name or initials or nickname. For older persons, aunt or uncle was added as a mark of respect, rather than as an indication of exact relationship. For instance, I have heard my mother say that her grandmother, Mary, the youngest daughter of Matthias, was Aunt Mary to everybody in Hillsborough.

The only other item mentioned by Howard is that, at the time of the Steeves picnic in 1867, he went with his father, James, and other old men to visit the grave of the progenitor of the family. It was near the northeast corner of the public hall in Hillsborough, and was marked by two stones, nearly alike, rounded on top, and without engraving. The old men went directly to the grave and pointed it out without a question as to its being the right grave. The two rounded stones are still to be seen, now engraved with the names and the date 1765. My mother, who lived in Hillsborough until 1884, always claimed that the graves were interfered with by the extension or rebuilding of the hall. It is possible that the en-

graving was done at the time the stones were moved, as a sort of expiation. [There should be some matters on which argument could be started when the family celebrate the two hundredth anniversary of the coming of Heinrich Stief and Rachel and their seven sons to the Petitcodiac in 1766.]

There is no name and no date attached to one attempt at a family history and genealogy. The copy I have is labelled, "Hendrick Steeves—and his wife and seven stalwart sons.—A Remarkable Record in Provincial History.—Perils and Achievements in Pioneer Days in Albert County." In addition to an interesting but extremely inaccurate narrative, this document contains a fairly complete table of the sons and grandsons of each of the seven sons, and the greatgrandsons of Jacob, the eldest son. There are, however, some inaccuracies and omissions, and the daughters are ignored entirely.

The descendants of Samuel, the son of Israel and grandson of King John, have held family picnics and have put together a record of the family. Groups of John's descendants, inspired latterly by Lola Jess, daughter of Harris[5] (Abraham[4], Henry[3], John[2]), have held gatherings in New Brunswick and in Massachusetts, and have admired her energetic gathering of material on that branch of the family.

After his appointment as School Inspector for Kings, part of Westmorland, and Albert Counties, Rufus Palmer Steeves, son of Matthias and grandson of Aaron, the eldest son of the original Matthias, devoted a great deal of time and energy to collecting material on all branches of the Steeves family. He put together a much more complete and accurate table of the first three or four generations, and amassed a great deal of information on subsequent generations. Fortunately, this material was deposited in the Archives Department of the New Brunswick Museum by the Inspector's son, Clarence MacNaughton Steeves. It is particularly valuable for Frederick's and Matthias' descendants.

The research carried on by Rufus P. Steeves was done in 1900 and subsequent years. A small printed volume, endorsed, "Written in 1907", seems to embody his findings up to that time. Rev. Wellington Camp and Rev. Aubrey Bishop, when they were ministers of the Baptist Church in Hillsborough, delved into the history of the community and, necessarily, of the Steeves and allied families.

The most recent attempt was made by W. H. Duffy, son of Peter Duffy, and grandson of two of John's children, Katharine and Joel, and continued by his son, Karl. Their very wide knowledge of men and events in Hillsborough and surrounding areas, and much hard work in collecting and collating information, has produced very extensive family lists, more accurate and more complete than anything previously accomplished in the Steeves genealogy. Unfortunately, few dates and places are given, and occasionally a family is wrongly placed—a very easy thing to do when people do not know their grandfather's name.

"A wise nation," said Joseph Howe of Nova Scotia, in an address to the Howe Family gathering at South Framingham, Massachusetts, in August, 1871, "preserves its records, gathers up its muniments, decorates the tombs of its illustrious dead, repairs its great public structures, and fosters national pride and love of country, by perpetual reference to the sacrifices and glories of the past."

CHAPTER XVI: IN GENERAL, THE STEEVES.

"The Steeves," said an outsider who had borne the name for sixty years, "were not loving enough." She hastened to add that this was the first time she had voiced this criticism to any one.

She meant, I think, that they lacked graciousness and tenderness, and an interest in those little details of thoughtfulness and expression of regard which can mitigate the dreary round of daily duties. There were special circumstances in the family group she had known which would explain the sternness and grim determination she had sensed. From other sources, I had learned of a household in which the mother considered that she had married beneath her and had been unrelenting in her efforts to pull the family up to the standards she set. The neighbours had said of her that she "ruled the roost." She had seen to it that her sons received training and opportunity to get away from a community in which her husband's father and brothers had not added to the lustre of the name of Steeves and had much diminished the family's fortune.

In that household, the grim determination to get on had been not unlike the sterness of earlier generations who had known the struggle to get established in a new land, the haunting fear of failure, the relentless toil of cutting down trees, pulling out stumps, breaking new ground, the driving force necessary to keep man and woman at their unceasing labours. Pioneering requires physical stamina, but more than that it requires moral and spiritual drive. Desire to get on, love of family, determination to succeed, must be backed up by strong conviction of rightness and righteousness. One of the Steeves family chronicles says that the first thing the Steeves and their companions did upon landing was to pray. Perhaps then they used or later turned to the words of the Psalmist, "Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth. They that trust in the Lord shall be as mount Zion, which cannot be removed but abideth for ever."

The driving force necessary for successful pioneering can have curious results in later generations. One reaction may be a revolt, a turning against hard work, against thrift, against family, against moral standards, against religion. There are

few, if any, examples among the Steeves family of this complete denigration of all that their forefathers had stood for, and, in any case, such anarchists soon write *Finis* to one chapter of the family history. Possibly the old man who lives by himself in California, who has changed the spelling of his name, who is reported to be a Rosicrucian, who refuses to answer letters or to respond to a knock on the door, is one such type of rebel.

Sometimes it seems as if the driving force of the pioneers spent itself in the course of two or three generations and left a listless, spineless group of ne'er-do-wells, living in tumbledown shacks in back settlements or in mean streets, unable or unwilling to lift themselves out of the squalor and poverty of their surroundings. It is usually impossible to say whether a bad marriage and/or a taste for strong liquor is cause or effect of the low standard of living. "The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, But in ourselves, that we are underlings."

On the other hand, the desire to get on may become the dominant urge in the descendants of the pioneers, outweighing all considerations of family, of social justice, of common honesty. In his desire to get on, one man, might, within the law, take advantage of the necessities of others by advancing goods or money on very onerous terms and exact his pound of flesh by foreclosing a mortgage on his debtor's farm. Another might indulge in "sharp practice" and land in the penitentiary, or escape to the United States before the long arm of the law could reach that far.

That most admirable trait, love of family, also had potential dangers. It could narrow down to consideration of one's own family and desire for their welfare, regardless of all outside persons and interests. Church, school, and community affairs might suffer from undue concentration on the family group—which seems to have happened to a greater or less extent in the Steeves area. At its worst, love of family could degenerate from philoprogenitiveness to unrepressed satisfaction of sexual impulses. The young girl who went to help older sister or neighbour during her confinement might sometimes be the victim in this case.

Likewise, the determination to succeed could harden into selfishness and meanness, and the thriftiness, which under pioneer conditions was a prime requisite of success, could de-

teriorate into miserliness. The strong conviction of right could become priggishness or arrogance, and the firm belief in God and the assurance of Divine guidance could become either self-righteous complacency or stubborn fundamentalism.

From among the thousands of descendants of Heinrich Stief, it would be possible to give examples of the way in which each of these dangers inherent in successful pioneering had been realized, but, on the whole, the Steeves descendants retained the balance their ancestor had shown, the combination of ambition, family love, ability to learn and to do, uprightness, piety. They have been useful citizens of their many and farflung communities, generally respected, if not spectacular, home lovers, God-fearing men and women.

It has been said that it is impossible to indict a nation: it is also impossible to generalize about fifty to a hundred thousand descendants of Heinrich Stief. Whenever an attempt is made, at once exceptions come to mind, or the generalization seems to be based, not on the Steeves themselves, but on the general conditions of life at any one time or place. For instance, after studying the family for the first hundred years on the Petitcodiac and elsewhere, one might think that they were essentially farmers, European peasants transplanted. One notices that the village at the Bend of the Petitcodiac grew from the Bend to town and then to city of Moncton with very little assistance from the Steeves. The only one in the town in 1851 was Winslow (son of Matthias' son, William, who had been drowned in 1828), who was listed as a merchant. In 1861, he was a grogseller, and the only other Steeves was Christian's grandson, Henry. Both of these had died before 1871, and Winslow's young family were the only town dwellers of the name of Steeves. But then, one notices that there were twenty one Steeves among the taxpayers in 1886, and, in 1960, hundreds of Steeves families in Moncton. The Boston area telephone directory lists about one hundred Steeves names annually, and there are hundreds more descendants of other names. Bridgeport, Connecticut, and other nearby cities, New York, Chicago, Minneapolis, Los Angeles, have each considerable numbers of the family. Toronto, Winnipeg, Edmonton, Vancouver, Canadian cities east and west have Steeves and Steeves descendants in surprisingly large numbers.

Were the Steeves essentially farmers, or were they farm-

ers for the first hundred years when farming was the way of life? It is not easy to give a definite and positive answer to such a question. On the whole, I am inclined to think that there was deep-rooted love of the land which not all the urbanization of the twentieth century had eradicated. It is significant that one finds the Steeves not in the heart of the downtown area in the cities where they live, but in the outer ring of towns and often on the fringes of those other towns. A grocer whose shop stands in the midst of crowded streets in the centre of the city will be found living up a lane off a country road, where, among the woods and rocks, he has a bit of soil for a garden. A retired school teacher will move out of Moncton or Vancouver to a place in the country and potter happily around a garden and lawn ringed with trees.

In spite of the clannishness and the strong sense of family observable in most of the Steeves descendants, it is notable that they did not remain a German community, with retention of German speech, German customs, German ways of thought and dress, as the Lunenburg County settlers in Nova Scotia did, or the Waterloo County settlers in Ontario, or that larger group amidst whom the Steeves sojourned briefly, the Pennsylvania Dutch. Although one part of Hillsborough was still referred to, as late as 1833, as the Dutch Village, and although the Steeves continued to dominate the village and the township area, both in numbers and in influence, they lost their Germanic distinctiveness. Although the seven sons, with one exception, married girls from the German families, the grandsons married daughters of the Scottish, Irish, English, and Loyalist settlers who came to the area, and the granddaughters married sons of these families. It was well that this happened, for the fourth and fifth generations showed a strong aptitude for marrying other Steeves descendants, perhaps partly owing to the fact that there were very few other persons to marry.

With some exceptions, outmarriage was an excellent practice. It introduced new strains, new ideas, new customs, and perhaps a more objective outlook on oneself and one's family. But there were pitfalls, too, in outmarriages. Not all the strains thus introduced into the family were desirable, and there were and are names recognized as those of less desirable families among the later comers to the Petitcodiac. Most men are at the mercy of the women they marry, to some extent, but

the Steeves seemed more helpless in that respect than others. If they married badly, they dropped or were dragged down to the lower level of their partners.

In general, the Steeves were the marrying kind. It made no difference whether the intended was a first or second or third cousin, of higher standards or lower, of white race or negro, of Protestant faith or Roman Catholic, Scottish, English, Irish, American, French, Polish, Russian, Japanese, the Steeves would marry. The genealogy, when completed, will show an amazing variety of names and backgrounds, of races and places.

It will show, as well, a diversity of occupations. There are still many, many farmers, more perhaps than most groups of the size would show. There are also dairymen and cattle ranchers and agricultural technicians. The years of living in the forests account for lumbermen, though there are not as many of them at the present day as there were in the earlier years of the twentieth century and in the nineteenth century. The shrewdness and good business sense of Heinrich Stief and some of his sons is reflected in the numbers who have built up businesses of their own and in the numbers of bankers. When one of the Boston Steeves daughters learned of another Steeves in the WAVES and in Ordnance, she said to herself:

"Another Steeves financial genius."

When Heinrich Stief and his sons needed any tool or implement, they had to make it. They had and passed on through the generations a variety of technical skills and a desire to make and do. The granddaughters and greatgranddaughters were often noted weavers. (I am still using blankets one great-granddaughter made one hundred years ago.) They wove carpets and blankets, and "homespun" for clothing. They made quilts, and candles and soap, and they were famous cooks. The men were carpenters and blacksmiths: if they inherited also business acumen as well as technical skill, they became contractors, factory owners, garage operators.

"How did your father happen to come to Boston?" I asked one Steeves.

"The way dozens more did, with his hammer and saw and his two hands," was the reply.

"How did you get out here?" I asked a man in a western city.

He spread out his huge hands. "See those! I was a forging smith with the railroad."

The piety of the forebears is reflected in the large numbers of ministers, missionaries, teachers, nurses, doctors, social workers, the family has produced. East or west, north or south, in Canada or the United States, wherever the Steeves have gone, under what flag or what religion, a considerable proportion of them have gone into the professions with high ideals of service. Law and pure and applied science have attracted smaller numbers, the arts almost none. Literature, music, painting, sculpture, architecture, are not their métier. The interests of the Steeves are practical rather than aesthetic. They might, however, in the course of the next hundred years, move into other realms, as they have in the last hundred.

It is, indeed, this ability to move into other realms, into other places and other types of living, that is the most marked characteristic of the Steves. They can adapt themselves to different circumstances and to new environments. Sometimes one feels that there is almost a chameleon-like quality about their adaptability and wonders if they retain any integrity, any basic standards. They become English of the English and American of the Americans, indistinguishable from those about them. They marry into a "poor lot" and settle into a backwoods environment, without ambition. They get into bad company and drink and lose all sense of decency and pride. They marry Irish Catholics or Acadian Catholics, and their protestantism is forgotten. They go to the United States and away goes their love of family, and their divorce rate can, and sometimes does, become as high as any group's. The saddest interview I had was with a delightful old couple, who had had, for the time and place, a large family. But, one after another of the family had married and divorced, and remarried. Sometimes, it was evident, they had lost touch entirely with one member of the family and his or her children. I never encountered two people with less joy of their grandchildren. It was a relief to finish with the list of their children, for it became painful to ask for particulars.

Adaptability was a necessary condition of survival. The Steeves could not have survived on the Petitcodiac if they had

not been able to cope with the conditions they found. The fact that they were willing and able to learn from the Indians and from Belliveau how to snare animals and catch fish, how to make maple sugar, and how to find edible greens on the salt water marshes, made them successful pioneers. It may have surprised Robert Cummings that the Hughes tenants were living mostly on herbs gathered on the marsh in the spring, and he may have turned up his nose at a mess of greens, but the settlers were showing their fitness for their task. The samphire greens were evidence of their ability to adapt, a fitting symbol for the story of the Steeves.

APPENDIX A

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT

Articles of Agreement made, Indented, concluded and agreed upon by and between John Hughes of the City of Philadelphia Merchant of the One part and Matthias Summer, Valentine Miller, Charles Jones, Henry Stief, Andrew Criner, Michael Lutz, Jacob Cline, Matthias Lentz, Jacob Trites

Of the other part Witnesseth that Whereas the said John Hughes hath purchased a Share in two Townships in the Colony of Nova Scotia, One of them situate on the River petitcoodiac And the other on the River St. John's, and Whereas the said John Hughes & his Associates have agreed that a Town shall be laid out next Summer in each of the said Townships agreeable to a plan laid out on paper or parchment and regularly numbered, and those Numbers drawn for, and sufficient Writing entered into by the several persons concerned to stand to and abide by the said Drawing as is particularly mentioned in the said Writings duly sign'd and Sealed. Therefore in Order to Encourage & secure each of the above persons, the said John Hughes agrees that each of the persons above named shall as soon as the Towns are laid out have one Lott of Forty feet in Breadth and Two Hundred and Twenty five feet or thereabouts in Depth or Length in one or other of the said Towns to be drawn for by Lott in a fair and Candid Manner, And the said John Hughes agrees with each of the persons aforesaid that as soon as all or any of them shall fence in with pales or Good post and Rails his Respective Lott And also build a House with a Stone or Brick Chimney in it On the said Lott That he the said John Hughes or his Heirs will release all his Right in the same to the Person or persons so improving his and their Heirs and Assigns for ever, Under the Yearly Quit-rent hereafter accruing to His Majesty and his Successors, And the said John Hughes further agrees with each of the persons aforesaid that as soon as a Division of part of the Land in each of the Townships aforesaid can be made after their Arrival in the Colony That there shall be laid out, in such parts of the One or other of the said Town-

ships as shall fall to the Share of him the said John Hughes or his Heirs, the Quantity of Two Hundred Acres of Good Land for every Family of Five protestant persons And so in proportion for a Greater or lesser Number of such persons in each Family they paying to the said John Hughes or his Heirs the Sum of Five pounds pennsylvania Currency for a Greater or lesser Quantity falling to the Share of one Family, And the said John Hughes and his Heirs agrees with each of the above named parties respectively that as soon as all any or either of them or their Heirs shall build a good House with a Stone or Brick Chimney in it upon the said Tract laid out for him or them, and clear, Fence & improve or Till Two Acres of Corn Land, and also clear, Fence and Mow One Acre of Meadow Ground and plant fifty Apple Trees upon the premises aforesaid respectively, And also pay or secure the payment of the purchase Money aforesaid with interest from the end of Five Years from the first Day of May next, That then the said John Hughes or his Heirs will release the Tracts of Land so Improved to the person or persons so improving respectively and to his and their Heirs and Assigns forever as fully and absolutely as the same is vested in him and his Heirs by Virtue of the patent Granted by Governor Wilmot to the said John Hughes and others, subject Nevertheless to the Quit Rents hereafter accruing to his Majesty and his Successors as Specified in the patent aforesaid, And the said Matthias Summer, Valentine Miller, Charles Jones, Henry Stief, Andrew Criner, Michael Lutz, Jacob Cline, Matthias Lentz, Jacob Trites Do each of them respectively for themselves & their Heirs promise Bargain and agree with the said John Hughes and his Heirs that they and each of them with their Families will within the Month of April next begin their Journey or Voyage to the Colony of Nova Scotia aforesaid and when they arrive there it is agreed that for the first Year they shall be allow'd the Liberty of planting or Sowing any clear Land that may be found upon the premises provided always that each person settling upon the premises have a proportionate part of such clear Land And Whereas a Division of part of the Lands in each Township is to be made as soon as possible the next Summer, It is therefore agreed by the said John Hughes that each of the persons aforesaid shall have his particular Tract laid out as soon as may be after the General Division is first made as aforesaid, each person paying the

Expence of Surveying and releasing his own Tract of Land and Lott, And the parties aforesaid do each of them for himself and his Heirs respectively Agree to and with the said John Hughes and his Heirs that each and every of them shall and will build, plant, cultivate and improve as aforesaid both the Lott & Tract of Land laid out for each of them as aforesaid And that each person & His Family shall and will reside upon his Tract of Land or in one or other of the said Towns for the Space of Four Years from the first Day of May next Death only excepted, And the said parties for themselves and their Heirs respectively do agree to sow or plant One Quarter of an Acre of Hemp every Year after the first two Years for thirty Years next ensuing the said two first Years.—For the True performance of all and singular the Covenants and Agreements herein made the said parties mutually bind themselves their Heirs Executors, Administrators and Assigns each to the other in the Sum of One Thousand pound Sterling recoverable on either or any of the said parties their Heirs or Assigns for the Neglect or Nonperformance of either or any of them their Heirs or Assigns in all or any part of the above Agreement; In Testimony whereof the said parties have to these presents Interchangeably set their Hands and Seals the Twenty Seventh Day of January in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty Six.

Signed, Seal'd & Delivered
In the Presence of us—

Anth^{y} Wayne
John Hughes Jun^{r}
Jo^{n} Hughes
Matthias Somer
Valentine Miller
his
Charles-/-Jones
mark
Henry Stief
Andrew Criner
Michael Lutz
Jacob Cline
Matthias Lentz
Jacob Trites

The said John Hughes and his Heirs agree with the within named persons & their Heirs that there shall be

laid out in some part of the Town a Water Lott shall be free and open forever for the use of the persons within named and their Heirs forever for a publick Landing for the said John Hughes and the said persons his and their Heirs forever—

Witness my hand & seal the Day & Year above s^{d}

Jo^{n} Hughes
Anth^{y} Wayne
John Hughes Jun^{r}

The said John Hughes further Agrees that the people that he sends to Nova Scotia shall have the use of what Clear Land falls to his share for the space of five Years If Necessary they Dividing it Equally Between them and also alowing any people he may hereafter send, an Equal part they alowing an Equal part of the Expence of fencing the same.

The said John Hughes agrees that any single man that goes to Settle in Nova Scotia On Either of his Two Townships shall have One Hundred Acres of Land on the Terms Afores^{d} and If he Marry's he shall have forty Acres for Every Child he has within four years from the first Day of May next, And a Married man & his wife shall have the same Terms . . . witness my hand & seal

Jo^{n} Hughes

APPENDIX B.

The seven sons and their families. This appendix is in the form which will be used for the Genealogy. As far as is known, this includes all the third generation. The completed Genealogy will include tenth generation in some cases. The author will be glad to take note of any errors or omissions brought to her attention and to receive additional information concerning descendants of Heinrich Stief.

In a few cases, dates of birth are calculated from ages given in the census returns for 1851, 1861, or 1871. In other cases, ages recorded on tombstones are used. Early marriage records are to be found in a volume preserved at the Fort Beausejour Museum. The notes of Rufus Palmer Steeves, now deposited at the New Brunswick Museum Archives Department, have been an invaluable source.

Jacob[2], b.c.1750, d.9.10.03. c.1772 m. Katharine or Catherine Lutz, b. d.1827, dau. of Michael Lutz.
John[3], b.1773, d.12.12.58. c.1795 m. Jane or Jennie Beatty, King John
Leonard[3], b.1775, d.6.8.33. m. Rebecca Beatty.
Rachel[3], b. d.y.
William[3], b.1781, d.8.11.48. 1.12.07, m. Esther Beatty.
George[3], b.1.12.85, d.15.5.70. m. Martha Smith. m. (2) Elizabeth Smith.
Nancy[3], b.1787, d.187-.

John[2], b.1752, d.1.2.21, lived on the homestead north of Gray's Island, on Gray's grant. 30.4.74, m. Margaret Lutz, b.1754, d.2.1.28, daughter of Michael Lutz.
Michael[3], b.13.12.74, d.3.1.40, d.3.1.40, 3.1.01 m. Mary Smith of Windsor, N. S.
Rachel[3], b.18.6.78, d. m. Thomas Dawson.
Henry[3], b.30.4.80, d. 52, m. Nancy (Ann) Hopper.
David[3], b.2.3.82, d. 47.13.2.07, m. Jane Boyd. 2.11.14, m. (2) Susannah Lutz.
Abraham[3], b.29.1.84, d.16.9.69. 22.11.08, m. Elizabeth Brown. m. (2) Sallie Steeves. m. (3) Elizabeth Rogers, widow of John Wortman.
Peter[3], b.17.12.85.

John[3], b.18.3.88, d.30.7.65. 8.2.14, m. Rebecca Woodworth. 3.6.19. m. (2) Lydia Jones. m. (3) Mary Osborne Taylor.
Katharine[3], b.3.3.90, d.1827. 11.5.10, m. William Duffy.
Isaac[3], b.22.9.92, d.11.10.87. 23.11.15, m. Ann Smith.
Thomas[3], b.17.2.95, d. 5.10.27, m. Judith Wilson.
Joel[3], b.11.4.98, d.1871. 4.1.21, m. Mary Smith. m. (2) Rebecca Smith.
Stephen[3], b.23.1.00, d.30.7.71. 4.3.30, m. Jane Garland.

Christian[2], b.1753, d.1820, was the third son of Heinrich and Rachael Stieff. He and the fourth son, Frederick, took over the Monckton property, obtained as a result of the suit against the Monckton proprietors. Christian[2] married Rosanna Trites, presumably daughter of Jacob and Elisha Trites. Rosanna's daughter, Elizabeth Cummings, whose father, Robert Cummings, had been one of the Hillsborough proprietors, lived with them until she married Reuben Stiles.
Henry[3], b.1779, d. 22.9.00 m. Ann or Nancy Sinton.
Rachel[3], b.1780, d m. Robert Colpitts
Mary[3], b.1782, d. m. John Jaques.
Jacob[3], b. d. 27.11.06, m. Sarah Ricker.
Ann[3], b. d.11.11.38. m. James Carlisle.
Susanna[3], b. m. Abraham Trites.
Christian[3], b. d.25.2.29. 13.2.13, m. Olive Lutz.
Job[3], b. d.17.7.40. 29.2.16, m. Catharine Jones.

Frederick[2], b.1755, d.1830?. c. 1781, m. Rachel Somers, dau. of Matthias and Somers. He lived on the Monckton land.
Andrew[3], b.24.3.82, d.28.8.46. 16.12.06, m. Elizabeth Smith.
Hannah[3], b.10.11.83, d. 5.11.05, m. John Wortman.
Lewis[3], b.26.2.85, d.16.10.59. 17.10.09, m. Elizabeth Trites.
Moses[3], b.30.1.87, d.
Reuben[3], b.20.2.89, d. 23.12.13, m. Lydia Trites.
Charles[3], b.31,3.91, d.1846. 19.11.13, m. Ruth Stiles.
Joshua[3], b.22.2.93, d. 30.10.17, m. Rosanna Jaques[4] (Mary[3], Chr.[2]).
Rosannah[3], b.28.3.96, d.1826? 12.1.15, m. John Lutz.
Margaret[3], b.17.4.00, d. 6.11.17, m. Charles Lutz.
Nancy[3], b.11.1.03, d. 29.6.26, m. John Jaques[4] (Mary[3], Chr.[2]).
Ephraim[3], b.27.3.05, d.25.10.83. 8.1.27, m. Jane Mitton.
Daniel[3], b.17.7.07, d.7.2.65. 20.1.28 m. Margaret Mitton.

Henry[2], b.1758?, d.1.5.26, of fever, it was said. He married, c.1781, Mary Beck, b.1761, d.3.6.26, dau. of Martin Beck, who had served in the Commissariat at Fort Cumberland. Martin Beck and his wife were said to be of Polish extraction, but the 1770 census of Cumberland lists them as German.

John[3], b.29.2.82, d. 29.9.57. 11.2.06, m Mary Ann Trites.
Martin[3], b.1784, d.1868. 13.8.15, m. Oranda Milton. m. (2) Mary Smith. m. (3) Susan Hayward.
Hannah[3], b. m. William Berton. 16.12.33, m. (2) Branch Milton. m. (3) Samuel Copp.
James[3], b.3.5.88, d.24.7.31. 22.11.11, m. Mary Ann Cameron.
Joseph[3], b.1790, d.30.3.42. m. Martha Gross.

Lewis[2] (Lodovic or Lutrick), b.1760, d.15.3.27. c.1786, m. Elizabeth Porter, b.1770-1, d.17.1.50, dau. of Samuel Porter? of Nova Scotia.

Margaret[3], b.1787?, d.29.7.27. 5.7.08, m. John Milton.
Rhoda[3], m. 1789, d.186-. 20.12.08, m. John Woodworth.
Miriam[3], b.1790, d.16.5.15. 4.7.11, m. Thomas Prince.
Samuel[3], b.1791?. d.25.12.68, m. Ann Jones.
Frederick[3], b.1793?, d.15.11.59. 6.1.18, m. Ann Smith.
Susannah[3], b.1796?, d.5.10.21. m. Branch Milton.
Rachel[3], b.1797? d. 15.3.21, m. Isaac Dawson[4] (Rachel[3], John[2]).
Lewis[3], b.1799, d. 18.10.25, m. Jane Kay.
Elisha[3], b.1802, d.20.11.72. 8.10.28, m. Delilah Smith.
Enoch[3], b. 1804, d.18.10.26.
Elizabeth[3], b.1806, d.14.11.26.
Abigail[3], b.1806, d.14.11.26.
Abigail[3], b. d. 4.11.30, m. William Ricker.
David[3], b.1809, d.18.2.51. 10.2.3[-] m. Jane[4] (Abr.[3], John[2]).
Henry[3], b.12.10.12, d. m. Rosanna[4] (Jacob[3], Chr[2].).
Arizena[3], b.1.1815, d.10.3.88. 1.8.33, m. Solomon[4] (Jacob[3], Chr.[2]).

Matthias[2], b.1761, d.21.5.48, aged 87, the youngest of the seven sons, attained the greatest age. He married Sophia Beck, who died 25.8.44, aged 76, daughter of Martin Beck, and sister of Henry's wife, Mary. They lived in Hillsborough, and had the second largest family, all but one of whom married and had descendants.

Aaron[3], b.18.10.86, d.7.5.45. m. Freelove Lewis.
Jacob[3], b.3.5.88, d. 12.11.18, m. Eleanor Bleakney.
Alexander[3], b.9.6.90, d.1874. 8.2.16, m. Sarah Horsman.

Elizabeth[3], b.14.9.92, d.1868. 12.10.15, m. John Gunning. 13.9.28, m. William Duffy[4], (Kath.[3], John[2]).
William[3], b.14.2.94. dr.1828. m. Ruth Randall.
Ann(ie)[3], b.-3.96, d.15.4.88. 13.5.24, m. James Dawson. m. (2), John Taylor.
Allen[3], b.1798, d.18 . 22.1.30, m. Elizabeth Calkin.
Charles[3], b.1800, d.11.9.62. m. Martha Carlisle.
Hannah[3], b.1802, d. 7.11.27, m. Henry MacDonald. m. (2) Edwin Mollins.
Simon[3], b.1804, d.1878or9. m. Mariah Somers. m. (2) Eliza Ann Wortman.
Mansfield[3], b.1809, d.1887. m. Ann Mollins.
Mary[3], b.1811, d.7.2.84. 23.7.29, m. Richard Gross.
Matthias[3], b.1813, d.

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