

The Shipbuilding Career of Gaius S. Turner of Harvey Bank, NB, 1874-1892

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The 1870s marked not only the high point of wooden shipbuilding in New Brunswick but also the beginning of a rapid decline. After 1874, output dropped dramatically, and from 1881 the percentage of Canadian ownership declined appreciably each year. Output dropped from a high of 150,000 tons in 1874 for New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island to only about 44,000 tons by 1891 (see figure 2). In 1883 Canada had the fourth largest mercantile marine in the world, but by 1900 it was seventh and by 1910 a distant tenth. The question that concerns many historians is how and why this decline occurred.¹ Traditional explanations often suggest a romantic longing for the "golden" days when the Maritimes were prosperous and renowned for their shipping. Explanations usually mention the iron sailing ships and later steam as though the advent of these alone were responsible for driving wooden sailing vessels off the seas. Rarely did shipowners or shipbuilders in the Maritimes make the transition to this new form of technology. Instead, they clung to the familiar in both construction and operation. Meanwhile, many shifted their capital to the supposedly safer spheres of railways and manufacturing. A study of the career of Gaius Samuel Turner, a shipbuilder of Harvey Bank, Albert County, New Brunswick from 1874 to 1892 offers a case study of the problems facing builders at a time of increasing difficulties. It also demonstrates how shipbuilding was part of a larger economy in Canada's Maritime provinces.

Economic historians tend to explain the failure of Maritime shipbuilders to make the transition to iron and steam by reference to two factors. The advanced technology adopted by Britain, and eventually by other shipping nations, made larger ships possible, which in turn drove down freight rates and provided an eventual disincentive to build wooden vessels. Second, the "National Policy" of railway and factory expansion behind tariff walls offered greater investment potential than the expensive transition to metal shipbuilding and ownership in a field in which the British already had a substantial lead. Turner's life in shipbuilding tends to illustrate both factors. During the first part of his shipbuilding career, profits from trade allowed him to finance his building activities, and he continued to build wooden sailing vessels for himself and others despite a decline in freight rates and a narrowing of profits. During the second phase of his career, declines in exports and shipbuilding profits wreaked havoc with his investment strategy in railways. He became

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heavily involved in local railways and politics as a means to ensure the continued economic progress of his part of the province. He foresaw the small village of Harvey Bank becoming under his leadership the centre of an integrated network of marine and railway services. Railways also offered political advantages in the form of patronage at election time. Turner relied on the tried-and-true methods of building wooden ships, at least in part because he lacked the expertise, materials and skills needed to build metal vessels. Owning metal vessels was also beyond his limited financial means. Despite declining freight rates, Turner continued to make a profit from shipbuilding into the 1890s. Ironically it was his investment in the new technology - railways - which led to his eventual bankruptcy.



Figure F. Gaius Samuel Turner, farmer, shipbuilder, trader, lumberman, quarry owner, railway promoter, Liberal-Conservative M L A for Albert 1878-1892, b. 1838. d. 1892, circa early 1880s.

Source: Courtesy of Kathleen Turner, Edmonds, Washington, United States.

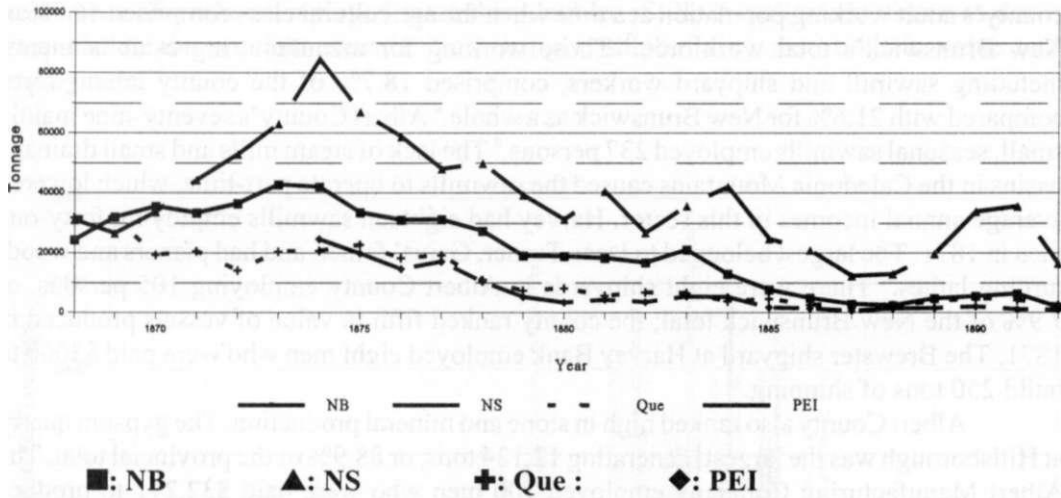


Figure 2: Ship Output of Four Provinces, 1868-1892. PEI has no statistics prior to her confederation listed. From 1868-1873 statistics were compiled as of fiscal year end 30 June. From 1874 statistics were compiled as of 31 December. This total does not include vessels built under Governor's Pass.

Source: Canada, Parliament, *Sessional Papers (CSP)*, Report of Trade and Navigation, "Comparative Statement of New Vessels Built," 1869-1893.

Albert County is geographically quite rugged with the exception of marshes at Waterside, on the Shepody River and in front of Hopewell and Hillsborough. While the terrain limited late nineteenth-century development, the view of the Acadians - and in 1765 of the Philadelphia planters Major General Henry Bouquet, Adam Hoops, Colonel Frederick Haldimand, Hugh Wallace and Peter Hasenclever - was that the marshes offered excellent agricultural opportunities once they were dyked and drained. In the northwest, Elgin Parish formed part of the drainage basin of the Petitcodiac-Kennecabasis River valley, with low hills and wider valleys on the Pollet and Little Rivers that also were suitable for farming. But there were also drawbacks. For the most part the Caledonia Mountains touch the Bay of Fundy and the Petitcodiac, limiting the extent of reclaimed marshes. The ruggedness hindered timber exploitation by requiring driving dams to ensure sufficient water flow to move the logs and by limiting the haulage that horse or oxen teams could do. Communication between the major villages was also difficult. The steepness of the hills circumscribed road construction, and the high tides and extreme currents - up to nine knots or more - on the Petitcodiac meant that even water travel was difficult. Communities thus tended to be isolated, with the exception of the Shepody marsh area. Hopewell Cape had ferry communications with Dorchester, the county seat of Westmorland and Albert County prior to 1845. Roads did not traverse the Shepody River area to Saint John until the 1840s, which necessitated water transport for personal and commercial communication.³

Census data provide decennial snapshots of the county's economy in 1871, 1881 and 1891. In 1871 Albert County's 1679 farmers and farm labourers represented 56.3% of the

county's adult working population at a time when the agricultural class comprised 46.7% of New Brunswick's total workforce.³ Those working for manufacturing establishments, including sawmill and shipyard workers, comprised 18.7% of the county labour force compared with 21.6% for New Brunswick as a whole.⁴ Albert County's seventy-nine mainly small, seasonal sawmills employed 237 persons.⁵ The lack of steam mills and small drainage basins in the Caledonia Mountains caused the sawmills to operate part-time, which lowered average annual incomes in this sector. Harvey had eighteen sawmills employing forty-one men in 1871. The largest belonged to Isaac Turner, Gaius' father, and had planers and wood-turning lathes.⁶ There were eight shipyards in Albert County employing 105 persons, or 7.9% of the New Brunswick total; the county ranked fifth in value of vessels produced in 1871. The Brewster shipyard at Harvey Bank employed eight men who were paid \$3000 to build 250 tons of shipping.⁷

Albert County also ranked high in stone and mineral production. The gypsum quarry at Hillsborough was the largest, generating 12,134 tons, or 88.9% of the provincial total. The Albert Manufacturing Company employed 100 men who were paid \$32,211 to produce \$41,940 of gypsum products. The Free Stone Quarries in Harvey Parish employed ten men and two boys for \$2400 in wages and produced 300 grindstones valued at \$3000. Albert County was also the centre of coal production for conversion to coal oil, with the Albert Mining Company producing 9000 tons, or 66.7% of the provincial total. Most of this coal oil went to the United States.⁸ Albert County's merchant and professional class was one and one-half percentage points above New Brunswick's average of 11.5%.⁹ The fisheries were relatively unimportant, with only one vessel and twenty-five boats, manned by only fifty-seven men. Albert County residents owned no steamships, but did have twenty-three sea-going sailing vessels of 4697 tons, representing 3.6% of the vessels and 2.6% of the province's tonnage. Seafaring labour, including fishermen, was concentrated in Hopewell, Harvey and Alma, representing 13%, 5.3% and 6.4%, respectively, of each parish's working population.¹⁰

The 1881 census reflected increased growth in the county, despite declines in shipbuilding and quarrying output of 27.6% and 20.9%, respectively. Gypsum production at the Albert Manufacturing Company fell to \$25,500, down from \$41,940 in 1871. But increased demand for stone after the Saint John fire of 1877 prompted two new quarries to open. Coal production doubled to 18,368 tons. The number of farmers in the county rose by 31.3% (and by 51.9% in Harvey). Land under cultivation increased slightly (1.8%) for the county but dropped dramatically for Alma (29.6%), Hopewell (16.8%) and Harvey Parishes (9.4%), although it increased sharply for Elgin (40.3%). Lumbering output grew 85.1% in the county but declined in Harvey Parish by 28.6%. There were two fewer sawmills. Railway workers began to appear with the construction of the Albert Railway, but they comprised only 0.9% of the working population."

The outstanding feature of the 1891 census was Albert County's eleven percent decline in population from its 1881 peak of 12,239.¹² The largest exodus was by persons reliant on agriculture and lumbering. Stone exports were now almost non-existent, and only one quarry was open, employing a single person who produced \$600 of output. This decline, however, was more than offset by the strong output of the Albert Manufacturing Company, which doubled its workforce to 100. Albert County produced half of Canada's gypsum products for export to the United States.¹³ Farmers increased by more than one hundred at Hillsborough, while losing more than 600 at Elgin. Sawmill operations declined by two but

the number of workers employed more than doubled. Still, overall production was down compared to the previous decade. Surprisingly, shipbuilding rose both in value and employment.¹⁴

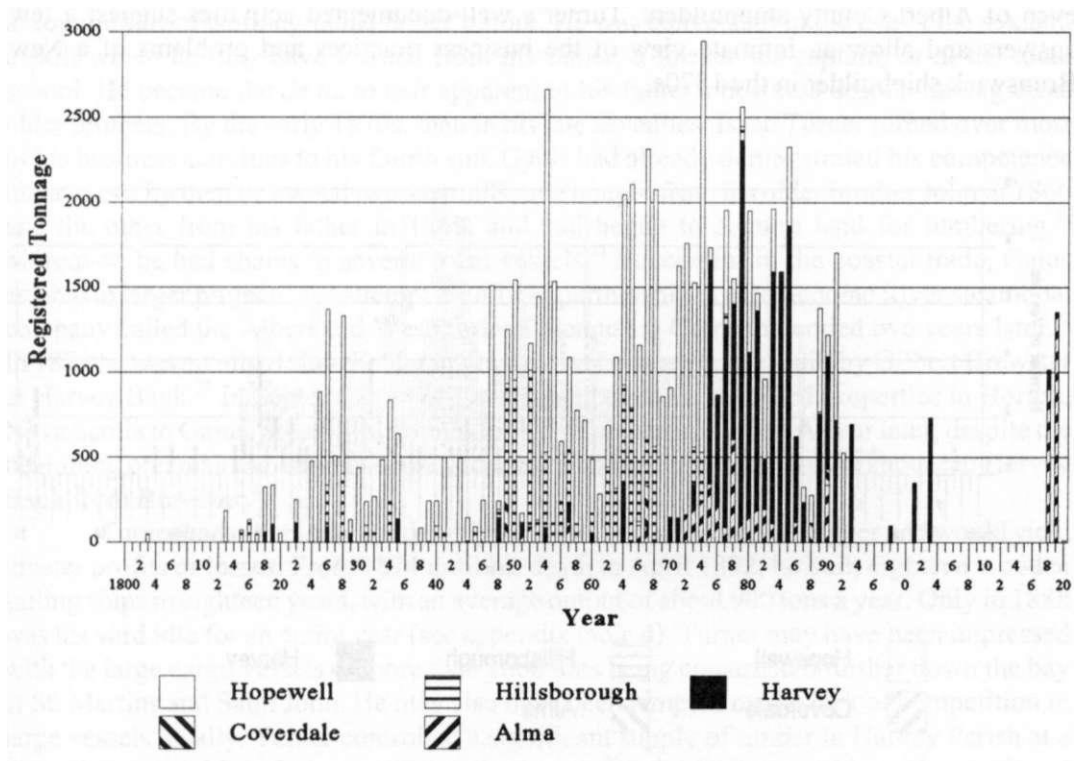


Figure 3: Tonnage Built in Albert County, 1800-1920. 1. Elgin parish did not build ships. 2. Ships were assigned to post 1847 parish boundaries. 3. Two scows built in 1930 and 1937 were not included because they were more akin to flat bottomed barges. Brig built 1793 not included.

Source: NAC, RG 12A, Port Registers, various ports, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

The three sets of census returns reflected the vicissitudes of the staple-based economy in which Gaius Turner lived and operated. Conversely, Turner's career would have a significant impact on the economy of Albert County. The extent of his shipbuilding activity distinguished him from other builders in the county: while others had built vessels of up to 600-700 tons, and one as large as 1300 tons, they did so only when the demand for vessels was particularly high. For example, Hopewell builders turned out three vessels over 1000 tons in the early 1850s and a 1297-ton craft in 1874 (see figures 3 and 4).¹⁵ But these were rare events; indeed, the median tonnage for an Albert County-built vessel between 1800 and 1920 was only 131 tons. Yet with the exception of one year Turner built large vessels

continuously for eighteen years.¹⁶ Despite decreasing demand in the 1870s due to competition from steam, a glut of sail tonnage and a depression beginning in 1873, Turner continued to build large wooden vessels, although the size often varied. Eric Sager and Gerald Panting have asked why Maritime shipbuilders and owners continued to invest in an outmoded form of transport in an age of steam and metal-hulled vessels.¹⁷ Although atypical even of Albert County shipbuilders, Turner's well-documented activities suggest a few answers and allow an intimate view of the business practices and problems of a New Brunswick shipbuilder in the 1870s.

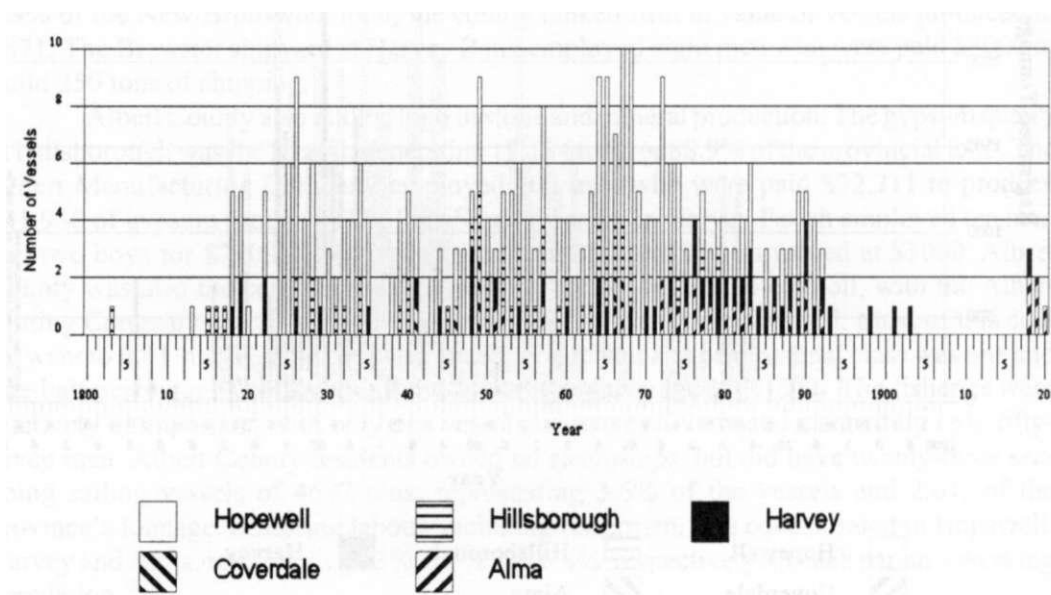


Figure 4: Numbers of Vessels Built in Albert County, 1800-1920. 1. Elgin parish did not build ships. 2. Ships were assigned to post 1847 parish boundaries. 3. Two scows built in 1930 and 1937 were not included because they were more akin to flat bottomed barges. Brig built 1793 not included.

Source: See figure 3.

By 1875, when Gaius Turner launched his first vessel, shipbuilding was a well-established industry in Albert County; residents over the years had constructed a total of 273 sailing craft ranging from three to 1297 tons.¹⁸ In 1874 New Brunswick shipbuilding reached its last great peak, and shipbuilders met local needs as well as responding to a seemingly insatiable British demand for wooden vessels. The county had economic ties with other communities in the upper Bay of Fundy and also with Saint John, the United States, the Caribbean, the British Isles, Europe and beyond. Places of vessel construction in Albert County included Coverdale, Stoney Creek, Weldon Creek, Hillsborough, Surrey, Edgetts Landing, Hopewell, Demoiselle Creek, Riverside, Harvey Bank, Cape Enrage, Waterside,

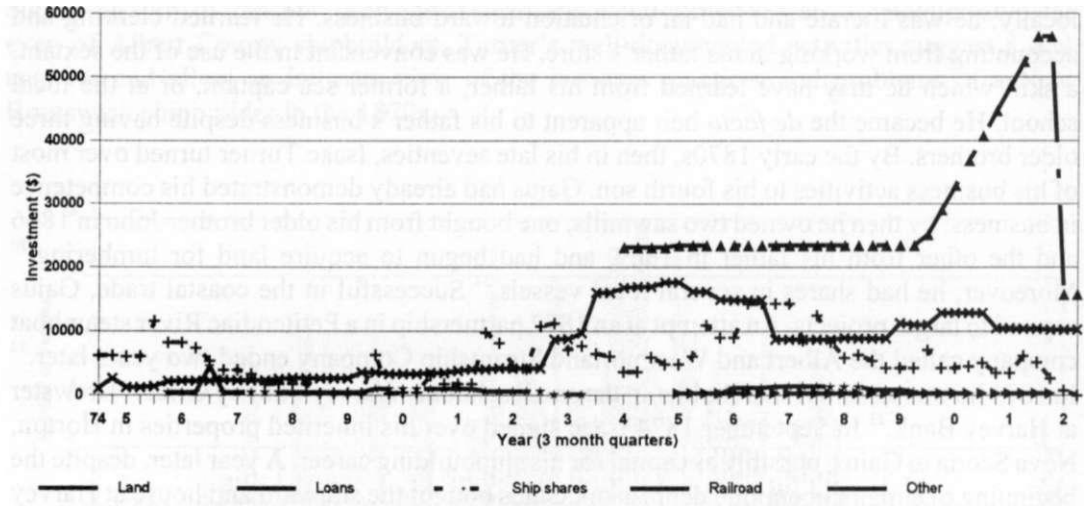
Alma and Point Wolf. The greatest output came from Hopewell, a three-kilometre section of shoreline that accounted for fifty-two percent of the county's tonnage. Production in the county also peaked in 1874 with a total output of six vessels of 2948 tons.

Little is known about Gaius Turner's early life and upbringing.¹⁹ While educated locally, he was literate and had an orientation toward business. He learned clerking and accounting from working in his father's store. He was conversant in the use of the sextant, a skill which he may have learned from his father, a former sea captain, or at the local school. He became the *de facto* heir apparent to his father's business despite having three older brothers. By the early 1870s, then in his late seventies, Isaac Turner turned over most of his business activities to his fourth son. Gaius had already demonstrated his competence in business: by then he owned two sawmills, one bought from his older brother John in 1866 and the other from his father in 1869, and had begun to acquire land for lumbering.²⁰ Moreover, he had shares in several local vessels.²¹ Successful in the coastal trade, Gaius aspired to larger projects. An attempt at an 1872 partnership in a Petitcodiac River steamboat company called the Albert and Westmorland Steamship Company ended two years later.²² In 1873 he was an initial shareholder in the small schooner *Harvey* built by Gilbert Brewster at Harvey Bank.²³ In September 1874 Isaac signed over his inherited properties in Horton, Nova Scotia to Gaius, possibly as capital for his shipbuilding career. A year later, despite the beginning of a major economic depression, Gaius bought the shipyard and house at Harvey Bank from Brewster.²⁴

Turner had other ideas for the shipyard. His vessels would be bigger and would yield greater profits or losses. From 1874 until his death in April 1892, he built eighteen wooden sailing ships in eighteen years, with an average output of about 900 tons a year. Only in 1888 was his yard idle for an entire year (see appendix table 4). Turner may have been impressed with the large cargo vessels of more than 1000 tons being constructed further down the bay at St. Martins and Saint John. He may also have been tempted by the lack of competition in large vessels locally. Turner controlled a significant supply of timber in Harvey Parish at a time when good ship's timber was becoming scarce.²⁵ Other builders at Alma, Hopewell and Hillsborough focussed on the coastal trade. Nehemiah Bennett of Hopewell, for example, had given up on large vessels.²⁶ However risky the new venture, ocean freight rates were rising in the early 1870s and Turner would have the "only game in town."

Having leased, or "borrowed," the Brewster yard in late 1874, Turner bought it outright on 3 August 1875.²⁷ The yard included the only site at the mouth of the Shepody River where large vessels could be launched. The slipway was on the south side, where the meandering action of the river had caused a bend, deepening and widening the channel and allowing the launch of 1000-ton vessels at high tide. Other places on the lower river had steep banks, while further upstream, towards Hopewell Corner, the channel was too shallow. The shipyard was also located near the wharf for the Turner store and was directly across the road from the Turner house. Although the yard was conveniently located, only one large vessel could be built at a time. By leasing the property Turner gained experience before paying the \$800 purchase price, a fairly common practice among new shipbuilders.²⁸ Turner hired Charles Frederick Dow, an experienced master shipwright from Saint John, with twenty-four large vessels to his credit as foreman.²⁹ Turner's role would be that of a shipyard owner, arranging contracts, purchasing materials and handling the business details. Dow's would be the master shipwright and yard foreman, responsible for the day-to-day supervision

of the yard and the actual construction. He was reverently known as "Boss" Dow. Their relationship was further cemented when Dow married Bathsheba Turner, Gaius' sister.



X : Land +: Ship Shares •:Railway shares *:Loans held Other

Figure 5: Turner Investments, 1874-1892. See appendix table 3. Investment portfolio does not reflect price index nor depreciation of ship shares. Figures were unavailable for his investments in the Mary's Point Quarry. His investment in 1883 in railways was the Harvey Branch and he received a \$7000 subsidy. This railway value is a calculation and excludes the subsidy. The rise in railway investment in 1889 is actual dollars invested.

Sources: NAC, RG 12 A, Port Registers; PANB, RS 84, Albert County Registry Office, PANB, RS 22, Provincial Secretary, Railway Administration, Elgin, Havelock and Petitcodiac; G.S. Turner Diaries, 1876-1880, 1887-1888, NB Museum, Albert County Historical Society, Bank Museum, David Christie "Harvey Branch Stock Certificate," Steven Marshall, "J.M. Stevens Ledger Book."

During the lease period Gaius Turner built one vessel, the 1317-ton *Revolving Light*. This proved a satisfactory experience. This vessel reflected a traditional pattern of finance. The ship had three key partners; Turner owned twelve shares and two Saint John merchants, Winthrop Robinson and Silas McMann, had ten each. The master, George A. Coonan of Harvey, held six. The remaining twenty-six shares went to his suppliers in Saint John. Excluding Turner and Coonan, only two other shares were held locally. Gaius obtained much of his working capital from his father Isaac who, in turn, obtained the cash by mortgaging part of his property to his brother Charles for \$4,857.40 on 23 January 1875.³⁰

Turner followed a familiar shipbuilding pattern. When the shipping prospects looked good for the next year, he would begin construction in the fall without a firm contract. He was usually successful in obtaining a buyer for the ship well before planking began. To finance this interim period he would often sell his vessel shares to finance material purchases over the winter (see figure 5 and appendix table 1). This method did not always work, especially in the turbulent shipbuilding market of the 1880s. Only once, in 1879, did he have a buyer waiting while another vessel was under construction.

With *Revolving Light* completed and plans for a second vessel, Turner had established himself as a substantial shipbuilder. Unfortunately, we do not know what his profit was on any particular vessel. But his small number of shares seems a reasonable indication of possible profit. The financing of the 594-ton barque *Serrano*, Turner's next vessel, suggests that he was learning caution. The market for large vessels had turned soft and *Serrano* was to be only half the size of *Revolving Light* (see figure 6).³¹ Furthermore, Turner did not wait for the long-term and risky profits of ship ownership but sought his profit in building and held shares in the vessels only as long as necessary. As a contract builder Turner normally received bi-monthly payments from his backers. E.B. Ketchum, manager of the Albert Mines, advanced over \$13,000 commencing in January 1876 for part of *Serrano's* construction. Turner still experienced cash flow problems, as suggested by a suit filed by Joseph H. Reid of Saint John in January 1876 for \$1000 for non-payment for copper and other materials used on *Revolving Light* (he settled out of court). Turner arranged *Serrano's* first charter carrying local lumber from Harvey Bank. He sold his remaining shares in *Revolving Light* in the winter of 1875-1876 to raise the capital for a third vessel.³²

Turner's diaries and other records give considerable detail on the source and variety of the materials used in his shipbuilding and suggest its role in the local economy. Although these are not subject to quantitative analysis, they tend to support the old "linch-pin" argument about the importance of shipbuilding to other industries in the Maritimes. Perhaps, as T. W. Acheson has suggested, Peter McClelland may have underestimated the importance of shipbuilding linkages.³³

In the case of *Serrano*, his suppliers were either local or in Saint John. Locally, he bought a large piece of oak from Captain E. Pye of Hopewell, a shipbuilder of medium-sized vessels. More large beams came from William Smith, a farmer from New Horton. Solomon Pearson, a sawmill and gristmill owner from Germantown, not only cut large logs for timbers, beams and frames, but acted as the moulder for specialty pieces like frames and garboards. James H. Sherwood and Nelson Jameson of Hopewell Hill fabricated spars, as did Bliss Steeves of Hillsborough. James Porter and D.H. Calhoun's sawmill in Harvey provided beams. John Moore's sawmill on Beaver Creek and the Owen Morris sawmill at New Horton cut most of the planks. James E. Fownes of Alma caulked the vessel on contract. In Saint John, Turner bought fabricated wood and metal products. The bowsprit came from George Williams, a ship carpenter from Portland. The windlass and timber for the masts came from John Fisher, another shipbuilder. The James Domville foundry provided the iron knees. David V. Roberts, a shipowner, broker and chandler, provided the copper sheathing. The oakum came from George F. Smith, a merchant and lumber supplier. Thomas J. McAvity and Sons, hardware wholesalers, supplied the brass fittings. Either James or John Gaynor, both block-makers, made the wheel. Additional cast iron came from the Allan Brothers Union foundry. The only other outside suppliers were Peter Léger, moulder, and Donald White, carpenter, of Caanan, Moncton Parish, who together provided

the treenails to fasten the planking. These treenails came in full boxcar loads via the Intercolonial Railroad, which passed by Caanan, and the Albert Railway. As suggested by his bowsprit and mast purchases, Turner had to buy his long timber pieces from outside Albert County.³⁴

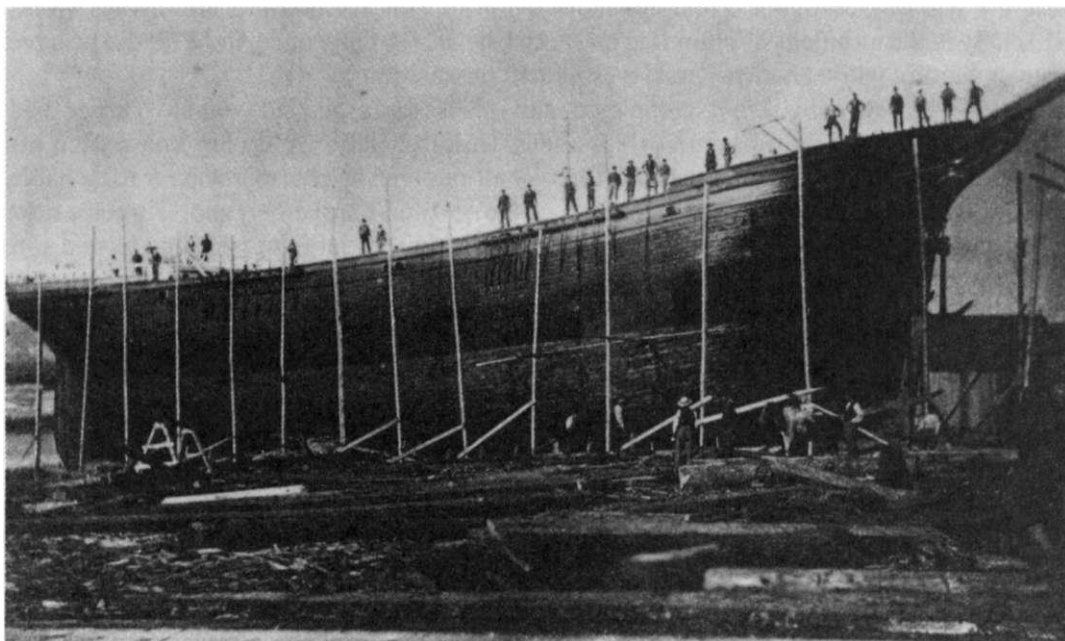


Figure 6: Revolving Light, under construction 1875, loft barn ("Boss" Dow's barn) in background, Turner store is to the right of the barn (unseen).

Source: PANB, P-69-3.

The building of two large vessels enhanced Turner's standing in the local community. In August 1876 he married Lucy Elizabeth Stiles, a school teacher and the daughter of a wealthy retired ship captain turned farmer named David Stiles, who lived in nearby Hopewell Hill. Stiles was a minor shareholder in *Revolving Light*.

Turner exerted a considerable amount of influence on his various business activities. He was a mobile executive, visiting his various businesses and occasionally becoming actively involved in specific operations. Although he preferred "hands-on" contact and control, in 1876 he hired Harding E. Graves to run the store to allow him more time for his shipbuilding and political activities. Turner continued to pay close attention to the shipment of goods and the arrival of materials. He often could be found in the woods selecting trees for ship timbers and often assisted in the hauling of logs by driving the teams. He also assisted in haying and in the compressing of bales for shipment and inspected his sawmills frequently. Acting as the local patron, he also loaned money to local businessmen to support their sawmilling and farming.³⁵

Turner played a role as international trader in buying local timber for export to Great Britain. He also sent hay to Newfoundland and the United States. Hay was the most valuable

staple of the Shepody, Hillsborough and Tantramar marshes and was sometimes exported to the detriment of local winter reserves. As well, he shipped potatoes from the Shepody marshes to Bermuda. It would appear that it was these combined economic activities that provided the financial wherewithal to develop his shipbuilding business.³⁶

In 1877 Turner weathered a major disruption to trade in the Saint John Fire. On the twentieth of June Turner was in the city purchasing shipbuilding materials when the fire broke out. It was, he commented:

the most calamitous fire that I ever saw. It commenced at York Point slip, spread rapidly from the place of beginning to Dock shed taking all before it to Market slip then around halfway up and thence till it struck King Street East and then to Courtney Bay taking all to the south end except the courthouse and Jail and 4 other buildings, clear to Lower Cove and the Barracks.

Most of his suppliers, including the Allan Brothers, James Domville, John Fisher, the Gaynors, Thomas McAvity and Sons, David Roberts, the Steeves Brothers and George Williams suffered severe losses, some losing their homes as well as businesses. Even the banks he dealt with burned down. Although most rebuilt, they would have less capital to invest in shipbuilding. The Steeves Brothers, who had been among Turner's leading clients, no longer invested in his ships.³⁷

Like other entrepreneurs of the period, Turner saw his business interests as closely intertwined with politics. As a patron in the community he gave employment, loaned money and provided favours to his supporters. In return he expected political loyalty. His diaries tell of letting local debts slide and even loaning mortgage money when he was low on cash. They also reveal a direct political involvement. During the first province-wide municipal-style elections of 1877, his diary records that on "29 May, Attended the first Municipal Elections at Harvey Corner. Got our man elected Guilford R Smith 181 votes and Asael Wells 170, Joseph W. Turner 125, Copp 118."³⁸

Turner had sought a seat in the provincial legislature as early as 1874 without success and was defeated again in 1876, but a four-week campaign in 1878 finally brought victory as a supporter of the winning Liberal-Conservative party. The key issues in New Brunswick politics in this period usually involved railways. A longtime supporter of the Albert Railway, in 1877 Turner withdrew from its board of directors when it refused to consider an extension south of Riverside-Albert. He then became a conspicuous champion of the Harvey Bank-New Horton extension.³⁹

Meanwhile, Turner's businesses prospered. He began construction of a new store at Harvey Bank in the summer of 1878 and secured the extension of the telegraph to Harvey Corner in January 1878, which was a great convenience to his trading and shipbuilding activities. He also made improvements to his shipyard. In the fall of 1878 he lined the slipway base with stone from the Mary's Point quarry in which he had an interest. He also laid iron pipe to bring water to the steam box for shaping planks, put in new foundations for an oakum loft, and moved "the old house" to the wharf to serve as an oakum loft.⁴⁰

The planning of the construction of his next vessel, the 1343-ton ship *Coringa*, began by mortgaging the shipyard for \$1500 to raise capital in a falling vessel market. Instead of obtaining a contract from Saint John interests, possibly because of fire

reconstruction, he found a buyer in Bennett Dewolf Smith of Windsor, Nova Scotia, who secured his investment with a lien on the shipyard. Since this was Smith's first dealing with Turner and the property was mortgaged, this was not an unusual precaution.⁴¹

Turner followed the early spring launch with another vessel built over the summer. This proved to be a financial mistake, as *Egeria* contributed to Turner's cash flow problems. Moreover, in 1879, Turner was active in quarrying, building a new store and sawmill, farming, trading, lumbering, and agitating for a railway extension to Harvey Bank. Each of these activities tied up capital, while the new store also diluted his available cash. A rough guide to his worth is indicated in his tax assessments in appendix table 2, but a truer indication of his financial worth, but not liabilities, is in figure 5. The necessity of having to issue large numbers of promissory notes to build his two vessels played havoc with his personal finances.⁴² Meanwhile, New Brunswick's stone, deals and hay exports declined markedly in the face of another economic crisis (see appendix table 3). Lumber prices had declined by 22.1% since 1875, the most recent good year.⁴³ Shipowners also faced low freights.⁴⁴ Declines in basic exports had an adverse impact on his overall cash flow. With bankruptcy looming, his father-in-law bought his new store on 31 October 1879 for \$1700 and continued Harding E. Graves as the manager. With Grave's help Turner eventually established that he owed \$15,000. After several weeks of negotiation with his Saint John creditors, which included some of his shipping associates and material suppliers, Turner settled for fifty cents on the dollar on his father's security, with a quarterly repayment schedule.⁴⁵

This setback did not spell the end of his business affairs because most businessmen realized that cash flow problems were a normal commercial hazard. Between 1875 and the end of 1879, bankruptcies in Canada almost doubled. Turner's financial difficulties were thus by no means unusual. Many shipowners worried about insolvency as freight rates reached their lowest levels since the late 1850s. Prominent firms, such as Steeves Brothers and the Vaughans of Saint John, also faced bankruptcy in 1880. Turner's situation, however, was aggravated by the outstanding debts of Albert County residents which he could not collect without forcing them into bankruptcy. In the end, he kept all but his new store and ship shares, which he had sold off. A Saint John lawyer, merchant, friend and confidante during this financial crisis, Montesque MacDonald, invested his own money on Turner's behalf to purchase the small coastal schooner *P. W.* in April 1880.⁴⁶

In seeking to re-establish his solvency in 1880, Turner turned again to shipbuilding as export prices began to rise. The economy seemed to be on the upswing elsewhere as well. Newspapers reported a trade revival with the United States. Exports of New Brunswick lumber rose from \$3.59 million for the year ending in June 1879 and to \$4.06 million in 1880. Exports of New Brunswick stone increased from \$29,018 in 1879 to \$40,469 in 1880 as the several quarries in the county expanded operations. Agricultural and wood prices halted their six-year decline.⁴⁷

Turner found a reliable and familiar customer in George F. Smith, a Saint John shipowner and merchant, who proposed a 948-ton barque in which he would hold thirty-four shares. Turner followed *Latona* with *Galatea* in 1881, a larger barque of 1178 tons, reflecting the better economic times and his continued relationship with Smith. The economy continued to do well, with lumber export prices jumping 14.3% in 1881.⁴⁸

With a slack shipping market in late 1881, Turner was unable to find a buyer for another large vessel. He resolved to keep his work force occupied and financed construction

himself of a much smaller vessel, the 299-ton brigantine *Argyll*, which cost \$15,701.76. Between September 1881 and January 1882 he sold six shares in *Galatea* to finance construction. He also tried something new when he mortgaged four shares for \$2000 to George F. Smith. Mortgaging shares would raise almost as much money as selling but would still entitle him to his share of profits. Not only was a relatively small brigantine cheaper to build, it was inexpensive to operate and well suited for the east coast and Caribbean trades. Turner held thirty-five shares worth \$8,586.90 and his wife bought six additional shares. The modest success of this vessel, in comparison to his other attempts at business diversification at this same time, and of which he was still the majority shareholder in 1892, helped put Turner back on his feet.⁴⁹

By the summer of 1882 the large ship market was looking better than in the past four years. In July Turner sold eight shares in *Argyll* for \$1760 to finance his next vessel, the 1482-ton ship *Vandalia*. Its size was an indication of a rebounding ship market, but also a reminder that ships needed to be larger for Saint John owners to make a profit in the low-value cargoes to which sailing vessels were increasingly relegated. George F. Smith and his associates provided most of the money by purchasing fifty-four shares.⁵⁰

As the economy continued to improve Turner invested in more timberland and another sawmill. In October 1882 he bought the James W. Wallace sawmill and property on Turtle Creek at Berryton in Coverdale Parish using a \$4500 mortgage. Less profitable were his ventures in the building stone industry. A five-year lease on the Mary's Point quarry in 1878, designed to take advantage of the demand for stone after the Saint John fire, soon turned sour. The US imposed a duty on building stone in 1880 to protect its own industry and American construction firms increasingly turned to concrete. Turner set out for New York in 1883 to find new buyers for the stone, but he was unsuccessful and did not renew his lease.⁵¹

During the building of *Vandalia*, Issac Turner died on 31 March 1883 naming, Gaius the chief beneficiary and administrator. As the favoured son, he inherited the old store, his father's timber lands and sawmills, three shares in *Revolving Light* and two shares in *Egeria*. The estate was worth about \$ 17,000 after settlement. This inheritance made Turner the single largest landholder in Albert County, with real property valued at over \$10,000. With a confidence bred of increased capital, Turner not only pushed ahead with shipbuilding but ploughed substantial sums into local railways.⁵²

Sager and Panting agree with T. W. Acheson that local shipbuilders and shipowners transferred capital away from the risky maritime sector and into the "safer" havens of manufacturing and railroads. As D. L. Poynter has noted, the National Policy "had left out the song of the sea and the sound of the lumberman's axe," as tariffs and taxes rose. Sager and Panting also suggest that for a brief period in the 1880s and 1890s landward investments offered better returns than shipping, thus encouraging the expansion of sugar and cotton mills, public utilities, the Nova Scotia metals industry and branch railways. The difficult question they acknowledge was who invested locally and who invested in central Canada and to what extent their investment portfolio moved out of shipbuilding and shipping. While Turner did transfer some of his money into railways, he kept it within the local economy. In the end his investment in railways would prove at least as risky as his investments in shipbuilding and shipping.⁵³

When the Albert Railway, which ran from Salisbury on the European and North American Railway, through Hillsborough and on to Riverside-Albert, refused to extend its

line south, despite Turner's entreaties, southern Albert County interests decided to construct their own. But there was disagreement among locals as to the route to Alma. A primarily "Liberal route" followed the north side of the Shepody River, while Turner and his Conservative supporters advocated a route via Harvey Bank and New Horton. The latter would allow Turner access to his shipyard, timberland and sawmills at New Horton and Roshea in addition to the West River sawmill property. He believed that once Alma became linked by railroad it offered shipbuilding potential and a port for the export of his West River timber as well as freight and passenger traffic. The railway also had the possibility of continuing on to Saint John.⁵⁴

At the time railroads symbolized prosperity and an investment in the future. Moreover, most investors valued the patronage and prestige that went along with railway construction. Both routes had been surveyed in 1878 as part of the Albert Railway construction. Turner was particularly concerned that whichever alternative was adopted would cross the Shepody River alongside the road to Harvey Bank, thereby providing rail service to his shipyard.⁵⁵ The Harvey Branch Railway became Turner's pet project. He abandoned his plans for the complete New Horton route temporarily when government engineers recommended the Shepody route and Liberal attacks on his integrity became virulent. Instead, Turner announced that a short railway to Harvey Bank from Hopewell Corner would meet his immediate needs and had a survey carried out in December 1881 to demonstrate his conversion. This interim plan called for a three-mile branch with a station, turntable and railway to the wharf and to Turner's shipyard. Since this extension would benefit Turner, he wound up with a greater personal investment in the railway than was normal for that period. In spite of previous subsidy promises made to induce him to cross the floor in the winter of 1883 to become Minister Without Portfolio, the Provincial Liberal government dithered. Instead, it paid for a bridge across the Shepody that could also be used for a railway. The Dominion government did not offer subsidies because the riding was Liberal federally and subsidies were opposed by Liberal Senator Abner R. McClellan of Riverside-Albert. Turner therefore had a bill pushed through the legislature in 1882 authorizing the Albert Railway to take over any branch lines. This was obviously an attempt to ally himself with larger railway interests in the county. While the inheritance from his father eased construction worries, he tried to hold down costs by using second-hand rails, purchasing an old engine from the Intercolonial and delaying construction of the station house, engine house and turntable until the fall of 1883.⁵⁶

Meanwhile, with the Harvey Branch nearing completion in the summer of 1883, Turner had another large ship, *Constance*, on order for George F. Smith. Lumber export prices remained high. British demand for Albert and Westmorland County beef developed with the advent of refrigerated steamships. The Intercolonial Railway also aided in the movement of goods. Turner's timber crews were in the woods selecting timber for *Constance* even before *Vandalia* was launched.⁵⁷

Turner sold his shares in *Constance* during the winter of 1884-1885 to finance the 1846-ton *Annie E. Wright*, the largest vessel ever built in Albert County and the third-largest New Brunswick wooden sailing ship. It was built for George Wright, a sea captain from Coverdale, who owned twenty-three shares, for \$55,841.50, or \$30.25 a ton. John Nelson Smith of Coverdale also had twelve shares. Turner took four shares valued at \$3,490.08.⁵⁸ Besides launching his largest vessel, he picked up another sawmill for \$450 and bought the bankrupt Caledonia Mining and Manufacturing property for \$350. He also had to rebuild

P.W., which Montesque Macdonald had helped him buy in 1880, and he bought into the Petittcodiac, Elgin and Havelock Railway, a northwestern Albert County Railway for \$250. He suffered a major loss in May 1885 when arsonists burned his sawmill at Turtle Creek. The next day they burned the house next door. The loss of the mill prompted him to begin liquidating his Turtle Creek properties over the next several years. Turner also had difficulty with James Campbell of Salisbury, a contract lumberman for the West River mill, who sued him for \$2000 over various issues.⁵⁹

Nonetheless, by the mid-1880s Turner appeared to be in the soundest financial position of his life. Despite his 1880 bankruptcy he had rebounded well. His inheritance solidified his real estate holdings and his investments in lumbering. The shipping market recovered and he had built three large ships consecutively without straining his capital. The completion of the Harvey Branch also looked favourable for his shipping needs. Turner now had over \$68,000 in investments. Although his shipping shares were worth more than in the 1870s, he was now directing a greater proportion of his investment capital towards land-based activities, especially railways. His political hold on the southern part of the county also seemed secure.

Despite all this, Turner had difficulty raising capital in 1886 during the construction of the 504-ton barque *Howard A. Turner*, which was named for his son. He sold two shares in *Annie E. Wright*, two shares in *Constance* and \$181 in land during the winter of 1885-1886. A hostile *Maple Leaf* spread the false rumour in October 1885 that Turner would be forced to sell his store. But Turner did lack capital to begin construction and was unable to obtain it from his usual backers. As bridge financing he obtained a mortgage from the Halifax Banking Company on his vessel during the final stages of construction.⁶⁰ Banks rarely loaned money to shipbuilders, preferring to accept third-party promissory notes or to allow overdrafts. This large shareholding by Turner translated most of his liquid assets into investment capital. When John N. Smith became the other significant shareholder, the mortgage was paid off. This was the only case where Turner obtained money from a bank to build a vessel. The smaller size of the *Howard A. Turner* likely reflected a declining market for large vessels.

During the election campaign of April 1886 the railway issue came to the fore and Turner's involvement in the provincial contract's delay became a source of public controversy. During the election campaign the Liberal newspapers *Maple Leaf*, *Saint John Sun*, and *Moncton Daily Transcript* warned electors not to support him. By this time he had come to accept that the Shepody route supporters were too strong. He would have to back the Albert Southern Railway (ASR) to make sure it used the Harvey Branch. Turner insisted, though, that as part of the running rights over the Harvey Branch a "Y," or switch, be used so that all traffic would first be required to come into Harvey Bank, making it the *de facto* terminus of two lines. This concession brought him into the good graces of both factions in time for the election. According to newspaper reports, Turner arranged through Charles Peck to have the Conservative Sheriff, Asael Wells, declare the Liberal candidates disqualified on the technicality that they had not been properly nominated. Turner and Dr. William J. Lewis were elected by acclamation. The *Moncton Daily Times* reported that Wells and Peck were burned in effigy after the election by a crowd of 200 at Hopewell Cape.⁶¹

Meanwhile, shipbuilding continued. Turner's next vessel was the 205-ton schooner *Arabella*, built for Captain William Buck of Dorchester. Started late in the winter of 1886-1887 for \$18 a ton, to be paid by Buck taking over a Bank of New Brunswick note due 18

March 1887, Turner in effect built the vessel to pay a debt incurred in railway construction. This was also a year of plummeting ship prices. Turner took twenty-two shares in the completed craft.⁶²

To meet his expenses, Turner again had to sell off assets and borrow. Meanwhile, he finally broke through the obstacles to subsidies on the Harvey Branch at the federal level. With the election of Richard Chapman Weldon, a Liberal-Conservative lawyer, in the 1887 Dominion election, the federal subsidy finally became available. The agreement gave Turner \$9000, which he immediately used to improve the Harvey Branch. He also moved to control the railroad late in 1888. He had acted as financial agent and provider of working capital for the chief contractor, David Oliver, a former Turner shipyard worker and one-time builder of a small schooner. Turner refused further money without a greater degree of control. Oliver signed over his rights to the construction subsidy on 6 December 1888. In June 1889 Oliver sold his interest in the railway to Amasa E. Killam of Moncton, a Liberal-Conservative, who had built the Albert Railway, the Gunningsvale Bridge across the Petitcodiac at Moncton and several other major bridges and small railways. With this new board came the definitive decision to abandon construction on the north side of the Shepody in favour of the southern route from the Derry's Corner 'Y' junction.⁶³

These disputes left Turner and his railway dangerously isolated. Turner had angered Peck and a faction of the Liberal-Conservatives when he supported H.R. Emmerson against Lewis in the 1888 by-election. Turner thought Emmerson would assist in securing a provincial subsidy; Peck then blocked Emmerson's personal investment in the line. Emmerson won the by-election and the general election in 1889 when the Liberal-Conservatives divided over the nomination. Turner discovered his new protege was seldom willing to take direction. The controversy between Turner and Emmerson became public during the provincial election of January 1890.⁶⁴

Meanwhile, mired in a morass of railway politics and heavy expenses involving an engine, switches, rails, spikes and buildings, Turner was in no position to absorb the disappearance of *Arabella* on a coal run between New York and Halifax in early December 1887. His loss was about \$9000.⁶⁵ In 1888 the shipyard remained idle. With railway subsidies payable only upon completion of specific sections, Turner chose to channel his capital there.

In 1887 and 1888 Turner scrambled to stay afloat. With A. E. Killam taking over the ASR as president and chief contractor in early 1889, thus providing much needed stability, Turner turned back to real estate investment and shipbuilding. The sale of the shares in *Argyll* assisted with the construction of the 599-ton barque *Carrie L. Smith*, launched on 15 June 1889 for J.N. Smith of Coverdale, who bought twenty-one shares, as did Turner. Turner re-mortgaged all his property for \$6000 to Mount Allison University on 1 October 1889 to keep afloat. He used this mortgage to repay the \$6000 mortgage from 1886 held by A. E. Botsford.⁶⁶

Political divisions forced Turner out of the newspaper business in the summer of 1889. In 1885 he had invested in the Liberal-Conservative *Weekly Observer* to counter the Liberal *Maple Leaf*. But the *Weekly Observer* suffered drastic reductions in circulation after the by-elections of 1888 and 1889 in which Turner formed an alliance with the *Maple Leaf* to elect H.R. Emmerson in return for his support for the ASR. The newspaper folded in July 1889 amid pending litigation over bills.⁶⁷

The year 1890 started badly. The *Howard A. Turner* was abandoned at sea in January, after having undergone extensive repairs in October. The cargo was only insured for \$3700 and the hull for \$7000, the latter a fraction of its value. He sold thirteen shares in *Carrie L. Smith* to finance the next vessel, the 576-ton barque *Alert*, launched in June for J.N. Smith and other Albert County, Saint John and Nova Scotia investors. Turner sold *Lima* outright in July 1890, along with eighteen shares of *Argyll*, to pay his bills. He accepted two shares in *Alert*, but sold these immediately after its launch.⁶⁸

During the winter of 1890/1891 Turner built without any apparent financial difficulty *Alexander Black*, a 575-ton barque for Alexander Black of Dorchester. Black took twenty-two shares, Turner five and Lucy Turner two. *Alexander Black* cost \$27.80 per ton for the hull, or \$247.07 a share, implying a Gaius Turner investment of \$ 1235.35 and another \$494.14 from Lucy Turner. The rest of the shares went to Albert County, Moncton and New York investors. Turner's monthly wage bill for April 1891 - the only Turner wage bill known to exist - came to approximately \$763.83 for forty-three men. He also noted that up to 8 May 1891, the ship materials, not including wages, had cost \$13,531.62. This reduced building was a far cry from the 100 men he used to employ in the early 1880s. During the construction of *Alexander Black*, Turner sold no ship shares, although it is possible that the sale of the Bishop estate served the same purpose.⁶⁹

By 1891 Turner was in dire financial straits. The Harvey Branch Railway had not been a success since its completion in 1883. Despite increasing exports through Harvey the railroad could not attract sufficient traffic to turn a profit. It was still easier to unload and load on the north side of the river and more convenient to use the Albert Railway to access Albert County markets. Further, the re-incorporation of the cash-strapped and complacent Albert Railway into the energetic and re-financed Salisbury and Albert Railway resulted in a one-year temporary injunction preventing the ASR from exercising running rights across the Harvey Branch unless the Salisbury and Albert were given similar privileges. This hurt only the Harvey Branch and ASR, while traffic on the Salisbury and Albert continued to increase. Freight shipments out of Harvey fell drastically that year. Passenger traffic was also less than expected and could not offset the freight losses. The decline of traffic could not have been forecast ten years before because Albert County had enjoyed consistent long term population growth. Beginning in the early 1880s, though, many Albert County natives left to seek their fortunes in the west. This, combined with the railroad's maintenance costs, meant that it operated at a loss each year. Turner also failed to receive the final portion of his Harvey Branch subsidy after a Dominion engineer classed the railroad as inferior. The Harvey Branch problems were by no means unique, as all the Albert County railroads experienced financial difficulties from 1888 to 1892.⁷⁰

The final deterioration in railway finances began in September 1891 when Henry A. Powell of Saint John sued for the non-payment of bills totalling \$8202.88. The ASR had amassed costs of \$202,894.90 in construction, of which less than half had been paid by federal (\$51,200) or provincial subsidies (\$46,500). The initial construction estimate for the ASR had been \$16,000 a mile, or a total of \$259,200. Shareholders' costs increased dramatically as political infighting prevented a \$ 120,000 bond issue. The political delays and the abandonment of two graded sections added significant cost. The ASR in April 1891 had outstanding debts of \$37,353.31 and receivables of \$24,500, leaving a net debt of \$12,953.31. Turner was not held accountable for cost overruns but only the unpaid bills.

Unfortunately, even R.C. Weldon's successful negotiation of a final \$6000 direct payment to the ASR from Ottawa came too late.⁷¹

The provincial government once again cut off subsidies in late May 1891, leaving the Bank of New Brunswick with an outstanding balance of \$5324.28 against the ASR. Senator A.R. McClellan placed a freeze of \$2500 on Dominion ASR bonds in early November 1891 while ownership of a train engine was sorted out. Powell again sued the ASR directly on 16 November 1891 and received a judgement for \$7180. Turner, in an attempt to save his own investment, also sued the ASR for \$35,000, receiving a judgment for \$33,000 the day after Powell's. Attempts to gain an additional \$6000 in subsidies based on the company's estimate of the railway's length of 17.5 miles met with failure when A.G. Beckwith, Department of Public Works engineer, determined that the ASR was 16.2 miles long, including sidings. R.C. Weldon's negotiations for extra subsidy in September released over \$15,000 in cash from the Dominion government but the provincial government was slow to contribute. The subsidy was also still contested between the ASR, the Saint John hardware merchants Slipp and Harding, and Warren Oliver. Slipp and Harding secured an injunction on the subsidy in December 1891. Oliver claimed the money belonged to him since he had the contract at the time the subsidies were due. Slipp and Harding put in their claim because of debts owed them by Oliver. The ASR contended the subsidy was theirs because Oliver did not finish the railway. In a court judgement, the ASR kept the subsidy and agreed to pay Oliver's debts. Turner, as president of the ASR, acknowledged the railway's completion and requested a settlement of subsidy accounts by the provincial government on 17 February 1892. Here Turner's claim of the ASR length was supported by George A. Schofield of the Bank of New Brunswick who noted that, as of 5 September 1892, the provincial government still owed \$1100 on the 16.2 miles constructed.⁷²

With Powell's civil action and the problems with the subsidies, both the ASR and Turner found it difficult to meet their financial obligations. Despite real property valued at \$10,450, a personal estate estimated at \$1500 for tax purposes, shares in five vessels, a shipyard with plans for another vessel to be launched in the spring of 1892, a store, a railway, two lumber mills, and income from the House of Assembly, Turner was seriously over-extended. The Bank of New Brunswick called in \$4350 in loans and overdrafts on 24 September 1891. Five days later Turner received a consolidated statement outlining his difficulties from the Bank of New Brunswick. He owed the bank \$13,950 for notes due in August and September and was overdrawn by \$24.57. Interest charges on all the notes for the year came to \$83.79. The Bank of Nova Scotia, Saint John, also put pressure on Turner. It noted debts of \$1029 and \$1976.16; the latter figure was overdue by eighteen months in December 1891 and the Bank demanded immediate repayment of \$2000 with additional security on the rest.⁷³ Turner sold his remaining shares in *Alexander Black, Argyll, Egeria* and *Latona*.⁷⁴ He then offered the ASR to C.W. Harman of New York, who owned the Salisbury to Harvey Railway under the title of the National Improvement Company. But Harman declined, noting the poor market for railways at the time. On 8 January 1892 the Bank of Nova Scotia sued Turner and his railway associates for an overdue note of \$1976.16. Although the defendants denied all knowledge of this note, the court found in favour of the Bank. In January, T. McAvity and Sons, hardware merchants of Saint John, noted non-payment of a note and politely asked for one-third repayment. Henry A. Powell launched another suit against the personal estates of the ASR directors on 27 February 1892 to recoup \$8152 loaned to Turner, Bliss Steeves, Joshua M. Steeves (a Hillsborough

merchant) and John A. Beatty in 1891. Powell further noted a judgement of \$7180 from November 1891 that had yet to be paid.⁷⁵

J.M. Stevens, a Harvey Corner store owner, and Turner spent early February trying to stave off bankruptcy with bank loans but the banks were unprepared to accept further risks. On 22 March 1892, James C. Robertson of J. Harris and Co., Saint John, sued Turner for \$2000. Mount Allison University also called in the mortgage it held for \$6000 on Turner's property. The ASR's rolling stock sold at public auction on 24 February 1892 for \$3000 to H. A. Powell. By Turner's own calculation he owed \$14,228.00 in promissary notes coming due between 28 March and 19 April 1892. Turner's judgement against the ASR for \$33,000 remained unpaid as of his official bankruptcy on 1 April 1892. Nothing could be paid because Turner was the key shareholder and the railway had no further borrowing capacity. This manoeuvre merely provided legal protection and a claim on the railway if sold at public auction.⁷⁶

The Harvey Branch did not escape the breakup of Turner's business interests. Turner had signed over his 600 shares to H.A. Powell of Sackville on 23 October 1891 to settle outstanding court judgements. Part of the problem with the Harvey Branch was that it had yet to receive its full subsidy from 1887. Some work had not been completed to the Dominion government engineer's satisfaction and \$4046.43 was still outstanding. The rolling stock was sold at public auction on 24 February 1892 and the railway experienced a similar fate in June. The sale of the rolling stock raised only \$3000. Turner finally declared bankruptcy on 1 April to seek protection from his creditors. George A. Coonan bought his store the same day. On 15 April W.A. Trueman bought the four shares in *Carlotta*. Unlike his previous bankruptcy, Turner no longer had a rich father to offer security on a repayment plan. Further, virtually every piece of property he owned was mortgaged to its maximum, giving him little room to negotiate.⁷⁷

In the spring of 1892 Turner faced the decline of his health, which may have limited his ability to save his empire. He had suffered from a hernia since 1887 and in March 1892 entered Fredericton's Victoria Hospital during the session of the House. He spent six weeks in serious condition before an abscess burst and he died of sepsis on 25 April.⁷⁸

Turner's death brought about the fragmentation of his business empire to pay off his incurred debts. The remainder of his personal property sold at public auction to settle his estate on 13 September 1892, after being delayed four times to allow creditors to register their claims and to ensure enough potential buyers. Alexander Black bought the unfinished *Westmorland* that was on the stocks and Harding Graves arranged to have it finished. C.F. Dow, Turner's shipyard foreman, bought the shipyard for \$230. While the value was much less than the \$800 paid in 1875, the shipbuilding industry was in recognizable decline, and Dow was the only man locally with the experience to run it. The West River property and mill sold for \$5345. Lucy Turner purchased the house she lived in down the road from the shipyard. Bathsheba Dow, C.F. Dow's wife and Turner's sister, bought one and a half acres, which included the house she and "Boss" Dow lived in. The auction of Turner's property raised \$8770. Since he owed more than \$22,500 just to the major creditors, few received full reimbursement. His brother John placed a notice in the *Maple Leaf* the summer of 1892 warning would-be purchasers of auctioned Turner property that Gaius had not paid him his inheritance of \$1000 from Isaac's estate of 1883.⁷⁹

Gaius Turner's death eventually brought much hardship to Harvey Bank. He had been the key economic engine in the community for almost twenty years. As one of the

largest employers in Harvey Bank and the parish, Turner was missed by his friends and even his opponents. At his peak in 1878 he had employed the major portion of the male population in Harvey Bank, in addition to the many woodsmen and other businessmen from whom he bought materials. Although he "ran" most things in Harvey Bank with a fairly heavy hand, Turner seems to have been well respected. The politicization of the railways, however, cost him much in local cooperation. His funeral was attended by 600 people and 150 carriages jammed the narrow road outside the church. His Masonic colleagues buried him and special trains ran for the day of the funeral.⁸⁰

Turner's death also ended large-scale wooden shipbuilding at Harvey Bank. Charles F. Dow and Harding Graves finished *Westmorland* in 1893 and built two major vessels after this, *Ethyl B. Sumner* in 1900 and *Edna M. Smith* in 1903. It was not Turner's bankruptcy that caused the decline of shipbuilding at Harvey Bank, but rather general trends in shipbuilding and shipowning.⁸¹ The size of wooden vessels had been decreasing since the construction of *Annie E. Wright* in 1885. With a decreasing market for wooden sailing ships, there was no other person with the financial resources, experience and energy to replace Turner. Senator A.R. McClellan briefly considered building small vessels at Riverside-Albert, but the writing appeared on the wall and he was more interested in politics in Ottawa, which eventually led him to the Lieutenant Governorship of New Brunswick in 1896 when Wilfrid Laurier came to power.

At first glance Turner appeared to be the victim of two factors. The first was the demise of the shipbuilding industry that went hand-in-hand with the decline of staple exports.⁸² This was, in part, caused by the depletion of staple resources and the increase in timber costs. The decline of freight rates was itself a factor. So too was the greater safety that steam vessels now afforded.⁸³ There was an oversupply of sailing vessels that were now lasting much longer due to improved navigation aids, knowledge of weather patterns and new shipboard aids such as steam-powered donkey engines, wire rigging and metal masts.⁸⁴ The telegraph also sped up communications which tended to end windfall profits. The decline of the staple export market also affected him directly. His trading business in potatoes, lumber and hay declined over the same period and the profits, if any, could not make up for poor shipbuilding years.

There were still advantages to building a vessel, loading it with local timber and sending it to England from Albert County in the 1870s and the early 1880s. The profits may not have been as high as at mid-century, but in an era of low taxation a moderate return could be profitable over the increasing life span of Maritime vessels. Here local owners were rational in choosing the wooden hull over the much more expensive metal ship.⁸⁵ Steam-driven and metal-hulled vessels had not yet entered the staples trade in significant numbers because of the higher initial outlay, operating and machinery costs. Coal consumption limited the routes they could profitably exploit until the adoption of the compound engine in the 1870s and, especially, the triple-expansion engine of the 1880s. If metal sailing vessels were expensive, metal steamers were even more so until the development of more efficient steel production techniques in the mid-1880s.⁸⁶ This level of technological ownership was beyond the resources of the merchant-capitalists of Albert County, none of whom Dun and Bradstreet rated above \$40,000.⁸⁷ Metal ship construction was never seriously considered locally.

In the 1880s it appeared to many that it would be more profitable to invest in new provincial or dominion industrial enterprises. But an Albert County merchant owning a

wooden sailing vessel could still earn good money in specific trades such as timber, fertilizer, case oil and wheat. The declining costs of a wooden ship, lower total wage bills for sailors and the larger hulls and simpler sail plans tended to keep the vessels profitable.⁸⁸ Wooden sailing ships could also earn money servicing routes not catered to by steam vessels.⁸⁹ Turner rarely stated what factors influenced his decision-making, but his actions in building larger vessels in the early 1880s suggest that he was following the pattern which Eric Sager has outlined in which larger vessels were needed to make any profit in the bulk trades. Despite Peter McClelland's assertion that the profits from ship ownership were inconsequential in the overall picture of the New Brunswick economy, they were certainly important for Turner and his community.⁹⁰ But Turner's investment in smaller vessels in the late 1880s suggests that he had largely abandoned building for the trans-oceanic trades.

The second factor in Turner's financial demise was his over investment in railways. Because Turner was the majority shareholder in the Harvey Branch, owning 600 of 650 shares, and a significant shareholder in the Albert Southern Railway, of which he was President, much of his capital became tied to projects whose completion, like railways elsewhere in the province, would show that they could not be run at a profit. Yet he had very good reasons for these investments. Railways were beneficial for his other businesses and for the local community. If he did not build the railways, they would not have been built. Yet in retrospect it is clear that he became enmeshed in projects which were not economically viable. Albert County relied heavily on the transport of staples for which demand in international markets fluctuated. Even passenger traffic was less than expected once large-scale out-migration began in the 1880s. This in turn would affect the trade of goods brought in from elsewhere. Only an unusual degree of government largess could have allowed Turner's railway to break even in the early 1890s.

But the political game was risky and government aid cumbersome and uncertain. The politics that surrounded the ASR and its route enticed Turner into greater investment in the Harvey Branch than was prudent. Potential subsidies for the ASR drew him in further, only to find these blocked in part by political infighting. Delays in subsidy payments meant economic difficulties for contractors whose limited capital resources vanished into the construction. Warren Oliver declared bankruptcy, as did Turner, who never did collect the total subsidy for the Harvey Branch. Railways were one of the reasons Turner participated in politics, and it is ironic that politics was one of the reasons he was unable to meet his financial obligations in 1892.

It would be easy to criticize Turner for his investment failures. Bank shares, cotton mills, sugar refineries, all within the province, offered significant investment opportunities.⁹¹ Outside the province, the Ontario and Prairie economies boomed under the spending brought about by the Canadian Pacific Railway and Sir John A. Macdonald's "National Policy."⁹² Or he could have pursued the cautious investments in agriculture, timber and land which would have allowed him to pass on intact the moderate fortune which he had inherited from his father. But Turner was a dedicated entrepreneur. Money was to be used to make money. In the process it created jobs and developed the local community. Turner was also a localist. His focus was on his own small community where he played the role of patron and identified its economic interests as his own. His investments in timber and agricultural land, quarries and even railways were long-term projects from which he expected that both he and his community would ultimately benefit. Moncton and Saint John did not interest him as places of investment because they were beyond his range of control both politically and financially.

There were wealthier men than Gaius Turner in Albert County in the last decades of the nineteenth century and there were several with much stronger credit ratings. But none came close to exerting the economic impact of this ambitious builder of wooden ships and railways.

NOTES

- * Bradley T. Shoebottom is a recent MA graduate from the University of New Brunswick, where he wrote a thesis on New Brunswick shipbuilding. He is presently employed doing computer-based training in Fredericton and is working on a history of Albert County. He plans to write a PhD thesis on Canadian shipbuilding during World War I.
1. For early staples economic explanations of the decline of wooden shipping, see C.R. Fay and H.A. Innis, "The Maritime Provinces," *Cambridge History of the British Empire* (New York, 1930), VI, 663; and S.A. Saunders, *The Economic History of the Maritimes Provinces* (1937; reprint, Fredericton, 1984). G.P. de T. Glazebrook, *A History of Transportation in Canada* (Toronto, 1938), largely ignores the issue of the decline. Frederick William Wallace, *Wooden Ships and Iron Men* (Boston, 1927), takes a romantic view and blames the change in technology from wood and wind to iron, steel and steam for driving Maritime vessels off the seas. This argument was repeated as recently as the 1960s and 1970s in, for example, John Parker, *Sails of the Maritimes* (Toronto, 1960); Stanley T. Spicer, *Masters of Sail* (Toronto, 1968), and Esther Clark Wright, *Saint John Ships and Their Builders* (Wolfville, NS, 1976). Peter McClelland, "The New Brunswick Economy in the Nineteenth Century" (Unpublished PhD thesis, Harvard University, 1966), argues that combined shipbuilding and forestry exports comprised no more than fifteen percent of the economy and denounced the "linchpin" theory. More recent scholars, including David Alexander, Gerald Panting, Keith Matthews, Eric Sager, Rosemary Omner and Lewis R. Fischer, all associated with the Atlantic Canada Shipping Project at Memorial University of Newfoundland, produced a number of works dealing with the issue of the need for shipping and its investment opportunities as a motivation for shipbuilding. This tireless effort of computerizing shipping registries and British Empire crew resulted in the seminal work by Eric W. Sager with Gerald E. Panting, *Maritime Capital: The Shipping Industry in Atlantic Canada, 1820-1914* (Montréal, 1990).
 2. The Shepody Road was a mere pathway until the arrival of the Irish immigrants who settled along it in Albert County. See R.W. Fanjoy, "The Story of the Shepody Road," *Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society*, No. 18(1963), 214-218.
 3. The adult workforce includes all adult males and wage-earning females. These numbers were obtained from National Archives of Canada (NAC), Manuscript Census (1871), schedule 2. Canada, Parliament, *Sessional Papers (CSP)*, book B(1875), 1871 Census, table XIII, "Occupations," 353, there were 1791 farmers listed, including part-timers and tradesmen/farmers. Aggregate statistics have not been used unless noted because of unknown classification techniques. In any case, for farmers the discrepancy was only 1.3%.
 4. Grouping together Trades/Industry, Shipbuilding, Lumbering, Quarry/Stone/Miner from Tables in appendix 1 gives 17.3% of the working population compared to the 18.7% in *ibid.*
 5. *Ibid.*, "Products of the Forest," 236-237. Graeme Wynn, *Timber Colony, A Historical Geography of Early Nineteenth Century New Brunswick* (Toronto, 1981), notes that the foci of the timber industry were on the Miramichi, Saint John and St. Croix rivers. Comments on Westmorland and Albert County sawmilling in relationship to the provincial output before 1850 may be found on 37-41, 97, 106, 109 and 163-164.
 6. NAC, Manuscript Census (1871), Hillsborough Parish, schedule 2.
 7. *CSP* (1875), 1871 Census, vol. III, Second series, table XXXIX, "Industries," 386-387.
 8. *Ibid.*, vol. III, "Raw Mineral Products," table XXVII, 285. For a dated history of the Albert Manufacturing Company, see "The Albert Manufacturing Company," *Albert Journal*, 18 December 1907 (reprint in *The Busy East*, XV, Nos. 9-10 [April-May 1925], 17-21). The plaster mill finally closed in the early 1980s. On coal, see Hugh Grant,

"Petroleum Exploration in the Maritimes during the 19th Century" (unpublished paper presented to the Conference on Science and Technology, Mount Allison University, October 1988), 1-5. The Albert Mining Company was formed in 1851 and extracted coal for conversion to coal oil until the rise of Pennsylvania crude after the US Civil War. Thereafter the coal was compressed to form a gas for vapour lamps until the coal was exhausted in 1883. See also S.B. Starratt, "The Minerals of Albert County," *The Busy East*, XV, Nos. 9-10 (April-May 1925), 12-13 and 16.

9. Schedule 1 of the manuscript census indicates that only 10.3% were employed in the Professional/Merchant/Service Sector as opposed to the aggregate totals presented in the *CSP*. The reason for this discrepancy is unclear, although a few persons who might be classed as professionals or merchants were placed under specific industries because they were owner/operators.

10. *CSP* (1875), 1871 Census, book B, table XX, "Immovable Property and Shipping," 15.

11. *CSP* (1884), 1881 Census, vol. 3, tables XXXIV and XLIX, "Industries," 374 and 466; and vol. 1, table XXII, "Occupiers of Lands and Lands Occupied," 34-35.

12. This trend was not exclusive to Albert County. The Maritimes lost 99,959 persons up to 1881 and from 1891-1914 lost another 50,900, four-fifths of whom went elsewhere in Canada. See Larry McCann, "The 1890s: Fragmentation and the New Social Order," in E.R. Forbes and D.A. Muise (eds.), *The Atlantic Provinces in Confederation* (Toronto, 1993), 140-142 and figure 6. About 44,000 New Brunswickers left in 1881-1891, with three-quarters going to the US. Judith Fingard, "The 1880s: Paradoxes of Progress," *ibid.*, 96-97. An editorial in the local paper suggested that 500 persons more had left than officially reported. "Albert County Census," *Maple Leaf*, 17 September 1891. It should be noted that this paper had a Liberal bias and opposed Sir John A Macdonald's "National Policy," which it saw as the cause of the exodus.

13. *CSP* (1894), 1891 Census, table I, "Industrial Establishments," 181. Exports to the US quadrupled since 1881 to \$45,197; *CSP* (1892), "General Statement of Exports."

14. *CSP* (1894), 1891 Census, vol. 3, table I, "Industrial Establishments," 34, 291-292 and 305;

and vol. 4, table V, "Products of the Forest," 234-235. The aggregate census listed eighty-six ship and boat builders.

15. NAC, RG 12, A1, Port Registers, Saint John, NB (Saint John Port Registers). The ships from the early 1850s were the 1049-ton *Emma*, built at Hopewell Cape by William Bennett in 1853; the 1046-ton *Conquest*, built at Hamilton Creek, Hopewell Cape, by Azor Betts in 1854; and the 1147-ton *Melicite*, built at Hopewell in 1854 by Nehemiah Bennett. The 1874 ship was the 1297-ton *King Cedric*, built at Hopewell Cape in 1874 by "Little" Jack Calhoun and H.J. Bennett.

16. Turner's median net tonnage was 846 and his average net tonnage was 911.

17. Sager with Panting, *Maritime Capital*.

18. The statistics were compiled from the port registers in the NAC; and Memorial University of Newfoundland, Maritime History Archive, *Ships and Seafarers of Atlantic Canada* (CD-ROM, St. John's, 1998). Recent research by the author has turned up an additional vessel built in 1793. See New Brunswick Museum, 89 Reproduction Number 579 (26), Bill of sale for brig *Good Brig*, from John Polley to George B. Land, shipwrights, Hopewell, NB.

19. I am grateful to Kathleen Turner of Edmonds, Washington for providing the unpublished Turner family genealogy.

20. Public Archives of New Brunswick (PANB), Record Series (RS) 84B, Albert County Registry Office, book A, 461; book H, 555, book I, 201; and book J, 902.

21. He bought the 27.5-ton schooner *Lima* outright in July 1872 (Saint John Port Registers, 28/1870); and he bought twenty-six shares in the 152-ton schooner *Harvey* in 1873 and acted as its Managing Owner (Saint John Port Registers, 38/1873).

22. New Brunswick, Legislative Assembly, *Journal*, 1872, cap. L., 11 April 1872. The key shareholders were John Calhoun, Henry J. Bennett, Gayes [sic] Turner, David Stiles [the Captain], William S. Calhoun and the Saint John interests of John Magee, James A. Moran, Abram Bray, Edward B. Chandler, John Harris and Joseph H. Vaughan. Turner's investment is unknown as the Saint John Port Register only lists John Calhoun as

having all sixty-four shares.

23. J.M. Stevens Store Ledger Book, 1864-1910, in possession of Steven Marshall, Harvey Bank, NB. The entry for the G.S. Turner account on 5 August 1873 states that he was "buying share 16/64 shares of finishing the schooner *Harvey* besides the hull and owner's bill of outfit \$164.40." An earlier credit entry for Gilbert Brewster (28 July 1873) lists sixteen shares in *Harvey* at \$21 per ton for a total of \$1538.25. J.M. Stevens, a close neighbour to Gaius Turner, was a store owner at Harvey Corner, Harvey Parish. He is not to be confused with Joshua M. Steeves, a Hillsborough merchant.

24. Public Archives of Nova Scotia (PANS), Manuscript Group (MG) 4, Kings County Registry Office, vol. 74, book 35, 717. The original deed is in the Bank Museum, Riverside-Albert, NB, box 5, unaccessioned. The deed was dated 4 September 1874, about the time of year to begin construction of vessels over the winter. The amount and value of the property is unknown because there were no subsequent land transfers under his or his wife's name even into the 1930s. An examination of his ancestors' property, the land inherited, indicates there were several holdings amounting to no more than several hundred acres. An examination of John Turner's will and probate indicates that there was only £37 of property, PANS, Kings County Will Papers T, 1791-1862, mf. 19767.

25. Sager with Panting, *Maritime Capital*, 71 and 76, comment that shipyards outside of Saint John rarely produced ships for long periods because local wood supplies were used up. In Harvey Parish, only small vessels had been constructed prior to Turner's shipbuilding activities.

26. University of New Brunswick Archives (UNBA), Bennett Collection, "The Bennetts of Hopewell," lists all Bennett-built vessels. The Moran family of St. Martin's also built their last vessel in 1874. Ross N. Hebb, *Quaco, St. Martins* (Fredericton, 1997), 123.

27. PANB, RS 84B, Albert County Registry Office, book P, 86-87, deed registered 3 March 1876. No lease has survived in the Registry Office Records. The shipyard, while run by Gilbert, was actually deeded to Charles Brewster.

28. PANB, RS 84B, Albert County Registry Office, book P, 86, purchased 3 August 1875. Three years earlier the shipyard was valued at \$400.

29. Saint John Free Library, Dow Family, Merrit J. Dow, "Vessels Built by Charles F. Dow," indicates that Dow built *Neptune*, *Mars* and *Perthshire* at Shediac; *Tip Tree*, *Mornington*, *Forgan Hall* [not confirmed], *Annot Lyle*, *James Kinway* [not confirmed] at Saint John; *Kingston*, *Arbutus*, *Minnie*, *Volant*, *Signal*, *Natmo*, *Moss Glen*, *John Ellis*, *Hyapatia*, *Artisan*, *Enchantress*, *Seaward*, *Pekin*, *Peacemaker*, *Julia A. Merritt* at Moss Glen; *Rothesay* and *Eliza Malligan* at Rothesay; and *Emblem* at Oromocto.

30. Saint John Port Registers, 44/1875; and PANB, RS 84B, Albert County Registry Office, book O, 317. The property included his house, 400 acres and sawmill at Cape Enrage (actually Roshea), 2700 acres of woodlot at Cape Enrage (actually north of Waterside) and thirty-six acres on Comstock Creek. No deadline for repayment was given.

31. Saint John Port Registers, 30/1876.

32. PANB, RS 954, Supreme Court in Circuit, Court of Equity, Saint John County, Joseph Reid vs. G.S. Turner, 1876; and RS 51B, book 5, Supreme Court Judgements; and Albert County Museum, G.S. Turner Diary (Turner Diary), 13 June 1876. It was chartered at seventy cents for each 1000 feet of 1" x 12" spruce; Turner bought the deals (3" x 7") at \$19 a standard.

33. T.W. Acheson, *Saint John: The Making of a Colonial Urban Community* (Toronto, 1985), 14-18 and 53-55; Acheson, "The National Policy and the Industrialization of the Maritimes, 1880-1910," in Acheson, David Frank and James D. Frost (eds.), "Industrialization and Underdevelopment in the Maritimes, 1880-1930" (Toronto, 1985), 25-26; and McClelland, "New Brunswick Economy." Lewis R Fischer and Gerald Panting came to similar conclusions several years before Acheson. See Lewis R Fischer and Gerry Panting, "Harbour and Metropolis: The Shipping Industry of Saint John and the Urban Economy, 1820-1914," in Fischer and Eric W. Sager (eds.), *Merchant Shipping and Economic Development in Atlantic Canada* (St. John's, 1982), 137-155.

34. Turner Diary, winter of 1876-1877. Due to over-cutting for the shipbuilding industry, there were few easily accessible stands of tall pine trees. New Brunswick shipbuilders were eventually forced to turn to North Carolina for pine masts. This same trend also held true for Maine. Sager with Panting, *Maritime Capital*, 67 and 70. A. R. M.

Lower, *The North American Assault on the Canadian Forest* (Toronto, 1938), 38, comments that pine timber production began to decline appreciably in 1881. See also J.G.B. Hutchins, *The American Maritime Industries and Public Policy, 1789-1914* (Cambridge, 1941), 559.

35. Turner Diary, 5 April 1876.

36. *Ibid.*, 24 March 1877; and E.B. DeMerchant, *From Humble Beginnings: The Story of Agriculture in New Brunswick* (Fredericton, 1983), 18 and 21.

37. Turner Diary, 20 June 1877. For a detailed, although dated, history of the Saint John fire, see George Stewart, *The Story of the Great Fire in Saint John, NB* (Toronto, 1877).

38. T.W. Acheson, "The Great Merchant and Economic Development in St. John 1820-50," *Acadiensis*, VIII, No. 2 (Spring 1979), 3-27; Turner Diary, 29 May 1877 and 1 February 1878; and PANB, RS 84B, Albert County Registry Office, 1856-1900, Gaius S. Turner.

39. His previous attempts at political office had been unsuccessful in 1874 and 1876, losing to Liberals Alexander Rogers and James Ryan, Directors of the Albert Railway in Hillsborough. In 1878 Turner received 1131 votes, Dr. William J. Lewis of Hillsborough received 1170, merchant Rogers 750 and farmer Hopper 639. He spent four weeks electioneering. The launch of *Salacia* in the middle of the campaign would have improved his chances due to the publicity. Two other issues were apparent in the 1878 election: voter approval of the 1876 Municipalities Act and the 1877 Education Act which gave all schools, even denominational, government support. Turner Diary, 21 June 1878; Robert Garland and Gregory Machin, *Promises, Promises...An Almanac of New Brunswick Elections, 1870-1980* (Saint John, 1979), 11, 14-17 and 19; Legislative Library, *Elections in New Brunswick, 1784-1984* (Fredericton, 1984), 1-15; Arthur T. Doyle, *The Premiers of New Brunswick* (Fredericton, 1983); and *Chignecto Post*, 14 June 1877.

40. Turner Diary, 17 January, 19 July, August, 14 October and 8 and 25 November 1878.

41. Saint John Port Registers, 3/1879; and Turner Diary, 23 September and 21 October 1878.

42. Turner Diary, 27 September 1878; PANB, RS 22/70a, Provincial Secretary, Railway Administra-

tion Records, Albert Railway, Petition of Ratepayers of Albert County for Subsidy for Railway from Terminus of Albert Railway at Hopewell Corner to Harvey Bank, 15 April 1879.

43. See M.C. Urquhart (ed.), *Historical Statistics of Canada* (Toronto, 1965), 299.

44. Turner's vessels were not large earners. For example, *Egeria* only brought Turner \$191.99 between September 1878 and April 1882, a rate of return of less than eight percent. J.M. Stevens Ship Ledger Book, *Egeria*.

45. PANB, RS 84B, Albert County Registry Office, book R, 378; and Turner Diary, 29 January and 10 and 12 February. Saint John creditors included E. Lisher, Parchard, Jardine, Masters, McAuley, Hean, Joshua M. Steeves, S. White, G.S. Thompkins & Sons. Local creditors included Vincent S. White, Thomas McAvity and Alexander C. Jardins.

46. Moncton *Daily Times*, 5 January 1885; Esther Clark Wright, *The St. John River and its Tributaries* (Wolfville, NS, 1966), 43; Hebb, *Quaco*, 131; and Turner Diary, 8 September 1879, and 28 February and 3-9 March 1880.

47. Moncton *Daily Times*, 11 March and 14 May 1880; *Chignecto Post*, 15 April 1880; CSP, 1880-1881, Trade and Navigation, General Statement of Exports; and Urquhart (ed.), *Historical Statistics of Canada*, 299.

48. Moncton *Daily Times*, 11 March 1880, reported erroneously that "[i]t is rumoured that the keel for a much larger ship than any built heretofore, will be laid in the building yard of Gaius S. Turner Esq. at Harvey." Saint John Port Registers, 40/1881, *Galatea* was built at \$27.50 a ton carpenter for the hull and was 1330 10/94 tons carpenter or \$36,575.00 for the hull. A carpenter ton was an old volume measurement used prior to 1854 which tended to inflate the size of the vessel. Many shipwrights continued to use this term up to the end of the nineteenth century. See also Urquhart (ed.), *Historical Statistics of Canada*, 299.

49. Saint John Port Registers, 25/1882; PANB, RS 84B, Albert County Registry Office, book T, 298; and Turner Diary, 1878-1880, back cover. Turner minimized his land purchases during the construction of *Argyll*, buying only one piece of property worth \$75. Shares in the vessel only cost \$229.72 completely outfitted for sea, one-quarter

of the capital needed for a 1000-ton ship.

50. Saint John Port Registers, 44/1883. *Vandalia* shipped for London on 25 September 1882 and was employed on the New York to Montevideo/Valpraisio and later the Antwerp/Amsterdam/London run; J.M. Stevens Ship Ledger Book, *Vandalia*, 36 and 55. For a detailed discussion of the economics of shipping, see Martin Stopford, *Maritime Economics* (2nd ed., London, 1997).

51. PANB, RS 84B, Albert County Registry Office, book U, 78 and 103; *Maple Leaf*, 17 April 1886; Gwen L. Martin, *For the Love of Stone* (2 vols., Fredericton, 1990), II, 38-47; Moncton *Daily Times*, 11 March and 14 May 1880; William Hutchinson Rowe, *The Maritime History of Maine* (New York, 1948), 262-265; George Bishop (ed.), "*Still the Gentle Breezes Blow*": *Essays on the History of Harvey Parish, Albert County, New Brunswick* (Albert, NB, 1984), 7; and Bank Museum, 995.2.27a, C.A. Palmer to G.S. Turner, 24 September 1883.

52. PANB, RS 61, Albert County Probate, Isaac Turner, 1883. He also invested in four shares in the *Carlotta*, the Hopewell Cape-built schooner, *Carlotta*; Saint John Port Registers, 27/1882. But during the same period Turner also sold fifteen shares of *Argyll* in January and two in March 1883 and sold his five remaining shares in *Galatea* during the spring and summer of 1883 for working capital. The year went well enough that he bought a 100-acre farm beside his new sawmill at Turtle Creek for \$900. PANB, RS 84B, Albert County Registry Office, book V, 260.

53. Sager with Panting, *Maritime Capital*, 120; Acheson, "National Policy," 1-26; and D.L. Poynter, "The Economy and Politics of New Brunswick, 1878-83" (Unpublished MA thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1968), 13.

54. Maimie Steeves, *Fundy Folklore* (Hopewell Cape, nd), 30; and *Maple Leaf*, 25 October 1888.

55. Moncton Museum, Albert Railway, A-052, "Preliminary Survey from Hopewell Corner to Harvey Bank and Salmon River," and "Preliminary Survey from Hopewell corner to Harvey Bank with subsequent location and extension to Salmon River, Parish of Alma via the Germantown Lake and partially via the Horn Brook from Harvey Corner."

56. *Chignecto Post*, 1 December 1881; Moncton

Daily Transcript, 12 December 1883; Bank Museum, 994.02.06, J. Harris Co., Saint John, to Turner, 1887; Turner Diary, August-December 1888; and PANB, RS 9, Executive Council Meeting, Petition for Station on Harvey Branch Railway, 26 March 1886.

57. Saint John Port Registers, 30/1884; Poynter, "Economy," 33 and 64; *Daily Times*, 21 August 1883.

58. Saint John Port Registers, 1/1885. Two other vessels were larger, *White Star* and *Morning Light*, both of which were built by William and Richard Wright of Saint John. See Charles Armour and Thomas Lackey, *Sailing Ships of the Maritimes* (Toronto, 1975), 57.

59. PANB, RS 108, Land Petitions, F 16416, 18 September 1884; F 16405, 10 December 1884; RS 84B, Albert County Registry Office, book X, 258; RS 22/14A, Provincial Secretary, Railway Administration, Petitcodiac, Elgin and Havelock Railway, List of Shareholders, 7 March 1885; RS 957, Supreme Court in Equity, Westmorland County, James Campbell vs. G.S. Turner, 1885; *Maple Leaf*, 9 July 1885; and Moncton *Daily Times*, 4 and 5 May 1885.

60. Dorchester Port Register, 1/1886 (previously registered in Saint John, 14/1886); PANB, RS 84B, Albert County Registry Office, book W, 325, 469, 518 and 570; and *Maple Leaf*, 8 October 1885.

61. Bishop (ed.), *Still the Gentle Breezes Blow*, 7; PANB, RS 22/2A, Provincial Secretary, Railway Administration, ASR, 12 October 1886; NAC, RG 12, Department of Transportation, vol. 1863, file 3268-34, Henry MacLeod, engineer, to Collingwood Schriber, 9 September 1891; *Maple Leaf* 21 and 24 April 1886; and Moncton *Daily Times*, 29 April 1886.

62. Dorchester Port Register, 1/1887; and Turner Diary, 11 March 1887. Unfinished, the total cost of the vessel was \$3690, but finishing would double this figure. Unfinished, a share was worth \$57.65; therefore Turner invested \$1268.44. We later find out he sold ten shares for \$3000, or \$300 a share, implying the vessel was worth \$19,500 at \$93.56 a share. (It is also possible other items were "bundled" to the shares inflating the selling price.) He sold forty-two shares for \$4830, or \$7360 total, at \$115 a share, making Turner's investment \$2530. The financial information is questionable on this vessel, although the \$7360 figure appears valid.

63. Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, *Journal*, XXI (1887), 23 June 1887; Bank Museum, 994.02.88, Harvey Branch Railway Contract, 3 October 1887; Moncton Museum, A-052, Richard Boxall to Turner, 21 September 1883; and W.H.A. Casey, Charles W. Anderson and E.H. Robinson to Warren Oliver, 28 July 1889; PANB, RS 22/2A, Provincial Secretary, Railway Administration, ASR, Bank of Montreal Assignment letter, 6 December 1888. NAC, RG 43, Department of Railways and Canals, vol. 21, file 954, A.E. Killam, Managing Director, ASR, and J.M. Stevens, President, to Sir John A. Macdonald, Minister of Railways and Canals, 20 October 1890; and Moncton *Daily Transcript*, 21 August 1922.

64. *Maple Leaf*, 27 September 1889 and 9 January 1890.

65. *Ibid.*, 12 January 1888.

66. Saint John Port Register, 24/1889; and PANB, RS 84B, Albert County Registry Office, book B -1, 49-52; book X, 185-186; and book A -1, 69.

67. Bank Museum, 994.02.95, J.A. Wells to Turner, July 1889; and PANB, RS 84B, Albert County Registry Office, book Z, 451.

68. *Maple Leaf* 3 October 1889 and 23 January and 8 and 22 May 1890; *Northern Shipwreck Database*, January 1890; and Saint John Port Register, 14/1890.

69. Dorchester Port Register, 11 /1891 ; and Bank Museum, 995.1.6.2, G.S. Turner Payroll, April 1891 ; and 995.1.64, *Alexander Black* Costs, 8 May 1891.

70. *Maple Leaf*, 7 January 1891 and 8 January 1892; Turner Diary, 31 December 1887; and Bank Museum, 994.02.06, Engineer's Report, 7 December 1887.

71. PANB, RS 84B, Albert County Registry Office, book C -1, 160; RS 51b,7, Supreme Court Judgements, 27 February 1892; RS 22/2A, Provincial Secretary, Railway Administration, ASR, Engineers Report Summary and Provincial Debentures Issued, n.d.; *Maple Leaf*, 14 January 1892; NAC, RG 12, Department of Transport, vol. 1863, file 3268-34, William Pipes, President, ASR, to John H. Pope, Minister of Railways, 16 March 1885; vol. 1863, file 3268-34, Thomas McHenry, Secretary, ASR, to A.P. Bradley, Secretary, Ministry of Railways and Canals, 18 March 1885; Bank

Museum, 995.1.80, Memorandum, Liabilities Albert Southern Rail Road Co., 1 April 1891; and Moncton Museum, A-052, T. Trudeau, Deputy Secretary, Department of Railways, to Turner, September 1891.

72. PANB, RS 22/2A, Provincial Secretary, Railway Administration, ASR, George A. Schofield, Bank of N.B., to G.N. Babbitt, Deputy Receiver General, N.B., 1 June 1891; A.G. Beckwith to James Mitchell, 22 April 1892; Schofield to Mitchell, 5 September 1892; RS 22/2B, Provincial Secretary, Railway Administration, ASR, G.S. Turner and W.A. Trueman to Lt. Governor-in-Council, 17 February 1892; RS 51b, 7, Supreme Court Judgements, 18 and 20 November 1891; RS 957, Supreme Court in Circuit, Westmorland County, Gaius S. Turner vs. the ASR Company, 1891; NAC, RG 12, Department of Transport, vol. 1863, file 3268-34, Collingwood Schriber, Chief Engineer, Canadian Government Railways to Secretary, Railways and Canals, 28 January 1892; RG 13, Department of Justice, vol. 83, file 1891 -1316, T. Trudeau, Acting Secretary to the Minister, to R. Sedgewick, Minister of Justice, 9 December 1891; Moncton Museum, A-052, Lawsuit between A.R. McClellan, the ASR, Josiah Wood and Warren Oliver, 5 November 1891; and *Maple Leaf*, 14 January 1892.

73. PANB, RG 84B, Albert County Registry Office, book C -1, 220; RS 22/2A, Provincial Secretary, Railway Administration, ASR, Schofield to A.G. Blair, Attorney General, 10 February 1892; RS 146C, Albert County Council, Albert County Tax Assessments for the Parishes of Harvey, Hopewell, and Coverdale, 1874-1892; Bank Museum, 994.02.61, Bank of Nova Scotia to Turner, 5 December 1891; 995.1.65a, B.C. Boyd, Cashier, Bank of New Brunswick, Saint John, to Turner, 24 and 29 September 1891; Nicholas J. de Jong and Marven E. Moore, *Shipbuilding on Prince Edward Island: Enterprise in a Maritime Setting, 1787-1920* (Ottawa, 1994), 158-160; and James D. Frost, "The Nationalization of the Bank of Nova Scotia, 1880-1910," in Acheson, Frank and Frost (eds.), *Industrialization and Underdevelopment*, 33, 35 and 37-43.

74. *Argyll* was sold to George Ball of Dublin for £1400 on 20 October 1891; Saint John Port Register; and *Maple Leaf* 22 October 1891. This would be about \$5600 for a nine-year-old brigantine.

75. Moncton Museum, A-052, C.A Harman to

Turner, September 14, 1891; PANB, RS 51b, 7, Supreme Court Judgements, 2 April 1892; Supreme Court Judgements, 27 February 1892; RS 954, Supreme Court in Circuit, Saint John County, Bank of Nova Scotia vs. A. E. Killam, G.S. Turner, Bliss Steeves, Joshua M. Steeves and John A. Beatty, 1892; RS 957, Supreme Court in Circuit, Westmorland County, Henry A. Powell vs. Gaius S. Turner, Bliss Steeves, Joshua M. Steeves and John A. Beatty, 1892; and Bank Museum, Bishop Donation, box 1, T. McAvity and Sons to Turner, 21 January 1892.

76. Bank Museum, Bishop Donation, box 1, J.M. Stevens to Turner, 5 February 1892; PANB, RS 55, Court of Equity, Harding Graves vs. W. Wilberforce Wells, 1902; RS 954, Supreme Court in Circuit, Saint John County, James Robertson vs. G.S. Turner, 1892; and *Maple Leaf* 3 March 1892.

77. Harvey Branch Stock Certificate (photocopy), in private possession of David Christie, Mary's Point, Riverside-Albert, NB; NAC, RG 43, Department of Railways and Canals, vol. 231, file 1136, April 1902; vol. 10, file 880, W.H.A. Casey to Minister of Railways and Canals, 28 October 1893; *Maple Leaf* 3 March 1892; and PANB, RS 84B, Albert County Registry Office, book C-1, 206-209 and 583.

78. Turner Diary, 6 October 1887; and *Maple Leaf* March and April 1892.

79. *Maple Leaf* 26 May, 15 September and 10 November 1892; and PANB, RS 84B, Albert County Registry Office, book C-1, 522; and book J-1, 12.

80. *The Busy East*, XV, Nos. 9-10 (April-May 1925), 105; A/ap/e/eq/; 5 May 1892; and *Moncton Daily Times*, 25 April 1892.

81. *Westmorland*: Dorchester Port Register, 1/1893; *Ethyl B. Sumner*: Moncton Port Register 1/90; and *Edna M. Smith*: Saint John Port Regis-

ter 11/1903.

82. Acheson, "National Policy," 1-2 and 10-11.

83. Douglass C. North, "The Role of Transportation in the Economic Development of North America," *Les Grandes Voies Maritimes Dans Le Monde XVe-XIXe siècles* (Paris, 1965), 220.

84. Gerald S. Graham, "The Ascendancy of the Sailing Ship 1850-85," *Economic History Review*, 2nd Series, IX, No. 1 (1956), 81-82 and 85.

85. McClelland, "New Brunswick Economy," 224-225.

86. Graham, "Ascendancy," 86.

87. See Dalhousie University Archives, Dun and Bradstreet Commercial Index, 1882, 1886 and 1892.

88. Eric W. Sager, *Seafaring Labour: The Merchant Marine of Atlantic Canada 1820-1914* (Montréal, 1989), 221.

89. Eric W. Sager and Lewis R. Fischer, "Patterns of Investment in the Shipping Industries of Atlantic Canada, 1820-1900," *Acadiensis*, IX, No. 1 (Fall 1979), 37.

90. McClelland, "New Brunswick Economy," 231-232 and 272-278.

91. For studies of landward and seaward local investments, see Acheson, "National Policy," 1-26; and Fischer and Panting, "Harbour and Metropolis," 137-155.

92. Peter B. Waite, *Canada, 1874-1896: Arduous Destiny* (Toronto, 1971), 74-75; and R.T. Naylor, *The History of Canadian Business, 1867-1914. Volume 1: The Banks and Finance Capital* (Toronto, 1975), 55-57.

Appendix Table 1
Ship Shares

Year	Quarter	Buy-build (# shares, value)	Sell (# shares, value)	Net \$
1874	3			6154
	4			6154
1875	1		Lima depreciation, \$100	6054
	2			6054
	3	Revolving Light (12, \$8100)	JM Stevens (20, \$2552)	11602
	4		Revolving Light (5, \$3375)	8227
1876	1			8227
	2	Serrano (0, \$0)	Revolving Light (1, \$675); Wave (48, \$200)	7352
	3		Revolving Light (3, \$2025)	5327
	4		Revolving Light (2, \$1350)	3977
1877	1			3977
	2		Revolving Light (1, \$675)	3302
	3	Earl Granville (2, \$1507)	Harvey (24, \$2307)	1782
	4			1782
1878	1			1782
	2			1782
	3	Salacia (0, \$0)	Earl Granville (2, \$1507)	275
	4			275
1879	1			275
	2	Coringa (0 \$0)		275
	3	Egeria(10, \$5950 [calc])		6225
	4		Egeria (10, \$5950 [calc]), (\$2000 depreciation from share info)	275
1880	1	P.W. (64, \$200)		475
	2			475
	3	Latona(10, \$6487)	Latona (6, \$3892)	3070
	4		Latona (2, \$1297)	1773
1881	1			1773
	2			1773
	3	Galatea (12, \$9539)	Galatea (2, \$1590)	9722
	4		Galatea (2, \$1590)	8132
1882	1		Galatea 6 (Mortgaged 4, \$2000), \$1590	4562
	2	Galatea (4, Mortgage Discharged, \$2000); Carlotta (4, \$750)	Galatea (4, \$3180)	4112
	3	Argyll (35, \$8586)	Argyll (8, \$1963)	10735
	4	Argyll (2, \$491)		11226
1883	1	Revolving Light (2, \$800 [calc])	Galatea (1, \$795); Argyll (17, \$4170)	7071
	2	Argyll (4, \$981)	Revolving Light (1, \$400 [calc])	7642
	3	Revolving Light (3, \$1200 [inherit]); Vandalia (0, \$0)	Revolving Light (4, \$1600); Galatea (1, \$795)	6447
	4	Egeria (2 [inherit], \$570 [calc])	Argyll (4, \$981)	6036
1884	1		Argyll (Mortgaged, 12, \$2400)	3636
	2			3636
	3	Constance (4, \$2260)		5896
	4		Constance (2, \$1130)	4766
1885	1			4766

Year	Quarter	Buy-build (# shares, value)	Sell (# shares, value)	Net\$	
1885	2	Argyll (Mortgage Discharged, 12, \$2400)	Constance (2, \$1130)	6036	
	3	Annie E Wright (4, \$4900)		10936	
	4	Argyll (2, \$491)	Annie E Wright (2, \$2450)	8977	
	1			8977	
	2	Argyll (2, \$491); Howard A. Turner (34, \$5808)	Howard A. Turner (Mortgage 18, \$1000)	14276	
	3	Constance (2, \$1130)	Constance (Mortgage, 2, \$1130)	14276	
	4			14276	
	1887	1			14276
		2		Argyll (Mortgage, 16, \$1000); Howard A. Turner (14, \$2391); Howard A. Turner (Mortgage 18, \$1000); Howard A. Turner (Mortgage, 18, \$1075); Howard A. Turner (10, \$342)	8468
		3	Arabella (22, \$3975 [calc])		12443
4			Arabella (lost at sea, 22, \$3975); P. W. (\$0, -\$200)	8268	
1			Annie E. Wright (2, \$2450 [\$1500])	5818	
2		Argyll (4, \$410 [calc])		6228	
3		Demozelle(12, 2155 [(calc)])	Argyll (Mortgage sold, 8, \$1963 [residual]); Demozelle (6, \$1078)	5343	
4			Demozelle (6, \$1078)	4265	
1				4265	
2				4265	
1889	3	Carrie L. Smith (21, \$5750 [calc])	Carrie L. Smith (11, \$3012)	7003	
	4		Carrie L. Smith (10, \$2738)	4265	
	1		Howard A Turner (lost at sea, insured 7000, all mortgaged 10, \$3075)	4265	
	2	Alert (2, \$463 [calc])	Lima (64, \$275)	4453	
	3	Argyll (Mortgage discharged, 16, \$1000)	Alert (2, \$ 463)	4990	
	4		Argyll (6, \$1472 [\$630])	3518	
	1891	1			3518
		2	Alexander Black (5, \$ 2625)		6143
		3		Alexander Black (2, \$1050)	5093
		4	Argyll (4, \$420 [inherit])	Argyll (10, \$1320); Alexander Black (3, \$1575)	2617
1892	1		Egeria (2, \$570 [\$300 calc]; Latona (2, \$1297 [\$340 calc])	750	
	2		Carlotta (4, \$750 [\$400 calc])	0	

Notes: Previous vessel investments; **JM Stevens**, 1871 (20, \$2552); **Lima**, 1873 (64, \$400); **Harvey**, 1873 (24, \$2307); and *Wave*, 1860s (48, \$200). Calculation based upon information in Dalhousie University Archives, MS 4-247, 100-114, 1883-1893, A.P. Shand Ledger. Annual depreciation not included unless Turner made a specific note. In Shand's ledgers depreciation was calculated at zero for one to three-year-old vessels, four to five percent for four to seven-year-olds; and ten percent for seven to fourteen-year-olds, 1883-1892. Shand's depreciation does not match Turner's. Turner sold his shares in *Annie E. Wright* in 1888 for 38.8% less than they were worth in 1885. This is a steep decline for a three-year-old vessel. As such, this table has inflated values, especially for the period 1885-1888.

Sources: National Archives of Canada, Record Group 12 A 1, Port Registers, various; G.S. Turner Diaries, 1876-1880 and 1887-1888; and J.M. Stevens Store Ledger Book and Vessel Ledger.

Appendix Table 2
G.S. Turner Tax Assessments

	Harvey Value of Property (\$)	Harvey Value of Personal Estate	(\$)	Total Worth
1874	1,000	3,000		4,000
1875	400	1,000		1,400
1877	800	1,500		2,300
1878	1,700	1,500		3,200
1879	2,500	1,500		4,000
1880	2,500	1,500		4,000

Year	Harvey Property (\$)	Harvey Personal Estate (\$)	Hopewell Non Resident Property (\$)	Coverdale Non Resident Property (\$)	Total Worth (\$)
1881	2,700	1,500	4,200		
1882	3,000	2,000		3,000	8,000
1883	3,000	2,500		3,000	8,500
1884	10,000	3,000		2,500	15,500
1885	10,000	3,000		3,100	16,100
1886	10,000	2,000		1,000	13,000
1887	10,000	2,000		400	12,400
1888	10,000	1,000	400		11,400
1889	10,000	3,000	450		13,400
1890	10,500	3,000	450		13,950
1891	10,500	3,000	450		13,950
1892	10,500	1,500	450		11,950

Sources: Public Archives of New Brunswick (PANB), RS 146, C4/2-C4/7, Albert County Tax Assessments, Harvey Parish, 1874-1802.

Appendix Table 3
Turner Investment Portfolio, 1874-1892

Year	Quarter	Land	Loans	Ships	RR	Other	Total
1874	3	1100		6154			7254
	4	2600		6154			8754
1875	1	1250		6054			7304
	2	'		6054		?a	7304
	3	1368		11602			12970
	4	2162b	500	8227			10889
1876	1	2242	'	8227	?c		10969
	2	'	'	7352	'		10094
	3	'	4500d	5327	'		12069
	4	2367	500	3977	'		6844
1877	1	2277	'	3977	'		6794
	2	'	'	3301	'		6118
	3	'	'	1782	'		4599
	4	2517	'	1782	'		4799
1878	1	2717	'	1782	0?f		4999
	2	2617	'	1782			4899
	3	2617	500	275			3392
	4	'	'	275		?g	3392
1879	1	'	'	275			3392
	2	3592	'	275			4367
	3	'	1010	6225			10827
	4	3342h	'	275			4627
1880	1	'	'	475			4827
	2	'	'	475			4827
	3	3502	'	3070			7582
	4	'	'	1773			6285
1881	1	3812	'	1773			6595
	2	4052	'	1773			6835
	3	'	635	9722			14409
	4	4177	'	8132			12944
1882	1	'	'	4562			9374
	2	'	'	4112			8924
	3	'	'	10735			15547
	4	8677i	135	11226			20038
1883	1	8727	135	7071			15933
	2	9627	135	7642			17404
	3	15975j	0	6447			22422
	4	'		6036	23134k		39745
1884	1	16777		3636	'		43547
	2	16931		3636	'		43701
	3	'		5896	'		45961
	4	17631		4766	'		45531
1885	1	17656		4766	23409	325m	46156
	2	16156n		6036	'	'	31385
	3	'		10936	'	'	50826
	4	14906	200	8977	'	'	47817
1886	1	14836	1142	8977	'	'	48689
	2	'	'	14276	p	'	53988
	3	'	'	14276	'	'	53988
	4	8686q	1322	14276	'	'	48018
1887	1	'	1422	14276	'	'	48118
	2	'	1422	8468	'	'	42310

Year	Quarter	Land	Loans	Ships	RR	Other	Total
	3	8686	1422	12443	23409	325	46285
	4		1322	8268			42010
1888	1	8926		5818			39800
	2	8776		6228			40060
	3		820	5343			38673
	4			4265			37595
1889	1	11176r	<i>t</i>	4265			39995
	2	11000	510	4265			39509
	3		0	7003	25159s		43487
	4	12802t		4265	29065		46457
1890	1			4265	32971		50363
	2			4453	36877		54457
	3	<i>t</i>		4990	40784		58901
	4	10402u		3518	44690		58935
1891	1			3518	48596		62841
	2	10378		6143	52502		69348
	3			5093	56409		72205
	4	10228		2617	56409		69579
1892	1	10228		750	15740	0	26718
	2	<		0	15740		25968

Notes: Ship shares have not been depreciated unless Turner specifically noted it.

- a. Harvey Corner Institute incorporated. Investment unknown but no building built.
- b. Bought shipyard \$800.
- c. Had shares in Albert Railway and was Director, amount unknown.
- d. Two day loan to Robert Smith, \$4000.
- e. \$500 mortgage loan to John Moore sawmill.
- f. Turner no longer a Director of Albert Railway.
- g. Lease on Mary's Point Quarry for \$1 for five years. Investment in equipment/buildings unknown.
- h. Sold store for \$ 1700 including stock. I have subtracted value of \$ 150 for a quartewr-acre unimproved lot.
- i. Bought from James Wallace Turtle Creek sawmill \$4500.
- j. Inheritance of \$7000 in property including West River sawmill (valued at \$2000 in 1871).
- k. Harvey Branch Railway completed. Turner had 600 of 980 shares, value not given. Since Railway cost \$7000 for bridge (subsidised), about \$8000 a mile times three miles plus twenty-percent overrun, plus used engine \$4500 and rolling stock about \$3000, plus buildings \$1500. The railway was likely worth about \$44,800, Turner's share being \$23,133.60 (subsidy subtracted from total).
- l. Invested \$250 in the Elgin, Petitcodiac and Havelock Railway, no info on selling shares.
- m. Turner bought Caledonia Mining and Manufacturing property for \$325.
- n. Turtle Creek Sawmill and house burnt down. Depreciation approximately \$1500
- p. Turner begins aiding in construction of Albert Southern Railway. His share is unknown.
- q. Turner property mortgaged for \$6000. This has been included into the calculation.
- r. Bought George Bishop farm estate, \$2400.
- s. Bought into ASR of AE Killam's investment of \$7000 divided four ways (\$1750). Turner notes having invested \$33,000 in the ASR by November 1891. No information exists on personal investment, only bills presented for the subsidies therefore I have crudely assigned intervals of \$3906.25 of investment for each quarter until the fall of 1891.
- t. Turtle Creek sawmill property sold to Gilbert Berry.
- u. Sold George Bishop estate, \$2400.
- v. Harvey Branch shares sold for debts, Turner buys ten shares from C.F. Dow.

Sources: See appendix table 1; and PANB, RS 84B, Albert County Registry Office.

Appendix Table 4
Turner Vessels Constructed, 1875-1893

Name of Vessel	Year Built	Rig	Tonnage (net)	Year of Demise
Resolving Light	1875	Ship	1248	1902
Serrano	1876	Barque	593	1900
Earl Granville	1877	Ship	1138	1908
Salacia	1878	Barque	796	1898
Coringa	1879	Barque	896	1903
Egeria	1879	Barque	896	1906
Latona	1880	Barque	948	1899
Galatea	1881	Barque	1178	1899
Argyll	1882	Brigantine	299	1891
Vandalia	1883	Ship	1432	1901
Constance	1884	Ship	1591	1903
Annie E. Wright	1885	Ship	1863	1897
Howard A. Turner	1886	Barque	504	1890
Arabella	1887	Schooner	205	1887
Carrie L. Smith	1889	Barque	597	1908
Alert	1890	Barque	530	1905
Alexander Black	1891	Barque	595	1912
Westmorland	1893	Barque	697	1911

Source: NAC, RG 12, A 1, Port Registers, various ports and years.