

THE IMPACT OF THE AUTOMOBILE ON THE
GOVERNMENT OF NEW BRUNSWICK.
1897-1932.

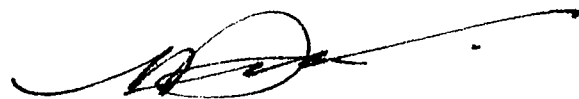
by

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Abstract

G.T. Bloomfield, in his article on motorization in Saskatchewan between 1906 and 1934, pointed out that: "While the historical significance of the motor vehicle has been clearly recognized internationally and nationally there are as yet comparatively few studies of the evolution and impact of the automobile in Canada especially at the provincial and local levels.¹ The lack of Canadian research on the coming of the automobile makes this dissertation a pioneering effort. Fortunately, the arrival of the motor age created so much controversy that there is a great deal of primary material available. Of particular value to this study was the Busy East of Canada which, due to the interest of its editor C.C. Avar, became an important advocate of good roads and tourism. Other valuable sources, such as government reports and newspapers articles, provided a wealth of information and have been used extensively.

The coming of the motor-age to New Brunswick during the first three decades of the twentieth century was an important period of change and growth within the provincial government. The automobile created situations that required provincial involvement in administrative

1 G.T. Bloomfield, " 'I Can See a Car in That Crop': Motorization in Saskatchewan, 1906-1934." Saskatchewan History. (1984), p.3.

areas that had traditionally been left to local governments. This transition from local control to centralized administration is reflected in the various changes within the public works department, and also in the creation of the New Brunswick Bureau of Information and Tourist Travel and the New Brunswick Provincial Police.

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Introduction

Shortly after the turn of the century, New Brunswickers, like other residents of North America, heard of, or experienced first hand, the new horseless carriage. During the early years of the automobile revolution many changes occurred, both large and small, as society came to terms with the wonderful machine. While Canadian scholars have been slow in examining the coming of the motor age, few people would deny that the automobile changed traditional lifestyles and, subsequently, changed existing governing structures.

This study will examine the impact of the automobile on the government of New Brunswick between 1897 and 1932. It begins with the organization of the first good roads association in New Brunswick. It ends with the termination of the New Brunswick Provincial Police, and the move towards the eventual construction of hard surfaced highways. It was during this period that the good roads philosophy took hold in New Brunswick, resulting in the construction of a network of permanent gravel roads.

Early highways were generally not suited to provide a smooth comfortable ride for any vehicle. To remedy this situation the bicyclists, and later the automobilists, formed two provincial good roads associations in an attempt to change the traditional system of road administration. Most New Brunswickers came to recognize

the need for good roads. However, an interesting rural/urban split developed over the question of how these roads would be built. Country folk, for the most part, clung to the old system of road building, which included a decentralized administration, the spending of local taxes on local roads, and the use of statute labor. City dwellers, on the other hand, wanted major changes in the existing system, including a centralized road administration, the abolition of statute labor and the hiring of professional engineers to supervise highway construction and maintenance. The result was an ongoing struggle between the two groups that lasted for many years.

While the provincial government was not quick to change, a programme of permanent highway construction was finally instituted after the election of 1917. Central to the government's ability to build these roads was the introduction of the user charge principle of taxation, and also the availability of federal dollars for highway construction between 1919 and 1924. Under the direction of Peter J. "Good Roads" Veniot, the new Minister of Public Works, New Brunswick became one of the first provinces in Canada to centralize its road administration. Both P.J. Veniot and D.A. Stewart, who became minister in 1925, strove to build a system of great gravel roads that eventually linked the province together as never before.

It was also under their direction that the public works department became a veritable empire within the provincial administration, employing thousands of men every summer to work on the roads.

The construction of good roads, and the ever increasing popularity of the automobile, encouraged the province to take on other new responsibilities. One consequence of the coming of the motor-age was the development of a large scale tourist industry in the Maritimes. The promotion of the tourism had traditionally been left to two local associations, located in Saint John and Fredericton. By the end of the First World War, tourist promoters, like C.C. Avar, the energetic editor of The_Busy_East, supported the organization of one provincial association. After a difficult start a central organization, the New Brunswick Tourist and Resource Association, was formed in 1920. Government members, especially P.J. Veniot, became involved in the new organization and supported its objectives in different ways. With the introduction of a tax on gasoline in 1926, the province was in a position to cash in on the ever-increasing tide of motor-tourists coming from the United States and now had a direct interest in the success or failure of the industry. Subsequently, in 1927, the New Brunswick Bureau of Information and Tourist Travel was formed and government officially took on the task of

promoting the new industry for the entire province.

While the construction of a system of good roads provided the province with a growing industry, the automobile also created problems that had to be addressed. In the past there had been little need for traffic regulations. With the coming of the automobile, government started passing legislation to ensure the safety of all vehicles using provincial roads and highways. The government, however, lacked an agency to enforce these laws. Also, provincial roads were increasingly used by rum-runners and bootleggers, who were trying to supply thirsty Americans with liquor during the prohibition period. These two traffic-related problems, along with a perceived need to provide better police services to the back districts, were the major reasons for the creation of the New Brunswick Provincial Police in 1927.

Chapter I

The Good Roads Movement.

In the two decades from 1897 to 1917, the government of New Brunswick introduced a revolutionary change into the system of road building and maintenance in the province. In 1897, roads were largely under local control, and the pattern of management was one that had been developed in response to the needs and resources of a largely dispersed rural community using nineteenth-century technology. By 1917, the provincial government was in the process of implementing a centrally managed system, supervised by professional engineers under the direction of a prominent politician, and disposing of financial resources that were much larger than those that had been available twenty years earlier. A study of this transition from local control to centralized administration provides insight into the nature of the problems that faced government in responding to changing public expectations and changing technology.

Two organizations each calling itself the New Brunswick Good Roads Association emerged in those decades. Both called for the centralization and professionalization of road administration and for the abolition of statute labor. While most New Brunswickers wanted better roads,

difficulties arose over the reforms advocated by the good roads movement. The first association, organized in 1897, collapsed because Premier H.R. Emmerson sided with rural residents and supported their preference for local road administration and statute labor. A subsequent disastrous attempt to change the system of road administration, in 1904, created another serious split between the good roads advocates and the rural districts in the province.

The coming of the motor age to New Brunswick increased demands for better roads. Centred on the towns and cities, the second good roads movement emerged in 1913 with the support of automobile owners, tourist promoters, members of Local Boards of Trade and municipal councils. The organization of this second provincial good roads association, placed the government between powerful interest groups. While the province began the process of centralization with the passing of a new Highway Act in 1913, the move was half-hearted. The construction of good gravel roads required massive expenditures by the provincial government. But, the province had committed itself in 1912 to the construction of the Valley Railway which placed a strain on government finances. With the absence of a satisfactory system of road taxation, the government could not afford such an increase in expenditure. It was after the election of 1917, that the new minister of public works, Peter J. "Good Roads"

Veniot, was able to break the impasse. The automobile, on which the second good roads movement was centred, provided the income for the construction of permanent highways. An administrative compromise, based on the election of local road supervisors and voting in of statute labor, helped to smooth over rural opposition.

At the end of the nineteenth century the streets and highways of New Brunswick maintained a cycle of conditions that changed with the seasons of the year. In spring, the thaw of snow and frost coupled with rain turned the roads into a veritable sea of mud. This made overland travel difficult at best and, at times, impossible. With the hot dry weather of summer, the roads gained a layer of dust which exasperated both travellers and residents alike. As fall progressed, and the first snows came and melted, muddy conditions returned and, with the movement of wagons and buggies, large ruts would form. This rough surface was preserved by the cold weather of winter until snow provided a smooth driving surface for sleighs. These changing road conditions, aggravated by steep slopes, hairpin turns and boulders embedded in the roadway, tested the strength and endurance of travellers during this period. The traditional horse and wagon could function on these roads in a somewhat acceptable manner but, for longer journeys, travellers preferred the greater

speed and comfort of railways and boats.

The responsibility for roads in New Brunswick was shared between the provincial and county governments.¹ In 1877, with the compulsory incorporation of counties, all authority over by-roads, or local county roads, was transferred to the counties. By-road commissioners, appointed by county governments, were placed in charge of a section of road and were largely independent of central control. The provincial government continued to administer the great roads, or main highways, and appointed superintendents to supervise sections of these roads each year. Funds for the upkeep of both the great roads and by-roads were largely supplied by the province. Provincial residents were required to pay a road tax, but most preferred to perform statute labor rather than pay in cash.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the government of New Brunswick was more efficient in the dispensing of patronage than in the maintenance of its roads. In the Department of Public Works, which was in charge of road administration, there existed neither professional direction nor overall construction standards to ensure that permanent improvement of provincial highways and by-roads was carried out. There were no provincial inspectors to oversee the work of supervisors and commissioners, few of whom had any knowledge of the basic

principles of scientific road construction. Appointments were generally based on politics rather than engineering skills. Grants for by-roads came from provincial coffers, the funds being shared among the members of the assembly to use in their constituencies. The members divided and distributed this "pocket and popularity money", often in very small amounts, to local supporters.² The lack of concentration of effort and funding, along with the absence of professional direction and planning, made the permanent improvement of roads in New Brunswick almost impossible.

The practice of working off the road tax by performing statute labor also inhibited the development of good roads in the province. The privilege of working off the road tax had been an important feature of New Brunswick's highway administration for many years. By the 1890s statute labor was increasingly being criticized for its marked inefficiency. It placed the construction and repair of roads in the hands of an inexperienced and, as R.K. Doyle pointed out, a largely uninterested workforce:

Statute labor was most inefficient: it was given reluctantly; the laborers sent with teams did their best to ensure that the horses incurred as little fatigue as possible, the workmen loitered deliberately, and many treated the time on the road as a picnic and spent hours in gossip.³

Working off the taxes also severely limited the amount of

revenue available to the province to carry out permanent repairs. This lack of permanent construction meant that the roads soaked up revenue and hours of labor year after year without substantial improvement or change in conditions.

With the bicycle craze of the 1890s, poor road conditions became less acceptable and an agitation for improvement began. The bicycle or "wheel", as it was often called, became a popular form of personal transportation and recreation. As an increasing number of people took to the highways, they discovered that the "country roads were not as well adapted as they might be to the propulsion of wheeled vehicles."⁴ The replacement of horsepower by humanpower made the quality of roads an important issue throughout North America. "As soon as the human being was made the motive power" as A.W. Campbell, Chief Highway Engineer for Ontario pointed out, "people, of necessity, began to study the condition of the road -- every grade was detected, every rut noticed, every stone was observed, and in every instance it was carefully noted the amount of power which was demanded to overcome these obstacles."⁵ With this, the movement for better roads came to New Brunswick and resulted in the creation of two organizations in 1897; first, the Saint John City and County Good Roads Association and, under its auspices, the short lived New Brunswick Good Roads Association.

While the formation of the New Brunswick Good Roads Association received an enthusiastic beginning, it ceased to exist after just two years of operation. The Chief Commissioner of Public Works for New Brunswick, H.R. Emmerson, played an active role in the organization of both associations and subsequently, for a time, strong ties existed between the early good roads movement and the provincial government. Emmerson was one of the members of the Saint John City and County Good Roads Association who had called for the establishment of a provincial association. He was also made a director of the New Brunswick Good Roads Association during its founding convention in 1897. In 1898, the year after Emmerson became Premier, retaining his post as Commissioner of Public Works, the government gave the provincial good roads association a grant of \$1,082.62 to finance its activities. This generosity, however, was short-lived, for the provincial grant was reduced to \$9.65 in 1899 and, without the province's financial support, the New Brunswick Good Roads Association ceased to exist.

The reason for this sudden loss of assistance may be explained by the change in tone between the provincial association's first two annual meetings: in Saint John during the summer of 1897 and in Fredericton during the winter of 1898. The Saint John convention, which was the organizational meeting of the New Brunswick Good Roads

Association, spent much time discussing modern methods of road construction with the guest speaker A.W. Campbell, Provincial Highway Engineer for Ontario. The convention recognized the need for a provincial good roads organization in New Brunswick to spread the knowledge required to construct better roads. For the most part, delegates felt that the province was spending sufficient money to properly maintain the great roads and the by-roads. These funds, they pointed out, were simply being used inefficiently, since most road administrators were untrained in the proper methods of construction. Even H.R. Emmerson recognized that the road administration required improvement. His speech to the 1897 convention suggested that he was enthusiastic in his support, believing that the provincial association could help the government in this matter:

The desire ... is to take hold of the present means at our disposal that we shall accomplish what is so much to be desired -- better roads through the country, by the promulgation of information making and in some way protecting and guarding the present expenditure, so as we can get greater and better results. I venture this assertion, that if the monies expended by the grants of the Legislature each year upon the roads were expended under better circumstances and with more information, that money, together with statute labor, would make the roads of this province equal to, if not better than, the roads of any other Province.⁶

As this passage suggests, Emmerson believed the new association could best serve the good roads cause by educating the people, while the government maintained the

status quo. Emmerson had sponsored a new Highway Act in 1896 in which both statute labor and a decentralized system of administration were central features. In introducing that legislation, he had asserted that the responsibility for the up-keep of provincial roads "... rested upon the municipalities and upon the people in their respective districts."7 This, Emmerson believed, was "... a fact - a fact which the legislature recognized and a fact that the people of the country must learn to recognize more than they had done in the past."8

The 1896 Highway Act had increased the rate of assessment for taxable property for every ratepayer from 50 cents for \$400.00 worth of property, with 50 cents for each additional \$800.00, to a flat rate of 10 cents per \$100.00, thus slightly increasing the tax burden on the more wealthy ratepayers. As well, a poll tax of \$1.50 for people between the ages of 21 and 60 was continued. Ratepayers could choose between statute labor or paying in cash. The Act also allowed larger parishes to divide themselves into divisions under appointed commissioners. Emmerson hoped that decreasing the size of the administrative division would increase efficiency.

At the Fredericton good roads convention in 1898, both statute labor and the decentralized administration were severely criticized. The resolutions raised for discussion called for more provincial control over road

administration and for the abolition of statute labor. While none of the motions was passed, the presentation of these issues suggests a change in the tone of the movement. A great deal of discussion also centered on enlarging road districts beyond the parish level and allowing unused revenue from one district to be spent in other districts if required. This would give road districts a larger financial base, thus allowing for both a greater concentration of revenue for road construction and permitting the hiring of competent men to supervise road work. In short, centralization and professionalization were the central themes of the 1898 convention. The good roads movement, rather than supporting the existing system of administration, was being critical and suggesting that radical changes were required.

The loss of government support for the New Brunswick Good Roads Association may be linked to this increase in criticism. As W.F. Burditt, an executive member of both the Saint John and New Brunswick good roads associations suggested in 1913:

At the [Fredericton convention], which covered a good part of three days, there was an inexhaustive (sic) discussion not only on practical road building ... but the operation of the then existing highway act was very freely criticized by the men most concerned by its administration, that being the beginning of the demand for better highway legislation. This provincial association, being dependant upon the government for financial support

was, however, not only, by the reason of that fact, deprived to a certain extent of its usefulness, while it lasted; but also became non-existent as soon as government support was withdrawn.⁹

In political terms the demands for centralization and the abolition of statute labor had a negative impact on the important rural constituencies of the province. It was largely over these issues that the provincial good roads association lost, not only government support, but the backing of country residents as well. W.F. Burditt complained of the lack of rural interest in the good roads' cause. According to him, the country folk were "... content to accept conditions as they have found them, suffering the loss, the inconvenience and the privations due to bad roads, as a sort of visitation of providence, and again giving thanks as the changing seasons may-hap brought about some improvement, as though, like the weather, it were something beyond human power to control."¹⁰

That most country residents supported the use of statute labor and a decentralized road system is understandable. The collection of road taxes in cash would have been a financial burden on the small subsistence farmers. The centralized road administration would have removed the supervision of tax expenditure from local control and placed it in the hands of politicians in Fredericton. As well, good roads advocates, by

criticizing the local supervisors, were not simply pointing out the inadequacies built into the system, but also questioning the integrity of local administrators. As one editorial in the Saint John Globe pointed out: "Apparently a very vigorous campaign will be needed to thoroughly arouse the country. Judging by the speeches made at yesterday's meeting, the idea of the average farmer is to secure an appropriation for road purposes that will benefit himself without much benefit to the roads."¹¹

While neither government nor country residents were prepared to support the new system, interest in good roads did not die. After the collapse of the provincial association in 1899, the Saint John City and County Good Roads Association, which was financed by private memberships, continued to campaign vigorously. Five years later, under the direction of Premier L. Tweedie and his Commissioner of Public Works, C.H. LaBillois, New Brunswick adopted a new strategy of road administration.

Both Tweedie and LaBillois had attended the first provincial good roads convention in 1897 and had called for greater provincial control over roads. LaBillois, then Commissioner for Agriculture, complained that the municipal councillors showed little interest in seeing that statute labor was carried out after the road commissioners had been appointed.¹² Country councillors

were also criticized for selecting friends and supporters as road commissioners rather than competent men and it was alleged that, "by the time these appointees had learned a little about road construction they were changed."¹³

Tweedie, who held the post of provincial secretary, spoke in favour of provincially appointed deputy chief commissioners for each county. The government would thus have greater control, since these deputy commissioners would receive salaries from the province and they would be responsible for the expenditure of public money. They could also be dismissed if their duties were not carried out in an acceptable manner. Tweedie also called for the doing away with the differentiation between by-roads and great roads, placing both under provincial jurisdiction.¹⁴

The 1904 Highway Act was remarkable in that it launched the province's road administration into a totally new direction. The legislation did away with the distinction between great roads and by-roads and empowered the chief commissioner of public works to create larger highway districts. Provincial road supervisors would be appointed for each district. The basic unit of road administration was once again to be the parish and the number of road administrators was subsequently cut from 1580 to 142. Statute labor was abolished and all road taxes had to be paid in cash. While road money was held by the county governments, the spending of this revenue

was to be totally controlled by the provincially appointed supervisors.

Although this Act did centralize road administration and answered the call of good roads supporters, it had a basic flaw that eventually brought it down. There was no provision for the hiring of a professional staff to ensure that the roads were maintained at an acceptable standard and that tax dollars were spent in an efficient manner. While the administration of roads was centralized and more money was available to carry out needed work, the system lacked the direction needed to function properly. Politics, not skill, continued as the criterion for the hiring of supervisors. The patronage that had been a part of the administration for so long continued. Only now, with a system of cash payments, the Public Works Department had greater means to dispense favours and rewards.

The 1904 Highway Act became quite unpopular among country residents. Centralization was blamed for an increase in patronage and the general poor shape of the province's roads. As one commentator stated in a letter to the editor of the Woodstock Dispatch in March 1908:

The baldness of the law was the taking of the control of the road money out of the hands of those who contributed it.

The road money is levied for a strictly local purpose, and it should be expended according to the wishes of the contributors. These purposes were not ... as clearly regarded as they should have been. The law

was used as a political engine. The money was entrusted to political favorites who in many cases were not by any means the most competent persons to be found.¹⁵

During the 1908 election the opposition party, under J.D. Hazen, promised to localize road administration once again and to allow statute labor. This move, according to the Saint John Standard, was popular with the rural residents:

The people of the country were pleased that the control of the roads had been placed in the hands of the county council in their respective parishes and that they themselves were able to pay their taxes by statute labor....¹⁶

With the passage of the new highway act, highway boards were established in each parish. These were administered by two parish councillors assisted by a provincially appointed chairman. The highway boards could divide the parish into smaller highway districts if desired and appoint a commissioner for each unit. The poll and property taxes were continued but statute labor was once again authorized. By returning the administration of roads to the county governments, Premier Hazen hoped to stop the corruption which, it was alleged, had occurred under the old Act. Under the new Commissioner of Public Works, John Morrissey, the province embarked on a cautious and unenergetic highway programme. Railroad mania had once again taken hold of the provincial government, and the construction of the Saint John Valley and Quebec Railway would soak up a great deal of the

government's time and revenue in the years that followed.

Soon after the passing of the 1908 Highway Act, the movement for better roads revived, largely because of the increasing popularity of the automobile. According to W.F. Burditt, the automobilists of the province soon:

...found that the roads which were bad for bicycle riding were still worse for the new vehicle; but the auto-car, unlike the bicycle, was not a thing to be thrown aside after a brief run as a useless toy. On the other hand it speedily asserted itself as an innovation that had come to stay, and if the conditions were not favorable to its use, so much the worse for the conditions. It was the unfavorable conditions which must go. Hence the recent great revival, ...of the demands for better highways -- the second good roads movement.¹⁷

According to table I, the number of automobiles registered in the province between 1910 and 1915 rose from 299 to 1,900. By 1917, this figure had jumped to 4,889, most of which were owned by city dwellers. In fact, according to P.J. Veniot, only six percent of the cars registered in 1917 were owned by rural residents.¹⁸

Automobile ownership among city dwellers encouraged the construction of permanent streets and sidewalks during the pre-war and war years. In Saint John, where the first good roads association was organized, street repairs had been an important issue since the early 1900s. During his visit to the area for the first provincial good roads convention in 1897, Ontario's Road Commissioner A.W. Campbell examined the various methods of permanent street

improvement and their applicability to the City of Saint John. In his recommendations, Campbell suggested that Saint John had an important role in encouraging the construction of good roads throughout the province:

The formation recently of a Good Roads Association in your city indicates the awakening of public opinion in this regard. The movement has received the support and approbation of the members of the Provincial cabinet, as well as many other influential citizens. ...It is from the centres of thought, the cities and towns, that should spring the desire for general highway improvement -- this more by example than precept. While street improvement need not to be undertaken with this object in view, it is, nevertheless, one of the results, that a model is furnished to the rural communities and the cause of "Good Roads" thereby greatly aided. By no means can the towns so assist the Good Roads movement as by constructing their own streets properly.¹⁹

Saint John was not quick in spending the large sums of money required to become the example of the good roads philosophy. In 1901, the Director of Saint John's Public Works Department, R.H. Cushing, prepared a report recommending that "...the only pavement suitable for city streets are stone blocks, asphalt and vitrified brick."²⁰ This report was not acted upon by city council probably, because of the large expenditures required. Instead, wood blocks were used between the rails of the street railway and streets were maintained with macadam. Cushing presented a second report in 1906 and once again other forms of permanent repairs were condemned as being not sanitary and uneconomical. Permanent paving was,

according to the director, still the best and was highly praised.²¹

It was not until 1910 that Saint John City Council authorized tenders for the laying of permanent pavement on Main, Smythe, Nelson and Pond streets. During that year the city also proposed to pay one-half the cost of paving streets if the residents were prepared to pay the other half of the cost. Not everybody supported this move. An article in the Saint John Globe condemned the city's decision to pave Germain Street under such an agreement as catering to the rich at the expense of the poor.²²

Regardless of these arguments, the city went ahead with the agreement, though it is not known how many streets were repaired under this form of shared-cost programme. As demands for improvements increased among residents, Saint John embarked on expensive paving programmes which included not just the principal streets, but those in residential sections as well. Paved streets became the standard with which all other streets were compared.

In Moncton, the local Board of Trade played an important role in the second good roads movement. On November 11, 1909, the Council of the Moncton Board of Trade prepared a resolution asking for the construction of permanent provincial highways. This resolution was forwarded to all Boards of Trade in the province for discussion and support. In March 1910, the Moncton Board

of Trade drafted and presented a proposal to the city council requesting that work to improve the condition of streets and sidewalks be carried out. Also during this month the Board of Trade hosted a meeting with A.W. Campbell to discuss road building methods.²³

Permanent improvements of streets and sidewalks advanced slowly in Moncton during the war. After many delays, a section of Main Street was paved in 1916. The following year, the city reported that 26.71 miles of concrete sidewalks had been constructed. The inaugural speech of Mayor J.E. Master on February 2, 1917, announced that the paving of streets would continue to be a priority and that he would try to have the highways leading to Moncton repaired:

In addition to permanent streets, we should endeavour to fix up the approaches to the city, as, even if everything is paved right out to the borders of the town, it is partially a waste of money if the approaches are impassable as has too often been the case in the past.²⁴

The movement to improve street conditions in the larger urban centres eventually shifted to a desire for better roads and highways. At the annual meeting of the Union of New Brunswick Municipalities in October 1912, the need for competent management of the provincial roads was discussed. To improve the administration of the road funds, the convention passed resolutions requesting:

1. That an official skilled in road construction

be employed by the province and that his time be devoted exclusively to highways.

2. That a system of road patrol (crews to grade and repair roads) be adopted.

3. That a system of trunk roads be established between Nova Scotia, Quebec and the State of Maine, and that these roads be financed by the province with the help of the federal government.

4. That a committee be established consisting of three members to meet with the province to discuss the construction of permanent roads.

5. That a resolution calling for the abolition of statute labor be discussed at the following meeting.²⁵

The resolutions passed by the Union of New Brunswick Municipalities reflected an interest in good roads among middle class urban residents. At times, towns would join together in an effort to repair bad stretches of road. During the summer of 1913, the Moncton Commercial Club organized a booster day for good roads and encouraged citizens of Shediac and Moncton to join together and repair the highway between these two centres. According to an article in The Busy East, this work was carried out as a protest against the provincial road administration. The article also goes far in suggesting which segment of the population supported the agitation for better roads:

Some twenty-five autos, together with other conveyances, carried the "boosters" -- a representative array. The Mayor of Moncton toiled shoulder to shoulder with the Mayor of Shediac. The President of the Moncton Board of Trade shovelled the material loosened by the pick of a member of parliament; doctors forgot for the moment human patients and

administered the curative to a decidedly "indisposed" piece of highway; lawyers held a brief for an inanimate client; merchants, brokers, barbers - business men of all types- ... "the butcher, the baker, and the candlestick maker" demonstrated, far more forcefully than can mere words, just what grand, good work can be accomplished where a proclivity to get out and hustle stands paramount.²⁶

The desire for good roads was, it seems, centered on the more affluent urban middle class. Since automobile sales during this period were generally on a cash basis, it was the lawyers, doctors, merchants and businessmen who owned, or looked forward to owning, a motor car.

Another reason why some people in the cities interested themselves in the condition of the provincial highways is that the automobile promised to bring in a new industry. While New Brunswick had only 299 automobiles registered in 1910, motor vehicle ownership in the United States had grown much faster. By that year, automobile manufacturing had placed 21st in production value among American industries. In 1910, the State of Maine had 4,040 automobiles registered, Maryland 5,590, Massachusetts 31,250, Connecticut 9,380, New Hampshire 3,150 and New York 62,660. ²⁷ Auto-camping and auto-touring was coming into vogue at this time as a healthy way of spending summer vacations.²⁸ New Brunswick advertised itself as a "sportsmen's paradise", the home of beautiful scenery and a place of historical interest. The idea of a cool, clean, unspoiled vacationland was used by

the tourist associations of Saint John and Fredericton as the reason why the middle class of New England should escape their hot cities during the summer months. Tourist promoters were well aware of New Brunswick's geographical advantage with regards to the increasing tourist trade.

Promoters of tourism pointed to the state of the roads as an important factor which inhibited the flood of rich American motorists from entering the province. One editorial in The_Busy_East, entitled "We Want Good Roads for the Maritime Provinces", best captured the growing concern for better roads and their relation to the tourist market:

We are the possessors of an historical past, famed in song and story, and we are situated with a large tourist traffic at our very doors only awaiting the opportunity for entry. Our country by the Atlantic will never become fully known as it should be known, and it will never derive from the sightseer and the tourist the revenue to which its historical associations and its matchless scenery entitle it until the horn of the motorist is heard resounding from every bye-road and highway To the south of us are a people imbued with the wanderlust of their Pilgrim forefathers, with money to indulge themselves to the limit. . . . Given the proper road facilities and the thousands of cars which approach the Maine border every summer, only to be turned back by the ruts and bumps lying beyond, will they continue their journey to bring money to our pockets and new life to our doors.²⁹

This promise of prosperity was once again centred on the automobile and on well-constructed highway links between New Brunswick's cities, between the province and its other

provincial neighbors, and between New Brunswick and the State of Maine.

The construction of good roads to link the rural areas with the urban centres of New Brunswick was also an important reason for the cities to support the good roads cause. Most businessmen regarded rural prosperity as being of fundamental importance for the overall economic wellbeing of the province. They recognized their dependence on the farmer's ability to get his produce to market, and on his need to purchase goods and services. As W.F. Burditt pointed out in a letter to the Saint John Globe in November, 1912:

... every member of the Board of Trade -- every member of the community of Saint John -- should be interested in the subject of Good Roads. It is not a question that alone concerns the auto driver or the pleasure driver of any vehicle. It is a question of commerce, the cost of the transportation and incidentally the cost of living as well as the pleasure of life.

Experience proves that nothing tends to so rapidly enhance the value and attractiveness of farm lands as Good Roads. Without Good Roads all other schemes for Provincial Development -- Publicity, Immigration, Ready-made Farms, Bank Loans to farmers, Agricultural Colleges, Demonstration Farms, and what not will fall short of their legitimate effect.³⁰

Road repairs, to increase rural prosperity and thus slow down rural depopulation, was put forward as an important reason why the cities, and their boards of trade should support the good roads cause. Convincing the farmers to support the movement was another matter.

Most country residents had little love for automobiles and, by 1910, some rural districts were attempting to limit the use of the contraptions on provincial highways. Automobiles tended to scare horses to the point where their drivers lost control over their animals. Since many motorists treated slower horse drawn vehicles with little respect, and generally tended to "speed" excessively, farmers quickly labelled the "motorized wonder" as a "mechanical menace". In 1908, the citizens of Kingsclear presented one of New Brunswick's first anti-auto petitions to the provincial assembly, requesting that automobiles be banned on the highways during certain days of the week.³¹ Many such petitions were subsequently presented to the assembly between 1909 and 1911.

Farmers' demands for an auto ban received some sympathy among government members. In the Report of the New Brunswick Commission on Agriculture (1909), which investigated the conditions affecting the province's agricultural development, the commissioners advised the legislature to take action against the automobile menace:

The reckless running of automobiles upon country roads is a serious menace to the lives, limbs and property of the people, who have to drive horses thereon, and upon some of the highways the farmer and his family are seriously inconvenienced. While it may be argued that the march of progress cannot be stopped, the rights and liberties of the people must be protected and if the automobilists, by their reckless driving, continue to be a menace to the safety of other users of the highways, and ignore the common

courtesies of the road, it would seem to be in the interest of the public that effective responsive measures should be taken against them.³²

The movement to restrict the use of automobiles reached its peak in 1910, when the Chief Commissioner of Public Works, John Morrissey, introduced an amendment to the Motor Vehicle Act allowing local governments to prohibit the driving of motor vehicles on Thursdays between 6 A.M. and 10 P.M..³³ While the motion was discussed at some length, the government decided not to take action until the following year when the entire Motor Vehicle Act would be revised. In 1911, the matter of restrictions was once again raised and an amendment was proposed. It was defeated by a solid majority and the issue was not seriously considered again by the assembly.

The link between the cities and the growing demand for highway improvement both helped and hindered the good roads' cause. The high cost of automobiles made these a rich man's toy and most farmers could neither afford, nor look forward to owning, an automobile in the near future. Some farmers considered the good roads movement as the rich automobile owner's attempt to fix up the highways for personal pleasure. An article in the Carleton Sentinel makes this observation on the listing of registered automobiles and their owners in the Annual Report of the New Brunswick Board of Public Works:

If anyone would like to know who are able

enough financially to dash over the Country in "buzz wagons" a few pages in the back of the Board of Works report would make interesting reading. There will be found a list of those who long for speed-ways criss-crossing the province, who use gasoline to make their way over the bumps and hollows of the present highways, who drive cars of all makes and names ranging as high as fifty and as low as ten horsepower.³⁴

There is little doubt that farmers recognized the need for good roads. But, to support the good roads movement meant the loss of control over local road administration, the possible loss of statute labor, and allowing highway repairs to take priority over the all important by-roads. Better highways would only encourage more automobile traffic and further threaten the safety of traditional horse drawn conveyances. For most rural residents, the price demanded for road improvements was just too high to be considered.

Rural dislike for the automobile placed car owners in a rather awkward position. Few in numbers, the automobilists found it difficult to demand provincial action. For this reason, owners attempted to lobby the government in a rather indirect fashion. In 1908, the Saint John-based New Brunswick Automobile Association offered prizes for the "best specimens of road work" constructed in the province.³⁵ In 1909, the automobile association hired a laborer for three months and provided him with a pick, a shovel, and a bicycle to carry out temporary road repairs on the highways leading into Saint

John, as far as Oromocto, Sussex and St. George. While it is doubtful that the association expected great results from this, the fact that such action was taken helped to advertise the lack of government interest in road conditions.

The New Brunswick Automobile Association also linked its desire for better roads with the growing interest in tourism. During a meeting of the association's good roads committee in August 1909, the highway between Saint John and St. Stephen was singled out for the immediate attention of the Department of Public Works. The committee's demands were not based on the needs of its members, or of any other New Brunswickers for that matter, but that the condition of the road had adverse effects on Saint John's tourist trade. According to the association, the road was stopping an estimated 20 cars from crossing the border daily during the summer months. Since "...all of these parties would leave considerable money in the city, the importance of having the road improved at once is apparent."³⁶ By 1912, the road had yet to be repaired to the satisfaction of the automobile association. Tourists still had to detour some 10 miles on this road, "...to avoid some five miles of desolate and impassable country over the old post road between St. George and Lepreau."³⁷ To correct the situation, the association persuaded the townships between St. George and Lepreau to

unite and build a good gravel road which was to be available for all tourists by the spring of 1913. 38

Many of the various interest groups that made up the second good roads movement--the automobile owners, tourist promoters, the businessmen and sympathetic representatives from local governments--met together on January 29, 1913, at a provincial good roads convention held in Saint John. A new provincial association was formed which held many of the same beliefs and made similar demands to those of the first New Brunswick Good Roads Association. As W.F. Burditt, the president of the new association pointed out, the organization:

...believes that the inadequate and unsatisfactory results obtained from the considerable amount annually expended upon the highways is due to the inefficiency of the system of road administration in operation...and that increased expenditures will only result in additional waste unless a better system is established. Under the present system upwards of \$100,000 of provincial funds is annually frittered away in small amounts distributed all over the province. The expenditures being made by some 350 to 400 district and special commissioners, who are frequently selected rather in consideration of political services than because of any special qualifications for the work. These commissioners are nominally under the control of 143 highway boards, but there is no concentration of responsibility or purpose, but little effort at permanent improvement, and the bulk of the expenditure is squandered in ineffective and temporary repair work.39

Once again, the need for professional people and a centralized highway administration became the basic

platform of the New Brunswick Good Roads Association. The resolutions passed during the convention make this quite clear:40

1. The appointment of a qualified provincial highway commissioner who "...should have the technical and practical knowledge of highway engineering, be competent to lay out and direct permanent improvement work, to advise and instruct county superintendents and, by means of lectures and newspaper articles, be capable of carrying on a good roads educative campaign throughout the province."

2. That the municipalities be encouraged to abolish statute labor by the offering of a cash bonus by the province for any municipality or district electing to collect its road assessments in cash. Further to this, statute labor is to be completely abolished as rapidly as conditions will permit.

3. Three trunk roads would be permanently improved and maintained by the province, and a patrol system would be used to maintain these roads. The three highways specified were:

a) From the U.S. boundary at St. Stephen eastward by way of St. George, St. John, Hampton, Sussex, Peticodiac, Moncton and Dorchester to the provincial boundary between Sackville and Amherst.

b) From Saint John northwards by way of Fredericton, Woodstock, and the boundary line, then to Andover, Grand Falls and Edmundston to the Quebec Boundary at St. Jacques.

c) From Alma eastward and northward by way of Moncton, Shediac, Bouctouche, Richibouctou, Bay-du-Vin, Chatham, Newcastle, Tracadie, Caraquet and Bathurst to Campbelton.

4. Any grant made by the Dominion government for highway purposes will be spent on the construction and maintenance of the trunk roads.

Once again, good roads enthusiasts in New Brunswick were

attempting to bring about change in the highway administration that were unpopular with the rural residents of the province. These resolutions, as an editorial in the Saint John Globe pointed out, would not be accepted easily by country residents:

An educational campaign is required more than anything else. Residents of the country have never been deeply interested in providing what are considered as good roads -- if it means the expenditure of their money or the giving of their labor, and unless their support can be secured any movement will have up-hill work.⁴¹

The New Brunswick Good Roads Association tried to gain a foothold in the rural districts by establishing local good roads committees to "educate" the people. But, the lack of rural support for the Good Roads Association went far beyond the need for education. Favoring the cities over the rural areas, the resolutions could not help but be unpopular. The designation of highways only for permanent repairs would be at the expense of the local by-roads. Centralization would drain local taxes and take away the administration of roads from the people and place it in the hands of the politicians in Fredericton. The eventual abolition of statute labor, a system which the rural folk clung to with tenacity, would increase opportunities for patronage and place a greater burden on the small primary producers. While most rural residents desired better roads, few were prepared to return to the disastrous system established by the 1904 Highway Act.

The provincial government was now caught between two powerful interest groups. It responded by drafting a new Highway Act in 1913, which re-established provincial control over roads. The Board of Works became a full department. Provisions were also made to hire a provincial road engineer and highway inspectors were appointed for each county. The former highway divisions, based on the parishes, once again became the basic administrative units and provincial road supervisors were placed in charge of them. In September, 1915, the first full time provincial road engineer was hired.⁴² The poll and property taxes were continued, as was statute labor. Of interest though, was the provision that statute labor had to be performed no later than July 15 rather than the traditional 1st day of August. This might have been to encourage tourism and also to appease local automobilists by repairing the roads earlier in the motoring season. Under the Highway Act of 1913, expenditures on roads continued to be very small, averaging approximately \$145,000 per year. On the whole, road construction under the Minister of Public Works, John Morrissey, was not a government priority. Much of the province's expenditures on transportation were spent on the construction of the Saint John Valley and Quebec Railroad. In his Master's Thesis on the elections of 1917, Charles Ferris was highly critical of the government's lack of vision in this

matter, stating that "...the potential value of highways was not recognized by the provincial government, which remained obsessed with the major political and economic issue of the previous fifty years -- railways. To have ignored railways and started a major highway system would have been far-sighted and responsible, but the provincial government of 1913 was, unfortunately, neither."⁴³

The movement for good roads in New Brunswick continued to grow during the war years as more and more automobiles took to the roads. The government was increasingly criticized for its makeshift policies, inefficient work and incomplete plans. In 1916, after a provincial Royal Commission reported on a kickback scandal on bridge construction involving Morrissey's son and Harry M. Blair, Secretary of the Department of Public Works, John Morrissey resigned his post as Minister of Public Works.

During the election campaign of 1917, both the government and the opposition promised to improve the road situation. The new Minister of Public Works, B. Frank Smith, proposed to spend \$500,000 on road construction and devise a system of road patrols to maintain the highways. These measures would be financed without recourse to new taxation, since the government would issue bonds and use the revenue from automobile licenses and registration to cover both principal and interest. Smith viewed his programme of road development as a "reaction to the motor

age."⁴⁴ The opposition party criticized the size of the proposed expenditure by stating that twice that amount was required to prepare roads for the motor age. They promised to return the administration of the secondary roads to the people by having the district supervisors elected annually by district ratepayers.⁴⁵ Highway administration would become the responsibility of the province, while the by-roads would return to local control.

With the victory of the opposition, the new Minister of Public Works, Peter J. Veniot, struck a compromise between rural interests and the good roads movement. The responsibility for highways was centralized and placed under the direction of a provincial engineer and three assistant engineers. These officials also watched over the work on the by-roads, which was directed by the elected district supervisors. This ensured that provincial construction standards were maintained. Statute labor continued, but had to be voted in yearly by the ratepayers of each district. This no longer presented any financial problems, since the funding of highway construction depended on funds collected from user charges. The revenue from automobile registration and licensing would pay the way for better roads. The motorists would thus provide the means with which the province could work its way around the statute labor

problem. With this, it seemed, the impasse was effectively broken and a programme of permanent road construction would finally begin.

Table I Automobile Registration 1905-1917

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CARS</u>
1905	12
1906	41
1907	79
1908	104
1909	167
1910	299
1911	483
1912	700
1913	824
1914	1260
1915	1900
1916	2986
1917	4889

Source "Report of Public Works", 1934, p.129.

Notes

1. The changes in legislation regarding road administration in New Brunswick are examined in: H. Whalen, The Development of Local Government in New Brunswick (Fredericton, 1964), pp. 36-37, 70-73.
2. R.K. Doyle, "Statute Labor in New Brunswick." The Atlantic Advocate, September, 1979, p.54.
3. Ibid.
4. W.F. Burditt, "The New Movement for Better Highways." The Busy East of Canada, February, 1913, p.3.
5. Report of the Good Roads Convention for the Province of New Brunswick. (Fredericton: Department of Public Works, 1898), p.31.
6. Report of Good Roads Conventions. p.7.
7. Synoptic Report of the Debates of the Legislative Assembly of New Brunswick. 1896, p.96.
8. Ibid.
9. Busy East, February, 1913. p.4.
10. Ibid., p.3.
11. Saint John Globe, September 22, 1897, p.2.
12. Report of Good Roads Conventions, pp. 36-37.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid., p.12.
15. The Dispatch, (Woodstock, N.B.), March 11, 1908, p.2.
16. Saint John Standard, June 30, 1909, p. 2.
17. Busy East, February, 1913, p. 3.
18. Synoptic Reports, 1923, p. 228.

19. "Report of A.W. Campbell on the Streets of Saint John" Saint John Globe, February 12, 1898.
20. Saint John Globe, July 02, 1901, p.8.
21. "Accounts of the Corporation of Saint John." (1906), p. 293.
22. Saint John Globe, July 15, 1910, p. 4.
23. Saint John Globe, March 30, 1910, p.1.
24. Moncton Transcript, February 3, 1917. p.1.
25. Report of the 7th Annual Convention of the Union of New Brunswick Municipalities, October 23-24, 1912, pp. 34-35.
26. Busy East, July, 1913, p. 13.
27. J. Flink, America Adopts the Automobile, 1895-1910. (Cambridge Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1970), p. 75. The author mentions that some of these figures may be slightly inflated since some states required tourists to licence their automobiles.
28. For more on auto-touring see: W.J. Belasco, Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945. (Cambridge Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1979)
29. Busy East, February, 1917, p. 3.
30. Saint John Globe, November 6, 1912, p. 4.
31. Synoptic Report, 1908, p. 115.
32. Report, New Brunswick Commission on Agriculture. (Fredericton, 1909), p. 11.
33. Moncton Transcript, March 22, 1910, p. 2.
34. Carleton Sentinel, February, 1913.
35. Saint John Standard, May 19, 1909, p. 4.
36. Moncton Transcript, August 06, 1909, p. 5.
37. Busy East, February, 1913, p. 16.
38. Ibid.
39. Busy East, February, 1913, p. 5.

40. Moncton Transcript, January 30, 1913, p. 1.
(Original text has been paraphrased.)
41. Saint John Globe, October 23, 1912, p. 4.
42. He was John L. Feeney from Fredericton. Feeney graduated from the University of New Brunswick's engineering school in 1900. At the time of the appointment, he was employed by the Dominion Public Works Department. See: Busy East, September, 1915, p. 17.
43. C. Ferris, "The New Brunswick Elections of 1917."
(M.A. Thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1974), p. 4.
44. Ibid. , p. 99.
45. Ibid. , p. 100.

Chapter II

The Era Of The Great Gravel Roads

The increasing popularity of the automobile, and the subsequent movement for good roads, had an important impact on the province of New Brunswick. True to the good road philosophy, both Peter J. Veniot and D.A. Stewart, the Ministers of Public Works between 1917 and 1934, centralized their departments and relied on professional engineers to build a system of permanent gravel roads. The Public Works Department thus became the province's force for the adoption of scientific building methods. For this reason after 1917, there was no longer a significant good roads organization in New Brunswick. Veniot's election as President of the Canadian Good Roads Association in 1924, suggests perhaps that such an organization was no longer necessary. Proof of the province's commitment to good roads was also reflected in the yearly increases in road expenditures and the almost equally frequent increases in either the poll and property tax, the automobile tax or, after 1926, the gasoline tax. The spiralling increases in expenditures would cease only with the coming of the Depression.

While the provincial government concentrated on road building and taxing automobiles, the tensions between

rural and urban, between the by-roads and the great roads, continued to exist. Neither the Liberals nor the Conservatives could find a way to collect the large amount of road taxes defaulted on each year. Statute labor was another problem that outlived both Veniot's and Stewart's terms in office. Between 1917 and 1932, motor vehicle registration in the province jumped from 4889 to almost 28,000. This did not include the increasingly large numbers of tourists who visited the province each year. New Brunswick responded to this challenge full of the good roads spirit, hungry for revenue and using a system of administration that was a mixture of the old and the new.

With the Liberal victory in 1917, the province announced a new policy of road construction and administrative reform that followed closely the demands made by the good roads movement. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of this new programme was the introduction of user charges as a means of financing construction. Newfoundland and Quebec had been first in British North America to dedicate revenue from motor vehicle taxes towards road construction. In 1911, Newfoundland passed a law requiring that the revenue from automobile licenses be used "... to the repair of roads and bridges in any district through which motor vehicles are usually driven."¹ The following year, Quebec passed legislation requiring that "... net motor vehicle revenue

was to be used for debt charges incurred under the Good Roads Act."2 New Brunswick required automobiles to be registered with the Secretary of the Board of Public Works in 1905. The five-dollar fee was not marked for any specific purpose and simply became part of the general revenue. In 1911, the registration law was changed and rates were based on horsepower, paid yearly to the department.

By 1917, the increasing number of automobiles registered with the province and the demand for better roads made the adoption of the user charge principle an important part of the new government's road policy. In a letter to the Busy East, the Minister of Public Works, P.J. Veniot, outlined his plan to finance the construction of permanent highways:

During the early part of the session of Parliament, I decided to use the revenue of the automobile in order to borrow an amount of money to be used on improvements of the great roads of the Province, thus giving me the advantage of using the ordinary grants for road purposes, annually voted by the Legislature, for the improvement of parish, or by-roads. The amount borrowed on the strength of the automobile revenue will be continued each year and by this expenditure it is hoped, within a short time, that we may have the great roads of the Province in a very satisfactory condition.3

The Motor Vehicle Law of 1917 changed the method of assessing the automobile tax from horsepower to weight. Cars were assessed 60 cents per hundred pounds while motor trucks not exceeding two tons were taxed ten dollars, with

an additional five dollars per ton or fraction of a ton over one ton.⁴ In addition to this yearly fee, a flat registration fee was charged as well. By changing the assessment method from horsepower to weight, the government was holding true to the user charge principle. The heavier the car, the more damage it caused to the roads and, consequently, the tax was greater. With this, the government authorized a bond issue to finance the work on the highways. Motor vehicle receipts were dedicated to the payment of interest and to establish a sinking fund to service the debt. It would seem that, with this arrangement, both the automobilists and the farmers would receive better roads without really adding to the province's debt load.

Veniot was quick to organize his new department and began a systematic investigation of the highway system. Under the Provincial Road Engineer, B.M. Hill, three district road engineers were hired, consisting of D.W. Burpee (Madawaska, Victoria, Carleton, York, Charlotte, Queens and Sunbury Counties), L.L. Theriault (Restigouche, Gloucester, Northumberland and Kent Counties), and A.F. Belding (Westmorland, Albert, Kings and Saint John Counties).⁵ During the summer and fall of 1917, a general survey of approximately 800 miles of trunk roads was completed. As well, a total of slightly over 400 miles of main trunk roads were surveyed in detail. The engineers

prepared profiles describing grade alignments, culverts, drainage, condition of road surface and the location of gravel pits. These profiles provided the information required for future construction and were updated as the work progressed. The engineers spent a great deal of time travelling from work site to work site supervising road work. Even Veniot had a busy summer that year, having travelled approximately 9,800 miles to get acquainted with road conditions throughout the province.⁶

The Highway Act of 1918 established the new system of road administration which Veniot had promised during the election of 1917. The great roads were now divided into main and secondary trunk highways. The five main trunk roads were through-roads leading from north to south or from east to west. Secondary trunk highways, on the other hand, were either lateral roads connecting farming settlements or villages to the main highway, or roads that paralleled the main artery but received less traffic. The system placed the responsibility for the construction and maintenance of highways on the shoulders of the provincial government. The election of road supervisors and the spending of road taxes on the by-roads allowed the Department of Public Works to concentrate much of its manpower and attention on the permanent repairs to the highways. This new system was designed to balance the interests of the good roads advocates and the province's

rural residents. Revenue raised from the poll and property taxes would be spent on local roads under elected supervisors and ratepayers could vote in statute labor each year if they desired. User charges would pay for the repair of the great roads which now became the responsibility of the provincial government.

Since the automobilist was now paying to repair the great roads, it was the automobile, and not the horse and wagon, that dictated the province's construction standards and priorities. The highways quickly became the motor-car's domain, ruled by the city dwellers and the rich tourists who could afford to buy the machines. In the "Provincial Engineer's Report for 1918" there was little, if any, mention of horse drawn traffic using New Brunswick highways. By-roads were mentioned almost only with regards to the number of automobiles that travelled on them.⁷

According to Table I, provincial expenditures for road construction reflected the province's interest in the highways. In 1918, spending on the great roads totalled \$436,547, while spending on ordinary roads totalled \$224,635. In 1919, \$1,159,087 was spent on trunk roads while only \$351,250 was expended on local roads. While the by-roads received a great deal less money, they totalled approximately 13,000 miles of road, compared to the 1,500 miles of highways that existed in the province

at that time.⁸

The opposition party was quick to point out the government's lack of attention to the by-roads. Veniot defended his actions by stating that the better standards for road construction applied to all roads and that the farmers' roads were receiving provincial attention:

He [Veniot] agreed with honorable members opposite who took the ground that the by-roads of the province should not be neglected in the interest of the automobilists. He wished to point out in that regard that \$14,000 of the automobile fund had last year been expended in the purchase of concrete culverts, a great many of which had been used on the by-roads. He hoped honorable members would not be uneasy with regards to the interest of the farmers as the interest of that worthy class of the population would be well looked after and all would be treated fairly. The new Highway Act gave him the power to divide the by-roads from the great roads and he would see to it that justice was done.⁹

The increasing number of farmers purchasing automobiles after the First World War ensured that the issue over expenditures would not go away. Table II shows the increasing number of automobiles registered with the province during the period. In 1917, only 6 percent of the cars registered with the province were owned in rural districts.¹⁰ This figure increased dramatically over the next five years to 15 percent in 1919, 40 percent in 1921, and 58 percent in 1923. ¹¹ When, in 1919, the automobile fee was once again raised, opposition members complained about the lack of action on rural roads. As one

Conservative M.L.A. stated: " Poor people were using cars and over very rough roads and could not stand this increased expense. Many were living outside the region of trunk roads and although paying the Motor Vehicle Tax, were not reaping any benefit."¹²

The impact of these points against the government should not be underestimated. The by-roads remained an important local concern and were, therefore, an important political issue. Opposition members charged that Veniot was ignoring the farmers while spending a fortune improving the highways for the city dwellers and the tourists. The age-old conflict between the great roads and the by-roads was once again rising to the surface. To fix the highways required a great deal of money.

Diverting a large amount of the automobile tax to the rural roads would have defeated Veniot's plans. By 1919, the compromise built into the Highway Act was quickly breaking down, as the new Minister of Public Works faced the same problem that had plagued his predecessors for so many years.

Veniot's plans to repair the highways were saved by a long overdue federal grant programme. In 1911, the Conservatives, under Robert Borden, had introduced a bill authorizing grants-in-aid for provincial road construction. While the bill passed the Commons, it was defeated by the Liberal-dominated Senate. In 1919, a

similar measure was passed as the Canada Highway Act. It was designed to "... stimulate construction, to coordinate provincial activity, and to achieve some uniformity of road standards."¹³ The terms of the Act provided for a total sum of \$20,000,000 over five years with an \$80,000 maximum annual grant allotted to each province on a 40/60 shared cost basis.¹⁴ The remainder was divided on the same 40/60 basis in accordance with provincial populations. To qualify for these grants, the provinces were required to undertake the work themselves rather than delegating it to the municipalities. All construction was governed by set federal standards and was inspected by federal engineers before the 40 percent Dominion share was paid. These funds had to be spent on main and secondary trunk roads only. By-roads and rural roads were excluded under the terms of the agreement.

Since New Brunswick had centralized its road administration in 1917, the province was able to take advantage of the grants immediately. To ensure this, the government passed legislation to borrow up to \$200,000 per year for the construction of permanent main and secondary trunk highways.¹⁵ Motor vehicle receipts would be used to service the debt. Veniot explained to the Assembly that to meet the requirement of the Canada Highway Act, the province would have to spend \$1,800,000 during the next five years.¹⁶ New Brunswick's road construction standards

were accepted as the federal government's standard for all of Canada. A change in federal regulations allowing work started in March, 1919 to come under the Act, meant that the province could already claim a full year's work under the programme. New Brunswick was thus one of the first provinces to come under the agreement. Since provinces like Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta had to first centralize their road administration system, the five-year programme was extended twice, coming to an end on April 1st, 1928.

The Canada Highway Act had an important impact on the province's road building process. Since the shared-cost agreement specified work of a permanent nature on main and secondary trunk roads, it became difficult for the opposition members to successfully criticize the government for its expenditures on highways. The federal government inspected the work and demanded that standards be maintained in all aspects of construction, making the quality of the Veniot roads beyond reproach. The minister also ensured that all counties could get a piece of the action, which helped to smooth over sectional jealousies. For example, Albert County and a section of Queens County along the Saint John River had no roads classified as great roads by the federal highway board. To compensate for this, a major re-classification of roads was carried out adding 1,600 miles of roads entitled to

federal aid.¹⁷

While the Canada Highway Act helped the government's highway construction programme, it also had important ramifications for local roads. The federal requirement for provincial control over construction and finances forced the provincial government to scrap the elections of local road supervisors. The only road matter that was left in local hands was the annual vote for statute labor. This meant that the province was once again responsible for the condition of the by-roads and for the collection of the road and poll taxes.

To try to speed up work on local roads, the government adopted a new spending policy in 1920. Automobile fees not required to fund the permanent road debt would be spent on the principal branch roads that connected rural areas to market towns.¹⁸ With this, the poll and property taxes could be devoted entirely to by-road construction. While this action increased the amount of work done, it was not enough to stop the opposition's constant barrage of criticism. It seemed, however, to satisfy a number of provincial voters, since the Liberals were re-elected during the election of 1920.

With the election over, the Liberals were quick to look for more funds to finance their road construction commitments. In 1921, the licensing fee for automobiles was raised to \$1.00 per hundred pounds and trucks were now

taxed according to weight rather than the traditional flat fee.¹⁹ Garages for winter storage and repairs were taxed a yearly charge of \$20.00 in the cities, \$10.00 in towns and \$5.00 in the villages.²⁰ Even tractors were taxed at forty cents per hundred pounds, though few farmers were using these at this time. ²¹

The whole system established by the Highway Act of 1918 received a great deal of attention during 1921. One M.L.A., representing Carleton, blamed the continued use of statute labor for the condition of country roads and suggested that the system should be done away with. Veniot agreed with the statement, and his own comments suggest that the statute labor problem had changed little over the years:

... statute labor was the greatest curse the roads had ever had. Last year the total tax for roads had amounted to \$242,000 of which \$86,000 was in statute labor. The Province did not receive 33% of value from that labor. The blame could not be put on the supervisors. The people themselves did not take enough interest to go out and do a fair hour's work on the roads. The sooner the Legislature realizes this the better. Statute labor should be abolished. During the recess, let the matter be taken up and discussed, the people should be educated.²²

Veniot spoke on this issue again at the 1921 meeting of the Union of New Brunswick Municipalities. He challenged the cities to support his attempt to abolish the "...rottenest form of revenue that could be conceived."²³ Probably owing to the political risks

involved in this venture, the Liberal government was not prepared to rise to the occasion and abolish statute labor.

The road tax was also questioned during the 1921 session and once again the problem of collection was a major concern. According to Veniot, while the province's municipalities were alone in North America in not having to contribute towards highway construction, most of the counties still defaulted on the road taxes. In 1920, about one third was collected and one third worked off out of the \$242,000 tax assessment for that year. Veniot was quick to point out that, while farmers wanted good local roads, most were not prepared to pay for them:

...in his [Veniot's] judgement there was not sufficient revenue to give the people of the back districts of the province the kinds of roads they very properly demanded. ... The present road tax of twenty-five cents on the one hundred dollars and poll tax of two dollars did not produce sufficient revenue for road purposes.... The farmers were clamoring for more money for the roads in the rural districts, yet it was the rural districts that produced the greatest number of defaulters. If the farmers were going to remain at fault how could they expect the government to take the money from elsewhere and spend it on their roads?24

In order to raise more money the road tax was raised from twenty-five to forty cents on the hundred dollars in 1922.²⁵ While the tax went up, the number of paid accounts did not. The scope of the collection problem can be seen in Table II. The statistics show that out of the

total assessment for 1923, almost half was paid in labor and over a quarter of the money owed was reported delinquent.

Regardless of the controversy over highway expenditures, Veniot went ahead and organized the province's first road patrol system in 1923. To pay for this new service, an amendment was passed to the Motor Vehicle Act raising the annual registration rate for automobiles another 20 percent.²⁶ According to the Minister of Public Works, the New Brunswick Automobile Association supported the new tax provided the money was spent on establishing a patrol system.²⁷ Patrol crews consisted of two men and a horse drawn grader. These teams were responsible for grading and repairing approximately six to ten miles of road, depending largely on road conditions and amount of traffic. In 1923, about 1300 miles of main trunk highway were placed under steady patrol. By the following year, an additional 700 miles of main and secondary trunk roads were added to the system. Once this system was in place, statute labor was no longer permitted on main trunk highways or on roads leading back from the main highways.²⁸

Once again, the opposition broadsided the government over the lack of attention to the by-roads. They charged that the government was more interested in building expensive roads for the American tourists rather than

looking to better the lot of those who paid the taxes. Rural residents, they argued, would not benefit greatly from the new tax increases and that they were already paying too much. In an attempt to sidetrack Veniot's move for higher registration fees, the opposition proposed that a tax on gasoline be implemented to lessen the tax burden on farmers.²⁹ Veniot recognized the value of such a tax, but did not support it personally. He argued that "...in a sea coast province such a tax would be difficult to collect as large quantities of gasoline were used for other purposes." ³⁰

The need for more money was also a local problem, and soon many towns and cities started requesting provincial help to build and maintain their roads and streets. Two separate motions, that were passed by the Union of New Brunswick Municipalities in 1921 and 1923, exemplify the growing tension between the province and the municipalities. In 1921, the Union of New Brunswick Municipalities supported a motion by Mr. Kelly of St. Stephen that the "...municipalities should be allowed to levy upon the owners of ... motor vehicles a tax, by way of license fee, in addition to the tax imposed by the provincial government."³¹ In 1923, the problem of funding was once again raised. This time, the municipalities complained of not being able to keep provincial roads leading through their town limits in good repair. On this

occasion, the convention resolved to have the province "...take over one trunk road through each incorporated town and making same part of the public highways of the province."³² In an attempt to get needed revenue to fix its streets, Saint John actually passed a motion seeking authority to impose a two cent tax on gasoline sold in the city. This bill was subsequently thrown out by the government's municipality committee on April 8, 1925. ³³

By 1924, the government was entering a difficult period. In January, the federal aid agreement with New Brunswick expired and was not renewed. The province had received an estimated \$1,250,000 from the programme, which went towards the construction of some 1,384 miles of highways.³⁴ Veniot was extremely critical of the King government in Ottawa for not continuing the shared-cost agreement. The loss of federal funds meant that the province would have to either curtail its road construction programme or raise taxes. Neither of these alternatives were very attractive politically. To fill the void, the government passed a bill in 1925, authorizing the borrowing of an additional \$500,000 to finish roads in various counties.³⁵ Veniot also announced that his government was now in favour of implementing a tax on gasoline as soon as he could work out a system to collect it. Unable to get federal support, the government was now ready to adopt what Veniot considered:

...[as] a more equitable form of taxation than the system now in vogue. He was now in communication with the Minister of Highways of Quebec, with a view to finding out how the tax had worked out in that province especially along the line of exemptions. He was hopeful of being able to impose a tax on gasoline and at the same time reduce the fees collected on automobiles.³⁶

Many of these issues remained unresolved when Veniot called an election for the summer of 1925. Roads were not a major issue during the campaign, most of the attention going to the Grand Falls Hydro project and the debate over private or public ownership of electricity. The Liberals were able to stand on their record of road construction without difficulty. Early into the campaign, Veniot announced his plans to hand over the Public Works Department to his chief engineer, B.M. Hill, after the election. Hill offered himself as candidate for Charlotte County. His political career was short-lived as were those of many Liberals who lost during the subsequent Conservative win.

In 1917, Veniot had promised the people of New Brunswick a system of highways they could be proud of. "Good Roads" Veniot, as he was often called, held true to his promise. The province's automobilists had, with some federal help, footed the bill for what were described by A.W. Campbell, Commissioner of Highways for the Dominion Government, as some of the best gravel roads he knew of. Veniot was honored for his work by being elected as the

President of the Canadian Good Roads Association in 1924. Yet, while more money had been spent on roads in New Brunswick than ever before, the Public Works Department's total expenditure of \$2,531,099 in 1924, soon paled, as a new government stepped in and tapped the source of revenue that Veniot had not had time to touch.³⁷

The election of 1925 brought about not only a change of government, but important changes within the Department of Public Works as well. The new Minister, D.A. Stewart, was a careful and competent administrator who, like his predecessor, believed in the centralization and professionalization of his department. Under his direction, the Department of Public Works continued to grow, employing more and more fulltime employees. Modern machinery was used as never before to ensure that the work was completed at less cost and in less time. It was during the period between 1926 and 1930 that the Department of Public Works became an empire within the government administration, reaching all corners of the province.

The end of federal aid for the construction of permanent highways had been a hard blow to New Brunswick. Dominion funds had been an important part of Veniot's highway programme. To fill the financial void, the new government was quick to increase the auto tax to \$ 1.10 per hundred pounds in 1926, and also implement a three

cent per gallon gasoline tax.³⁸ The new gasoline tax fell hardest on those who used their automobiles and the roads the most. It was to be easy to administer, since it was collected at the wholesale level. Because the tax was introduced as a user charge, gasoline used in fishing and farming operations, or in any type of machinery used in manufacturing, was not considered taxable. People wishing to be reimbursed under this provision, could apply for a government rebate at the end of the year.

The popularity of the gasoline tax was largely due to its ability to cash in on the tourist industry. While the impact of the automobile on the province's tourist trade is examined in the next chapter, some reference to its effect on taxation is required here. American auto-tourists were becoming an increasingly familiar sight on the province's roads. While this traffic was a boost to the economy, tourists had hitherto paid little towards the actual upkeep of the highways. The gasoline tax was one way of solving this problem. As one MLA pointed out to the assembly:

He would strongly commend the imposition of a tax of three cents per gallon on gasoline, and believed it would meet with approval throughout the province. During July and August each year we would find four times as many American cars as Canadian cars on the roads. He believed that the people who used the roads should help to keep them up.³⁹

The gasoline tax became a major source of revenue for the Department of Public Works and was raised to five cents in

1928, seven cents in 1932, and eight cents in 1934. In 1928, the Conservatives held true to their original plans by lowering the auto tax.

Upon assuming his post, the new Minister of Public Works hired B.H. Kinghorn as provincial highway engineer. The province was divided into seven districts with one engineer in charge of each division. District offices were established at Campbellton, Chatham, Moncton, Sussex, Saint John, Fredericton, and Woodstock. The patrol system was continuously expanded as new stretches of Main and Secondary Trunk roads were completed. The highways continued to soak up much of the department's revenue, but the by-roads were given greater priority.

The period between 1926 and 1930 was the heyday of the Public Works Department. Table III shows the various road expenditures between 1926 and 1932. While main trunk roads were continuously improved, the secondary and branch roads also received a great deal of attention. These roads were constructed to the same specifications used for highways so that the two could be linked together. Spending on roads increased an incredible 73 percent in one year, from \$2,290,221.21 in 1927, to \$3,954,048.02 in 1928. 40 This figure does not include the \$350,896.77 spent for patrolling that year. Expenditures on secondary and farmers' roads totalled \$1,812,782.03, while main trunk roads cost the province \$1,312,513.14 in 1928,

suggesting that the Conservatives were trying hard to improve roads in rural areas.⁴¹ The new government was proud of its roads programme and boasted increased expenditures as evidence "... that a good roads policy [was] being vigorously prosecuted in New Brunswick."⁴²

The Road Machinery Act of 1927 reflected the growth and modernization the Public Works Department. During the Veniot period the province had begun a policy of building its own roads rather than contracting out. New Brunswick was one of the few provinces in Canada that took advantage of the clause in the federal agreement permitting this. Under the Liberals, two provincial garages were constructed, one in Saint John and one in Fredericton, to house the equipment used during construction. By 1930, the number of garages had increased to seven, one for every road district. Under the Road Machinery Act, a staggering amount of equipment was purchased each year to facilitate road building and maintenance. By 1930, the province owned an impressive array of equipment, including: 91 power maintainers, 128 trucks, 56 tractors, 58 tractor drawn road graders, 359 horse drawn graders, 8 gravel crushing, screening and loading plants, 5 bucket gravel loaders, 1 caterpillar crane, 11 air compressors and rock drills and one concrete mixer.⁴³

The extent of the department's activities was explained by the minister in an article of the Busy East

for March, 1928. According to Stewart:

In the Province of New Brunswick all construction and maintenance work on roads is carried on by the Provincial Department of Public Works. The work is paid for by funds raised by the Province, and work both by day labor and contract on roads and also on bridges comes directly under the Provincial Public Works Department, the municipalities having no control of the roads. The extent of the work carried on the past year is indicated by figures which show that 100 miles of main trunk roads, 300 miles of secondary and 500 miles of branch or by-roads were in the course of construction or re-construction last season and that 64 miles of main trunk and secondary roads were being built by contract.⁴⁴

In 1928, the province had 60 miles of main trunk highways reconstructed under contract, and 277 miles reconstructed or improved by its own forces. As well, only 25 miles of secondary and branch roads were repaired under contract, while 754 miles were reconstructed and 1344 miles were improved by the department.⁴⁵

The Public Works Department was also responsible for maintaining its roads. The patrol system, established under Veniot, was expanded continuously. By 1930, the department reported that all 1367 miles of main trunk highways, not including the Campbellton-Saint Leonard Highway that was still under construction, were under patrol. Also, a total of 1021 miles of secondary trunk highways were under patrol. Secondary and branch roads were patrolled once or twice a week as required.

By 1929, the province was also prepared to help some of the municipalities with their road problems as well.

An amendment was passed to the Highway Act allowing the Minister of Public Works to pay 50 percent of maintenance costs for roads running through incorporated towns and villages. This work, however, was to be done by the department, which collected the other 50 percent of the costs from the municipalities. Towns and villages using this programme could have paving work done rather than using gravel.

This increase in government involvement in road construction meant that the Public Works Department became a major employer in the province. The report of the Chief Highway Engineer for 1929 makes this point quite clear:

Highway construction and maintenance furnishes employment for a large number of men and teams through the construction season. During this period, besides our regular staff of supervisors and patrolmen numbering about 1,000, employment is furnished for approximately 20,000 men. Averaging four dependents per person, it is reasonable to assume that about 20 percent of our entire population derive the greater portion of their income at certain seasons of the year from expenditures made for highway improvements.⁴⁶

Under Stewart, the spending of road dollars was never really challenged and there were few serious questions regarding the department's actions. During the rich years of the late 1920s, the province reaped the gasoline and automobile taxes and, true to the user charge principle, used these funds to service the ever increasing debt. Better roads would serve to increase tourism into the province and, in turn, bring in more gasoline tax money.

Even the revenue raised by the Liquor Control Board, which had traditionally been used to finance the provincial police, was, by 1929, placed at the disposal of the Public Works Department. According to one government member, it was hoped that these funds would "...benefit the people at least as much as if it had gone into the pockets of the bootleggers...."47

The coming of the great depression to New Brunswick largely ended the period of continuous growth the Public Works Department had experienced since 1917. As Table III indicates, total expenditures for the department dropped steadily from \$7,508,019 in 1930, to \$1,136,310 in 1933, and went up slightly to \$1,525,637 in 1934. The depression also forced the government to postpone a hard surfacing programme it had announced during the 1930 speech from the throne. Because of the times, the government decided that "...instead of attempting a large capital expenditure at the present upon hard surfaced roads, it [would] be more advisable to keep the road surface in good condition and so far as possible free from dust."48 Little new construction was carried out during this period, as the province concentrated largely on maintaining rather than improving or expanding the existing road system.

The curtailment of the department's activities between 1932 and 1934 reflected the shrinking tax base and smaller

number of automobiles using the roads. According to government reports, traffic on provincial highways declined as the depression worsened. A survey carried out in 1931 reported that local and foreign car traffic had decreased 1 percent and 5.7 percent respectively from 1930.⁴⁹ Similarly, local and foreign traffic on secondary roads decreased by 10 percent and 11.7 percent for the same year.⁵⁰ Less traffic meant that the department could cut its operations accordingly:

Due to the very considerable decrease in local and foreign traffic on our highways during the past season, the operations of our patrolmen were curtailed consistent with the traffic on the various individual sections. In this manner a very great saving was effected, at the same time maintaining road surfaces to a very high standard.⁵¹

While the Department of Public Works was able to cut its activities, it was forced to scramble for funds to meet its commitments. For this reason, the gasoline tax was increased to seven cents per gallon in 1932 and to eight cents per gallon in 1934. In 1932, the motor vehicle tax was also increased five cents to ninety cents per hundred pounds. Subsequently, 5,195 fewer automobiles and 426 fewer trucks registered that year.⁵² This loss of registration occurred mostly in rural areas and was reflected in a 10 percent reduction in gasoline sold.⁵³ The department also reported that automobile owners were purchasing smaller cars. These light weight vehicles further cut into the provincial revenue, since they did

not bring in as much in licensing fees and, generally, burned less gasoline. To make matters more difficult, the number of tourists visiting the region declined almost 50 percent between 1930 and 1933.

The need for more revenue is reflected in the province's stand on statute labor and on the collection of the road taxes. In 1931, the Highway Act was amended to authorize the abolition of statute labor. According to Stewart, approximately one-third of the road tax continued to be paid in cash, one-third in statute labour and one-third defaulted.⁵⁴ Since statute labor was not allowed on the highways, many tax payers had to travel a long distance to work off their tax and most of their time was consumed in coming and going. While the government passed the amendment, a clause ensured that statute labor would continue until ended by proclamation. Considering the economic situation, the government would not make the necessary move to abolish statute labor. To have demanded cash during the depression would have been both unrealistic and suicidal. Statute labor thus continued in the province until the end of the Second World War when the road tax was finally abolished.

With the coming of the depression, the province was forced to finally halt the longstanding tradition of continuously increasing expenditures. Road work became the major form of relief for the unemployed. Much of the

money for this was provided by the federal government through different conditional grant programmes.

One of the first acts of the Bennett government after its election in 1930, was a twenty million dollar appropriation for special relief measures. According to Bryan's More Taxes and More Traffic, a larger amount of road money was paid out under the Unemployment Relief Act of 1930 and other subsequent relief acts, than the federal government had paid out under the Canada Highway Act.⁵⁵ Other programmes included grants to finance the construction of mining roads, grants for the development of tourist highways, funding to build sections of the Trans-Canada Highway and federal support for general provincial highway construction. ⁵⁶

In New Brunswick, the Public Works Department was responsible for the province's relief effort. Since the department's administrative network covered the entire province, and considering the importance of road work in the relief effort, there was no other agency better suited for this task. According to Bryan's More Taxes and More Traffic, most provinces simply referred generally to relief expenditures without providing any great detail on how much employment was actually created on the roads. Reports by the Deputy Minister of Public Works for the period do not give a breakdown of federal and provincial funds spent on the roads to help relieve unemployment. We

do know, however, that the department did make a concentrated effort to provide employment for as many men as it had been employing at the height of the roadbuilding programme:

The depression has still continued and in order to relieve unemployment an extensive programme was carried on during the fall of 1930 and early part of 1931. Under the Unemployment Relief Act of 1930, as passed by the Dominion Parliament, a sum of \$500,000 was allotted to the province, of which \$46,000 was reserved to cover one half of the reduction in stumpage, \$75,000 for the Provincial Museum in Saint John and the balance was allotted to the various towns, cities and counties.

The above gave work to about 20,000 workmen with a total of 276,276 day's work.

In addition to the above, provision was made for direct relief to which the Province contributed to the extent of \$3,699.30.

In September of this year, work was again started under the Unemployment Relief Act of 1931. In that month 10,726 men were employed for 447,674 hours with a total expenditure of \$185,633.96. In October, 17,829 men are shown on the payrolls as having worked 825,880 hours with a total expenditure of \$325,539.85. 57

It is perhaps surprising that, out of the depression's difficulties, the province finally began the construction of hard surfaced roads. Thanks to federal help, the Public Works Department actually started a small amount of paving in 1934. In all, 66.1 miles of paving was tendered out, and 15.4 miles were completed during that year.⁵⁸ New Brunswick had now entered into a new road construction era. Paved highways would become the standard with which all roads would be compared. The Conservative government, after 10 years in office, barely had the time to launch

the new paving programme before losing the 1935 election to the Liberals under A.A. Dysart. As Minister of Public Works, Premier Dysart would carry out a comprehensive highway paving programme and, subsequently, a large scale snow plowing operation during his five year stay in office.

With the introduction of hard surfacing, the era of the great gravel highways slowly came to an end. Between 1917 and 1930, New Brunswick's Department of Public Works responded to the challenge of the the motor age by building some of the best roads in the country. The ever-increasing number of automobiles registering each year, and the province's expanding tourist trade, provided what must have seemed an inexhaustible source of revenue. The great depression eventually put an end to the department's growth and delayed the introduction of hard surfacing for almost four years. Regardless of how large and modern their department became, neither Veniot nor Stewart were able to successfully handle the problems associated with statute labor. Road paving plants and modern machinery were administered side by side with a system of road making that was almost as old as the province itself. Only with the abolition of the road tax at the end of the Second World War would statute labor be done away with in New Brunswick.

Table I Provincial Road Expenditures 1917-1925

Year	Ordinary Provincial	Ordinary Municipal	Permanent Roads Auto Fund	Federal Aid	Road Patrol
1917	\$189,488	\$82,787	\$334,066		
1918	184,033	40,602	436,547		
1919	273,647	77,602	1,159,087		
1920	333,169	74,295	689,906	648,256	
1921	319,019	95,769	324,441	927,809	
1922	201,289	88,594	291,807	586,242	
1923	327,149	61,102	396,874	381,332	141,763
				Permanent Main Trunk	
1924	201,655	93,992	374,098	578,381	259,542
1925	246,768	50,188	543,619	667,148	256,185

Source: "Report of Public Works", 1917-1925.

Table II Motor Vehicle Registration 1918-1932

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CARS</u>	<u>TRUCKS</u>	<u>MOTORCYCLES</u>	<u>BUSES</u>
1918	6,259	252		
1919	7,840	412		
1920	10,442	679		
1921	12,585	875		
1922	12,609	904		
1923	15,405	1,183		
1924	18,310	1,448		
1925	17,420	1,358		
1926	19,412	1,853		28
1927	22,289	2,001	93	40
1928	25,064	2,668	146	49
1929	27,962	3,445	162	41
1930	30,318	3,999	172	51
1931	29,223	3,948	178	62
1932	24,030	3,540	135	60

Source "Report of Public Works", 1934, p.129.

Table III Road Assessments 1923

County	Total	Taxes Paid	Taxes Paid	Delinquent
	Assessment	in Cash	in Labor	Taxes

Albert	\$11,900	\$3,070	\$5,773	\$3,571
Carleton	27,327	774	19,117	7,437
Charlotte	17,765	6,791	6,152	4,935
Gloucester	20,611	2,180	13,763	4,667
Kent	16,883	1,010	11,721	4,151
Kings	27,381	7,898	14,502	5,166
Madawaska	13,439	1,981	6,213	4,603
Northumberland	24,515	7,948	11,776	5,036
Queens	14,750	3,996	7,801	2,952
Restigouche	17,847	4,704	4,803	8,334
Saint John	14,811	6,725	2,181	5,904
Sunbury	8,364	2,714	3,482	2,295
Victoria	21,242	8,594	8,466	4,810
Westmorland	43,589	8,103	25,268	10,216
York	39,597	10,836	16,386	12,422

Source: Proceedings, Twentieth Annual Convention of the Union of New Brunswick Municipalities, 1926, p. 56.

Table IV Provincial Road Expenditures 1926-1932

Year	Ordinary Roads	Secondary Branch	Main Trunk	Road Patrol	Municipal Roads

1926	\$214,980	\$661,102	\$788,222	\$252,527	
1927	299,951	885,147	805,180	258,610	
1928	393,286	1,312,513	1,812,782	350,896	
1929	620,696	3,131,701	1,358,695	572,506	
1930	790,961	3,931,176	2,138,320	591,934	55,628
1931	452,373	1,527,149	1,572,516	389,224	65,088
1932	273,769	1,261,861	605,120	312,919	71,656

Source: "Report of New Brunswick Public Works Department",
1926-1932.

Notes

1. N. Bryan, More Taxes and More Traffic. (Toronto: Canadian Tax Foundation, 1972), p.21.

Bryan's book provides an excellent explanation of the various taxation theories and also examines how these were used in Canada. The appendices contain a handy reference list of the various provincial and territorial legislation passed to regulate the automobile and to finance road construction. This book, however, is largely a study of present day taxation methods and offers little in the way of historical analysis.

2. Ibid.

3. The Busy East of Canada, October, 1917, pp. 13 and 15.

4. Synoptic Reports of the Debates of the Legislative Assembly of New Brunswick, 1917, p.144.

5. "Report of Public Works Department", Journals of the Legislative Assembly of New Brunswick, 1917, p. 209.

6. Synoptic Reports, 1918, p. 27.

7. "Report of Public Works Department", 1918, p. 218.

8. Ibid., 1917, p. 209.

9. Synoptic Reports, 1918, p. 215.

10. Synoptic Reports, 1923, p. 228.

11. Ibid.

12. Synoptic Reports, 1919, p. 269.

13. N. Bryan, More Taxes and More Traffic, p. 132.

14. Ibid.

15. Synoptic Reports, 1920, p. 229.

16. Ibid.
17. Ibid., p. 230.
18. Ibid., 1921, p. 6.
19. Ibid., 1921, p. 15.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid., p. 118.
23. Saint John Globe, August 26, 1921, p. 8.
24. Synoptic Reports, 1921, p. 120.
25. Ibid., 1922, p. 213.
26. Ibid., 1923, p. 99.
27. Synoptic Report, 1923, p. 207.
28. Synoptic Report, 1923, p. 202.
29. Ibid., 1923, p. 207.
30. Ibid.
31. Proceedings, Sixteenth Annual Convention of the Union of New Brunswick Municipalities, 1921, p. 5.
32. Proceedings, Eighteenth Annual Convention of the Union of New Brunswick Municipalities, 1923, p. 7.
33. Moncton Transcript, April 09, 1925, p. 01.
34. Moncton Transcript, April 10, 1924, pp. 1 and 4.
35. Synoptic Reports, 1925, p. 262.
36. Ibid., p. 109.
37. "Report of Public Works Department", 1924, p. 185.
38. Synoptic Report, 1926, p. 195.
39. Ibid., p.9.
40. "Report of Public Works Department", 1928, p. 21.

41. Ibid.
42. Busy_East, March, 1928, p. 11.
43. "Report of Public Works Department", 1930, p. 5.
44. Busy_East, March, 1928, p. 11.
45. "Report of Public Works Department", 1928, p.21.
46. "Report of Public Works Department", 1929, p.7.
47. Synoptic_Reports, 1929, pp. 12-13.
48. Ibid., 1931, p. 6.
49. "Report of Public Works Department", 1931, p. 16A.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid., 1932, p.19A.
52. Ibid., p.95.
53. Ibid.
54. Synoptic_Reports, 1931, p. 208.
55. N. Bryan, More_Taxes_and_More_Traffic, p. 133.
56. Ibid.
57. "Report of Public Works Department", 1931, pp. 10A-11A.

The administration of relief money was a very large task and, at times, became embroiled in politics. In a speech to the House of Commons, P.J. Veniot spoke about an incident in his home county, where "... men who had money in the bank were employed on relief work..." while other men "... who lived from hand to mouth had been refused work." Veniot's complaints against political favoritism in granting relief were investigated by both the provincial and federal public works departments. The result was that some workers were dismissed and deserving men were hired. See House of Commons Debates, February 23rd, 1932, p. 469.

This, and other documents on the administration of direct relief can be found in an unpublished collection of documents relating to New Brunswick History. The collection is used as part of an undergraduate course.

See "New Brunswick Documents for History 3405" Ed.
Professor D.M. Young, University of New Brunswick.

58. Ibid., 1934, p.12.

Chapter III

The Automobile And Provincial Involvement In Tourism.

Before the automobile era, the promotion of tourism in New Brunswick was largely a matter of private or municipal concern. Voluntary associations in Saint John and Fredericton supplemented the publicity provided by railways and steamship companies in endeavouring to persuade tourists to visit the province. Direct involvement of the provincial government was sporadic, confined mainly to making small grants available to local associations and to sending occasional displays of provincial attractions to exhibitions and shows in the northeastern states. When, however, on the eve of World War I, it became apparent that America was falling in love with the automobile, promoters such as C.C. Avar, the energetic editor of The Busy East, began to see the potential for an important regional industry. Veniot's good roads programme and the expansion of permanent roads under D.A. Stewart created a transportation network that linked the province as never before, making all areas of New Brunswick accessible to Americans. Like road building, tourist promotion became subject to the forces pushing for centralization. In 1919, politicians played an important role in establishing a new voluntary organization to promote tourism. In 1927, recognizing the

motor-tourist as the foundation of a developing industry and as a source of revenue for road construction, government finally stepped in directly and established a provincial bureau for the promotion of tourism.

One of the first acts of the legislative assembly recognizing the potential value of the tourist industry was passed in 1898. In introducing an "Act to Encourage the Visit of Tourists and Sportsmen to the Province" the provincial government recognized that "... the visits of large numbers of Tourists and Sportsmen to the Province are of great advantage to the people, and that it is thought that the number of such visitors can, by proper effort, be greatly increased."¹ The Act authorized the Surveyor-General to spend up to \$3,000 a year to attract tourists to the province.² The provisions laid down for the spending of these funds announced a tourism strategy followed up to the formation of the New Brunswick Bureau of Information and Tourist Travel in 1927. The funds were to be spent:

... for the purpose of advertising the attraction of the Province as a resort for Tourism and Sportsmen, by the publication and distribution of pamphlets, by sending exhibits of game and fish of the Province to Exhibitions from time to time... [and] grant out of said sum financial assistance to the Provincial Tourist Associations within the Province, to aid them in accomplishing these objectives.³

In 1898, the allotted funds went towards sending a

display to the Boston Exhibition. Later, the province sent displays to the travel and vacation shows held in New York in 1913 and in 1914. This was the extent of government involvement in tourism at this time. Most of the work involved in encouraging people to visit the province was undertaken by local tourist associations.

The two principal organizations were the New Brunswick Tourist Association of Saint John, which was formed in 1896, and the Fredericton Tourist Association organized the following year. Tourist promotion was very much a matter of private concern at this time. Local associations, aside from their small government grants, were funded by memberships. With their small budgets, the two organizations produced pamphlet literature and answered inquiries in an attempt to entice rich American gentlemen and their families to visit the province. At the Boston Fair of 1898, the two associations distributed approximately 22,000 pamphlets and another 5,000 were sent to various railroad and steamship companies and hotels in Boston and New York.⁴ Needless to say, the province's tourist associations recognized from early on the potential value of the New England states as a market.

The tourist literature of the day presented New Brunswick as a cool, clean escape from the hot cities of New England. According to W.J. Belasco's book America on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945, the tourist

industry of the late 1890s was shifting from the "herded life" of the large resort hotels to an interest in out-of-the-way vacation spots that offered "private pastoralism."⁵ New Brunswick's tourist associations played on this reaction by advertising the abundant fish and game resources and the natural scenic beauty of the province. Their literature projected an air of confidence that the Maritimes, and especially New Brunswick, would soon become the playground of New England's hot, overworked middle class:

This is an athletic age, and tourist people nowadays are tiring of the conventionality of fashionable tourist resorts and are looking for newer and more novel scenes, where they can gratify their newly formed tastes for bicycling, canoeing, amateur photography, the contemplation of fresh and novel scenes.... Then the more adventurous spirits want the very best hunting and fishing, and they long for the pursuit of big game. All desire a cool climate, easy access, good hotels and the conveniences of life.

All of these things the Maritime Provinces afford, and they are determined to be the future cooling-off place for the American Tourists during the hot summer months.⁶

Transportation links between New England and the Saint John River valley placed this area in an advantageous position. American visitors to the Maritimes could reach Saint John via the International Steamship Company. From this point, tourists could sail to Yarmouth or Digby, or board a first class steamboat, like the Star Line Steamship Company's palatial Victoria, for a cruise to

Fredericton. Tourists could also enter the province by rail, with C.P.R. connections to Saint John and Fredericton. Because of these transportation links, both cities advertised themselves as important centres from which other points of interests could be visited and activities pursued. The increasing popularity of the Saint John River valley can be seen in the large number of summer cottages constructed near Fredericton and Saint John by, or for renting to, regular visitors.⁷ Local entrepreneurs also built small hotels at Longreach, Gagetown and Dromocto to intercept the "ever running tide of travel" between the two tourist centres.⁸

While the local associations did much to encourage tourism, they were not the only source of advertisement for New Brunswick. Steamship and train companies used pamphlets to encourage visitors to the region. The C.P.R.'s development of St. Andrews as a first class tourist resort contributed greatly to New Brunswick's popularity as a vacation spot. Private hunting camps and smaller summer resorts also distributed booklets as a means of attracting customers. However, much of this literature was either highly localized or very general. Little attention was given to areas like the north shore and, except for the Miramichi River system, to most of the east coast. Smaller towns and villages not within a close proximity to Fredericton and Saint John were also, for the

most part, forgotten in the pamphlets of the day.

In 1909, two assembly members, James P. Byrn of Bathurst and Francis J. Sweeny of Moncton, complained to the House that the Fredericton and Saint John associations did not advertise all areas of the province. According to Sweeny "... a great deal of space was given in booklets to Fredericton and Saint John, while other places in the province were dismissed with a line or two and he ... objected to any provincial money being spent for purely sectional purposes."⁹ Sweeny's subsequent suggestion that the two associations be combined into one received a favorable response from Provincial Secretary J.K. Flemming. He pointed out, however, that since both associations were funded privately, Saint John and Fredericton were entitled to some special consideration in the literature they published.¹⁰ Transportation had given these two cities an edge over the remainder of the province in exploiting tourism. By 1910, this advantage would slowly begin to diminish owing to the increasing popularity of the automobile across the border.

Motor-touring and autocamping were becoming very popular in the United States. Tired of the conventional resorts and not wishing to be bound by train schedules, many middle class Americans took to the roads for adventure and relaxation. The automobile became an ideal way to turn back the hands of time and escape the

pressures of an industrialized society. Motorists desired to live the lives of gypsies, and the automobile promised a vacation that was both individualistic and primitive.

As Belasco stated:

Motorists strengthened their sense of return "to the past" by contrasting the car and the camp with the principal alternatives: the train and the hotel. The train, not the car, represented Modern Times: ruthlessly efficient, fast-paced, impersonal, insulated, indifferent to personal schedules and needs. Motoring, on the other hand, seemed more like stagecoach travel: slow, arduous, close to nature, more "intimate".¹¹

The Maritimes were relatively unknown to the early American touring parties. While the number of auto-tourists crossing the border into New Brunswick before the First World War was small, early indications of the area's potential as a haven for visiting motorists seemed encouraging. Mr. Henry McNair, editor of the official Automobile Blue Book of America, toured the region with his wife in 1911. His speech in Saint John praised the region's scenic beauty and criticized the terrible roads:

Mr. McNair speaks with considerable enthusiasm of the possibilities of touring in the Maritime Provinces, but found the roads only fairly encouraging.... What he criticized most strongly was the lack of intelligent care given to the highways. He thought if competent instructors could be employed to show the people in different sections how to make and repair roads and if the road makers could be persuaded to use better material than mud and sods in making repairs, the roads could be put in good condition without much trouble. Mr. McNair found the country delightful and the scenery attractive, and expressed his belief that large numbers of

motorists could be attracted to the province each year if more care and labor were expended on the roads and attractions advertised.¹²

With the outbreak of the First World War, the nation's tourist industry entered an important period of growth. In 1913, the value of the Canadian tourist industry was estimated at \$50,000,000, compared to \$43,667,000 for fisheries, \$102,300,000 for minerals, \$161,093,000 for forest products and \$509,434,000 for field crops.¹³ In the Maritimes, the Busy_East and its editor C.C. Avar, became an important advocate of tourism. In 1917, the magazine promised "... to talk tourist business in season and out of season with a view of driving home to our Maritime Provinces ... the tremendous value of our natural scenery and the untold possibilities of developing the tourist traffic in the Eastern Provinces."¹⁴ The key to developing this industry was the construction of permanent highways.

The change in government brought about by the 1917 election, and the good roads programme of P.J. Veniot, was an important turning point. Tourism became a consideration in the planning of highway improvements. It is not surprising that the construction of a permanent highway between Saint John and Maine received priority in the provincial road engineer's report for 1918.

At St. Andrews on this highway the Canadian Pacific Railway have spent Millions of Dollars in the erection and equipping of

Hotel and Grounds for a Summer Resort, with the result that St. Andrews has become famous as a Summer Resort and it is visited each year by a large number of tourists and summer visitors from the United States and Upper Canada. Nearly all of these people have their private cars and nearly all of them pay licence fees to the New Brunswick Government. Most of these people wish to make an automobile tour of the Province during their stay and it is important that the road from St. Andrews to St. John should be put in first class condition....

It is important that this road should be built from a general Provincial standpoint, giving consideration to the value of the tourist traffic15

Highway construction promised to open up New Brunswick, making every town and village along the road system a potential tourist haven. As the Busy East pointed out, New Brunswick could not expect to cash in on the tourist trade until "... the horn of the motorist is heard resounding from every by-road and highway in the province and until every hamlet boasts its village inn and parades its village show places...."16 This required that the areas generally forgotten by the two tourist associations gain a voice in the promotion of the tourist trade and more space in the published literature. The need for a truly provincial association was becoming apparent.

In 1919, the All New Brunswick Tourist, Game and Resource Association was formed to meet this growing need. As its name suggests, the new organization would advertise the tourist and hunting potential of the province and try

to encourage outside capital to invest in New Brunswick. The object of the association was to "... foster a broad community spirit and create more optimism among our citizens. To encourage the development of our natural resources and a greater publicity of the advantages and attractions of New Brunswick."¹⁷ To achieve this unity of purpose, the organization would have to work hard to put down the sectional jealousy created by the activities of the Saint John and Fredericton tourist associations:

In other years Saint John and Fredericton had tourist associations which did valuable work. The only criticism has been that these two cities, in boosting themselves, forgot the rest of New Brunswick. In as much as the money spent by these two associations, was for the most part, raised by these two cities themselves, there was not nearly as much in the criticism as might appear on the surface. But, there should be an avoidance of even the appearance of unfairness, and the new organization, ... will do well to work hand in hand with the rest of New Brunswick in an effort to heal old sores and give every section of the province its just and fair amount of publicity.¹⁸

The birth of the All New Brunswick Tourist, Game and Resource Association was heralded with much enthusiasm, but the organization accomplished little and barely lasted one year. Private memberships, which were supposed to provide most of the organization's revenue, totalled 254 by the summer of 1920. ¹⁹ The association did not receive any public funding, since the two established organizations were supposed to amalgamate and pool the provincial money which had already been granted. The

Fredericton Tourist Association refused to join the new organization whose office would be located in Saint John. Without needed revenue, the All New Brunswick Tourist, Game and Resource Association was forced to simply mesh its activities with the New Brunswick Tourist Association and it continued, in effect, to promote Saint John.

It was during the second annual convention of the All New Brunswick Tourist, Game and Resource Association in 1920, that the problem of establishing a truly provincial organization was finally settled. C.C. Avar, editor of the Busy East, suggested at this meeting that the two Saint John organizations merge. In effect, the All New Brunswick Tourist, Game and Resource Association would cease to exist, while its objectives would be pursued under the auspices of the New Brunswick Tourist Association. The adoption of this suggestion was almost guaranteed when the Minister of Public Works, P.J. Veniot, who was representing the government, stated that "... if the New Brunswick Tourist Association was recognized by the convention as the provincial body then it only will get the government aid. It was the government's policy that no branch bodies would get grants."²⁰ The subsequent resolution that the All New Brunswick Tourist, Game and Resource Association be merged with the New Brunswick Tourist Association and the new organization be called the New Brunswick Tourist and Resource Association was carried

unanimously. The convention decided that the new organization would have an elected executive, which included one vice-president from each county. A permanent office would be opened in Saint John from which a small staff would send out pamphlets and answer inquiries from tourists or prospective tourists. Since the new organization represented the entire province, the Fredericton Tourist Association could no longer receive provincial funding.

While the new organization developed strong ties with the government, tourist promotion remained a matter of private concern. Financially, the association was dependent on membership fees, set at one dollar per year, for much of its funding. Provincial grants rarely exceeded \$2,500 per year; the same as the amount granted since 1907. The province did, however, support tourism in other ways. Many of the county vice-presidents were members of the assembly, giving the organization a definite party leaning.²¹ Veniot was very interested in tourism and promoters considered his good roads programme as an important contribution to the industry.

Perhaps one of the most significant of the government's actions to support tourism was to change the rule of the road in 1922. This helped to remove a barrier between the province's tourist industry and its New England market. Three Canadian provinces, New Brunswick,

Nova Scotia and British Columbia, followed the British tradition of driving on the left in 1918. Since the American rule of the road was to drive on the right, tourist promoters in New Brunswick urged that the province conform to the American practice:

The reasons for the change (to the right) are obvious. An increasing number of Americans visit the Maritime Provinces every summer. Many of them come in automobiles and naturally they are confused when they strike the Maritime Provinces. Their cars are built where "Keep to the Right" is the Rule of the Road. They naturally think that the Maritime Provinces are "behind the times" in not having the same Rule of the Road as they have. They are annoyed at the change and the tendency is for these people to say unkind things regarding the Eastern Provinces. We want all Americans to come to the Maritime Provinces that we can possibly get.... We do not want to be open to the criticism that we are "a hundred years behind the times" and the sooner the change is effected in the Rule of the Road the better for the Maritime Provinces.²²

The provincial legislature debated the issue of the rule of the road in 1918, when P.J. Veniot presented a petition signed by "... 1,326 persons from the City of Saint John and a smaller number from Fredericton, Rothesay, Woodstock, Edmundston, Fairville, Hampton and other places, praying that the rule of the road be changed from left to right".²³ The issue received a favorable response in the assembly. Those members opposed to the change argued that it would benefit the tourist while jeopardizing the safety of many residents who had lived their lives under the old system.

With the passage of the Highway Act of 1918, the rule of the road was changed, to take effect with the passing of an order-in-council at a later date. In 1919, Veniot reported that the protests against changing the rule of the road had been heavy. The New Brunswick Automobile Association had invited the public to write to the Minister of Public Works regarding the change. "He (Veniot) had expected to be overwhelmed by testimonials in favour of the change so that he would have to use a horse and wagon to convey the mail to his office. In fact, he received about fifty times as much opposing it."²⁴ Veniot attributed the opposition to the farming communities, since alterations to sleighs to permit them to drive on the right would require heavy expenses.²⁵ Disregarding this opposition, the Minister of Public Works entered into an agreement with the province of Nova Scotia so that both provinces would effect the change at the same time.

It was on December 1, 1922, that the rule of the road was officially changed in New Brunswick. According to an article in the King's County Record, the province planned to make extensive use of motion pictures to spread the word and a large press campaign was organized.²⁶ School teachers were instructed to tell their pupils, and remind them frequently, of the change so that the information would be passed on to their parents. Signs, in both French and English, were prominently displayed throughout

the province reminding motorists of the change.

New England continued to be New Brunswick's principal source of motor tourists. Part of the reason for this was a continued growth of American industry and of a larger middle class which was wealthy enough to escape the cities during the summer months. As one editorial in the Fredericton Mail stated:

It must not be forgotten that within two days journey by rail, steamboat or auto, and separated by only an imaginary boundary line, are ten million of the wealthiest and most extravagant people to be found on the face of the earth. Many of these people, in their pursuit of the almighty dollar, travel at a killing pace, and it is absolutely necessary that they should seek recreation during the summer and autumn months.²⁷

New Brunswick's interest in the New England states was also based on the large number of Maritimers residing in America. Because of the exodus from the region during earlier decades, tourist promoters recognized the potential value of this part of the market. Nova Scotia attempted to try and get these displaced sons and daughters to visit by holding an "Old Home" celebration during the early 1920s. While New Brunswick did not participate in the celebration, tourism promoters tried other means to get publicity in the hopes of attracting visitors from the United States.

A "pilgrimage" to Boston during the summer of 1923 was reflective of the importance of the New England market and of the government's support of the province's tourist

industry. The annual convention of the New Brunswick Tourist and Resource Association for that year was held on the Eastern Steamship Line's S.S. Governor Dingley bound for Boston. The visit was a promotional gimmick, designed to extend "...to New England people an invitation to include the province in their vacation wanderings."²⁸ With Premier Veniot as its guest of honour, the New Brunswick Tourist and Resource Association's visit was reported in the major New England newspapers.

The steady improvement of highways due to Veniot's good roads programme was also constantly advertised by the New Brunswick Automobile Association as a means of encouraging visitors. While road development and tourism went hand in hand, not everybody was enthusiastic with this connection. "For whom do we build roads?" seemed to have been a point of some debate. Even Veniot, as Minister of Public Works, denied tourism was an important consideration when deciding on road expenditures. Opposition members constantly complained that the lack of attention on the by-roads was due to the government's interest in building permanent highways for tourists. Comments like those of Mr. Young, MLA for York, that "Ten good farmers coming into Fredericton twice a week were worth more than all the tourists who would come in a year," reflected a form of opposition against the improvement of highways at the expense of the local

roads.²⁹

But, the tourist business continued to grow. In 1923, it was estimated that 40,000 visitors entered the province from the United States by ship, train, and automobile and the value of that year's tourist season was placed at \$4,000,000. ³⁰ This cash value was nearly three times that estimated for 1921. ³¹ Statistics on the number of automobiles are scarce, but indications are that an increasing number of motor tourists were entering into the area. According to the "Annual Report of the New Brunswick Tourist and Resource Association" for 1924:

More motor cars [in 1923] than in any previous year entered the province, 3,357 American cars coming by way of Calais alone, representing 35 different states. The State of Massachusetts was the banner state, sending 1,516 cars. There were even two cars from Bermuda and one from Hawaii.

Between five and six thousand cars entered the province and probably 40,000 visitors came by different routes, by boat, train and car. In addition there were four to five hundred Ontario and Quebec cars.

Since the completion of the road to Quebec by the North Shore of New Brunswick, there has been a large motor travel.... Hon. Mr. Michaud states in a letter that the tourist business has increased 500 per cent in his county.³²

While a yearly total of 6,500 automobiles seems rather small, it is remarkable when one considers that there were only 16,588 local vehicles registered with the province in 1923.

The increasing number of motor-tourists visiting the province is reflected in the growth of automobile camping

sites. Many motorists, as Belasco pointed out:

...welcomed the convenience and efficiency of the free camp, and comparing camps became an integral point of the touring routine. Concern about keeping a good local reputation, each town tried to out do the next with additional facilities such as electric lights, showers, and central kitchens. These improvements further maximized time on the road and attracted still more motorists to autocamping, and in part, thanks to the trips of Henry Ford, Thomas Edison and President Warren G. Harding, auto-camping became something of a national fad, with perhaps as many as ten million people trying it at least once by the mid-1920's.³³

According to the "Annual Report of the New Brunswick Tourist and Resource Association" of 1924, the municipalities of St. Stephen, St. Andrews, Sackville, Fredericton, and Woodstock had established camping sites.³⁴ Other, privately owned, facilities existed at Pocologan, Benson's Corner, Oak Bay, Manawagonish Road, Bouctouche, Quispamsis, St. Francis (near Bouctouche) and Apohaqui.³⁵ Other sites existed in the province at this time, but they were not registered with the tourist association. The growth in the number of these facilities suggests the extent to which the automobile had made possible the expansion of the tourist industry to include some of the smaller towns and villages of New Brunswick.

While tourism grew steadily during the early 1920s there was still little general recognition, by either the public or the private sector, of the industry's potential value. The association's lack of financial support

eventually dampened C.C. Avard's enthusiasm and booster spirit. It was, as the editor of the Saint John Globe put it, "a case of having a rich gold mine, but not enough money to develop it."³⁶

The association sent delegations to Fredericton on many occasions in the hopes of increasing their \$2,500 yearly provincial grant, but to no avail. Saint John was the only municipality that provided financial support; however, its contributions rarely exceeded \$400 per year. Avard, in the pages of the Busy East, voiced his disappointment at the lack of government support:

Some day, we will wake up to the opportunities; some day, our municipalities, towns, cities and government will be more keenly alive to the wonderful possibilities of the industry. When that time arrives a trifling sum like \$2,500 will be increased 10 or 20 times, in which event it will be possible to do really big things to make New Brunswick a haven for ever increasing people seeking rest and relaxation.³⁷

The New Brunswick Tourist and Resource Association also had a great deal of trouble drumming up private support. Memberships peaked in 1923 when, after an extensive membership drive, 1,700 people joined the association. Since dues were set at a low one dollar, this gave the organization a total working budget of slightly over \$5,000 for that year. The reason for the lack of interest in the organization is hard to find. Tourism was still a "nickel and dime" affair and few people seemed to consider it an actual industry. The

close ties between the association and the Liberal government undoubtedly alienated some people for political reasons. The centralization of the organization's administration in Saint John might have encouraged sectional rivalry. Fredericton remained bitter at the loss of government grants for its own tourist association and refused to deal with the provincial organization.³⁸ The loss of such an important tourist centre must have been sorely felt by the New Brunswick Tourist and Resource Association.

After the election of J.B.M. Baxter's Conservative government in 1925, the province changed its tourism policy. "The advent of the motor car", as one MLA stated, "opened the door to a new business which New Brunswick would do well to capitalize, viz. the sale of her natural beauty, an asset which could be sold to the tourist for real money, without diminishing our assets which remain after the sale."³⁹ The need for advertising and organization in an increasingly competitive market were important reasons for the government's decision to play a larger role in tourist promotion. Also, the introduction of the gasoline tax in 1926 meant that the more tourists visiting New Brunswick, the more money could be collected and spent on the roads. Better roads would, in turn, encourage more people to visit the province. These factors, a potentially rich industry and a lucrative

source of revenue, made tourist promotion far too important to be left to a seemingly apathetic private sector. With this, a major reorganization was effected in 1926 and locally run and financed tourist associations were organized in the larger towns and cities. Provincial funding to the New Brunswick Tourist and Resource Association was increased to \$7,500 in 1926. The Saint John based organization was used to coordinate the other associations until the province established a government bureau to replace it.

In 1927, the New Brunswick Bureau of Information and Tourist Travel was established under the direction of J. Douglas Black, a well known journalist and sports enthusiast. The new bureau essentially took over the responsibilities and duties of the New Brunswick Tourist and Resource Association which now served as Saint John's tourist association. Tourism, as one MLA stated in 1929, had now become a provincial concern:

Thanks to the energy of enterprising and public-spirited citizens who had, in the past years voluntarily given their time as members of Tourist Associations throughout the province much valuable publicity had been given and good results obtained. The Government, quick to see that for best results these various efforts should be co-ordinated under one direction, had appointed a Publicity Director to continue the good work under the control of the government.⁴⁰

The new director used his experience as a journalist, and his connections in the sporting world, to entice

Americans to come and brave the wilderness of New Brunswick. The province's entries in the New England sportsmen shows were successfully used as a tool to attract sports enthusiasts.⁴¹ These displays, coupled with the bringing in of major sports writers and famous personalities to hunt and fish, were important forms of publicity for the bureau. With this, New Brunswick's reputation as a sportsmen's paradise grew throughout the eastern states.

The provincial government soon established a network of distribution offices for tourist literature to service the growing number of visitors who came to the province each year. A large information bureau was maintained at St. Stephen and smaller offices were set up at most border gateways. As well, District Highway Engineer Offices and New Brunswick Provincial Police Detachments were provided with road maps, tourist booklets and other information for the motorists and tourists.

The province's tourist industry fared rather well under the guidance of the New Brunswick Bureau of Information and Tourist Travel. As Table I indicates, the number of automobiles entering the province from the United States continued to increase at a remarkable pace between 1926 and 1930, declined between 1931 and 1933, and started to increase again after 1934. Local traffic, as defined by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics' publication

Canada's International Tourist Trade 1926-1942 (published in 1944), consisted of visitors whose stays in the country were limited to a period of 48 hours or less and were not required to take out formal customs permits.⁴² These tourists had to return to the United States through the same port that they entered. This effectively limited the distance these visitors travelled in the province and, thus, their value to the tourist industry.⁴³ Motorists entering for stays of more than 48 hours, or those who wished to return to the United States by a different port of entry, had to take out a federal "Traveller's Vehicle Permit". These permits were valid for sixty days with special consideration given to Americans who had frequent business in Canada or owned cottages in this country.

The value of the motor-tourist, and his relation to the total estimated foreign travel expenditures in Canada from the United States can be seen in Table II. By 1930, expenditures by motor-tourists surpassed the total of all other means of travel. The report of the provincial public works department for 1929 boasted that "Foreign traffic is now generally recognized as one of our most profitable industries, and we believe that efforts to encourage the development of and expenditures made are warranted and will in a very short time produce satisfactory returns."⁴⁴ By 1933, the automobile dominated the Maritimes tourist trade and railway

companies suffered a great deal from this form of competition. The C.P.R., with its prestigious Algonquin resort hotel and other establishments in eastern Canada, left the hotels themselves to compete for the auto-tourist dollar:

...a large percentage of all [tourists] who register...at Quebec and St. Andrews, N.B. [come] by motor car.

The Canadian Pacific has its major investment in railways and steamship transportation facilities, extending across Canada from Great Britain and Europe to the Orient, and on that account has a special interest in long distance travel. Its hotels, however, have to earn their own salvation, and owing to the increased tendency of the short distance tourist to travel by motor car, Canadian Pacific hotels have adopted a policy of advertising direct to the motorist in adjacent territories, leaving it to the railway to advertise for rail traffic.⁴⁵

While it is relatively easy to chart the growing number of tourists who visited the province each year, it is difficult to give the industry a dollar value or judge its impact on the region's economy. Saunders, in his prize winning essay The Economic Welfare of the Maritime Provinces, devoted a chapter to the tourist industry and commented favorably on its relationship with other local industries:

The tourist trade dovetails well into the general economic structure of the Maritimes, being especially closely related to agriculture. Not only does the increased demand provide a profitable home market for meats, fish, fruits and vegetables, but many of the wayside inns supply the greater portion of the produce used from a small adjoining farm. The construction of cottages and over-

night cabins creates a greater local demand for lumber,.... The handicrafts are stimulated, and the retail merchants are in a position to benefit through increased sales; in short, few branches of industry are left unaffected. It would appear that in no other single field is there so favorable an opportunity, with proper cultivation, for further development of a lucrative trade.⁴⁶

In New Brunswick, fishing and hunting would also be included as an important part of the tourist industry. According to the evidence presented to the Canadian Senate's Committee on Tourist Traffic in 1934, Leo Dolan, who became director of the New Brunswick Bureau of Information and Tourist Travel in 1931, reported that the sale of non-resident salmon licences rose from 217 in 1925 to 597 in 1931.⁴⁷ The sale of non-resident three-day trout and salmon licences also increased during this period from 32 in 1925 to 680 in 1931.⁴⁸ During that year, the service industry connected with fishing alone employed approximately 1000 persons in such jobs as guardians, guides and cooks. These people received a total income of \$922,250 for the season.⁴⁹ Dolan estimated that non-resident anglers and hunters spent an average of \$286.00 per person during their stay in the province--making them a valuable catch for the bureau's director.⁵⁰

Motor-tourists, in general, also left a great deal of money in the province. Each auto-party visiting New Brunswick averaged 3.5 persons per car and spent a total

of \$74.34 per automobile.⁵¹ While the automobile travellers were perhaps not the big spenders of the tourist industry, they provided the government with valuable tax dollars. For example, Dolan estimated that in 1931 approximately 52,000 automobiles had entered the province from the United States for stays of more than 24 hours and not exceeding 60 days.⁵² These vehicles travelled more than 20,000,000 miles in New Brunswick, with each car averaging 400 miles.⁵³ Allowing 20 miles to the gallon, the director estimated that the provincial treasury received almost \$100,000 in gas tax revenue that went towards the up-keep of the roads.⁵⁴ In this respect the automobilist was very important. In 1931, there were 33,181 cars and trucks registered with the province. During that year, 60,734 automobiles entered with permits and 241,076 cars were estimated to have come in as local traffic.⁵⁵ These figures go far in suggesting to what extent the tourist played an important role in the need for, and the construction and upkeep of permanent highways in New Brunswick.

Since the beginning of the First World War, good roads were increasingly recognized as the single most important factor in the development of a viable tourist industry. As the "Official Year Book of New Brunswick" for 1919 stated: "No country can expect to be prosperous, or to reach its full degree of development, that has not the

advantage of good roads....."56 Thanks to the automobile, tourism quickly become an important industry for New Brunswick. The organization of a government tourism bureau in 1927, suggests that the promotion of the province's attractions in New England had become too important to be left in the hands of private associations. Attracting tourists was not only the basis of a growing industry, but also became a source of government revenue and an important part of New Brunswick's road building strategy. The province continued to cash in on the visitor and his automobile until 1931, when the depression slowed the market considerably. Federal dollars for hard surfacing of the highways would help to encourage the American auto-tourist to once again come and brave the forests and see the sights of New Brunswick.

Table I Foreign Vehicles Entering Maritimes.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Local Traffic</u>	<u>Permits</u>
1926	51,024	15,245
1927	136,172	24,091
1928	144,901	32,322
1929	158,860	39,092
1930	243,375	57,946
1931	241,076	60,734
1932	234,922	53,329
1933	108,571	45,204
1934	127,630	53,066

Source: Canada's International Tourist Trade, 1926-1942,
pp. 34-35.

Table II Estimated Foreign Travel Expenditures
From the United States (Millions of Dollars)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Auto</u>	<u>Rail_and_Steamer</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
1926	41	78	21	140
1927	54	72	22	148
1928	71	69	23	163
1929	87	74	23	184
1930	86	58	23	167
1931	82	38	21	141
1932	59	26	18	103
1933	41	23	17	81
1934	46	27	23	96

Source: Canada's International Tourist Trade, 1926-1942,
p. 32.

Notes

1. Acts of the Province of New Brunswick, 1898, p. 25.
2. Ibid. , p. 26.
3. Ibid. , pp. 25-26.
4. Saint John Globe, April 21, 1898, p. 1.
5. W. J. Belasco, America on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945 (Cambridge Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1979), p. 63.
6. "Souvenir of Saint John New Brunswick" (New Brunswick Tourist Association, 1898), p. 20.
7. "Fredericton, Celestial City" (Fredericton Tourist Committee, 1897), p. 33. See also: The Busy East of Canada, August, 1915, p. 17.
8. "Fredericton, Celestial City" (Fredericton Tourist Committee, 1897), p. 33.
9. Saint John Standard, April 19, 1909, p. 3.
10. Synoptic Reports of the Debates of the Legislative Assembly of New Brunswick, 1909, p. 131.
11. W.J. Belasco, "Commercialized Nostalgia: The Origins of the Roadside Strip," The Automobile and American Culture, Ed. D.L. Lewis and L. Goldstein (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1983), p. 9.
12. Saint John Globe, June 16, 1911, p. 9.
13. Canadian Forestry Journal, August, 1917, as seen in The Busy East, September, 1917, p. 3.
14. Ibid.
15. "Report of Public Works Department," Journal of the Legislative Assembly of New Brunswick, 1918, p. 214.
16. Busy East, February, 1917, p. 3.

17. Busy_East, September, 1919, p. 9.
18. Ibid. , p. 3.
19. Ibid. , July-August, 1920, p. 8.
20. Ibid. , pp. 10-11.
21. In 1921, for example, some of the government members serving as vice-presidents included: Hon. J.E. Hetherington (Queens), Hon. D.W. Mersereau (Sunbury), Hon. P.J. Veniot (Victoria), Hon. Mr. Dysart (Kent), and Hon. J.E. Michaud (Madawaska).
22. Busy_East, February, 1918, p. 3.
23. Synoptic_Reports, 1918, p. 39.
24. Ibid. , 1919, p. 269.
25. Ibid.
26. Kings_County_Record, November 3, 1922. p. 1.
27. The_Mail, (Fredericton, N.B.) as seen in Busy_East, June-July, 1923, p. 21.
28. Busy_East, July-August, 1923, p. 7.
29. Synoptic_Report, 1921, p. 115.
30. Busy_East, April, 1924, p. 3.
31. Saint_John_Globe, May 19, 1924, p. 2.
32. Busy_East, July, 1924, pp. 11-12.
33. W.J. Belasco, Americans_on_the_Road, p. 144.
34. Busy_East, July, 1924, p. 14.
35. Ibid.
36. As seen in Busy_East, August, 1925, p. 3.
37. Ibid. , p. 6.
38. Ibid. , July, 1924, p. 7.
39. Synoptic_Report, 1927, p. 9.
40. Synoptic_Reports, 1929, p. 8.

41. These displays became quite famous. The exhibition sent to the 1929 New England Sportsmen Show included "...twenty odd specimens of live wild game and fur-bearing animals, including moose, deer, bears, beaver, muskrat, foxes, etc., and a splendid display of live game fish including the only matured albino trout known to exist...." (Department of Lands and Mines Annual Report, 1930, p. 53.)

42. Canada's International Tourist Trade, 1926-1942. (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1944), p. 10.

43. The Value of the 24 hour tourist was questioned by Saunders in his essay The Economic Welfare of the Maritime Provinces, (Wolfville, Acadia University, 1932). In it, on page 59, he states that "the value to be attributed to the 24 hour class of visitors would be difficult to settle upon owing to the conditions obtaining along the New Brunswick Maine border, where relatives are found in great number on either side of the international boundary line, and where Government Control of liquor induces many to cross to the Canadian side for the occasional bottle of beer."

44. "Report of Public Works", 1929, pp. 2-3.

45. Report and Proceedings of the Special Committee on Tourist Traffic (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1934), p. 66.

46. S.A. Saunders, The Economic History of the Maritime Provinces, (Wolfville: Acadia University, 1932), p. 62.

47. Senate Hearings, p. 26.

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid. , p. 27.

50. Ibid. , p. 28.

51. Ibid. , p. 27.

52. Ibid. , p. 28.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.

55. See Table I.

56. "Official Year Book Of New Brunswick, 1919" (Fredericton, 1919), p. 51.

Chapter IV

The Automobile And The New Brunswick Provincial Police

Between 1927 and 1932, the Province of New Brunswick established and maintained a highly mobile provincial police force. In attempting to examine why such a force was established, the impact of the automobile and the increase in good roads must be considered. The rise in the popularity and use of motor vehicles spurred the government of New Brunswick to construct and maintain a network of durable gravel roads. The improved highways had important consequences for the enforcement of law and order. Before the New Brunswick Provincial Police was established there were no means to effectively patrol the highways. To control the increasing problem of bootlegging and the movement of illegal alcohol on provincial roads required a province wide and mobile law enforcement agency. The construction of good roads and the force's use of automobiles also allowed the province to increase the level of policing in the rural areas and smaller municipalities, many of which could not afford police protection. Finally, transportation was also the cause and cure of problems relating to the enforcement of the Motor Vehicle Act. As the level of traffic continued to increase on provincial roads, the New Brunswick

Provincial Police became an important agent of control.

In all three of the duties: the enforcement of the Intoxicating Liquor Act, maintaining order in rural areas and on the roads, the automobile played an important role in the need for and the duties of the New Brunswick Provincial Police.

The act establishing the New Brunswick Provincial Police (N.B.P.P.) was given royal assent on April 21st, 1927. Under the command of Commissioner E.C.P. Salt, on loan from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the N.B.P.P. began a period of continuous growth. By December 31st, 1927, the force included 33 men. These original members received no formal training and only five constables were reported to have any police experience.¹ As Table I shows, the provincial force grew quickly, reaching its peak in 1930 under the command of Commissioner F.W. Hill. What is perhaps most remarkable about the growth of the force was the large number of automobiles with which it was equipped. In 1931, the year the Fredericton City Police purchased its first patrol car, the N.B.P.P. had an inventory of 45 automobiles and five motorcycles. This large fleet was provided by both the provincial government and the province's rum-runners, since the force could seize cars used in rum-running and, unless they were reported stolen, use these or trade them in towards the purchase of new vehicles.²

The high level of mobility of the New Brunswick Provincial Police was an important factor in carrying out its three main tasks: the enforcement of the Intoxicating Liquor Act of 1927, providing police protection in the rural districts and patrolling the highways for violations of the Motor Vehicle Act. The first and last were, essentially, traffic related and both the automobile and the improved road system were used as means of breaking the law. General law enforcement over a large area with few men was made possible by the use of the automobile and the continued improvement of secondary and by-roads. The New Brunswick Provincial Police was a response to specific needs and in most of needs roads and cars were common factors.

Alcohol and gasoline became a lucrative mixture in New Brunswick during the 1920s. The passage of the Volstead Act in the United States created a profitable traffic in illegal liquor across the New Brunswick-Maine border. New Brunswick export warehouses, located at Saint John, Saint Stephen and Woodstock were a legal source of alcohol until they were banned in 1923. These warehouses often had line-ups of smugglers' cars waiting to load for a run to the United States. A testimonial from a Saint John cab driver suggests to what extent a good vehicle was a profitable method of transporting alcohol:

Its easy money. I've run many a load over.
I've bought it here for sixty dollars a dozen,

all duty paid and all done up in burlap sacks. An ordinary touring car will carry forty dozen and I've sold it for one hundred dollars a dozen across the line, a profit of sixteen hundred on one load. Even if you get knocked off every fourth load and lose your car, you're ahead of the game.³

Transporting liquor was easy before there was an organized police force patrolling the highways. Rum-runners generally met with little resistance until they reached the border.

Automobiles were not the most popular form of transportation when it came to running illegal liquor during the early 1920s. Fast sea vessels were preferred due to the size of their holds and the large number of small isolated coves along the New England coast line. The rum-runners' flotilla, with some ships as large as 9,000 tons, were largely undaunted by the feeble American Coast Guard.⁴ B.J. Grant, in his book When Rum Was King, states that by the end of 1923, the U.S. Coast Guard "... was able to intercept 30,847 cases of liquor bound for America--about five percent of the total headed that way."⁵ The advent of President Coolidge's "Dry Navy" in 1924 and the extension of American territorial waters to 12 miles, forced a great deal of the rum-running traffic in-land. Many of the ships that had previously unloaded off the coast of the United States had, by the summer of 1925, moved their operations to the Bay of Fundy. From there, the liquor was hauled to border points in

Madawaska, York, Carleton and Victoria Counties. Rum-running in this fashion quickly "... surged to proportions no one had dreamed of."⁶

In 1927, Premier J.B.M. Baxter repealed prohibition in New Brunswick and established a system of state run liquor stores. While the new liquor outlets may have helped to lower the consumption of moonshine by provincial residents, there remained the problem of the liquor traffic to the United States. When, in the same year, Baxter also announced his intention to establish a provincial police force, he made the link between it and the liquor law clear:

Speaking generally, while he [Baxter] had been Attorney-General, he had found in certain serious cases difficulty, particularly in the country districts, of getting adequate police service. It was not, however, on that ground alone that he introduced the bill, but more particularly to secure the best enforcement of the liquor control measure. Officers under the Prohibitory Act had either been incapable or unwilling in many cases, to do their duty. ... he did desire that [the Act] be thoroughly enforced, and for that purpose he wanted to see a police force of the highest order composed of men who would not shrink from the muzzle of a rifle and never be subject to bribes.⁷

The N.B.P.P. would have far more than just a passing interest in the enforcement of the liquor act. Not only did the bootleggers help provide the force with patrol cars, but also, until 1929, all of the force's expenses were charged against the revenue received by the liquor act.⁸

The New Brunswick Provincial Police Force had some measure of success in their battle against illegal liquor compared with the old system of provincial liquor inspectors. According to Grant, 561 cases were entered in 1922, 442 cases in 1923, 447 cases in 1924 and 599 cases in 1926.⁹ With the new police force, the number of convictions increased. In 1927, 211 convictions were handed down under the Liquor Act. This number grew to 887 in 1928, 982 in 1929, 1188 convictions in 1930 and 710 in 1931, with approximately 7957 gallons of alcohol seized during the latter three years.¹⁰ Between 1929 and 1931, the provincial police also seized 70 automobiles, most of which had been used in running liquor on provincial roads.¹¹

Arrests under the Intoxicating Liquor Act could be dangerous, since they sometimes involved high speed chases and even an interchange of gunfire. One such pursuit occurred on January 27th, 1928 at Georgetown outside Moncton when, at 4 a.m., Sergeant Annett fired several shots at the driver of a high powered touring car loaded with 140 gallons of alcohol.¹² It was later discovered that the driver had been injured and had abandoned the vehicle to flee on foot. He was captured a few days later. Rum-runners no longer had the freedom of the roads which they had possessed before 1927. While the N.B.P.P. was often criticized by the opposition for the large

number of vehicles used in patrolling, the government, in defence, pointed out the great number of automobiles used by the bootleggers. Baxter's government was determined to make sure that the law was enforced throughout the province and, in this respect, mobility was the key.

The duties of the New Brunswick Provincial Police were not limited to chasing bootleggers and rum-runners, but included responsibility for enforcing all provincial and federal statutes. Generally speaking, the N.B.P.P. was considered by most as being little more than a "... species of liquor inspector sent out by the newly-created New Brunswick Liquor Control Board."¹³ The force's Chief Commissioner, E.C.P. Salt, tried to clear up this confusion in his annual report for 1928:

There appears to be many and varied ideas as to the purpose of the force, and I may say here that the force was instituted to enforce all federal and provincial statutes in those districts where there is no provision made for an organized municipal or city police force, and if necessary in the cities, the towns and villages where the local police force is not able to cope with the situation which arise or to enforce the strict obedience of the laws.

The impression that the force was instituted solely to enforce the New Brunswick Liquor Act, and that the force is part and parcel of the New Brunswick Liquor Control Board, is erroneous.¹⁴

Salt organized the force to provide province wide protection. With its headquarters in Fredericton, the N.B.P.P. had district offices in Fredericton, Saint John, Moncton, Edmundston and Bathurst and detachments in the

smaller municipalities within these districts, which were patrolled by one or two constables. In Fredericton, for example, the district office was staffed by one sergeant, one senior and two regular constables and was equipped with two motor-cars. This district had detachments in Woodstock, Florenceville, Minto, Doaktown and Chipman; each was staffed with one constable and each was equipped with a patrol car. This structure provided a support network which had never before existed in New Brunswick:

The policeman's lot improved considerably with the formation of the New Brunswick Force in 1927.... Now, the policemen had, in the next town or village, a brother-member of the same organization, a uniform that lent him some authority, he was armed, and through a rudimentary communications system, he could appeal up a chain of command to superiors and get help when he needed it. The New Brunswick policemen became more effective and more courageous.¹⁵

The provincial force was responsible for the patrolling of smaller municipalities and their surrounding areas.

Watching over these large districts was made possible largely by the use of the automobile.

Most smaller communities during this period were patrolled by a single town marshall, whose duty it was to keep the peace. These men, who were often poorly equipped, maintained a regular patrol within their municipalities. In a period marked by an increase in personal mobility, many of these lawmen were required to patrol on foot or by bicycle. Leo Hayes, the Marshall of

Devon between 1918 and 1945, made this clear during an interview with the Daily Gleaner in 1979:

...transportation [for the Marshall] began with "shank's pony". This evolved to horseback and even to a more rapid, less expensive and more convenient bicycle. Even when the town authorized the use of a bicycle, it was not a new one. He said the bike was put together from pieces of various other bicycles the town had in its possession at the time.¹⁶

With the postwar recession, many cities and towns were, according to Premier Baxter, keeping their police forces down to a minimum. "Some towns", Baxter stated, "only had one man and due to this extreme economy there had not been that prevention of crimes and following up of crimes that was essential to the highest safety."¹⁷

The provincial government was establishing a new standard of policing for the province. As Commissioner Salt stated in his annual report for 1929:

The increase of transportation means a greater facility of movement and a larger area covered; members of the Force visit all districts regularly and bring law and order into the back countries which had never been touched before and where offences have been allowed to go unchecked.¹⁸

Table II gives a basic breakdown of the cases investigated by the N.B.P.P. between 1928 and 1932. The lack of data for the period before the force was created does not allow for a comparison. The figures, on the other hand, suggest that the force was not simply another form of liquor inspector and that it did provide some level of police

service. According to statistics included in the annual report for 1930, the percentage of total convictions under the Intoxicating Liquor Act diminished from 79 percent in 1927, to 56 in 1928, 46 in 1929, and up slightly to 51 in 1930.¹⁹

The N.B.P.P.'s superior mobility and the province's good roads permitted the force to patrol a large area with relatively few men. The importance of the patrol car can be clearly seen in the mileage reports which totalled 765,082 miles in 1929, 688,790 in 1930 and 727,176 in 1931.²⁰ The majority of these miles were travelled before winter closed the highways. This amount of patrolling was often criticized by members of the opposition for both its cost and the image it gave the province. As one Liberal stated in the assembly:

... while he recognized the utility of some police protection, he did not think that the present force was warranted either by the law abiding character of the people or by the financial condition of the province.... he considered it altogether wrong to give the impression to tourists entering the small towns and villages that the province was in a state of war.²¹

Another important duty of the New Brunswick Provincial Police was also related to the popularity of the automobile and the construction of permanent highways. When the motor-car was first introduced into the province there were few rules governing its use. Enforcement fell to local authorities with virtually no control existing on

the province's roads. As the level of traffic increased and more rules governing motoring were brought into force, the need for some sort of police agency to monitor the roads became apparent. In 1927, this job became the responsibility of the N.B.P.P..

In 1905, New Brunswick passed its first Motor Vehicle Act governing the use of the automobile in the province. In a space of ten pages, the Act discussed vehicle registration, chauffeurs, traffic regulations (including speed and procedures when approaching horse drawn vehicles), equipment (brakes and horns or bells), and penalties for infractions. According to the Act, no person could operate a motor vehicle on a public highway "... at a rate of speed greater than is reasonable and proper...."²² Set limits were specified for built up areas along roads and highways at one mile in eight minutes and at one mile in five minutes in municipalities. On provincial bridges, motorists were required to slow down to a rate of speed not exceeding one mile in fifteen minutes. Few people seem to have followed these laws and in some areas the roads became less than safe for slower horse drawn conveyances.

The backlash against the growing problem with automobiles came around 1909, when rural residents lobbied to restrict the use of automobiles on certain days. In Saint John, the city with the largest number of

automobiles at that time, it was not long before newspaper editorials started clamoring for more regulations to govern the flow of traffic:

... the Common Council ought to make provisions governing generally and specifically the movement of automobiles upon the streets, and as soon as these regulations are adopted they should be rigidly enforced. There should be a lower limit of speed in all the city throughfares, for in this city, with its hills and comparatively narrow streets, the automobile is a constant source of anxiety to all persons who use the streets with other vehicles, and also to pedestrians. The number of autos is constantly increasing and that, of course, increases the cause of danger. In the city itself, a rate of speed not to exceed perhaps five miles an hour should be allowed, and there should be every other possible safeguard against danger.²³

Saint John attempted to deal with its traffic problems by passing a by-law in 1912. Here, an already established police force could be called upon to enforce the new regulations. The same, of course, could not be said for the great roads.

The job of patrolling the province's roads first fell, interestingly enough, on the automobilists themselves. In 1909, the New Brunswick Automobile Association passed a resolution:

... regarding the prevention of accidents owing to the excess of speed on the part of the motorists. The resolution was to the effect that the association would insist upon a greater exercise of caution by all drivers to prevent the occurrence of accidents to horse-driven vehicles upon the public highways; and a vigorous campaign be instituted against infringements of the speed law, even to the extent of taking proceedings

against them in the courts.²⁴

The association also planned to give customs officials copies of the Motor Vehicle Act to hand out to visiting motorists at the border crossings. Tourists were recognized as frequent offenders and with this it was hoped that they would no longer plead an ignorance of the law as an excuse for their actions.²⁵

Country residents also kept a watchful eye on the traffic passing in front of their properties. According to the recollections of Alice B. Hall, early motoring with her father was often a traumatic experience for a young girl. If, by chance, their automobile happened to disturb the barnyard stock as they passed by a farm, some farmers would place a call to the next town "... and there awaited the police, not permitting entry, but with a severe scolding. This often brought on tears and a plea for mercy from the occupants of the back seat."²⁶ As the level of traffic increased, these methods proved inadequate. With the coming of the postwar period and Veniot's good roads programme, the need for some form of control on the roads was becoming more and more apparent. The Saint John area seems to have been a problem spot. In 1919, tired of dangerous driving, a committee of Rothesay residents erected signs limiting motor vehicles to a maximum speed of 12 miles per hour.²⁷ Since the speed established by the Minister of Public Works was 25 miles

per hour, the signs were ordered to be taken down.²⁸ Speeding had become such a problem by 1921 that the province tried to take action. A special provincial constable, Robert Crawford, was appointed to patrol Rothesay Avenue, Loch Lomond and Red Head roads. One article in the Busy East reported that Constable Crawford was kept busy handing out warnings, chasing speeders and bringing in automobilists, both local and visitor, in front of the Magistrate. Interestingly enough, Crawford did this without the help of a motor vehicle:

Officer Crawford said that there were almost twice as many cars from the United States this year as last, and even with the signs on the poles regulating the speed limit, he finds it necessary to warn them about passing through the villages at a low rate of speed on account of the number of both New Brunswick and foreign cars which traffic on the Rothesay boulevard. Sometimes, as many as 25 or 30 cars from over the border are warned as to the speed limits in the course of a day; often however, it is necessary to commandeer another car and pursue speeders who are going too fast. Wednesday, the constable pursued a speeding car from Three Mile House to Renforth at a forty five mile clip before catching him and then took him before Magistrate Anderson to pay the penalty for his hurry.²⁹

It was also during 1921 that the province finally did away with the old system of speed regulations established in 1905 and set up specific speed zones throughout the province. Speed limits would now be set and posted on signs in some areas.³⁰

In 1923, with 16,588 vehicles registered in New Brunswick, and with the approximately 6,500 motor tourists

visiting during the summer, the province finally attempted to provide some form of enforcement on its roads. An amendment to the Motor Vehicle Act was passed making all road supervisors, patrolmen and engineers special constables. Their duties would include enforcing the traffic laws to "... prevent the many accidents which were caused by speeding."³¹ This additional duty was to be carried out without an increase in pay or the use of a motor vehicle, making this system less than effective.

With the creation of the New Brunswick Provincial Police in 1927, the province was finally able to enforce its traffic regulations. Between 1929 and 1931, the force brought in 722 convictions under the Motor Vehicle Act.³² But patrolling did not limit itself to simply stopping speeders. For example, during the spring thaw highway traffic was restricted to medical personnel, members of the clergy, people employed by the Department of Public Works, and the police. Enforcement of these restrictions had been difficult, since many people simply ignored the law. This situation changed with the formation of the provincial force. As one article in the Fredericton Daily Gleaner pointed out:

Activities are reported on the part of the Highway Officials and local and Provincial Police against violators of the New Brunswick and City of Fredericton traffic laws. The Provincial Highway Department has laid information against seven motorists alleged to have been driving automobiles on the highways after the official closing of the roads to car

traffic over a week ago. Violations of the highway laws in this manner have been common in the past, but the authorities are in a position, with the assistance of the Provincial Police and the Highway Department patrolmen, to cope with this situation in a more efficient manner.³³

Similar warnings were put out in newspapers telling speeders that the police had stepped up the enforcement of speed limits, and "that the authorities now intended to enforce the law to the letter".³⁴

Making the highways safe became an important duty of the New Brunswick Provincial Police. In 1930, a total of 52,000 automobiles entered the province from the United States for stays of more than 24 hours and not exceeding 60 days. According to Leo Dolan, the Director of the New Brunswick Bureau of Information and Tourist Travel, these automobiles travelled an average distance of 400 miles each within the province -- for a total of more than 20 million miles in one year. These figures do not include visitors from other provinces, whose entry were not counted by the bureau. The increase in tourist traffic required additional patrolling for infractions of the Motor Vehicle Act and to provide help in case of accidents or loss of direction. In this respect, it was not long before N.B.P.P. detachments were designated as tourist bureaus and officers were asked to carry provincial maps in order to provide information.

The safety of tourists travelling within the province

was important if the government was going to encourage the continued growth of the tourist trade. As Table III indicates, the N.B.P.P. investigated a large number of traffic mishaps during this period. The province's interest in the safety of visitors can be seen in the differentiation between local and foreign cars in the reports of the provincial police. One article in the Daily Gleaner suggests that the N.B.P.P. were, from early on, considered as responsible for the safety of motor-tourists during their stay in New Brunswick:

A heavy tourist automobile traffic is expected this summer by the provincial police who have organized their detachments on all trunk roads and will also patrol secondary roads. Nineteen motorcycles will be in operation by May 1, if ordinary conditions hold.... The highways connecting this province with the State of Maine will receive special attention from the motor-cycle squads. These roads have been, in the past, the scene of the majority of the serious automobile accidents that have occurred in the province, the Woodstock Road, between this city [Fredericton] and Woodstock and connected with the road to Houlton and the State of Maine has been particularly bad in this respect. Many United States motorists who have no knowledge of the dangerous curves and bridges a few miles above this city have come to grief through speeding.³⁵

These traffic duties further show that the automobile was an important factor in both the need for, and the effectiveness of, the New Brunswick Provincial Police. The increase in personal mobility and the construction of good roads had an important impact on the enforcement of law and order. The provincial police force was the

government's attempt to deal with new situations. Since roads were a provincial responsibility, the government of New Brunswick once again took on an area of administration which had largely been a local concern in the past. In this respect, the process of centralization, apparent in the other topics discussed in this work, can be seen in the creation of the N.B.P.P..

During the five years it existed, the force was responsible for the enforcement of the Intoxicating Liquor Act of 1927 and the Motor Vehicle Act. It also provided better police service to outlying rural communities. The high cost of the force, a popular issue with the opposition members, was the reason given by Premier C.D. Richards to subcontract the duties of the N.B.P.P. to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in 1932. Other provinces had already done away with their police forces in favour of the federal service. On April 1st, 1932, most of the men and equipment of the New Brunswick Provincial Police was transferred to J. Division R.C.M.P., under the direction of N.B.P.P.'s first director, Commissioner E.C.P. Salt.

Table I
Growth of N.B.P.P.
As of December 31st

<u>Personnel</u>	<u>1927</u>	<u>1928</u>	<u>1929</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1931</u>
Commissioner			1	1	1
Asst. Commissioner			1	1	1
Inspector			2	3	4
Sergeants			8	6	4
Sr. Constables			10	9	10
Constables			47	48	42
Special Constables			2	3	1
Stenographers			4	4	4
Mechanics			0	1	0
 Total	 33	 60	 75	 76	 67
 <u>Vehicles</u>					
Cars	2	27	42	45	44
Motorcycles			16	5	2

Source: Annual Report of the New Brunswick Provincial Police, 1929, 1930, 1931.

Table II

Summary of Cases

	Entered	Convictions	Waiting Trial
<u>1929</u>			
Criminal Code	750	119	78
Federal Statutes	130	52	0
Provincial Statutes	816	453	7

<u>1930</u>			
Criminal Code	1114	733	39
Federal Statutes	43	38	0
Provincial Statutes	412	341	15

<u>1931</u>			
Criminal Code	1085	725	45
Federal Statutes	53	47	1
Provincial Statutes	408	344	16

Source: Annual Report of the New Brunswick Provincial Police, 1929, 1930, 1931.

Table III Automobile Related Cases Investigated

	<u>1929</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1931</u>
N.B. cars in collision	242	307	171
N.B. and foreign cars in collision	81	135	85
Foreign cars only in collision	27	10	13
Single N.B. cars in accident	62	57	45
Single foreign cars in accident	43	30	31
Cars hit by trains	8	6	3
Persons hit by cars	-	71	34
Cars and vehicles in collision	-	49	31
Animals hit by cars	-	40	25
Cycles hit by cars	-	-	8
Hit and run	-	6	2
Furious driving	9	9	4
Intoxicated drivers	104	75	66
Total	576	795	518

Source: Annual Report of the New Brunswick Provincial Police, 1929, 1930, 1931.

Notes

1. Synoptic Report of the Debates of the Legislative Assembly of New Brunswick, 1928, Appendix, pp. 27-28.
2. Annual Report of the New Brunswick Provincial Police, 1929, p.7.
3. Arthur Doyle, Front Benches and Back Rooms (Toronto: Green Tree, 1976), p. 235.
4. B.J. Grant, When Rum Was King (Fredericton: Fiddlehead Poetry Books, 1984), p.11.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., p.15.
7. Synoptic Report, 1927, p. 194.
8. Revised Statutes of New Brunswick, 1927, Chapter 66, Section 4.
9. B.J. Grant, When Rum Was King, p. 53.
10. Annual Report of the New Brunswick Provincial Police, 1928, as seen in Saint John Telegraph Journal, February 25, 1928, p.5. The figures for 1929 and 1930 can be seen in the Annual Reports for those years on page 19 and 12 respectively.
11. Annual Report of the New Brunswick Provincial Police, 1929, p. 11, 1930, p. 13, and 1931, p. 13.
12. Fredericton Daily Gleaner, January 27, 1928, p.12.
13. B.J. Grant, When Rum Was King, p.53.
14. Saint John Telegraph Journal, February 25, 1928, p.12.
15. B.J. Grant, When Run Was King, p.53.
16. Fredericton Daily Gleaner, November 24, 1979, p. 13.
17. Synoptic Report, 1929, p.129.

18. Annual Report N.B.P.P., 1929, p.8.
19. Annual Report of the New Brunswick Provincial Police, 1930, p. 6.
20. Annual Report of the New Brunswick Provincial Police, 1929, p. 12, 1930, p. 14, and 1931, p. 6.
21. Synoptic Report, 1928, p.81.
22. Acts of the Province of New Brunswick, 1905, p.59.
23. Saint John Globe, June 1, 1910, p.4.
24. Saint John Standard, May 19, 1909.
25. Ibid.
26. Alice B. Hall, "Recollections of Alice B. Hall" typewritten manuscript dated June 22, 1971, located at the New Brunswick Provincial Archives.
27. Saint John Globe, May 15, 1919, p.4.
28. According to the Motor Vehicle Law, speed limits within municipalities were set at 12 miles per hour. Veniot did not recognize the area as a municipality and, since the road from Saint John to Torryburn was improved with tar-macadam, he had proposed a speed limit of 25 miles per hour. See Saint John Globe, May 15, 1919, p.4.
29. The Busy East of the Maritime Provinces, July, 1921, p.28.
30. Synoptic Reports, 1921, p.69.
31. Synoptic Report, 1923, p.202.
32. Annual Report of the New Brunswick Provincial Police, 1929, p. 18, 1930, p. 12, and 1931, appendix no. 1.
33. Fredericton Daily Gleaner, April 19, 1928, p.12.
34. Ibid., April 12, 1928, p.12.
35. Fredericton Daily Gleaner, April 12, 1928, p.12.

Conclusion

The coming of the motor-age to New Brunswick during the first three decades of the twentieth century was an important period of change and growth within the provincial government. The automobile created situations that required provincial involvement in administrative areas that had traditionally been left to local governments. This transition from local control to centralized administration is reflected in the various changes within the public works department, and also in the creation of the New Brunswick Bureau of Information and Tourist Travel and the New Brunswick Provincial Police.

The Department of Public Works was the department most affected by the coming of the automobile. Good roads became the primary concern of this department after 1917. The success of the roads programme was largely due to the dedication of the two ministers involved, and the availability of tax dollars from various user charges and from federal programmes. With the coming of the great depression, the public works department became the agency responsible for coordinating the administration of county relief programmes. No other government department at that time had the administrative structures in place, or the experience in employing thousands of people, to successfully handle such a task.

With the construction of good roads came opportunities and responsibilities that had not existed before. Provincial involvement in tourism was centred on the growing use of the automobile for vacation travel. With the introduction of the gasoline tax in 1926, the motor-tourist became an important part of the government's road-building plans. The New Brunswick Government Bureau of Information and Tourist Travel not only encouraged the development of a new industry, but also helped to finance the province's commitment to provide good roads.

Once these roads were built, and traffic levels increased, the need for some form of policing on the highways became apparent. The New Brunswick Provincial Police was the province's attempt to deal with violations of the Motor Vehicle Law and the Intoxicating Liquor Act, and to provide better police services to the rural areas.

The automobile had become a versatile tool used by both the law breaker and the police officer. The large number of automobiles at the disposal of the force, and the amount of time it spent patrolling the roads, clearly indicate that the short lived agency was an offshoot of the motor-age.

New Brunswick's experience between 1897 and 1934, was that of a pioneer road builder. While the pre-war years were difficult ones for good roads enthusiasts and automobilists, the province eventually recognized the need

for change. New Brunswick did not lag behind the remainder of Canada in coming to grips with the automobile revolution. The federal government's adoption of the province's road construction standards for the Canada Highway Act in 1919, indicates that New Brunswick was ahead of other areas of Canada in this regard. Veniot's election as president of the Canadian Good Roads Association in 1924, suggests that road builders recognized New Brunswick's highway programme as one of Canada's best. Continued expansion of the road building programme under Stewart, and the creation of the tourist bureau and provincial police, are also indicative of the province's progressive spirit and its determination to meet the challenges of a new age.

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