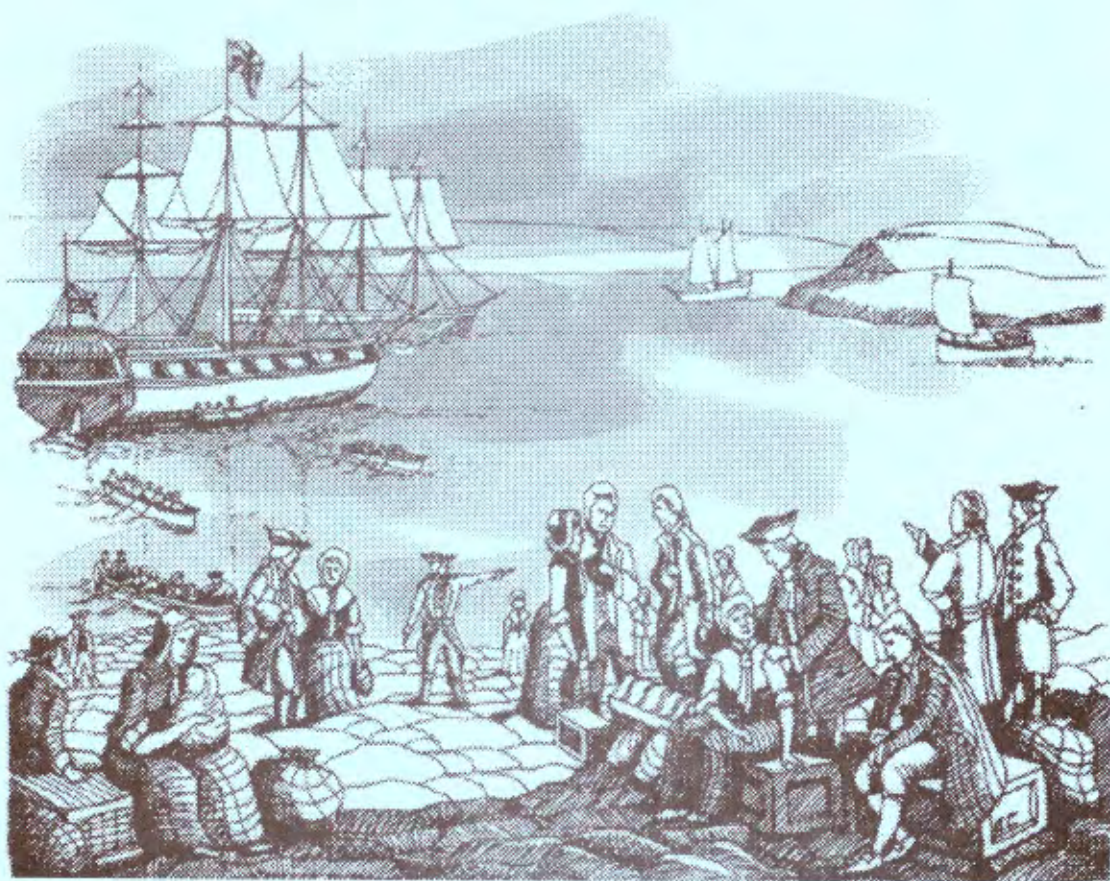

THE LOYALISTS

PIONEERS AND SETTLERS OF THE MARITIMES



A TEACHER'S RESOURCE



THE LOYALISTS PIONEERS AND SETTLERS OF THE MARITIMES

**A TEACHER'S RESOURCE
UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS' ASSOCIATION**

United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada

Suite 202, 50 Baldwin Street

Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5T 1L4

www.uelac.org

The United Empire Loyalists Association of Canada

INTRODUCTION

The United Empire Loyalists Association of Canada is pleased to have been able to prepare this Educational Resource Booklet for use in the schools in the Maritime Provinces.

One of the principal aims and objectives of our Association is: *"To preserve the history and traditions of this important epoch in Canadian history by rescuing from oblivion the history and traditions of the Loyalists' families before it is too late"*. What better way to accomplish this than to educate the youth of our country.

Seeing this booklet published gives a tremendous sense of accomplishment to our Association, but it would not have been possible without the efforts of the many individuals who contributed much time, effort, and expertise.

We owe a special thanks to the Dominion Education Committee which was responsible for bringing this to fruition. Without determination and dedication to the Loyalist cause, it would not have been possible to produce this booklet.

I trust that as future generations of Canadians look to their past, they will find the information contained in this package both educational and interesting. I hope that it will awaken an interest in our rich Canadian history, particularly in those who sacrificed all for their loyalty to the Crown—The United Empire Loyalists.

Edward Scott UE
President

Dominion Education Committee

Beverly Craig UE
Myrna Fox UE
Doris Lemon UE
Elizabeth Richardson UE
William Terry UE

Bernice Wood Flett UE
Chairperson

Maritime Committee

Frances Morrissey UE
Regional Vice President
Lewis Perry UE
Regional Councillor
Robert Walker UE
President,
Halifax-Dartmouth Branch UELAC
Wilfred Thompson UE
President,
Abegweit Branch UELAC
Calvin Craig UE
President,
Fredericton Branch UELAC

DEDICATION



ISOBEL LOUISE HILL

by John Fraser

*T*his book is dedicated to the memory of Miss Louise Hill, a fact that would have pleased her very much because she loved young children.

For many years Miss Hill was the librarian at the provincial legislature building in Fredericton and she became famous locally for sounding the alarm at any destruction of local history. History was her passion. Almost single-handedly she raised concern for the Old Loyalist Burying Ground. Her three books on everyone buried there (the final volume is to be published posthumously in 2001), along with her history of Fredericton, constitute her remarkable contribution to local history.

But she was also someone who understood the bonds which keep history and current events together. That was why she was so fiercely loyal to the Crown. It was not just the symbolism or that she admired Queen Elizabeth; it was because she understood that we are all connected to our past and if we forget it—if we just shrug our shoulders and say, "So What?"—then we are doomed to make major mistakes in the handling of our political and constitutional affairs. She understood that it is only in protecting the close life around you that the larger considerations can be tackled.

If this small book gives any sort of enjoyment or reward, it will have pleased her very much.

John Fraser is the Master of Massey College in Toronto and the author of several books,

his most recent being *Eminent Canadians: Candid Tales of Then and Now*.

Miss Hill was Mr. Fraser's greatly admired and cherished cousin.

The United Empire Loyalists Association of Canada

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

*T*his booklet is the result of the efforts of many people. To the members of the four Maritime Branches of the United Empire Loyalists' Association go our thanks for their support and encouragement. I must mention Frances J. Morrissey, Regional Vice President of UELAC, whose help in all areas was immeasurable, and Lewis Perry, Regional Councillor of UELAC, who provided a great deal of the Nova Scotia material.

The *Loyalist Gazette* furnished us with many articles by such writers as Orlo Jones, Earle Thomas, Mary Archibald, Watson Kirkconnell, and Gerald MacAlpine and we want to acknowledge the fine work of these authors. Others who provided written material for this booklet were: John Fraser, Taunya Dawson, Mary-Jane Perkins-Galer, and Myrna Fox. Our gratitude goes to all who contributed in any way.

The design and graphic work was done by artist Douglas Rogers UE, of London Ontario. The picture on the cover is from the pen of Ernest Clarke UE, Halifax-Dartmouth Branch. Thanks go to all of them.

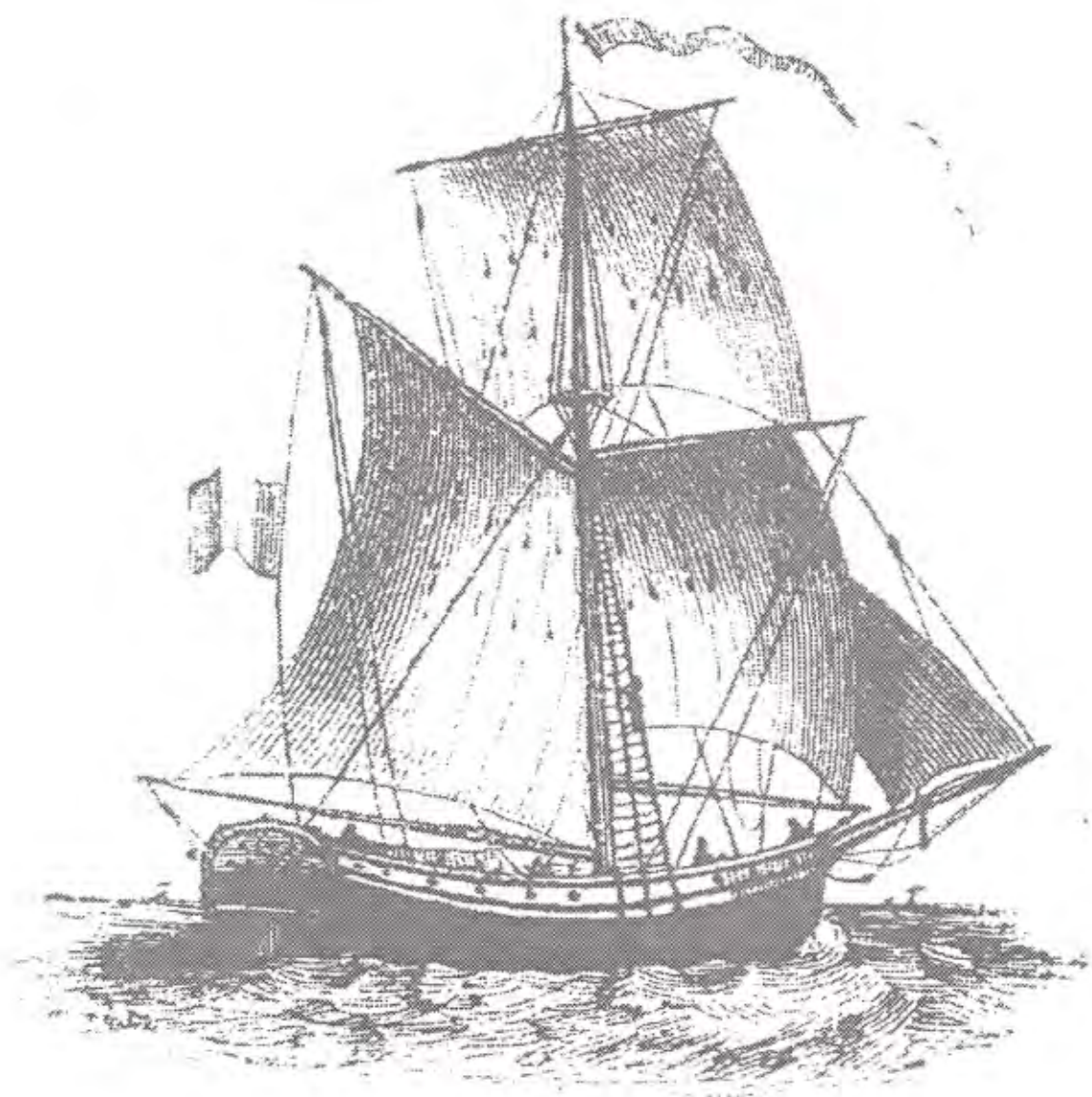
Finally, this booklet would not have been finished without the diligence and devotion of Ann MacKenzie who researched, wrote (and re-wrote), edited, and then did the word processing. She describes her work in history as a labour of love but I can tell you it was much more than that. Thank you, Ann.

It is our hope that this small booklet will encourage teachers and students to develop a greater understanding of the vital role played in the development of the Maritime Provinces, and indeed of Canada, by our ancestors, The United Empire Loyalists.

Bernice Wood Flett UE
Chair
Dominion Education Committee UELAC

CONTENTS

I	A SHORT HISTORY OF THE UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS	1
	Who were the Loyalists Exodus to an Unknown Land Loyalist Settlements The Loyalist Heritage	
II	PRE-LOYALIST SETTLEMENT IN THE MARITIMES	7
	The Original Inhabitants Early European Influence Pre-Loyalist Migration	
III	LOYALIST SETTLEMENT IN NOVA SCOTIA	10
	Halifax, Shelburne, Digby, Guysborough, John Parr, John Wentworth, Flora Macdonald, Henry Magee, Cape Breton Island, Rev. Ranna Cossit	
IV	LOYALIST SETTLEMENT IN PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND	20
	Edmund Fanning, William Schurman, William Wright	
V	LOYALIST SETTLEMENT IN NEW BRUNSWICK	27
	New Brunswick Loyalists The Crest of the City of Saint John, Saint John, The Loyalists' first winter in Fredericton, Kingston, St. Croix Settlements, Thomas Carleton, Edward Winslow, Elizabeth (Hazen) and Ward Chipman, The Odell Family, Dr. Azor Betts and Glorianna Purdy Betts	
VI	BLACK SETTLERS	39
	Thomas Peters, Boston King, Location of Sierra Leone	
VII	THE MILITARY	42
	Loyalist Regiments Maps	
VIII	HOME LIFE OF THE TIMES	45
	Homes The Lives of Women Overcoming Hardships Clothing, Transportation, Games	
IX	RELIGION	54
	Bishop Charles Inglis University of King's College Dissenting Protestants The first Presbyterian Church	
X	LOYALIST SYMBOLS	58
	Loyalist Day Proclamation in N.B. Mark of Honour Loyalist Badge Loyalist Flag	
XI	SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES	63



A sloop of the period, upon which Loyalists came to Canada.

It features a single mast and gaff mainsail, two to three headsails, square topsail, and square main sail. The mainsails often allowed sloops to travel at up to 11 knots. Typically 150 tons of cargo might include up to 300 persons who could have as little as 20 sq. ft. and about 5 ft. headroom each.

I

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS

Over two hundred years ago the American Revolution shattered the British Empire in North America. The conflict was rooted in British attempts to assert economic control in her American colonies after her costly victory over the French during the Seven Years War. When protests and riots met the British attempts to impose taxes on the colonists, the British responded with political and military force. Out of the struggle between the Thirteen Colonies and their mother country emerged two nations: the United States and what would later become Canada.

Not all of the inhabitants of the Thirteen Colonies opposed Britain. The United Empire Loyalists were those colonists who remained faithful to the Crown and wished to continue living in the New World. Therefore, they left their homes to settle eventually in what remained of British North America.



WHO WERE THE LOYALISTS?

Loyalists came from every class and walk of life. Some depended on the Crown for their livelihood and status and had considerable wealth and property. Many were farmers and craftsmen. There were clerks and clergymen, lawyers and labourers, soldiers and slaves, Native Americans, college graduates, and people who could not write their own names. Recent immigrants from Europe also tended to support the Crown.

They had little in common but their opposition to the revolution. Their reasons for becoming Loyalists were as varied as their backgrounds. Some had strong ties with Britain: others had simply supported what turned out to be the losing side. Local incidents, fear of change, self-interest, political principles, emotional bonds—one or any combination of these influenced their decision to remain loyal to the Crown. The common thread that linked these diverse groups was a distrust of too much democracy which they believed resulted in mob rule and an accompanying breakdown of law and order. The Reverend Mather Byles mused, "Which is better?—to be ruled by one tyrant three thousand miles away or by three thousand tyrants one mile away?" Loyalists believed that the British connection guaranteed them a more secure and prosperous life than republicanism would.

Historians estimate that ten to fifteen per cent of the population of the Thirteen Colonies—some 250,000 people—opposed the revolution; some passively, others by speaking out, spying, or fighting against the rebels.

Because of their political convictions, Loyalists who remained in the Thirteen Colonies during the revolution were branded as traitors and hounded by their Patriot (rebel) neighbours. Such an incident occurred in 1775:

At Quibbleton, New Jersey, Thomas Randolph, cooper, who (as the Patriots said) had publicly proved himself an enemy to this country, by reviling and using his utmost endeavours to oppose the proceedings of the continental and provincial conventions... was ordered to be stripped naked, well coated with tar and feathers, and car-

ried on a wagon publicly around the town—which punishment was accordingly inflicted. As soon as he became duly sensible of his offence, for which he earnestly begged pardon, and promised to atone, as far as he was able, by contrary behaviour for the future, he was released and suffered to return to his house, in less than half an hour.

Patriot authorities punished Loyalists who spoke their views too loudly by stripping them of their property and goods and banishing them on pain of death should they ever return. They coerced others into silence with threats. Throughout the Thirteen Colonies that were under Patriot control, Loyalists could not vote, sell land, sue debtors, or work as lawyers, doctors, or schoolteachers. To be fair, in Loyalist-controlled areas, supporters of the Revolution met with similar treatment at the hands of British authorities.

Approximately 70,000 Loyalists fled the Thirteen Colonies. Of these, roughly 50,000 went to the British North American Colonies of Quebec and Nova Scotia.

For some, exile began as early as 1775 when "Committees of Safety" throughout the Thirteen Colonies began to harass British sympathizers. Others responded by forming Loyalist regiments: The King's Royal Regiment of New York, Skinners New Jersey Volunteers, The Pennsylvania and Maryland Loyalists, Butler's Rangers, Roger's Rangers, and Jessup's Corps were the best known of some 50 Loyalist regiments that campaigned actively during the war.

The signing of the Treaty of Paris (1783), which recognized the independence of the United States, was the final blow for the Loyalists. Faced with further mistreatment and the hostility of their countrymen, and wishing to live as British subjects, Loyalists who had remained in the Thirteen Colonies during the war now were faced with exile. Those who wished to live in British North America had two choices: Nova Scotia (the Maritimes) or Quebec (Ontario-Quebec).

EXODUS TO AN UNKNOWN LAND

Fleeing in panic and confusion, forced to leave behind most of their possessions, and burdened with the prospect of building a new life in a new land, the Loyalists faced unpromising beginnings. The lands they were to settle were isolated, forbidding, and wild.

"It is, I think, the roughest land I ever saw...But this is to be the city, they say...We are all ordered to land tomorrow and not a shelter to go under," Sarah Frost, a Loyalist from New York, wrote in her diary as she contemplated the land that she and her husband were about to settle.

In addition to the anguish of defeat and the trauma of exile, Loyalists had to face isolation and feelings of helplessness. The grandmother of Sir Leonard Tilley, one of the Fathers of Confederation, expressed what many Loyalists felt when she wrote:

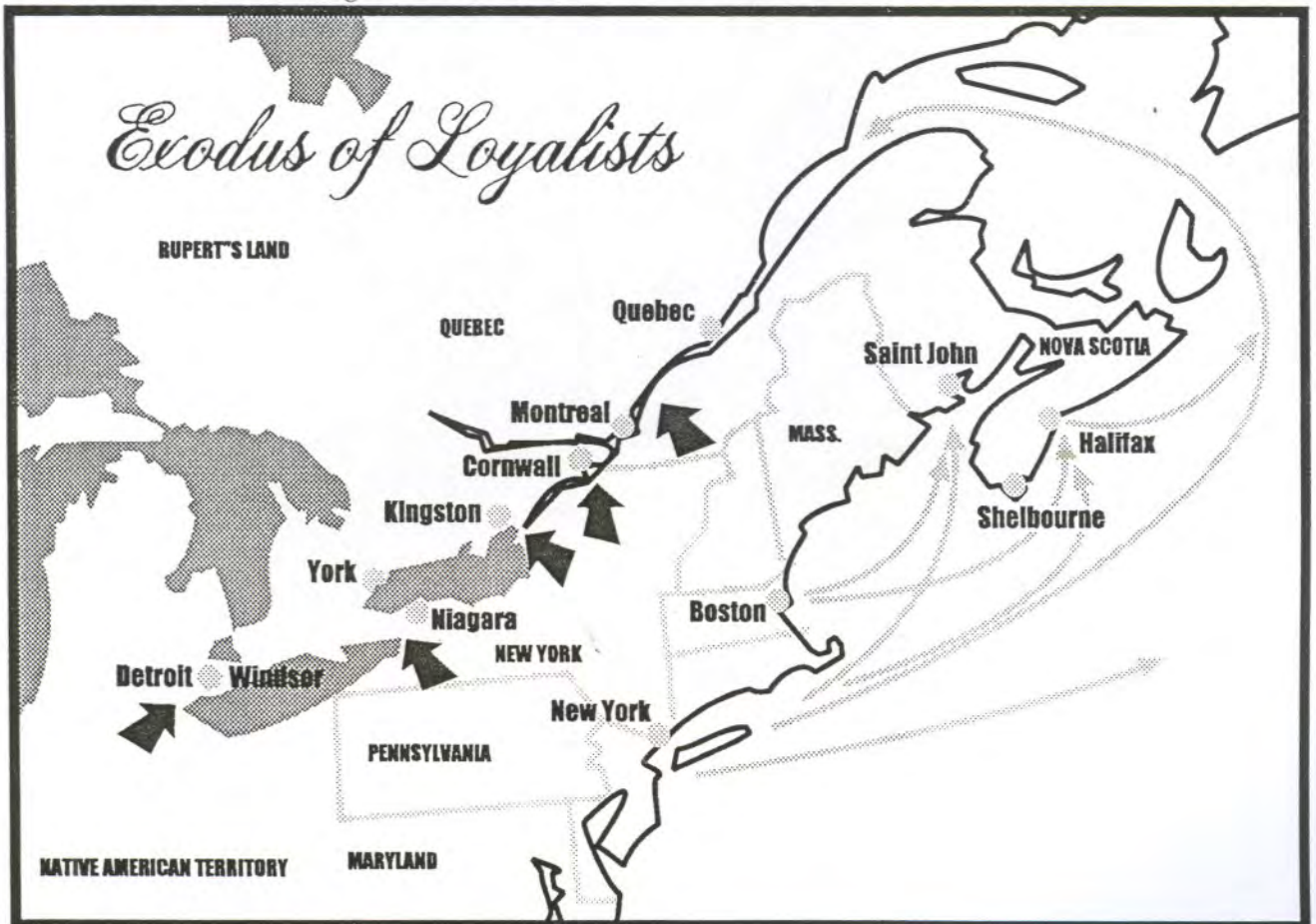
"I climbed to the top of Chipman's Hill (Saint John) and watched the sails in the distance, and such a feeling of loneliness come over me that though I had not shed a

tear through all the war, I sat down on the damp moss with my baby on my lap and cried bitterly."

Shortages, harsh living conditions, and worry plagued the Loyalists in the hastily erected refugee camps. Many had to live in tents during the first winter. The wife of a soldier on the St. John River wrote:

"We pitched our tents in the shelter of the woods and tried to cover them with spruce boughs. We used stones for fireplaces. Our tents had no floors but the ground...How we lived through that winter, I barely know..."

Many didn't live through the first winter; many left with the relief fleets when they set sail the next spring. Those who did survive had to deal with delays in completing land surveys and shortages of tools and provisions. But the Loyalists' determination and resourcefulness assured the ultimate success of many of the new settlements.



LOYALIST SETTLEMENTS

MARITIME PROVINCES

In the spring of 1776 the first shipload of Loyalists left the Thirteen Colonies for Nova Scotia. The British government gave them free passage and permitted them to take necessary articles with them. By 1783 there were about 50,000 Loyalist leaders and refugees living in New York. Although the peace treaty signed that year promised them safety, the Loyalists heard that the Patriot victory had increased persecution. Therefore, up to 30,000 decided to leave for Nova Scotia. Many of the settlers were members of disbanded Loyalist regiments. Colonel Edward Winslow, who came from New England was an aristocrat. There were representatives of such minority groups as Dutch, Huguenots, and Quakers, and a number of Loyalists brought slaves with them.

The Black Loyalists were members of an exclusively Black corps of the British army who had been promised their freedom if they would support the Crown. Among their numbers was Henry Washington who had run away from the service of George Washington. Assuming their equality with white soldiers, Black Loyalists expected similar treatment. Sadly, this did not turn out to be the case since benefits in the form of land and provisions were not distributed equally.

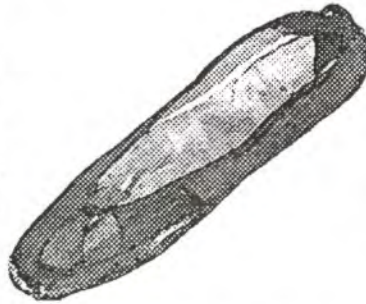
Doomed to a life of subservience, if not actual slavery, about half of the Blacks soon left for Sierra Leone.

Approximately half of the refugees settled near the St. John River with a concentration at the mouth of the river around an excellent harbour. This developed into the city of Saint John. There were also

settlements along the south coast of the peninsula at Shelburne, Digby, and Guysborough.

The Loyalists did not mix well with the older settlers and preferred to live in groups by themselves as far away as possible. They doubted the loyalty of these people who had called themselves "Neutral Yankees" during the war, and they resisted their monopoly over government appointments. Consequently, they began to petition the government to separate Loyalist settlements in the St. John River valley, as well as smaller settlements on St. John's Island (Prince Edward Island)

and Cape Breton Island, from the government in Halifax. The British government granted their requests in 1784. New Brunswick, whose population was 90 per cent Loyalist became a separate colony with its capital 90 miles upriver from Saint John. The capital was named Fredericton in honour of Frederic, one of the sons of King George III.



Slipper worn by Charlotte Haines, first Loyalist to land ashore at Saint John. The other was lost in the mud of the harbour

QUEBEC

Although there was some Loyalist migration into what is today the Province of Quebec, by far the greatest numbers came to present-day Ontario. The disbanded Loyalist regiments provided the majority of settlers. Colonel John Butler, a powerful landowner in the Mohawk Valley of New York, organized Butler's Rangers and fought along with Native Loyalists. He led his followers to the west bank of the Niagara River when the regiment disbanded in 1784. Some families moved farther west from this settlement to the shores of Lake Erie, the Detroit River, and the Thames River. Colonel Butler continued his association with the Natives as Superintendent of Indian Affairs and head of their militia.

Native Americans, and notably members of the Five Nations in New York, tended to side with the British because they believed the British were more likely than the Patriots to protect them. Approximately 2,000 followed Thayendanegea (Joseph Brant) into British North America after the war. The majority settled in the valley of the Grand River; smaller groups went to the head of Lake Ontario and to the shores of the Bay of Quinte.

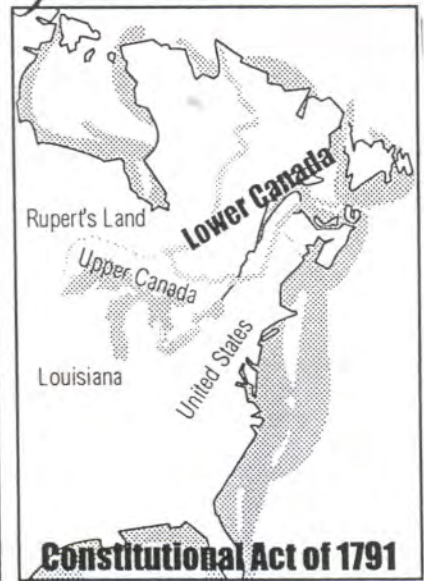
Disbanded Loyalist regiments also settled along the St. Lawrence River upstream from Montreal and along the north shore of Lake Ontario. At their request, they were settled according to nationality and religion. The majority of the settlers had been

frontier farmers before the revolution and they were used to wilderness conditions, but they had lost almost everything they owned when they fled from their homes. The government gave them a limited amount of support with the most extensive reward being in the form of free land. It granted land to the heads of households according to their military rank and extended grants to wives and children born and unborn.

The Loyalists who came to Quebec brought with them the tradition of freehold land tenure, British laws, and representative government. They did not want to give up these rights by living under the Quebec Act which guaranteed the seigneurial system of land holding and denied an elected assembly to the people of that colony. Shortly after their arrival, Loyalist representatives petitioned the government to alter the system of holding land in Quebec to freehold tenure similar to that in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

In 1791, the British Parliament passed the Canada Act, usually known as the Constitutional Act, which provided for the division of Quebec into Upper and Lower Canada. Both colonies were granted an elected assembly and the freehold system of land tenure went into effect in Upper Canada (later Ontario). These laws clearly show the influence of the Loyalists.

The Political Boundaries of Quebec



THE LOYALIST HERITAGE

Of less practical value than land and supplies, but of more lasting significance to the Loyalists and their descendants, was the government recognition of the stand that they had taken. Realizing the importance of some type of consideration, on November 9, 1789, the governor, Lord Dorchester, declared, "That it was his Wish to put the mark of Honour upon families who had adhered to the Unity of the Empire..." As a result of Dorchester's statement, the printed militia rolls carried the notation:

N.B. Those Loyalists who have adhered to the Unity of the Empire, and joined the Royal Standard before the Treaty of Separation in the year 1783, and all their Children and their Descendants by either sex, are to be distinguished by the following Capitals, affixed to their names: U.E. Alluding to their great principle The Unity of the Empire.

The initials "U.E." are rarely seen today, but the influence of the Loyalists on the evolution of Canada remains. Their ties with Britain and their antipathy to the United States provided the strength needed to keep Canada in-

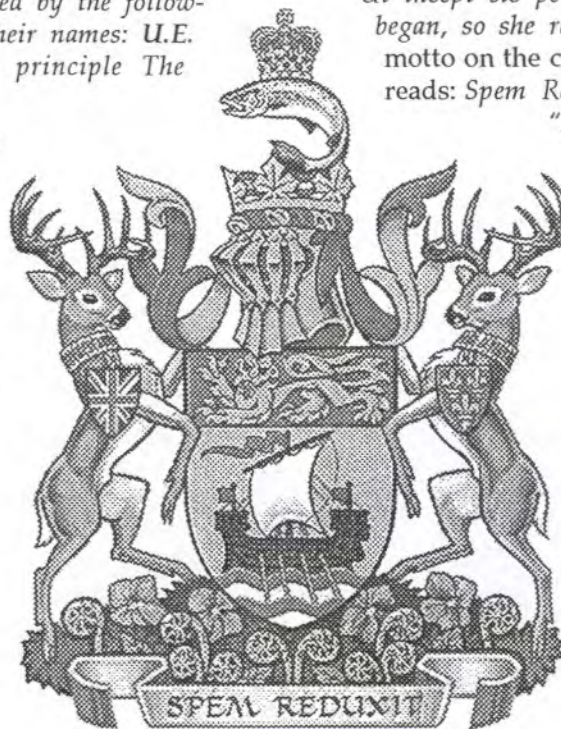
dependent and distinct in North America.

The Loyalists' basic distrust of republicanism and "mob rule" influenced Canada's gradual "paper strewn" path to nationhood in contrast to the abrupt and violent upheavals in other countries.

In the two centuries since the Loyalists' arrival, the myths and realities of their heritage have intertwined to have a powerful influence on how we, as Canadians, see ourselves. Truly, the arrival of the United Empire Loyalists not only changed the course of Canadian history by prompting the British government to establish the provinces of New Brunswick and Ontario, but it also gave them special characteristics which can be seen today.

The motto on the coat of arms of Ontario reads: *Ut incept sic permanet fidelis* that is; "As she began, so she remains Loyal" In addition, the motto on the coat of arms of New Brunswick reads: *Spem Reduxit* which can be translated,

"Hope Restored". This refers to the establishment of the province as a home for the refugee settlers, The United Empire Loyalists, whose arrival here prompted the creation of New Brunswick by the British Government.



II PRE-LOYALIST MARITIME CANADA

For our purposes, Maritime Canada refers to the present-day provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island. This geographic area has gone through a number of political changes and has been influenced by a number of different cultural and national groups over time.



THE ORIGINAL INHABITANTS

Three groups of Native People, all belonging to the Algonquin language group, had the greatest influence in the area. The largest of these, the Mi'kmaq, inhabited the Gaspé Peninsula, the peninsula of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Cape Breton Island. At the time of contact with Europeans, their numbers were likely about 20,000. They settled in individual or joint households around bays and along rivers living by hunting and fishing. They were among the first people to meet Europeans, serving as intermediaries between them and Native groups farther west in the fur trade. Contact with Europeans brought early depopulation on account of disease and social disruption. They allied themselves with the French and did not feel

close to the British when they took control of their area.

The Maliseet (Malecite) people were concentrated in the valley of the St. John River and areas to the south and as far away as the St. Lawrence River. They too suffered devastating depopulation from disease after contact with Europeans with whom they began to trade furs in the early 17th century. They managed to preserve coastal or river locations for hunting, fishing, and gathering until the English-French fighting escalated in their homeland. By the early part of the 18th century the women had begun to farm while the men hunted and developed a military organization allied with the French. The arrival of white settlers who began to

occupy land previously held by the Maliseets in the St. John River valley disrupted native agriculture. Gradually the Maliseets were driven out of the area. Widespread hunger and wandering eventually moved the government to establish the first Indian Reserves in Maritime Canada at present-day Oromocto, Fredericton, Kingsclear, Woodstock, and Tobique.

The Passamaquoddy tribe lived along the coast of present-day Maine and New Brunswick, fishing in the summer and moving inland to the forest to hunt in the winter. They met and assisted Sieur de

Monts and Samuel de Champlain as they unsuccessfully attempted to establish a permanent settlement on St. Croix Island thereby establishing an alliance with the French. They supported the colonists against the British during the American Revolution. After the war, Loyalists arriving in the area of St. Andrews displaced the Passamaquoddy who moved to Deer Island, from where they were later displaced. Most eventually settled at Pleasant Point and Princeton, Maine, where reservations now exist.

EARLY EUROPEAN INFLUENCE

The first Europeans to visit Maritime Canada are believed to be the Vikings who explored the Maritime coast in the 10th and 11th centuries, without staying for any length of time.

During the 16th century fishermen from many parts of Europe began to visit the Maritime coast to catch and process cod. The fisheries did not make much use of native labour, nor did permanent European settlements develop. Early in the 17th century, however, both the British and the French governments decided to authorize the establishment of permanent settlements in North America. Maritime Canada was first settled by the French who named the area Acadia, although there was continual competition with the British for control of the area. The French merchant-colonizers attempted to establish settlements in Acadia for the purpose of trading fur, but soon the settlers turned to agriculture, moving out from Port Royal, the centre of settlement, to cultivate the tidal marshes along the Bay of Fundy. By 1700, there were about 1400 Acadians around the Bay of Fundy, almost all of them members of farm families. From 1689 to 1713 the British and French were in an almost continual state of war in both Europe and North America. The Treaty of Utrecht (1713) gave Acadia to the English but left the French in control of Île Royale (Cape Breton Island) and granted fishing rights to the French in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

In 1717 the French began a major fortification at Louisbourg on Île Royale to protect their fishing interests in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. They superimposed a garrison on a fishing port and a flourishing trade with the West Indies and New England developed. At the same time, the Acadian population, nominally under English control, increased dramatically and continued to live as they had done under French Rule.

During the 1740's and 1750's the French and Eng-

lish were at war again, and in 1745 Louisbourg fell to a force of New Englanders. Three years later, it was returned to France. In 1749 the British decided to build their own garrison, Halifax, to counterbalance Louisbourg. Halifax became the seat of government for Nova Scotia, as Acadia was called by that time, and grew rapidly with the arrival of British, Protestant German, and Swiss settlers, along with military and government personnel. By the mid-1750's the English authorities in Nova Scotia became alarmed by the increase in the Acadian population and suspected their claims of political neutrality since they repeatedly refused to swear an oath of allegiance to the British king. The decision to deport them was taken in 1755. Most of the 13,000 Acadians were rounded up and sent to English colonies along the Maritime seaboard and to Louisiana. Some were exiled to France and England. A few escaped to Quebec and Île Royale. Thus, the whole future of the area changed.

After the deportation of the Acadians, the British Board of Trade directed Governor Lawrence of Nova Scotia to grant their lands to New Englanders. These settlers, known as New England Planters, were to take up grants of at least 100 acres in newly established townships consisting of 100,000 acres. They were to be excused from paying rent for 10 years and were guaranteed religious freedom, provided they were Protestant, and government through elected assemblies as had existed in New England.

The first townships, Horton and Cornwallis, were located on the Minas Basin and were settled by families from eastern Connecticut. Rhode Islanders, for the most part, settled Falmouth and Newport Townships. These four townships contained the best agricultural land. New Englanders were already familiar, from earlier visits, with the "fishery" townships, namely: Yarmouth, Liverpool, New Du-

blin, Chester, and Barrington, on the south shore of Nova Scotia. By 1768 there were 8,000 Planters and their families in Nova Scotia. After that, immigration dwindled, perhaps in part because the govern-

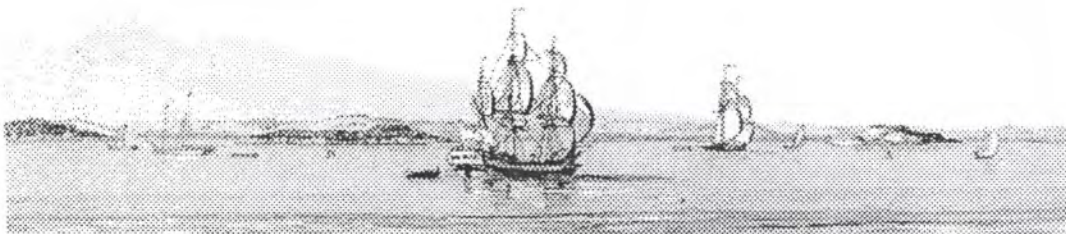
ment at Halifax usurped political power from the townships, much to the distress of the Planters whose objections went unheard at the that time.

PRE-LOYALIST MIGRATION

As troubles worsened in the Thirteen Colonies, supporters of the British government, fearing for their future, left for Nova Scotia. As early as the 1760's, merchant traders established businesses at the mouth of the St. John River. Among them were William Hazen, James Simonds, and James White. William Hazen's home, built in 1773, stood at the corner of Simonds and Brooks Street in Saint John. Employees from the trading post which he operated with his partners Simonds and White raised the house. Company records show that on November 17, 1773 he was charged for 4 gallons West India Rum, 3 lbs. sugar, 3 quarts New England Rum, Dinner, etc., 25 shillings. Daniel and Jonathan Leavitt were New Hampshire-born sailors who had been introduced to the area around the mouth of the Saint John in the 1760's. Their skill and knowledge of the tides and

currents were to be of enormous value when they piloted Loyalists' ships in the 1780's.

The religious revival known as The Great Awakening which swept over New England and Nova Scotia in the 1780's found many followers among the Planters. The Baptist church became an important institution in the colony and its supporters, the descendants of the Planters, established Acadia College (later University) in 1838. Political leaders descended from the planters were Charles Tupper, a Father of Confederation and Prime Minister of Canada, as well as Robert Borden, another Canadian Prime Minister. Neither the French nor the English were particularly interested in this colonial territory unless there was a war going on. As a result, growth was slow and the economy tended to be sluggish before the coming of the Loyalists.

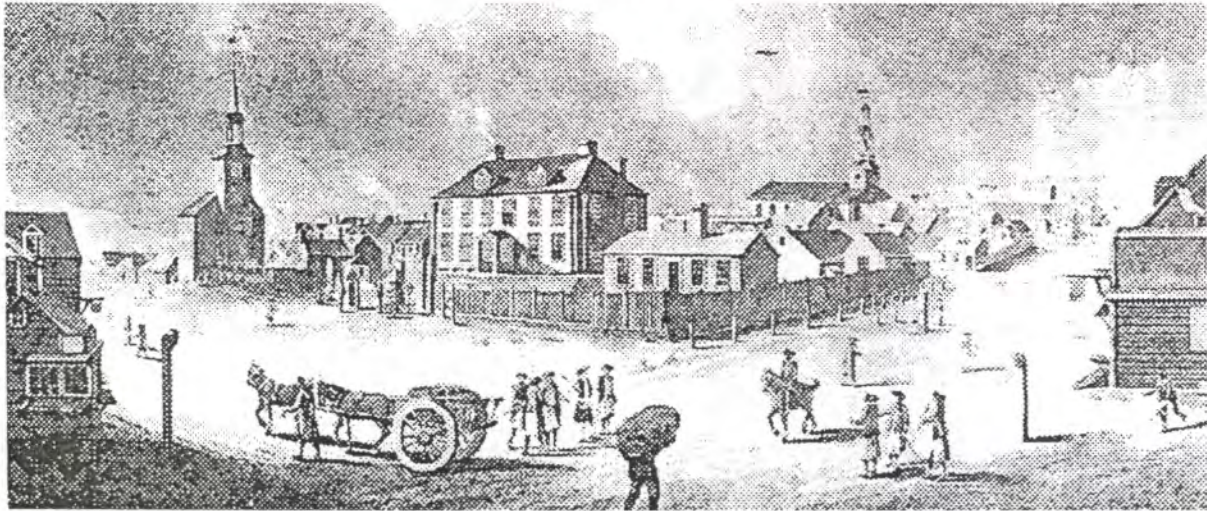


Atlantic Neptune, The Entrance to the River St. John.

III LOYALIST SETTLEMENT IN NOVA SCOTIA

HALIFAX

Based on an article by R.H. Blakeney



Halifax in 1777 as sketched by Richard Short of the Royal Navy, with St. Mathers' Meeting house on the left, The Governor's House, centre.

At the outbreak of the American Revolution in 1776, two-thirds of the people of Nova Scotia were of Yankee birth or parentage. Then Halifax became an armed camp; most of the British troops destined to fight in New England came here or to New York. When General Howe abandoned Boston in 1776 he sailed to Halifax with many of the King's supporters.

They arrived in crowded ships "with health and strength almost exhausted." Profit-hungry local inhabitants charged the refugees six times the usual rent for "miserable lodgings" and double for food and clothing. By May many of them had sailed for England. Between 1772 and 1781 the population of Nova Scotia dropped from 19,000 to 12,000 but by 1784, after the continual arrival of the Loyalists, the population soared to 32,000.

Troops and Loyalists vied for proper food and accommodations. Landlords, brewers, and madames of the bawdy-houses filled their pockets while the ordinary townspeople had to compete for this expensive food and lodging. Halifax enthusiastically supported the British cause by equipping loyal privateers and the pro-American sentiments of pre-Loyalists soon changed when they learned that their friends and family located in such outposts as Lunenburg, Annapolis, and Canso had been raided and completely sacked by Yankee privateers without regard to their connections. From 1778 to 1781, a

brigade of Scottish troops, as well as many regiments of Hessians, were stationed in Halifax.

Arriving refugees lived in tents on Citadel Hill and Point Pleasant and in St. Paul's and Mathers Churches. People were fed in the streets near Granville and Hollis and, as late as 1783, the bulk of 10,000 refugees endured the miseries and unsanitary conditions of an over-crowded town. At night pressgangs roamed the streets with cudgels to persuade new recruits to join His Majesty's Navy. Besides the fleets, armies, and civilians, hundreds of French and American prisoners were confined in jails and ships moored near the dockyard. Escapes were common; many a prisoner of war successfully fled the province to return quietly to his home in the Thirteen Colonies.

As the war dragged on, many of the Loyalists yearned to see their old homes but their hopes were dashed when the British surrendered at Yorktown in 1781. Many Loyalists went forth from Halifax to lands which had been set aside for them along the coast and in townships throughout Nova Scotia. They adapted themselves to the economy of the place—lumbering, shipbuilding, and fisheries. They lived off what capital they had or the compensation they received from the government. Their loyalty was not forgotten, for 4,000 Loyalists claims, amounting to £3,000,000., were paid.

Halifax also became the permanent residence of

such Loyalists as Phillip Marchington, who escaped from New York with a large fortune. Establishing a successful mercantile business, he built a church on Argyle Street to air his own sermons, but eventually squabbles with his congregation forced him to close the church. Joseph Howe was the son of a Loyalist from Boston who printed the first issue of the *Halifax*

Journal which served the city from 1781 to 1870.

After 1783 discharged military personnel drifted aimlessly after eight years of war. Government officials struggled with the settlement and support of thousands of Loyalist refugees and the city adjusted to conditions of peacetime marked by a stagnant economy and declining population.

SHELBURNE

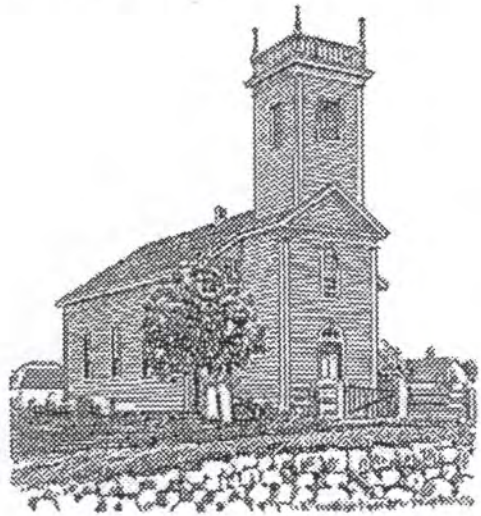
Based on articles by Mary Archibald, Watson Kirkconnell, and Gerald A. MacAlpine, U.E.

Shelburne, originally known as Port Roseway, is located at the head of one of the finest natural harbours in the world near the south-west corner of Nova Scotia. In 1765, the area had been granted to Alexander McNutt who hoped to establish a model community there. His plan failed and the grant reverted to the Crown in 1783.



The Frith House, built in 1783

Port Roseway but they settled by themselves across the bay in an area which they called Birchtown, named for Brigadier-General Samuel Birch who had befriended them in New York.



A church built by Loyalists

At the end of the American Revolution a group of Loyalists from New York formed the Port Roseway Associates with the intention of obtaining a grant in that area. Charles Morris, Surveyor-General for Nova Scotia, had recently appointed Benjamin Marston as Deputy Surveyor and had ordered him to meet the Loyalists at Port Roseway to lay out a township for them. Marston was a Loyalist and graduate of Harvard who had lost all his property during the Revolution and had fled to Halifax.

The first fleet carrying about 400 families arrived on May 4, 1783 and after some early disagreements, the people were soon ashore clearing the town site and erecting tents and log huts for protection. In spite of their lack of experience, they built nearly 1,500 houses the following summer. A list of the disbanded Loyalist soldiers in the fall of 1783 shows that the majority were from the British Legion, the Duke of Cumberland's Regiment, and the New Jersey Volunteers. Black regiments also came to

As the year progressed, hundreds more refugees and disbanded soldiers sought shelter in Port Roseway, swelling the population by the end of the year to between 9,000 and 10,000 persons. Before the last refugees had come, however, some of the early arrivals had left for other parts. This pattern underlines the problem created by dumping the remnants of New York's loyal population on the township after the peace, thereby turning the community into a refugee camp. A great majority of the refugees remained only briefly before moving on to greener pastures because there were few good reasons to stay.

On July 22, 1783 Governor Parr, on his first visit to the community, named the town Shelburne in honour of William Petty Fitzmaurice, Earl of Shelburne who, during the peace negotiations, was Secretary of State for Home, Colonial, and Irish Affairs. Although Parr revered him, Lord Shelburne was not popular with many Loyalists because they blamed him for the terms of peace which granted

full independence to the United States.

In the summer of 1784, Marston was compelled to leave town. There had been a certain amount of dissatisfaction with his conduct from the start. He had been blamed for errors in running some of the survey lines and had also been accused of favouritism in the allocation of some lots. A riot broke out on July 16, 1784 when the disbanded soldiers drove the free Blacks out of town and went searching for Marston. He took refuge in the barracks across the harbour from the town and sailed for Halifax the next day. Parr, who laid the blame for problems at Shelburne on Marston, was more than happy to have someone to condemn for some things that were more his and the government's fault than Marston's.

In 1785, five sawmills providing lumber for the West Indies market were in operation. A whale fishery had been started and 10 boats were ground fishing. An energetic program of road building was started that year in an effort to link the farms in the surrounding area to the town. The township was not yet self-sufficient, however, and King's rations were supplied until 1786.

The decline in population continued until it stabilized around 300. There were various reasons for Shelburne's waning, but one of the most important was the choice of an unsuitable site for the settlement. Sour soil, spread thinly over granite and littered with glacial boulders, was ill-suited for farming. The marketable timber within reach of the coast soon petered out and two of the three "instant sawmills" soon ceased to operate owing to lack of sawlogs. There was no habitable hinterland to be served by the stores of Shelburne. Apart from fishing, in which few of the settlers were experienced, there was no lasting gainful occupation to maintain even a village, let alone a city. The economic base of the whole enterprise was almost non-existent.

The government at Halifax was indifferent to the plight of Shelburne. In 1784 Halifax merchants had tripled the price of their goods and then complained to the government that Americans were selling produce to the new settlers at lower prices.

A smallpox epidemic in 1788 and natural disasters also contributed to the decline of the settlement. In 1786, a hurricane from the Caribbean demolished the warehouses and wharves along the

shore. There was a devastating drought in 1791, but perhaps the greatest blow of all was a disastrous forest fire in 1792. From the middle of June until a substantial rain on the 9th of July, fires raged through the tinder-dry woodlands in southern end of the province. Approximately 50 houses were said to have been burned, but a list of the poorest and most distressed includes 84 names of settlers in the area from Birchtown to Port Herbert. Birchtown was particularly hard hit with 17 families requiring aid.



The Shelburne "Fire Engine" was in use as early as 1785. It is thought to be one of the three oldest fire engines in North America and is on display at the Shelburne County Museum.

Besides the loss of houses, outbuildings, and crops, the forest which had provided one of the few industries to the community had been destroyed. Most of the roads extending from the town had been rendered impassable because their bridges were burned.

There were however, some hardy pioneers who decided that Shelburne was a good place to live and these became permanent settlers. They were a mixture of true Loyalists, disbanded soldiers, and those who preferred the British form of government. Many Loyalist surnames are still represented in modern Shelburne and the surrounding area, and such Loyalist homes as the Ross-Thomson house built about 1785 have been restored and renovated.

DIGBY

Based on the MA Thesis of Taunya Dawson,

"The Church of England's role in Settling the Loyalists in the Town of Digby, 1783-1810" Acadia University, 1991

Digby was a Loyalist settlement in Nova Scotia, second only in size to Shelburne (Port Roseway). Its location, directly across the Bay of Fundy from Saint John, near the entrance to the Annapolis Basin on a body of water known as the Digby Gut, was a major attraction for Amos Botsford, agent for the New York Refugee Association in 1782. He had been dispatched to find a suitable location for a sizeable group of Loyalists who expected to be refugees at the end of the war. The area had been named Conway Township when the first white settlers moved into the area from Annapolis in the 1760's.

On April 27, 1783, 44 ships departed for Nova Scotia from Long Island with close to 6,000 Loyalists, most of whom went to Port Roseway because Botsford had not yet been able to decide definitely whether to send his people to Saint John or to the Annapolis Basin. By May 2 another convoy of nine ships left for Saint John, Annapolis, and Digby with 2,434 Loyalists, 1,000 of whom would go to Digby. Another group, including 51 heads of families, arrived on October 18. Some of them stayed on the ship until spring while others camped on shore.

Botsford obtained 65,000 acres in Conway Township for 301 settlers on February 20, 1784 and secured land for a town plot. The town, named Digby after the admiral responsible for the Loyalists' transportation to Nova Scotia, was designed on a grid but had more character than most towns, owing to its location on a peninsula. Land was reserved for a glebe (clergy reserve) and school in the town.

After taking the Oath of Allegiance, Loyalists were able to purchase a town lot. These had to be purchased because they were considered to have been "improved". Grants in the township were free, with the size depending on the military rank of the head of the household and 50 additional acres for each family member and servant. The average size of the rural lots was 200 acres.

Of those Loyalists who could be traced, originally 50% were from New York, 20% New Jersey, with representation from New Hampshire, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Massachusetts, Georgia, and the Carolinas. The regiments represented were: The New Jersey Volunteers, The Royal Garrison Battalion, and The Loyal American Battalion. Black Pioneers, including Thomas Peters who settled near Annapolis, and Joseph Leonard, along with 200 Black veterans settled in Brindley Town,

now Acaciaville, were shortchanged with land and rations in the same way as Blacks who settled elsewhere.

Digby prospered from the West Indian trade with merchants exporting cod, timber, beer, dairy and farm produce, and especially herring. Enough herring was caught to provide employment for 400 workers. Many occupations were associated with the sea. Daniel and James Leonard were sail makers. In 1785 Digby was designated a Port Town and Captain James Baseley was appointed Harbour Master. A post office opened in the home of Andrew Snodgrass, in 1784 and daily ferry service to Saint John began in that same year.

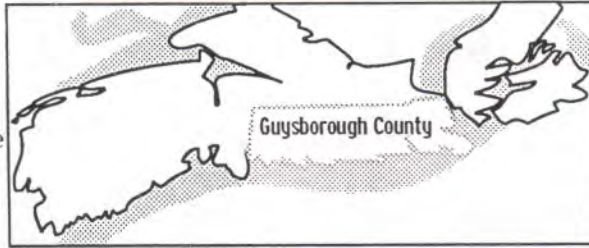
Loyalists were occupied in various businesses. Henry Rutherford and George Nash operated a general store. James Reid and Robert Ray were hotel keepers, and Fleming Pinckston was one of the town physicians. Loyalists also held public offices. Isaac Bonnell was the first Justice of the Peace and was later appointed Puisne Judge of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas. Andrew Kysh was another Justice of the Peace. James Wilmot was Collector of Duties for the port and Deputy Registrar of Deeds and Conveyances.

Reverend Jacob Bailey, rector at Annapolis Royal, visited Digby often and assisted in the establishment of the parish which the Loyalists named "Trinity" after the one that many of them had been forced to leave in New York. Anglicans did not constitute the majority of the population, however, and both Presbyterians and Methodists were active in the community. The Methodists, in particular, appealed to the Black population and the efforts of Methodist missionaries were met with enthusiasm in that community.

By 1786, a small town existed in Conway Township but its growth did not fulfill its potential. Botsford's indecisiveness about the site caused considerable confusion and many Loyalists decided to follow the Port Roseway Associates to what became Shelburne. There, Loyalists did not have to pay for their town lots. Botsford was not meticulous about legalities and records and legal titles to land were questionable. Poor distribution of food and supplies also hindered successful settlement. Nor did Digby have a wealthy agricultural hinterland. Many of the town's first settlers stayed for only a short time and then moved on to seek their fortunes elsewhere.

GUYSBOROUGH

From articles by Roy Stanley-Chisholm



One of the largest concentrations of Loyalists was at East Country Harbour in Nova Scotia's beautiful County of Guysborough. The Loyalists came from Halifax to a place now known as Country Harbour Mines at the upper end of Country Harbour.

They arrived late in the year and endured a horrible first winter in primitive log cabins improperly roofed. Many died from exposure and sickness.

Some 150 Blacks came with them and it must be concluded that although some were slaves, many more were not, and had served as bondsmen, servants, and pioneers in both the British Army and Loyalist Provincial Corps. The lot of the Black Loyalist was a hard one. Compared to the 150 acre land grants of whites, the Black's grant of one acre for services rendered to Crown and Country was a poor reward for seeing service in very arduous times.

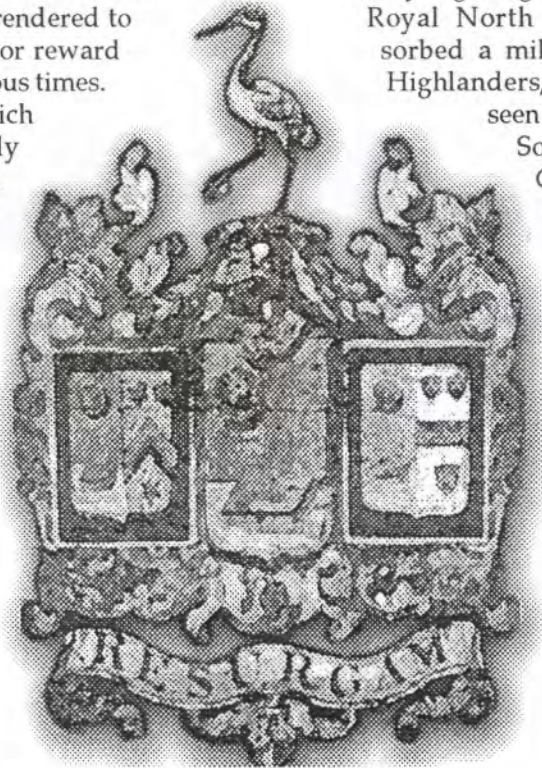
Black provincial units which did not participate directly were recruited for garrison and other duties in North America. These were: the Jamaica

Rangers, all Blacks but including independent companies which were partly black and partly white, and the Jamaica Volunteers made up of mixed races. Another black unit, the Negro Horse, was raised in New

York in 1782 and performed provost duty picking up deserters. They also fought at Dorchester in what is now New York County.

The Loyalists at East Country Harbour were initially under the jurisdiction of a Georgian officer, Major James Wright. They were principally from three regiments: the Royal North Carolina Regiment, the King's (Carolina) Rangers, and the South Carolina Royalists. All of them had experienced heavy fighting in Southern campaigns. The Royal North Carolina Regiment had absorbed a militia unit, the North Carolina Highlanders, composed of Scots who had seen action at Moore's Creek Bridge.

Some extant Scottish names in Guysborough County today are those of people descended from Loyalist Scotsmen.



The Nova Scotia Loyalist Banner

JOHN PARR (1725-1791)

GOVERNOR (LATER LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR) OF NOVA SCOTIA

John Parr was born in Dublin in 1725 and spent most of his adult life in the British Army. He married Sara Walmsley in 1761 and they had three sons and two daughters.

Parr was appointed mayor of the Tower of London in 1778. In 1782 he received what he thought would be a comfortable, easy appointment as Governor of Nova Scotia. He did not anticipate serious problems with the Loyalist migration, although he had qualms about the lack of building materials, firewood, and military protection in the colony. He soon found himself caught between the demands of the Loyalists and the British government's slowness to act when the steady stream of refugees began in 1783.

The pre-Loyalist settlers had, understandably, taken up the best lands and absentee landholders held other large tracts. Digby, Shelburne, and Guysborough were the major areas remaining open to Loyalist settlement. Parr was often obliged to take action without instructions from London. He wrote, *"Government has not yet honoured me with their commands relative to this vast Emigration. I have hitherto acted in the dark to the best of my abilities."*

His initial duties were to supervise the surveying of lots and provision of some kind of shelter before the coming of winter. Supplies were inadequate and the weather that autumn was particularly unpleasant. In February he wrote of the ingratitude of

the Loyalists despite the boards he had acquired for them *"without having yet had sufficient Authority from home, and without which many would have inevitably perished."* In spite of these difficulties most of the Loyalists managed to get under cover before winter which, fortunately, turned out to be relatively mild. The British also extended provisions to the Loyalists until 1786, if necessary.

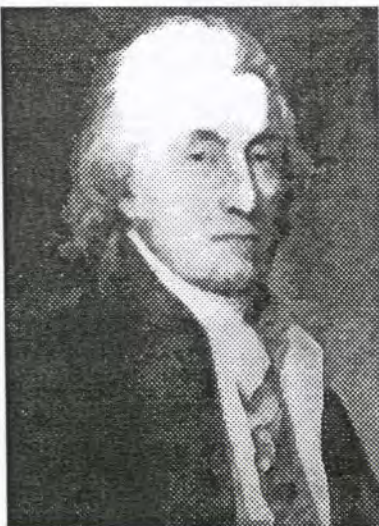
By 1785, the initial rush was over, although some groups were still trickling into the colony. Soon the Loyalists began to accuse Parr of incompetence and of favouring the old colonists and the "Halifax Faction" because he did not invite the newcomers into his government circle. They also tended to blame Britain for what they considered a bad peace settlement.

Parr, for his part, tried to distinguish between the solid Loyalists who wanted to settle and get on with their lives and the trouble-making whiners. He wrote that he had found *"some honest men"* among the Loyalists and he *"stood in great need of them."*

Unappreciated by both Loyalists and the British government, he found his administration reduced when New Brunswick and Cape Breton Island became separate colonies in 1784, and his appointment was reduced to Lieutenant-Governor under Governor Sir Guy Carleton in 1786. He remained in Nova Scotia until his death in 1791.

JOHN WENTWORTH (1737-1820) 2ND LT. GOVERNOR OF NOVA SCOTIA

This former Governor of New Hampshire remained loyal to the Crown and had to flee his home in the early 1770's. He went to Boston, then to Halifax before spending 5 years in London. He returned to Halifax where he succeeded John Parr as Lt. Governor in 1792, and he re-



mained in office until 1808.

"He was a well-behaved governor, a kind, charming, earthy little man, devoted to the services of his monarch and hospitable to citizen and stranger alike"

J. Fingard

FLORA MACDONALD (1722-1790)

Flora was born on one of the Outer Hebrides islands off the west coast of Scotland. Her father died when she was two years old. When her mother remarried the family moved to the Isle of Skye. Her father, her mother, her step-father, and her husband were all named Macdonald.

In 1746 there was great turmoil in Scotland when Charles Stewart, Pretender to the throne of Britain returned to Scotland to overthrow the Hanoverian King George II. Bonnie Prince Charlie, as he was known by his supporters, was soundly defeated at Culloden Moor and was forced to flee for his life. Flora helped him escape by disguising him as her maid. Together with two other servants, they arrived safely at Skye from where he departed for France and final exile. Flora was found out and imprisoned for some time at Edinburgh until she was released in London.

In 1750 she married Allan Macdonald who had served in the army that had defeated Prince Charles at Culloden. They had seven children, five sons and two daughters.

The 20 years after the battle of Culloden were very difficult for the Highlanders since King George attempted to subdue them by destroying the clan system and the economy suffered as a consequence. From 1754 to 1776 it is estimated that 23,000 Highlanders left Scotland. The Macdonald family were among them. In 1774 they joined a group of their countrymen in North Carolina.

In 1775, Allan once again decided to support his

king, this time George III, when hostilities broke out in the Thirteen Colonies. He was commissioned as captain in the 2nd Battalion, Royal Highland Emigrants, later known as the 84th Regiment, eventually being appointed brigadier-general. For some time he travelled about North Carolina recruiting troops for the Loyalist cause. Flora accompanied him on his many campaigns through the South until in 1776, he and his son were captured by rebel forces.

Flora had been responsible for many of the Highlanders rallying to the King's standard and had spoken out strongly at many of the enlistment meetings. She refused to sign an oath supporting the American Congress and consequently the plantation and all of their possessions were seized. With her daughter and grandchildren Flora went by sea, first to New York, and then to Halifax where she was reunited with Allan who had been part of a prisoner exchange in 1777.

For the next year and a half they lived at Windsor, a settlement near Halifax. After that, Flora, her daughter, and grandchildren returned to Scotland. At the end of the war Allan decided to return to Scotland as well, even though as a Loyalist officer he was entitled to a grant of several thousand acres in Nova Scotia.

Although best known as the woman who helped Bonnie Prince Charlie escape from his enemies, Flora Macdonald also deserves credit because her husband and four sons, two of whom died at sea, were commissioned officers in the Loyalist forces during the American Revolution.



HENRY MAGEE (c.1741-1806)



A view of the farming landscape of the Annapolis Valley. Henry Magee supplied such farmers.

Henry Magee was born in County Armagh, Ireland to a Scotch-Irish family. Shortly before leaving Ireland he met John Wesley and converted to Methodism. He emigrated to America with his wife and six-year-old son in 1773. They landed in Philadelphia and immediately set off for Cumberland County. He began working in his chosen trade as a miller in the Perth Valley where, unfortunately for him, the majority of the population were rebels. He was repeatedly pressured to join the rebels but he resisted until he was arrested and accused of treason. The charge was dismissed on a technicality but Henry nevertheless fled to the mountains leaving the considerable property which he had acquired, and his wife and family which by then consisted of two sons. In 1777 he became a recruiter for Butler's Rangers. In 1778 he made his way to Philadelphia and joined the British army, eventually being stationed in Nova Scotia.

In the meantime, his wife and sons were evicted from their home and set out on foot for New York, a Loyalist stronghold. Mrs. Magee worked as a seamstress for British officers' wives until the end of the war.

In November, 1783 the family left for Halifax aboard a British man-of-war. When they landed, someone recognized her and told her that Henry was working on "Martock", John Butler's* estate on the

Minas Basin near Windsor where leading officials from Halifax had received large grants after 1757.

When the family was reunited, they moved down the valley to Wilmot where Henry received a grant of 500 acres in 1786. Within two years, he had built a gristmill and general store on the Kentville Brook where the town of Kentville developed. In 1799 he bought 600 acres near Aylesford. There his oldest son, John, built a house that is still standing.

This fine location had first been settled by New England planters in the 1760's and was growing rapidly thanks to Loyalist settlers. The store was the first in the area and drew customers from miles around. Accounts show an annual income averaging £2000.

Bishop Charles Inglis and his son, Rev. John, Brigadier-General Morden (storekeeper of Ordnance at Halifax) and Colonel James Kerr of Parrsborough, gentlemen, artisans, farmers, Indians, and slaves, all dealt with Henry Magee Sr., in his capacity as merchant, banker, pawnbroker and general factotum for the district.

Henry Magee died in 1806 and was buried in the Oak Grove Cemetery in Kentville. Mrs. Magee moved to live with her son, John, in Aylesford Township where she died in 1813. She was buried in an unmarked grave in the churchyard of St. Mary's Anglican Church in Auburn.

*This is not the John Butler of Niagara but someone of the same name who had arrived in Halifax after 1749 and settled outside Windsor on the road to Chester.

*Associated Loyalists were basically civilian refugees who enlisted in military companies and were provided for until they settled. The leader of each group was given a military rank and the group lived under military discipline.

CAPE BRETON ISLAND (ÎLE ROYALE)

The Treaty of Utrecht allowed the French to retain Île Royale and it was there that they built the fortress of Louisbourg. It also became a haven for Acadians after the British deportation in 1755. When the British captured Louisbourg in 1758, they totally destroyed the fort. Although they received the island through the terms of the Treaty of Paris in 1763, they paid little attention to it beyond having an official survey conducted by Captain Samuel Holland between 1765 and 1767. He identified the coal deposits which were to be of value later.

The last troops left the island in 1768. The population then consisted of approximately 300 Acadians on Isle Madame, and about 400 Newfoundlanders, Irish, and "American" fishermen.

Interest in the Island grew in 1784 when Abraham Cuyler, a former mayor of Albany, New York, informed the British authorities that he had 3,100 Loyalists then living in Quebec, who would be pleased to settle on Cape Breton Island, as the British called it. In anticipation of this influx, the British separated Cape Breton Island from Nova Scotia at the same time as they created the separate colony of New Brunswick. Major Joseph Frederic Wallet Des Barres, an engineer of French/Swiss descent who had migrated to England as a young man and had spent 20 years surveying northeastern North America, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the colony, partly because his compensation for service as a surveyor had been woefully inadequate.

In the autumn of 1784, Cuyler found 140 "Associated Loyalists" in Quebec who were willing to go to Cape Breton. They used three ships to make the move. Two shiploads landed at St. Peter's where one stayed and the other went on to the Baddeck River the next spring. The third went to Louisbourg. Jonathan Jones of the King's Rangers of New York was named magistrate for Baddeck and granted 200 acres. John Leaver and the sons of Hezekiah Ingraham also settled at Baddeck. John D. Meloney of Long Island was the head of the first family at Sydney, the town which grew near the ruins of Louisbourg. In February, 1785 Des Barres brought settlers from England to Spanish Bay (now Sydney Harbour) and in the Summer of 1785, six companies of the 33rd Regiment arrived. Some families, e.g. Henry Lewis from Virginia and William Watson from New York, left Sydney and settled on farms which had been held by Acadians. William Hood and his family settled at Bras d'Or, while Heze-

kiah Ingraham who had come from Hartford Connecticut in 1783 settled at Margaree Harbour along with James Ross and Irad Hart. A group of Loyalists from New York who had arrived at Shelburne with the Spring Fleet of 1783 and had become disillusioned with life there arrived at Upper North Sydney in 1788. Among them was Peter Sparling's family.

Cape Breton did not have an elected assembly but rather was ruled by the Lieutenant Governor and his Executive Council made up of Loyalists and English. Almost from the beginning there was dissension among the Loyalists, the military, the English, and members of the council. For example, problems about the distribution of food to Loyalists being carried out by the military rather than the Lieutenant-Governor became so heated that Des Barres was removed from office. David Mathews, former mayor of New York City, led one faction that was opposed by The Rev. Ranna Cossit, the minister of St. George Anglican Church, organized as the garrison church for the troops stationed in Sydney.

Other Loyalists who developed the economy on Cape Breton were William Brown who came from New Jersey and operated a retail business along with his sons, and Samuel Plant from New York City who opened North Sydney's first general store. Other Loyalists went to sea to fish and trade. Some Blacks came as slaves, married, and were eventually buried in the cemetery at St. George Church.

Despite a sizeable migration of Scots beginning around 1800, the population grew slowly and remained isolated in the remote glens in the interior of the Island, quite unaware of the administrative chaos at Sydney. Matters came to a head in 1819 when judgment concerning a court case regarding the charging of a duty on imported rum implied that all government on the island since 1784 had been irregular, if not illegal, because of the absence of an elected assembly. Rather than grant an assembly, the British government decided to re-annex Cape Breton to Nova Scotia. The change took effect in 1821 without a great outcry from the islanders. Part of the reason for the minimal opposition may have been the prosperity which followed the acquisition of the Duke of York's mineral rights by the General Mining Association of London. Markets were found for coal in the United States, and Sydney became a coaling station of considerable importance for the new steamships which crossed the Atlantic.

THE REVEREND RANNA COSSIT

The Rev. Mr. Cossit's grandfather, René, had come from Paris to Trois Rivières which he left in 1712 to move to Connecticut where he converted to the Anglican church. Born in 1744, Ranna grew up in Connecticut and studied in Rhode Island and England where he was ordained in the Church of England in 1773. He went to serve in New Hampshire with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and there married Thankfull Brooks in 1774. New Hampshire was controlled by rebels who arrested him in December 1774 and brought him before the Committee of Safety because he refused to support the revolution and continued to pray for the King during services. After 1775 his congregation dwindled but his family grew to 3 sons and 3 daughters. In all, Thankfull was to bear 13 children, of whom 10 survived, before dying in childbirth at Sydney in 1802 at the age of 46.

The church offered Cossit a post at Cape Breton, promising him a house, a church, a school, land, and financial help in 1785. Although the promises were slow in being fulfilled, Cossit brought his family to Sydney in 1789 and held his first service at Christmas of that year.

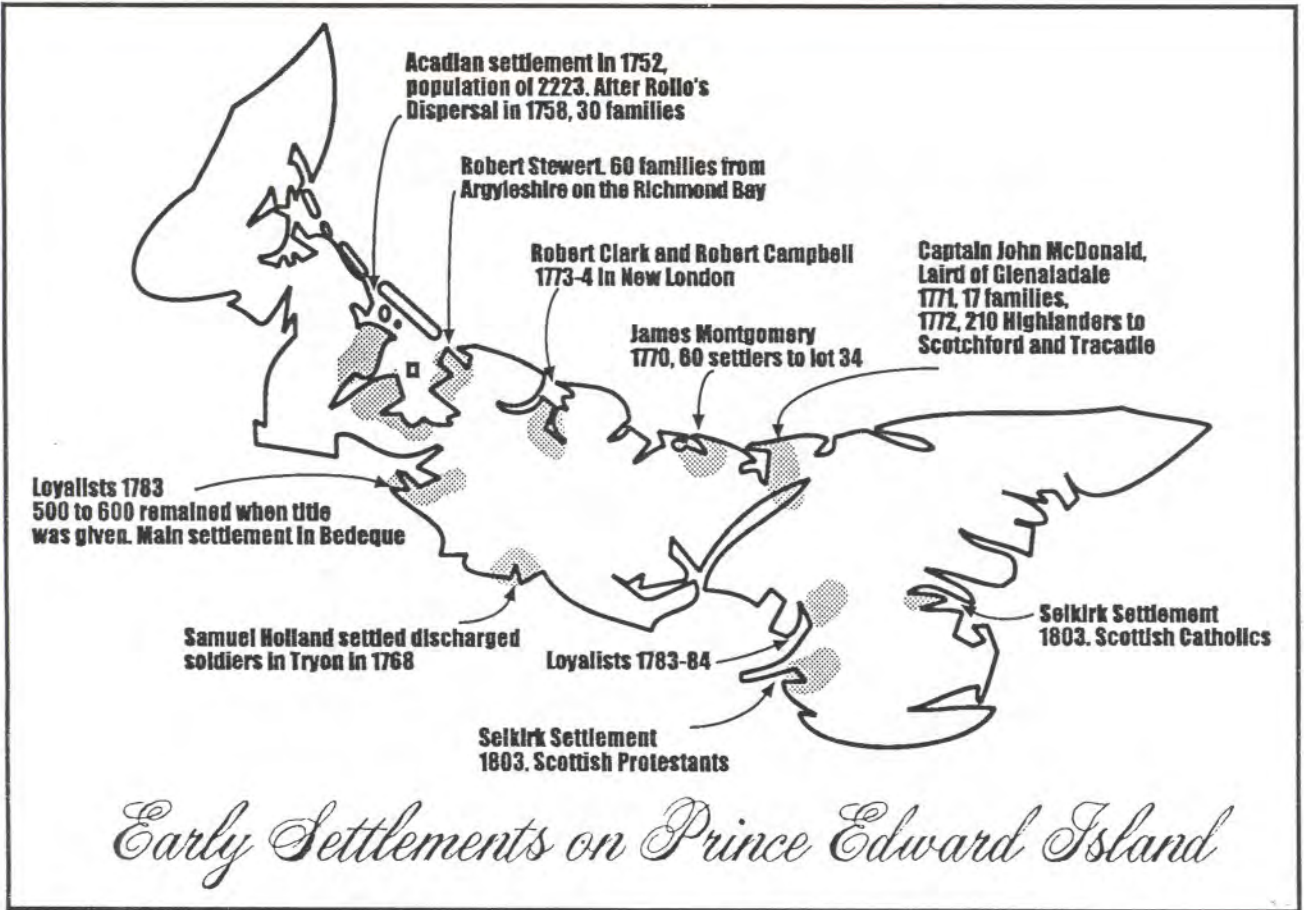
Cossit quickly became embroiled in the island's political controversies. For example, he soon

allied himself with James Miller, a mineralogist sent to investigate conditions at the coal mines leased by Loyalists John Tremaine and Richard Stout. Miller condemned their methods, especially because of what he considered to be overuse of rum as payment to miners. He wanted the mines, which supplied coal to Halifax, to be owned publicly and payments of wages made in cash. Stout was one of the island principal merchants along with Bartholomew Musgrave and Jeremiah Allan, Loyalists who began shipbuilding at North Sydney. David Mathews, the Attorney General, was deeply in debt to Stout, and also did not attend church, both reasons why Cossit opposed him.

To further complicate matters, Cossit, who believed in the established Church of England on the Island, was a member of the Executive Council. By 1800, he had run afoul of the current Lieutenant-Governor who appealed to Bishop Inglis to remove Cossit from his parish. Cossit resisted until 1805 when Inglis arrived in person and persuaded him to go to Yarmouth where he died in 1815. The Cossit house on Charlotte Street is the oldest standing house in Sydney and is open to the public.



IV LOYALIST SETTLEMENT ON PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND



ÎLE ST. JEAN, ST. JOHN'S ISLAND

Until 1769 the Island of St. John was part of Nova Scotia. The first European settlers were Acadians. In 1767 the island was divided into 67 townships and granted to 17 friends of the Crown who were supposed to settle the island and pay quit rents to the government. These persons and their descendants were the notorious "absentee landlords" who took the blame for the slow development of the island and for the resultant problems which the islanders hoped Confederation with Canada would solve in 1872.

Orlo Jones states that the population of the Island at the time of its separation from Nova Scotia in 1769 was 18 English and 204 French. Cpt. Walter Patterson was the first Governor. In 1776 four companies of Provincials under the command of Major H. Hurlihy were sent from New York to defend the Is-

land. In 1779 these were the first Loyalists to petition the government for land. Their petition was denied, although five other proprietors were allowed to purchase land in 1781.

In June 1783 the proprietors agreed to give up 1/4 of their land amounting to 109,000 acres, to the government to be granted to deserving Loyalists and disbanded soldiers. In October of that year, in the mistaken belief that the British government was going to furnish passage to any Loyalists who wished to come to St. John's Island, Governor Patterson sent the following message throughout British North America:

Whereas the Proprietors of this Island have very generously given up a considerable portion of their estates to be distributed among such of the Refugees, Provincial

Loyalists of the Maritimes

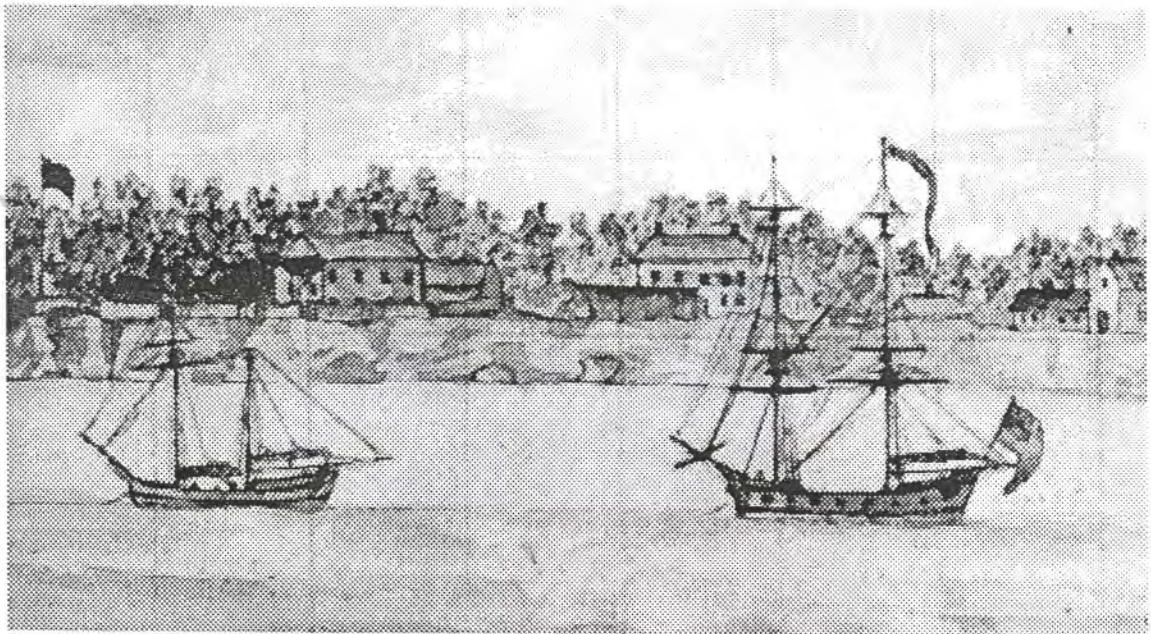
Troops or other American Emigrants, as are desirous to become its inhabitants, the lands to be granted by the Governor and Council in the same proportion and on the same terms as are offered in Nova Scotia, and to be given out of the different townships by Lot; in the fairest and most equitable manner, according to the quantity assigned for by each proprietor. ...in a few days after [the Refugees'] arrival at Charlottetown, they shall be put in possession of such lands, as they shall be entitled to, free of every expense. That they may depend upon the lands being good, neither mountainous, rocky nor swampy, contiguous to navigable harbours, many ports convenient for the fishery, and in every respect preferable to any lands unoccupied throughout His Majesty's American Dominion.

Shelburne, formerly known as Port Roseway, proved woefully inadequate to serve as a centre for settlement and therefore became a point of departure to other Maritime areas. After the terrible winter of 1783-4 six boatloads (800-1,000 civilian and military refugees) came to the Island from

Shelburne. Of these, about 600 stayed. From September of 1783 to December of 1785, 208 land grants were made to disbanded troops from the Island, as well as others who had disbanded in New York and Rhode Island. Military grants were made according to rank. Most of the disbanded troops clustered in the eastern part of the Island in areas more appropriate for fishing than farming. Although the government gave generous amounts of lumber to the Loyalists, such other items as bronze hinges were not practical.

Between June 1784 and November 1785, 153 civilian Loyalists received grants—500 acres if married and 300 acres if single. Thomas Hooper brought 12 families from New Jersey to the Bedeque Bay area and 30 civilian families from the St. John River valley settled near Summerside.

Problems for Loyalists on the Island began when the proprietors failed to honour their commitments and denied Loyalists legal title to their land, with the result that the newcomers had to become tenants or leave. Because of this, there was an outward migration from 1786 to 1795. By the time the government forced the proprietors to recognize Loyalists' titles to land in 1793, many had left.



Charlotte-Town on the Island of St. John's by C. Randle, 1778.

COLONEL EDMUND FANNING FIRST GOVERNOR OF THE ISLAND

Based on a biography in *An Island Refuge*

Edmund Fanning was born on Long Island, New York in 1737, the son of James Fanning. He graduated in law from Yale University, and went to North Carolina to practise. He held several public offices, one of which was Recorder of Deeds for Orange County. It is alleged that his abuses in this capacity were largely the cause of the revolt against Governor Tryon's administration. Fanning followed Governor Tryon to New York and became his secretary. In 1776 General Howe gave him a colonel's commission, and in 1777 he raised and commanded a corps of 460 Loyalists, named "The Associated Refugees of the King's American Regiment". In 1779 his property was confiscated, and in 1783 he was forced to flee with other Loyalists to Nova Scotia, where, on September 23, 1783 he was sworn in as a councilor.

Colonel Fanning received grants of land in several different parts of Nova Scotia. One grant of 800 acres, Fanningborough, was on Northumberland Strait and extended from the western line of the Loyalists "Remshieg Grant". It was in Nova Scotia that he married Phoebe Maria Burns, a lady much younger than himself. They had one son, who died on September 22, 1812, shortly after returning from the East Indies where he had served as a captain in the 22nd Regiment of the British Infantry, and three daughters.

In 1786, Colonel Fanning was appointed Governor of the Island of St. John, an office he held for 18 years, but he did not assume the Governorship until the summer of the next year. Although Fanning had many difficulties to contend with, including continual trouble with the proprietors over the quit rents,

he managed affairs with reasonable success. When his term of office ended in 1805, his successor found matters running with comparative smoothness. Fanning, himself, had gained the goodwill of the Island people and the approbation of the Home Government. Those who had not been favourable to him at first presented him with a most laudatory address signed by 125 of the Island's leading men. The address and his reply were published in the *Royal Herald* February 16, 1805.

In Charlotte Town, his property took up the whole block situated within Great George, Richmond, Prince, and Sydney Streets, with his mansion facing Sydney Street on the south corner. The remainder of the block was an orchard and garden. He acquired large tracts of land in the colony. Among them were lands left in trust for the founding of a school, named the Fanning School, at Malpeque. The other lands were divided among his wife and daughters, according to his will.

On July 29, 1804 the Governor received official word of his recall. He was informed that, in consideration of his long and faithful service, he would receive a pension of £500 per annum during his lifetime. He had been promoted to Major General in 1799 and to General in 1808.

General Fanning embarked for England on August 6, 1805 but returned two years later to live on the Island. He took his final departure from the Island on November 23, 1813, and died in London on February 28, 1818. His wife died in England on May 7, 1853, aged 85, at the home of her daughter, Lady Louisa Augusta Wood.



Overlooking Charlottetown harbour is Fanningbrook, home of the Lieutenant-Governor of the province. It is named after Governor Fanning.

WILLIAM SCHURMAN

William Schurman brought his family and 27 other families from New Rochelle, New York. Schurman was a prosperous merchant-farmer who owned five slaves. Of Dutch Huguenot descent, his family had lived near New Rochelle for over 100 years. He would have preferred to remain neutral when hostilities began, but, unlike his wife Jane's family, he chose to support the British because he feared mob rule and respected the British system of government. He must have been less vocal in his opposition to the Continental Congress than his brother Jacob, who spent 2 years in prison for speaking publicly against the rebels, but he was not comfortable throughout the war because of the difference of opinion with his wife's family, and presumably many of his neighbours.

In 1777, Jane died giving birth to their fourth child, Jacob. The following year William married Elizabeth Hyatt who was to bear him seven more children, the last of whom was born near Bedeque in 1796. By 1780, as prospects became bleaker, he decided to move his family to New York city, making the final decision to leave the country in 1782. He sold his property to Jane's family and left his only daughter, Mary, behind with Jane's family. They were never to see one another again.

In the spring of 1783 he used his own boat to move his wife, five sons, and two slaves, Bill and Sook (Susannah), to Port Roseway from where he proceeded to Tryon on the Island of St. John where they spent their first winter. In the spring an agent, on behalf of one of the proprietors, agreed to sell him 350 acres for £50 to be paid in 10 years. In addition to farming, he milled lumber and used his ship to transport refugees, lumber, and merchandise to his house in which he eventually operated a store.

His descendants have his ledger begun on November 20, 1784. A study of its contents by George A. Leard, printed in *The Loyalist Gazette* Spring 1983, gives insight into the items which Schurman car-

ried in the store, his other sources of income, and the cost of everyday purchases in those days.

The first account in Schurman book shows his industry:

Nov, 20, 1784.

3 days worked on for William Warren, 9s.

To making 2000 shingles, and finding 1/2 the stuff 1£ 17f 6d.

The next summer Schurman sold Captain Calbeck, pioneer lawyer and merchant of Charlotte-town, and ancestor of Central Bedeque's present day merchants, 12,000 shingles for 19£ 10f and 7,300 clapboards for more than 30£. But Schurman could

make more than shingles. On 10 November, 1787, he charged George Maybe with "making a plough, a wash tub, a keg, a wheel, and a noggin (a wooden mug)."

The main part of the accounts consists of a general range of groceries, hardware, clothing, live-stock, and farm produce. Transactions were in pounds, shillings, and pence of Island currency. A shilling was worth roughly \$.20. It is on this basis that the prices from Schurman's accounts appear.

Food purchases were a small item and it would appear that the most important were tea and pepper. These are in almost every account. Flour was bought from the miller, or ground in some poor way at home. Salt, so important in diet and food preservation, must have been obtained from schooners landing it for the fishermen, because it does not appear in the accounts until 1795 when it sold at \$.80 a bushel. Sugar was not charged until 1794 when it was \$.20 a pound. This was likely

West Indian brown. Maple sugar was the staple sweetener up until that time, supplemented, of course, with molasses which sold at \$.90 a gallon in 1787.

Tea, the most popular beverage of the pioneers, sold for \$.90 in the cheaper quality called Bohea, with Shoushand tea selling in 1795 at \$2.00 a pound. Coffee is not mentioned except in the first year, when it sold very reasonably for \$.30 a pound. Nut-



This memorial is at Summerside. The plaque reads:

To commemorate the Bicentennial of the United Empire Loyalists and disbanded troops who settled on the Island of St. Jean following The American Revolution.

These courageous Loyal Refugees contributed greatly to the development and growth of a tiny colony struggling for independence and prosperity.

This memorial erected by the Abegweit Branch of the United Empire Loyalists Association of Canada.

megs were \$.10 apiece, and a stick of cinnamon cost \$.20, making spices luxuries in the earliest accounts. By 1800, however, ginger and allspice were \$.60 a pound and pepper \$.70.

Schurman took butter on account from the Bedeque women and gave a shilling a pound for practically the whole time he was in business from 1784 until 1818. It was good value sometimes, yet during the war years, 1812-1814, when it took 10 to 12 pounds of butter to buy a pound of tea, it must have seemed like a starvation price. In the meat department, which was a barrel of pickle at the back of the shop, beef seldom varied in price from \$.10 a pound, with pork 2 to 4 cents dearer, and lamb and veal between \$.8 and \$.9 a pound.

Home made candles were the most common means of lighting early homes. Oil is mentioned in the accounts several times at \$.40 a gallon. This would be fish or seal oil, used in the old-fashioned lamps with a crude wick and no chimney. It gave a fair light but produced an offensive smell in the house.

Next to providing food, the pioneer problem was to keep his family in clothing and shelter. The clothing item most frequently purchased was shoe leather. Thomas Reynolds in February, 1785, charged a pair of soles for \$.40. In July he bought another pair of soles for \$.40 and then a pair of upper leathers for \$.70. Finally in September he gave up the shoe idea and bought himself a pair of moccasins on a straight last which fitted either foot comfortably.

Items of clothing are difficult to appraise. A man's suit sold for \$4.80, but a waistcoat (vest) was \$4.00. Broadcloth was the thing for men's wear. Trousers might be gray homespun as long as the "Sunday coat" was made of rich broadcloth. Such a coat would be used for 25 or 30 years, or even longer, if a man could keep his youthful figure: so it is little wonder that such cloth sold as high as \$4.00 a yard. Other luxury items for men, apart from ruffled shirts worn by very few and selling for \$1.90 each, were handkerchiefs. These were not little squares of linen for wiping the nose, but man-size items, like a small luncheon cloth 36" x 40" or larger. An outlet for male vanity in place of the modern necktie, they were worn as scarves and neckcloths in many bright patterns of silk or cotton.

The day of fancy shawls for women had not yet come, but they delighted in buying ribbons to trim or retrim their dresses and bonnets. Hair ribbon sold at \$.15 a yard, and narrow ribbons at \$.07 in 1800. While the lady of the shopping party fussed over ribbons, her husband just naturally drifted back to

the rum puncheon to see how far his dime would go on a half cup of rum. Generally there was a penny left over. Rum and Ribbons seemed to go together in the early accounts, especially in the decade beginning in 1795. It is "*two yards of ribbon, 1 gill of rum*": *one scane [sic] of silk, one gill of rum*": *one paper of pins, one gallon of rum*." Rum, distilled from molasses, was the universal beverage of North America.

William Schurman was no white-sleeved merchant. He was a worker, ready to sell his time and ability at any honourable toil. In 1795 his accounts show him charging \$.60 a day for cutting some of Bedeque's first oats, and a few days later, a dollar for building a bridge. When he went to the Legislative Assembly in Charlottetown as Bedeque's first representative in 1785, his memories of the occasion were not of the laws he had made, but of Governor Patterson's barn which he had helped erect.

Work and wages are all through his accounts. Servant girls worked for \$2.00 a month and the seamstress, Mrs. Palmer, received \$.40 for making a pair of trousers. This seamstress was charged with a rare luxury item, a bottle of lavender, costing \$.48. Schurman's harvesters were often Acadians who worked, in 1795, for \$.50 a day, and took part of their wages in handkerchiefs, blue cloth, and fiddle strings.

In the home furnishing department at Schurman's—and one wonders how big this little store really was—a set of six chairs sold for \$4.00 in 1788, and a chest for \$1.60. Cups and saucers were sold at \$.40 to \$.45 in 1798 with knives and forks \$1.60 to \$3.00 per dozen, and tin cups at \$.10 each.

Tobacco does not appear in this account book until 1791 when John Baker, Schurman's neighbour and best customer, bought a pound for \$.25. Pipes sold for a penny each, and both men and women smoked them. It is an educated guess that 50% of the Island women smoked pipes in 1800. At this time twist tobacco sold at \$.50 a pound. Snuff was doubtless used by a few, but it only appears in the account of James Graham, Bedeque's doctor, who paid \$.70 a pound for it.

Items made of iron were valuable beyond price in the early farm economy—the axe, the hoe, the scythe in the field and forest, and the crane and pot over the fireplace—were the chief items and Schurman handled them all, making a number of them himself.

Books did not figure largely on the shelves of the pioneer store. Bibles and schoolings were the chief books sold; and people who paid \$4.00 for a Bible in a day when a cow could be bought for \$16.00 certainly put a high value on the printed word. The

Loyalists of the Maritimes

illiteracy rate on the Island was high at this time, Fifty per cent of the women and at least twenty-five per cent of the men could not write their own names. Those who could write, spelled with carefree abandon and Schurman belonged in this class. In his account book he often spelled "Baker" in the conventional way, but just as often he spelled it "Bacor". James Allen's first name has the delightful spelling "Gams". Connor is either "Connah" or "Connows" which reveals the soft R in the storekeeper pronunciation. The best of all his innovative spellings, though, was shown when Montgomery becomes "McGommery."

Merchant Schurman was an exporter who generally owned a schooner or two, and who traded with Miramichi and other areas of Isle St. John. He shipped potatoes and oats, paying \$.30 to \$.40 for potatoes. In 1799 his schooner *Mary* sank off New

Brunswick with the loss of all hands, including his son, Benjamin, aged 19. He began building ships around the turn of the 19th century, launching the first in 1801. Schurman stayed in spite of the loss of his house and its contents in a fire in 1792. Among his belongings lost was the only copy of the agreement which would have given him clear title to his land. He continued to pay £10 each year for land which he would not own until 1806. Despite hardships, tragedy, and setbacks, he managed to buy an additional 6,500 acres near Bedeque. He continued to be actively involved in his various enterprises until his death in September, 1819. Elizabeth died in 1853 at the age of 90.

A lasting connection to William Schurman is the M.S. Schurman Co., a building firm which serves three of the Atlantic Provinces from its head office in Summerside, Prince Edward Island.



At Mill River, this monument commemorates the Linkletter family. The plaque reads:

In Memory of	
George Linkletter	1737-
Martha Peck	1743-
Their sons	
George Jr	1776-1860
James	1779-1856
John	1778-1865
United Empire Loyalists settled here 1784.	
This stone was used in the old Linkletter Mill.	

WILLIAM WRIGHT

Based on a biography in *An Island Refuge*

William Wright was a Loyalist refugee who came from Westchester County, New York, to the Island of St. John in July, 1784, with his wife, two sons, and three daughters. Although he was a Quaker, he openly supported the King when trouble began in the 1770's and was imprisoned for 12 months as a traitor. His elder son, Nathaniel joined the Loyalist militia. His wife and younger children were left at the mercy of the rebels who confiscated their belongings and property. By the end of the war the family had lost everything and were under a sentence of banishment. To make matters worse, the entire family, except for William, was ill with yellow fever and Nathaniel was not expected to recover.

William cast his lot with the "Port Roseway Associates", a group of Loyalists organized in New York. They left New York in August, 1783, and landed at Port Roseway, soon to be renamed Shelburne, located on the south coast of Nova Scotia. They stayed at Shelburne for about ten months before moving on to the Island of St. John as one of the group of families brought by William Schurman, another Westchester County Loyalist, to settle on lands reserved for them in the Bedeque area. William drew his 500 acres on lot 19 with 50 acres facing on Wilmot Creek.

Nathaniel (1765-1825), who had been so ill that he had to be carried ashore when they landed at Shelburne, made an unexpected

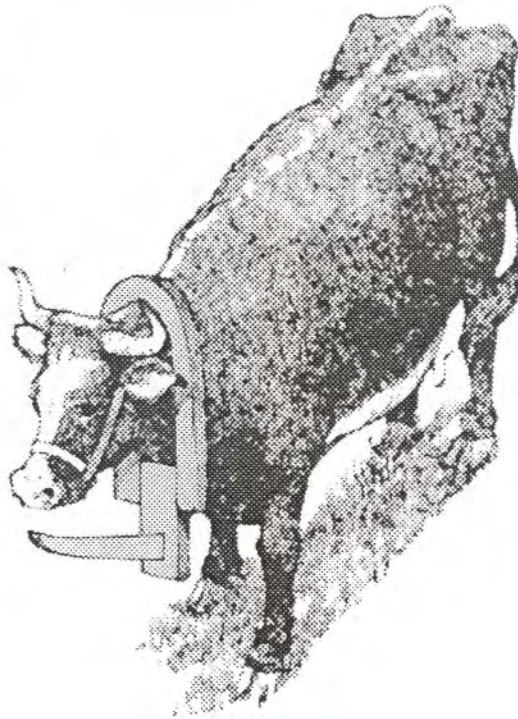
recovery and drew 300 acres in Lot 26, on the south side of the Dunk River. In 1788 he married Ann (Nancy) Lord (1770-1839). Early in the 1800's, Nathaniel and Nancy were converted to Methodism at a service which the Reverend William Grandin from Nova Scotia conducted in their log house at Tryon. They were instrumental in forming a small Methodist society at Bedeque and the first sermons were preached in their barn. When a church was built, the first resident minister and his family were lodged in the Wright home, without charge.

Before long, conditions began to improve for William Wright and his family, as they did for the other pioneers at Bedeque. The account book for William Schurman, the first merchant at Bedeque, showed that on "April 1, 1786 our William bought one cow at four pounds, a yard and a quarter of broadcloth at six shillings three pence, a "bibel" at one pound three shillings, and shipped wool to Mr.

Woren at a cost of one shilling for "frate".

In addition to farming, Nathaniel operated a saw mill, a grist mill, and a carding mill. William's other son Stephen (1768?-1841) was a prosperous farmer on 800 acres in what is now known as Middleton. Their eldest daughter had stayed behind in New York but the other three daughters who came to the Island of St. John all married Loyalists and lived near their parents.

William Wright died in February 1819 and was buried probably in the Presbyterian Cemetery.



Cows and pigs wore wooden collars called pokes, to prevent them getting through fences.



V LOYALIST SETTLEMENT IN NEW BRUNSWICK

NEW BRUNSWICK LOYALISTS

Based on an article by Linda Hansen Squires

Despite the fact that many, if not most, of the Loyalists considered themselves to be both American and British, when the American War of Independence began, they felt obliged to offer their allegiance to the duly constituted British government. In return, they expected that authority to protect their property and their persons. They further expected the British army to triumph over the revolutionary forces which talked so glibly of liberty while seeming to practise anarchy. Instead, the "friends of government," as they were sometimes known, saw their property confiscated, their beliefs vilified as treasonous, and found themselves forced to stand by helplessly while the British government signed a preliminary peace treaty which did little to ensure their safety. In fact, the months following the treaty of January 1783 were, perhaps, the worst for the Loyalists.

Seeking protection, they poured into New York City which had been serving as British headquarters. There, they made hasty plans to depart their native land, mainly by ship, and seek refuge elsewhere. So many of them seemed to pour into the Maritime area of British North America, that one Loyalist, Joshua Upham, wrote to a friend, Edward Winslow, "We shall all soon be with you—every body, all the World moves on to Nova Scotia".

Not surprisingly, the influence on the area was incredible. In total, almost 35,000 people moved into the Maritime region. Nearly 15,000 of that number went to Sunbury and portions of Cumberland Counties. These counties, which formed part of Nova Scotia at that time, were separated and incorporated into a new province named New Brunswick by an Order-in-Council on June 18, 1784. A short while later, Thomas Carleton, brother of Sir Guy Carleton, was appointed the first Lieutenant-Governor of the

province.

What kind of people were the New Brunswick Loyalists? Characterizing them is not an easy task. Most of them were native-born Americans from New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, though there were small groups from the Southern and various New England States. It has been frequently assumed that, like such prominent figures as Edward Winslow, Ward Chipman, and John Coffin, large numbers of New Brunswick Loyalists came from Massachusetts. In actual fact, only about 6% were from that colony. Some of them had what might be called an "aristocratic" background, but many of them were farmers, disbanded soldiers of British-American regiments, or small merchants.

The majority of the Loyalists reached their new land via the Spring, Summer, and Autumn Fleets which anchored at the mouth of the St. John River. There, the Pre-Loyalists, or "old-comers" had established a military presence, represented by Fort Frederick and Fort Howe, and a small trading settlement. A number of Loyalists elected to stay in this trading settlement even though they had been granted land farther up river. It was not long before the tiny community had grown into two bustling towns, known as Parr and Carleton. The increase in population and trade led to the eventual incorporation of the City of Saint John - Canada's Loyalist City - by Thomas Carleton in 1785.

Other of the Loyalists preferred to seek their homes away from Saint John. When the leader of the Spring Fleet, the ship *Union*, loaded with Connecticut Loyalists, arrived at Partridge Island in Saint John harbour on May 10, 1783, its passengers, unlike some who were "precipitated" ashore by impatient captains, "remained comfortable aboard" until a suitable place for settlement was found. They

shortly disembarked onto a small sloop and set sail up the St. John River to Belleisle Bay. Despite their caution in looking for a good place to settle, when they first arrived they found "nothing but wilderness" and the "women and children did not refrain from tears!" Nevertheless, it was not long before an area at the head of Belleisle Creek was laid out by a surveyor who reserved land for a Church and a school, as well as setting out lots. The Loyalists named their new village Kingston. By the time winter set in, according to Walter Bates' account, "every man in the district found himself and family covered under his own roof...enjoying in unity the blessings which God had provided...in the country into whose coves and wild woods we were driven through persecution."

Other Loyalists were not so lucky. At St. Anne's Point (later to become Fredericton, the capital of New Brunswick), some 90 miles from Saint John, most of the settlers did not arrive until late in the fall of 1783. Although a few of them managed to build small log huts before the snow fell, a number of them were obliged to spend the winter in tents with only the ground serving as the floor. Not until the following July was the first real house constructed. It was also not until the early summer of 1784 that supply ships arrived and a King's Provision Store was opened to serve the needs of St. Anne's surrounding areas.

Nearly 1/5 of the New Brunswick Loyalists chose to reside in what is now called Charlotte County in southwestern New Brunswick. As a result of the relocation of the border between Maine and New Brunswick in that area, the Loyalists had to evacu-

ate their initial settlement. With the border being established at the St. Croix River, the Penobscot Loyalists, as they were called, moved by ship to settle in what is now the town of Saint Andrews. Some of the families moved their houses, as well as their household effects, by ship, a sailing distance of about 200 miles.

Late in 1783, they acquired as neighbours, "such persons discharged from the several Departments of the Army and Navy as... agreed to form a joint settlement at Port Matoon..." The group headed first for Nova Scotia but under the leadership of Nehemiah Marks, Thomas Grimmer, and William Murchie, those who sailed with the Autumn Fleet laid out the town of St. Stephen.

There were, of course, many other areas of New Brunswick which were settled by the Loyalists. Of these, a number were granted to disbanded regiments. Along the Saint John, the King's American Dragoons inhabited Prince William, above them was the King's American Regiment, and nearer to Woodstock was Delancey's Brigade. On the banks of the Nashwaak, the Maryland Loyalists and the Forty-Second Highlanders received land. Although it was not mandatory that regiments be granted land all in one block, many of the soldiers preferred to stay together. In all, the Loyalists spread up the St. John River nearly as far as Grand Falls and even in a period of re-adjustment following 1785, into the valley of the Miramichi, locating in Newcastle, Chatham, and other settlements in eastern New Brunswick.

There are many tales of the hardships faced by New Brunswick Loyalists. After that first hard winter of 1783, however, most New Brunswick Loyalists probably took the attitude expressed by Edward Winslow, just being pleased not to be "in danger of starving, freezing, or being blown into the Bay of Fundy."



The architecture of St. Andrews is a distillation of pre and post revolutionary styles. This 1770 house was shipped from Castine and reassembled at St. Andrews in 1783. Dormer, Porch and rear wing are additions.

THE CREST OF THE CITY OF SAINT JOHN

Although the first mayor of Saint John, Gabriel Ludlow was directed to have a corporate seal designed, traditionally it is thought that Ward Chipman actually designed the seal. The city motto is taken from Virgil's *Aeneid*, one of Chipman's favourite readings in Latin. It reads: *O Fortunati Quorum Jam Moenia Surgunt*— "O Happy They, Whose Promised Walls Already Rise". Chipman compared the building of Saint John to the building of the ancient city of Carthage.

SAINT JOHN

Based on material from *The Loyalists* by Christopher Moore

The city which today is called Saint John is located at the mouth of the river of the same name. Samuel Champlain visited the spot on the feast of St. John the Baptist and gave the river its name in his honour. Acadians were deported from a primitive fort located at the site and in 1758 the British rebuilt it and christened it Fort Frederick. The Americans destroyed this fort in 1775 and the British erected Fort Howe on a hill above Portland Point in 1778.

In the 1760's James Simonds and James White arrived from Boston and built structures below Fort Howe. They traded with the natives and the garrison and established ties with the government at Halifax. By 1783 there was a small settlement at the mouth of the river and it had become a trading centre and outlet for timber and masts from the river valley.

Sir Guy Carleton supported Loyalist settlement and encouraged New York Loyalists to go there. In June 1783, 55 prominent Loyalists at New York City, including Ward Chipman, sent a petition to Carleton asking for grants of 5,000 acres each and suggesting that they would be happy to create, and form the elite of, a new social order on the shores of the Bay of Fundy.

The first Loyalists, numbering approximately 3,000, arrived in May, 1783. Throughout the summer and fall roughly 14,000 more refugees poured in. Governor Parr put Major Gilbert Studholme and Lieutenant Samuel Street in charge of organizing and settling the newcomers. They arranged for some to travel up the river and others to go to the Passamaquoddy area. The remainder stayed near the mouth of the river in Parr Town on the east side of the harbour, Carleton on the west side, and Portland on the north.

In the meantime, Edward Winslow, a Loyalist from Massachusetts, arrived from Halifax where he had been serving as a Loyalist agent. He thought that there was more opportunity in the new settle-



ment and soon became a promoter of Loyalist society on the St. John River. He envisioned a great colony which would promote the interests of the British Empire, along with those of himself and his friends. His ideas meshed nicely with those of the 55 petitioners but were greatly resented by the rank and file of the Loyalists. New Jersey Loyalist Robert Campbell was appointed to oversee activities at the community below Fort Howe. On his arrival in August, 1783 he

found chaos and disputes among the refugees as they competed for land and supplies. Winslow was quick to blame Halifax authorities for incompetence, while the arrivals from New York accused New Englanders, including Winslow, of acquiring favoured positions.

In spite of the turmoil, the town grew rapidly. Fifteen hundred houses had been framed and finished by the end of 1783. Wharves, warehouses, and ships were built to supply the growing community with goods. Town meetings were held, a newspaper opened, and church services began. The prosperity, along with the problems in dealing with Halifax, served to support the idea that the needs of the settlers in the Saint John valley would be best served by a separate government. Such leaders as Winslow believed that only a division of responsibility would ease the tensions and eliminate friction; at the same time, they would be on hand to assume responsibility for the new colony. They launched a vigorous campaign for the separation of Nova Scotia into two colonies. In 1784 their proposal was adopted and the colony of New Brunswick came into existence with Thomas Carleton, younger brother of Sir Guy, as the first Lieutenant-Governor. The best-placed Loyalists in London and the Saint John valley were awarded titles, salaries, and responsibilities for administering the colony. Unfortunately for the Loyalists at the mouth of the St. John River, Fredericton, up the river and less vulnerable to attack from the sea, was to be the seat of government.

The settlements at the mouth of the river continued to prosper, nevertheless. In 1785 Carleton and Parr Town were incorporated into the city of Saint John, making it the oldest incorporated city in what

was to become Canada. While Fredericton came to be known as the centre for government and culture for New Brunswick, Saint John was the centre of trade.

THE LOYALISTS' FIRST WINTER IN FREDERICTON

Based on an article by Earle Thomas

Loyalists built the town which would be later named Fredericton at a site called St. Ann's (also spelled St. Anne and St. Anne's) in a clearing on a point created by a bend in the St. John River, just before the first rapids and shallows that inhibited further travel upstream.

On the site of the present-day Old Government House stood the trading post of Benjamin Atterton from Massachusetts, established in 1769. Philip Weade from Ireland had set himself up on a farm with his house located near the site of the modern Christ Church Cathedral. A few miles down river at Burton and, on the other side, at Maugerville, were settlements of New Englanders, who had been there about 20 years and came to be known as the Pre-Loyalists. Consequently, when the Loyalists arrived at St. Ann's in the fall of 1783, they were not entirely alone.

The Fall Fleet from New York carried the officers and men, with their families, of the Loyalist regiments, bound for land on the River St. John above the Reversing Falls since Parr Town (now Saint John) was entirely taken up by Associated Loyalists and their families who had arrived on the Spring and Summer Fleets. Here they assembled their belongings and set up their Government-issue tents to live in for the time being. Conditions were deplorable. It was the wettest September and coldest October on record as they waited to be transported up the river to grants promised them near St. Ann's.

A substantial number, perhaps as many as 2,000, tired of waiting for Government transportation and fed up with the turmoil and frustration of life in the tent settlement above the Falls, hired schooners to carry them up the river. The terrain near St. Ann's

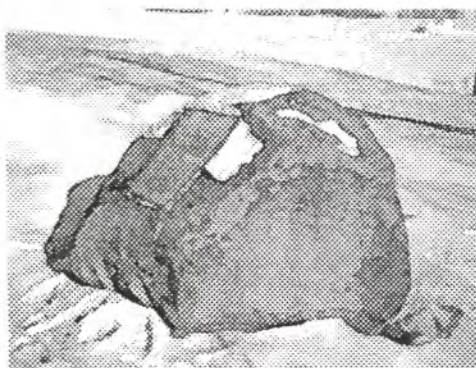
looked pleasant enough but the advanced season worried them. They could see that winter was about to set in, a winter, they were to learn, of a severity none of them had ever experienced.

The winter of 1783-84 wasted no time getting started. "Snow fell," Mary Fisher said in her reminiscences, "on the second day of November to a depth of six inches." All the Loyalists started the winter in tents; many spent the entire season in them. These families faced death by freezing and exposure and all were in danger of starving to death. Although they were entitled to Government rations

which, while not exactly luxurious, would certainly keep a person alive—the problem was they did not always get them. There were many problems involved in the distribution of provisions. These came all the way from Britain and were dispensed at Parr Town, 90 miles distant, by way of a river covered with ice and snow. The Loyalists were often hungry, even on the verge of starvation, during that winter of 1783-84. In desperation the men made the trip to Parr Town on snowshoes and hauled supplies back on hand sleds or toboggans. They fished through holes in the ice; they hunted moose and deer. Even so, many did not live until spring. When spring finally came most had survived, but a substantial number lay in their graves on the river bank.

In the spring, those who stayed at St. Ann's laid out a town, and

their choice of site soon proved astute. The town was laid out with two streets along the river bank, intersected at intervals, and a common behind. In 1784, the new Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, Thomas Carleton, gave the town a vital boost. Fearing that a concentration at Saint John would leave New Brunswick with no more than a thin strip of



"That ye may tell it to all the generations following."

To commemorate the Loyalty, Faith, Courage, Sacrifices and Achievements of early settlers who established the City of Fredericton, a grateful posterity has erected this monument.

The unveiling took place October 8th, 1983, the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the arrival in this locality of a company of United Empire Loyalists, some of whom are buried in the nearby cemetery, having died from the effects of cold and privation suffered during their first winter here.

coastal settlement, Lieutenant-Governor Carleton was determined to place his capital inland.

Either in January, or early February, 1785, Governor Carleton, William Hazen, Jonathan Odell, and Thomas Knox went up the river, looked over the site, and decided to make St. Ann's the capital, bypassing an older, but flood-prone, site at Maugerville. The town was now to be called Frederick's Town after Frederick, a son of King George III.

With a garrison, government offices, and eventually a cathedral church and college to support its

commercial role as a market town and lumbering centre, the growth of Fredericton was assured. The officers of the King's American Regiment, the New Jersey Volunteers, the American Legion, The Loyal American Regiment, The DeLancey's and the New York Volunteers, the Pennsylvania Loyalists, and other regiments found themselves well-placed to acquire militia commissions, minor appointments, and other marks of the Lieutenant-Governor's favour.

KINGSTON

Based on an article by Doris Calder

The first Loyalists to settle in what became the parish of Kingston arrived in the spring of 1783. Most of them came from south-western Connecticut where their families had lived for up to five generations. As a result they had a strong sense of community since they had known each other for a long time. They were farmers, merchants, and artisans and tradespeople of all kinds, whose loyalty to the king had resulted in their being driven from their homes, frequently early in the war. Some of them joined Loyalist regiments or served the British in assorted capacities behind the lines, others made their way to Long Island, often after hiding in the woods for varying lengths of time.

The first group left Sandy Hook, Long Island on April 26, 1783 on the *Union*. Most of those chose not to disembark at the mouth of the St. John River but rather went upstream and camped at Belleisle Bay. On the second night of their stay they saw a fleet of 10 canoes, carrying Mi'kmaq, coming toward them. The visitors told them not to be afraid and brought them presents, including moose meat. Shortly, most of the passengers on the *Hope* and some from the *Aurora* joined them.

The village of Kingston was

built near the end of the portage between the Saint John and the Kennebecasis Rivers, placing it on one of the major routes between the Bay of Fundy and its hinterland. It became a main stopping point between Fredericton and Saint John when travelling by water or by ice in the winter.

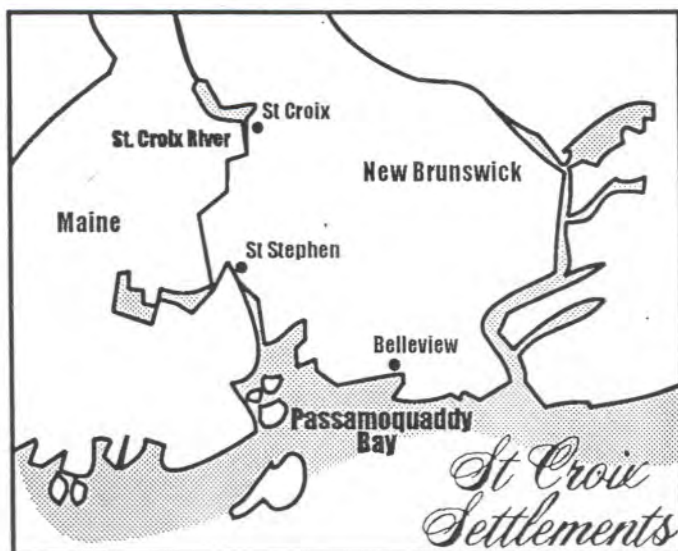
The settlers first chose a site for their church and a school and then drew lots for their grants. They elected their church wardens on Easter Sunday, 1784, and in 1788 the Reverend James Scovil, a missionary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), his wife and nine children came from Waterbury Connecticut. The rectory that they built is now a historic site. James' son, Elias, succeeded him as rector at Kingston and Elias' son William, became the third generation of the family to minister to the parish. The framework for Trinity Anglican Church was raised in June 1789 and the church was consecrated in November of that same year, making it the oldest Anglican church in New Brunswick. In 1787 they built the first school house.

The farms in the parish were laid out along the rivers. They were long and narrow so that everyone would have access to the river.



Trinity Church at Kingston

ST. CROIX SETTLEMENTS



ST. ANDREWS

One of the most flourishing Loyalist settlements, located at the mouth of the St. Croix River, St. Andrews, was settled first by members of the Penobscot Association. Families totalling 649 persons, of whom 178 were men, had gathered around Fort George on the Penobscot River. They established town lots at the mouth of the river and farm lots that stretched along the river. They were joined by

125 men and officers from the 74th Association of the Argyll Highlanders who had been stationed at Fort George. They brought with them 32 wives and 48 children. They set up saw mills and, by May, 1784, they were shipping lumber to the West Indies and Nova Scotia. They also fished, farmed, traded, and smuggled.

ST. STEPHEN

Initially sent from Derby Connecticut to Port Mouton, Nova Scotia, by way of New York, these Loyalists were men employed by the Civil Departments of the Army and of Armed Boatmen. Nehemiah Marks was the leader of the group who called themselves the Port Matoon Association. When

they had spent some time in Nova Scotia, they were disappointed in their area and sent Marks to find them a better place. It was he who selected this site upriver from St. Andrews. By 1784 there were 201 settlers, and lumbering became one of the major enterprises in this settlement.

BELLEVIEW

Situated on Beaver Harbour an inlet on Passamaquoddy Bay east of the St. Croix, Belleview was established by a group of Quakers and Anabaptists who arrived on the *Camel* in September 1784 after having first stopped off at the mouth of the St. John River. Their town was laid out according to a very elaborate design and the excellent harbour and good fishing promised prosperity. The hinterland was very rocky and unattractive for farming, however. Their agent, Samuel Fairlamb reported that 192 settlers along with 60 women and 112 children were

in residence in 1784. The numbers dwindled until a forest fire destroyed much of the town and the survivors moved to a plateau that they called Pennfield Ridge. On at least two occasions, the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends in Philadelphia sent gifts and members to minister to these, and other, Quaker settlements in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, but the missionaries reported that the meetings were not kept up, and the children were not trained in the thought and discipline of Friends.

THOMAS CARLETON (1735-1817) FIRST LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF NEW BRUNSWICK

Born in Ireland, the youngest of his family, and overshadowed by his brother Guy, Thomas joined the army in 1753. After serving in various parts of Europe he was made governor of the newly-created New Brunswick in 1784, in spite of his hopes that he would be made Governor of Quebec. What he saw as a temporary appointment was to last for the rest of his life.

One of his first acts was to arrange for supplies to the Loyalists to continue until 1787. The close cooperation between Carleton and the Loyalist elite strongly shaped the colony whose characteristics included a powerful ruling class, an established church, and a tightly-controlled parliament. He chose St. Anne's Point, later named Fredericton to honour the King's son, as the capital, and appointed the colonial officials who would direct the colony from there. He also was responsible for creating the counties and parishes throughout the colony, and for incorporating the city of Saint John. He encouraged the establishment of the College (later University) of New Brunswick.

As a military man, he saw a strong military presence as a necessity and established garrisons at Saint John, Fort Cumberland, Grand Falls, Presque Isle, and Fredericton. It was at his instigation that the King's New Brunswick Regiment be formed as part of the expanded preparedness for the Napoleonic

wars. This regiment was disbanded in 1802.

The first provincial election took place in 1785 and was accompanied by riots which required the calling out of the army. Disputed seats were given to friends of the Lieutenant-Governor. The government moved to Fredericton 1788 and matters settled down considerably when the Assembly began meeting and cooperating with each other and with the other branches of government. Matters improved even further when his brother, Sir Guy, became Governor of British North America and gave him the added support that he needed. His enemies accused him of incompetence and blamed him for the economic problems which the colony suffered from the beginning.

In 1803 he asked for a leave of absence to attend to affairs in England and he left New Brunswick, never to return, in October. He left such friends as Gabriel and George Ludlow in control of the government. In theory he continued as Lieutenant-Governor until his death on February 2, 1817 and continued to maintain an interest in the colony.

He was a key figure in the early development of New Brunswick in spite of being overshadowed by his brother. The economic problems for which he was so often blamed were colonial realities, and not his fault.



EDWARD WINSLOW

Based on an article by Frances J. Morrissey, *The Loyalist Gazette* Dec. 1986

Edward Winslow was descended from a long line of illustrious and courageous public servants. His great-great-grandfather, for whom he was named, was a printer of religious tracts for the exiled English Pilgrims in Leyden, Holland. In 1620, Winslow, his wife Elizabeth, and his brother Gilbert, sailed for the New World, landing in Plymouth to establish a new colony. Edward and Gilbert were the first of five brothers to begin a new life in the wilderness of North America. Edward was three times elected governor of the colony and proved a skilled diplomat in dealing with the Indians.

On February 2, 1746 another Edward Winslow was born to another Edward Winslow and his wife, Hannah. Young Edward spent most of his youth living in the beautiful mansion that his father had built in 1754, and which is now headquarters of the Mayflower Society.

The younger Winslow attended Harvard University, graduating in 1765. In conjunction with his father he held such offices at Plymouth as: Surveyor of Highways, Naval Officer for the Port, Justice of the Peace, Clerk of the County of General Sessions, and Registrar of Wills for Plymouth County.

At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, Winslow guided Lord Percy's troops in an expedition to relieve Major Pitcairn at Lexington. Then General Gage appointed him collector of the Port of Boston and Registrar of Probate for Suffolk County. In 1776 he took the Records and the Royal Coat of Arms from the Council Chamber in Boston. The Records were returned in good order at the end of the war but the Coat of Arms was sent to New York where it remained until 1783. It was taken to Halifax, and two years later, Winslow sent it to Saint John where, eventually, it was installed in Trinity Church.

Winslow then travelled to New York where he

received a commission of Lieutenant-Colonel from General Gage, who also appointed him Muster-Master General of the Loyalist forces from Nova Scotia to West Florida. His task was, with the help of deputies in strategic places, to draw up a muster roll for each provincial regiment and ensure that the troops were properly paid. This job entailed a great deal of travelling and close contact with the troops. In 1779, he served in two campaigns as commander of the Associated Refugees at Rhode Island. At the close of the war, Sir Guy Carleton appointed Col. Winslow, Col. Isaac Allen, and Col. Stephen DeLancey to arrange for the disbanding and settlement of the Loyalist Regiments along the St. John River. In a letter written in July, 1783, Winslow described the experience:

We cut yesterday with about 120 men more than a mile thro' a forest hitherto deemed impenetrable. When we emerged from it, there opened a prospect superior to anything in the world, I believe. A perfect view of the immense Bay of Fundy on one side, a very extensive view of the river St. John's with the Falls, Grand Lake (or Bay)

and islands on the other—in front of the Fort, which is a beautiful object on a high hill and all settlements about the town with the ships, boats, &c., in the harbour—twas positively the most magnificent and romantic scene I have ever beheld. Our town is to be on the slope of this hill

In addition to his work along the St. John River, Winslow became secretary to the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Nova Scotia. In April, 1783, he brought his wife, Mary, nicknamed Polly, their three children, and their servants to settle in Granville, near Annapolis, in a rented house which he called, "Mount Necessity". His parents and two



The Winslow Monument with Charlotte Winslow and Lt. Gov. GFG Stanley. The stone reads:

Edward Winslow 1746-1815

Fourth in descent from Governor Edward Winslow of Plymouth Colony. He served as Muster Master General of the Loyalist Forces in the Revolutionary War. In 1783 he supervised the settlement of the disbanded regiments in the Valley of The Saint John. A founder of the Province and of Fredericton he became a member of His Majesty's Council in 1784. Appointed to the first Council of King's College of New Brunswick in 1800.

sisters followed him to Halifax in September. His father died there in 1784 at the age of 72 and was accorded a magnificent funeral which was attended by the most important people in the capital city.

In the spring of 1785, Winslow's entire family moved to Saint John where Governor Carleton authorized him to muster all the Loyalist and disbanded troops settling in New Brunswick to prevent unauthorized individuals from drawing supplies from the government. He was also appointed Paymaster of Contingencies.

A few months later the family moved again. This time they went to Fredericton, and eventually settled at Kingsclear, a few miles north of that city in their new home, "King's Wood". Winslow became a trustee of Fredericton with the task of laying out the settlement of the city. He was instrumental in the establishment of King's College, which evolved into the University of New Brunswick. In 1793, he enlisted in the King's New Brunswick Regiment.

Although he was not a lawyer, Winslow was appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court in 1807, as a reward for his long and impartial public service. The next year, he became Administrator of the Government for a short time.

Winslow's life was not without problems. He suffered from arthritis for many years and frequently was confined to

his home with severe pain. Since the loss of his ancestral fortune as a result of the Revolutionary War, Winslow was encumbered by debts. He attempted to support a large family, consisting of his parents, two unmarried sisters, wife, and eleven children in the manner to which they had been accustomed before the war. He provided comfortable living quarters, educated his eldest son, Murray, in England, his daughter Mary, at Mrs. Cottonnam's school in Saint John, his son, Tom, at Sussex, New Brunswick, and provided tutors for the other children. His wife died in 1808 and Winslow passed away on May 13, 1815 at the age of 69, as a result of a stroke. On March 11, 1816, the House of Assembly passed a resolution that:

...the sum of £100 be granted Miss Hannah Winslow and the like sum to Miss Eliza Winslow, the unmarried Daughters of the late Honourable Edward Winslow, deceased, in consideration of the numerous services rendered to the Public 'by that Gentleman while a member of H.M. Council in this Province.

Edward Winslow was devoted to his family, loved by his friends, respected by his acquaintances, kind and compassionate to those who sought his help, an entertaining conversationalist, and a prolific letter writer whose voluminous correspondence yields a great deal of valuable information about the Loyalist origins of the Province of New Brunswick.



Monument in King Square, Saint John. The plaque reads:

The increase in population consequent upon the large influx of Loyalists in 1783 and 1784 convinced the British Government of the desirability of creating the Province of New Brunswick. This was done on 16 August 1784

Brigadier-General Thomas Carleton, who provided invaluable service in transplanting the United Empire Loyalists, was chosen as the first Governor. He arrived at Saint John on 21 November 1784, and on the following day held his first council and proclaimed Civic Government

ELIZABETH (HAZEN) AND WARD CHIPMAN

Ward Chipman arrived at Saint John in May, 1784. He had been born in Massachusetts in 1754, graduated from Harvard in the 1770's, and practised law briefly in Boston. In 1776, he fled to London but later returned to America, landing at New York where Sir Guy Carleton appointed him Commissariat for the settlement of British Refugees.

Upon arriving at Saint John, Chipman set up a law practice and became involved in the affairs of the colony. He drew up the charter for the city of Saint John which was made up of the original settlement, Parr Town, as well as the settlement named Carleton across the harbour. On February 1, 1785, Chipman was appointed Attorney General for the colony of New Brunswick.

On October 24, 1786 Chipman married Elizabeth Hazen. Elizabeth's father, William Hazen, was a New England trader who foresaw trouble in the Thirteen Colonies as early as the 1760's. In 1771, planning ahead for an uncertain future, he arranged to have

a house built at the mouth of the St. John River. This house stood at the corner of Simonds and Brooks Streets in Saint John, New Brunswick.

When the Hazen family left Massachusetts in 1775, their household consisted of four men, three boys, and three women. Eventually there would be 16 children in the family. William Hazen prospered in his new surroundings, making a fortune with his trading post in partnership with Richard Simonds and James White.

Elizabeth was a celebrated hostess who frequently entertained Governor Thomas Carleton and other prominent citizens. In 1794, she entertained the Duke of Kent, father of Queen Victoria. She was a close friend of Peggy (Shippen) Arnold and continued to keep in touch with her when she and her

husband, Benedict, left Saint John for the last time. It is from their correspondence that we can learn about social life in Loyalist New Brunswick in the early years.



THE ODELL FAMILY

Jonathan Odell's (1737-1818) family probably arrived in America in 1635 and settled in New Jersey where he was born in 1737. He was educated at Princeton University and served with the British in a medical capacity in the West Indies. He was ordained into the Church of England in 1767 and then returned to New Jersey. He married Anne DeCou and their son, William Franklin (1774-1844) was born in Burlington, Vermont.

Jonathan did not think that the American Revolution was justified and showed his disapproval by writing satire in poetry and prose attacking the rebels and encouraging the Loyalists. As a result he was forced to flee to New York, leaving his family behind. In 1779 he was occupied with coding and decoding messages from Benedict Arnold. Eventually his property was confiscated and the family were reunited and fled to Nova Scotia where they were living by March 1783. He supported the separation of New Brunswick from Nova Scotia. He was appointed assistant secretary to Sir Guy Carleton on July 1, 1783 and accompanied him to England, perhaps in the hope that he would be appointed Bishop. Instead, he was appointed Secretary Registrar and Clerk of Council for Thomas Carleton, newly-appointed Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick. He was actively involved in the choice of Fredericton as capi-

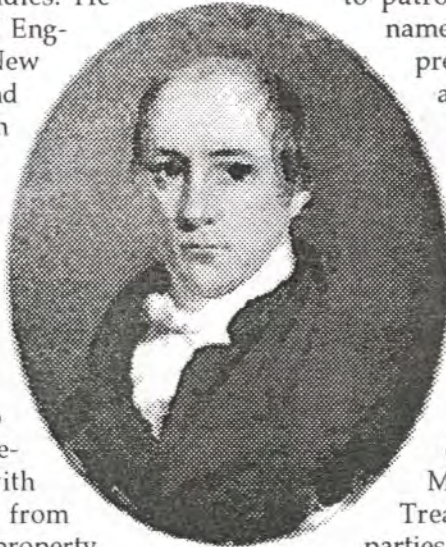
tal of the colony and lived there for the rest of his life.

Although he was poor and could not afford to send his children to University, Jonathan had access to patronage, and his son, William, was named Deputy Clerk of Pleas of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick in 1793 and Clerk of the Legislative Council in 1802. William read law with Ward Chipman and was called to the bar in 1806.

While Jonathan continued to hold the position of Provincial Secretary, William carried out his duties unofficially until 1815 when he was given the appointment. William became the principal surveyor for the British in determining the boundary between Maine and New Brunswick after the Treaty of Ghent in 1814. He led survey parties through the border areas from 1818

to 1820. He was a member of the Board of Governors of the College of New Brunswick and the Council of King's College.

Jonathan wrote songs and odes for such special occasions as the one to his wife on their 39th wedding anniversary, and personal tributes such as the one for Thomas Carleton on his departure for England in 1803. A collection of his work is contained in *The New Brunswick Poems of Jonathan Odell: a Selection* (Kingston, 1982).



Burning brush was merely a part of clearing land for cultivation. Smaller trees were chopped, larger trees removed. Stumps were planted around or later burned out and removed.

DR. AZOR AND GLORIANA PURDY BETTS

From an article by Mary Jane Perkins Galer their great-great-great-granddaughter

Dr. Azor Betts, his wife Gloriana (Purdy) Betts, and their six children arrived at the mouth of the St. John River with the Spring Fleet on May 18, 1783. They left New York on board the *Littledale* along with more than 5000 other Loyalists who had left behind their comfortable homes and belongings to face uncertainty in the new land.

Dr. Azor Betts was 35 years old when the Revolutionary War started. He was an established doctor when he married Gloriana Purdy, daughter of a wealthy farmer from White Plains, New York. They owned a fine home in New York City. Their ancestors had come to America to settle in Connecticut and New York 150 years earlier. Azor and Gloriana chose to support King George III during the American Revolution.

Azor Betts was a pioneer in the medical treatment of small-pox and devoted his life to trying to cure the deadly disease. The method of treatment used in the 18th century was considered a heathen practice and was forbidden in many colonies. When the colony of New York outlawed the practice, he still continued to treat people who wanted to avoid the disease. Since more soldiers were dying from small-pox than bullets during the Revolutionary War, Continental officers pleaded with him to treat them and he did so.*

Azor was sent to jail twice in 1776 for defying the law and treating Continental officers against small-pox. He was also charged with calling the Continental Congress "a set of rascals" adding that "they had shut up his shop and he hoped to see the day when he would shut them up." In July, 1776, he was among the prisoners who left jail in New York City after British war ships arrived. He welcomed the arrival of the British and vowed he would do everything in his power to suppress the rebellion.

After serving with the Queen's Rangers for some time, he answered a call from James Delancey to serve as a surgeon for his Refugees, a Loyalist unit. With Delancey's Refugees he raided the West-

chester countryside, sabotaged Continental cannons, and in addition cared for the sick and wounded.

When they arrived at the mouth of the St. John River with the Spring Fleet they lived in tents until land was cleared for Parr Town. It was 14 months before Azor's petition for a land grant in compensation for his services to the king was granted. He received 200 acres of rocky, forested land on the East side of the Kennebecasis River, 12 miles from Parr Town. The family bravely cleared land and built a log cabin, only to find the acreage had been awarded to someone else. Rallying support from friends, Azor took his family to the west side of the Kennebecasis River to live on 25 acres there. The family again cleared land and built another log cabin in Kingston where they lived for 20 years.

The Betts family, eventually made up of nine children, had to learn to survive on the land, to grow their own vegetables and raise animals for meat. Azor continued his medical practice, including his treatment of small-pox. He developed places to quarantine the afflicted so that others would not be exposed to this highly contagious, deadly disease. People had little money to pay for medical treatment and the Betts family remained poor. Fourteen years after he arrived in New Brunswick, and 37 years after he dedicated his life to the cure of small-pox, there was a medical breakthrough. An English physician, Edward Jenner, developed a vaccine to prevent small-pox. Because of his lifelong commitment to eradicating small-pox, Azor promptly offered a free vaccination to everyone in King's County.

Azor Betts died in 1809 and is buried at Trinity Anglican Church in Digby, Nova Scotia. He was a man with passionate loyalties and beliefs, willing to exchange a comfortable life for one of deprivation and poverty. Although he lacked material success, he lived to see the achievement of his cherished goal, the defeat of small-pox.

*We can only suspect that Betts was using a 'traditional' technique. The ancient Chinese recognized that those who recovered from a case of "the pox" were immune to smallpox. They took material from a dried scab and scratched it into an uninfected person. It worked and the process was repeated by others, with the technique eventually reaching India. From India it traveled by various routes to Europe in the 17th century. The only problem was that the scab from a victim contains fully virulent virus capable of producing the disease. Thus, while a person might have only a mild case and become immune, he shed the virulent virus and was capable of starting another epidemic.

Knowing of the folklore that milkmaids were generally immune, Betts may have been using the technique with cowpox or some other version of the virus. Edward Jenner administered the first effective vaccine for smallpox in 1796 from killed cowpox virus.

VI

BLACK LOYALISTS

Among those who left the American colonies and came to the Atlantic Region immediately following the Revolution were more than 3000 Black Loyalists. Many had served with the British forces in such units as the Black Guides or the Black Pioneers as well as Loyalist Regiments. Others were servants or slaves of Loyalists and had no choice but to come with their masters. Wallace Brown estimates that approximately 1,200 Blacks came in this way. Some households had at least 20 slaves and advertisements for slave auctions routinely appeared in newspapers. Only one settlement, the Quaker community in Charlotte County at Beaver Harbour, prohibited slaves. At the top of their agreement was written, "No Slave Masters Admitted." The last recorded sale of a slave in New Brunswick was in 1797. By that time masters were beginning to pay wages and slavery was slowly disappearing.

The largest group of Black Loyalists, some 1,500, settled in Birchtown, named after Brigadier-General Samuel Birch who had befriended Blacks in New York. Located across the bay from Shelburne, this was the largest free black settlement outside Africa.

The story of Black Loyalists is one of broken promises. The British had promised the same treatment to Blacks and Whites but the majority of Blacks received no land, and those who did found that grants were smaller than those of Whites, and located on poorer soil. Black farms at Birchtown averaged 34 acres while white farms amounted to 74 acres. Blacks received only a fraction of the promised 3 years provisions and, as a result, slid into chronic poverty.

When Shelburne's population fell, employment opportunities for Blacks decreased. In 1784 race riots broke out in Shelburne as disbanded white soldiers

tried to drive away the Blacks who lived in Birchtown and worked in Shelburne, because they provided cheap labour and competed with Whites for jobs. The bitter winter of 1798 brought terrible famine and death to the Blacks of Birchtown.

It was not uncommon for Blacks to be kidnapped and sold back into slavery or to suffer from the double standard of justice whereby Blacks were given much harsher punishments than Whites for crimes. At least 200 Blacks left the Birchtown settlement for New Brunswick.

In 1785 the government of New Brunswick said that Blacks were to form themselves into Companies and they would then receive 50 acres each near Saint John and additional land when they proved they could develop it. There were no such restrictions on Whites. Eventually 3 large tracts were surveyed: one on the Nerepis River, another on Milkish Creek, and a third near St. Martins.

Blacks faced the same problems as Whites but had the additional difficulties of lack of experience, money, and household goods. As a result, free Blacks tended to gravitate to towns where they could find work as servants and labourers.

Leadership was provided mainly by such preachers and teachers as Thomas Peters and Boston King. Stephen Blucke was probably the most successful Black Loyalist. He ran a school in Birchtown and owned 200 acres, a fine home, and a pew in Christ Church, Shelburne. A colonel in the militia and protege of Lieutenant-Governor Parr, he tried to persuade the government to stop the movement to Sierra Leone which disenchanted Blacks undertook when they feared that their future in the Maritimes held little promise.

As a result of the recruitment efforts of Peters



and John Clarkson of the Sierra Leone Company, a total of 1,196 Blacks agreed to resettle in Africa and embarked at Halifax on January 9, 1792. Of these, nearly 600 were from the Birchtown -Shelburne area, 220 from the Preston area, 180 from the Annapolis-Digby area, and 200 from New Brunswick. The fleet of 15 ships got under way on January 15 and arrived in Freetown Harbour between February 26 and

March 9, 1792.

This departure left the remaining Blacks in the region with a leadership vacuum for decades. The sense of community had been established, however, and the unending struggle for fair treatment and equality in which they had been engaged continues to inspire their descendants and those of later migrations to the Maritimes until the present day.

THOMAS PETERS

Thomas Peters was a runaway slave who had served as a Sergeant in the Black Pioneers, a Loyalist corps formed from slaves who had been given their freedom when they escaped behind British lines and agreed to fight for the king. The Dunmore Proclamation, issued by John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, governor of Virginia stated

... I do hereby further declare all indentured servants, Negroes or others, (appertaining to Rebels) free, that are able and willing to bear arms, they joining His Majesty troops, as soon as may be, for the more speedily reducing the Colony to a proper sense of their duty, to His Majesty's crown and dignity.

Peters was one of the leaders who arrived with the Black Pioneers at Port Roseway (Shelburne with the Spring Fleet in 1783, and immediately began clearing land and building barracks. Most Blacks who stayed near Shelburne established their own settlement across the bay at Birchtown. By the summer of 1784, Peters and some of the Black Pioneers mustered at Digby. Although Blacks had been promised the same treatment as white soldiers, they were not treated equally.

He was so disenchanted with the poor treatment his people received that, in 1785, he wrote to the government in New Brunswick asking them for a grant for his people. They assured him that "all who would come...would receive land in the same

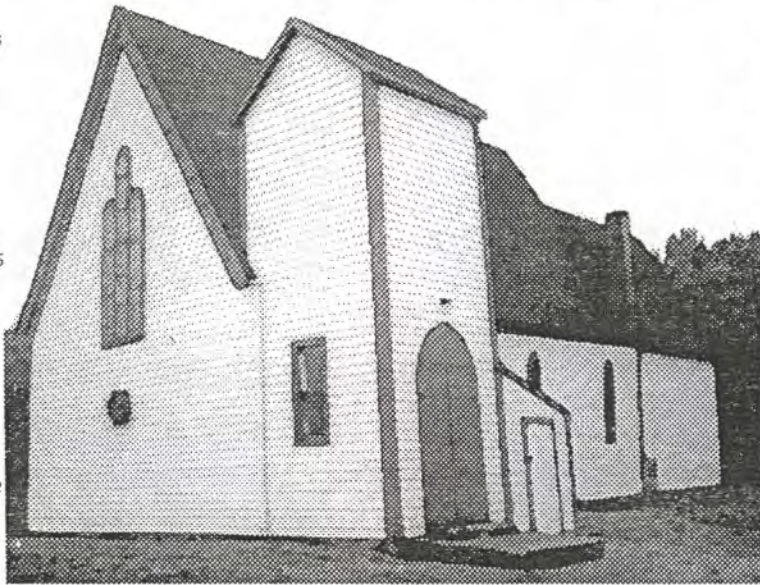
proportion as all Loyalists and disbanded soldiers". On the strength of this promise he and his followers went to Saint John. Although white Loyalists routinely received grants of at least 100 acres, the Blacks received only small town lots or grants of 50 acres.

There were many problems. The Black Loyalists did not have many strong leaders and they lacked experience in making decisions. They were not accustomed to the harsh winters. As a result many of them gave up hope of developing their own land and went to Saint John to act as labourers.

The charter of the City of Saint John (1785) did not include Blacks as eligible to be free citizens and any who were not freemen were limited in their activities. The mayor, however, was empowered to issue special licences to any "people of colour" who were "good, decent, and honest persons" so they could "reside in Saint John and carry on trade or

business." There is no evidence that any such licences were issued.

In 1790, acting as a leader of the black population of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, Peters took a petition to the British government stressing problems they were facing obtaining grants. While there, he learned of the Sierra Leone Company which promised free transportation of Blacks to a British colony in Africa which would be governed by Blacks, and in which there would be no slavery.



This Loyalist church at Birchtown has been restored by the Black Loyalist Society, due to its architectural significance, and is still in use today.

Returning to New Brunswick, Peters began a campaign to organize a group of Blacks from the Maritimes to try to start over again in Africa. As a result

of his efforts many Blacks left New Brunswick for Sierra Leone.

BOSTON KING

Boston King was born about 1760 on a plantation near Charleston, S.C. He was apprenticed to a carpenter at the age of 16, but ran away to escape punishment, joined the British army, and eventually made his way to the headquarters of General Cornwallis. After the fall of Charleston, he went to New York, where a lack of tools stopped him from working at his trade and so he was forced to do odd jobs. In New York he married Peggy, a freed slave from Wilmington. He went to sea, and, after many adventures, including being returned to slavery temporarily, managed to get back to New York. Here he and Peggy received certificates to support their claim to freedom.

They arrived in Shelburne in August of 1783 with the majority of the Blacks and settled in Birchtown, the area across the bay from Shelburne. There he began to work as a carpenter. There is no record of his receiving any land but it could be that he did not pursue the matter because he had a job, a home, and room for a garden.

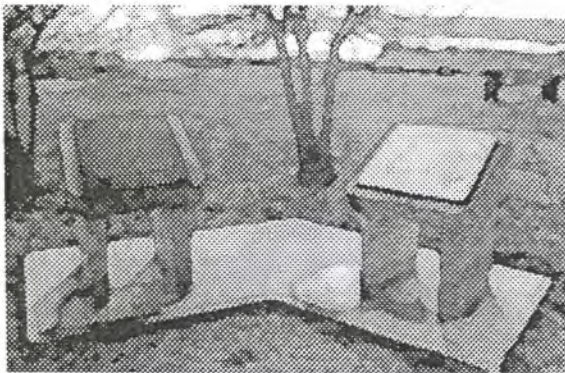
He was much more interested in religion and began preaching in 1785 after he and Peggy had intense religious experiences. When government rations ended in 1786, few Blacks were able to raise enough food for themselves because

they had the smallest and poorest grants. They were forced to hire themselves out as labourers to the whites for whatever they were willing to pay.

King built chests, boats, and worked on fishing boats. In 1791, he and Peggy moved to Preston near Dartmouth across from Halifax and worked for a gentleman and preached. An agent from the Sierra Leone Company arrived presently and the Kings decided, along with virtually all of the other Blacks in Preston, to emigrate to Sierra Leone. In January 1792, 1190 Black Loyalists from Nova Scotia sailed for Sierra Leone from Halifax.

The British government had not made adequate preparation for their arrival and so the settlers had to begin again building homes and becoming established. An outbreak of malaria in April took the lives of many, including Peggy. When the land grants were surveyed and issued the settlers discovered that their grants amounted to 5 acres instead of the promised 20.

King continued to work as a carpenter and to preach. In 1793, Governor Richard Dawes appointed King missionary and school teacher. In March 1794 he went to England to study and preach, returning to Sierra Leone in 1796. It was there that he died about 1802.

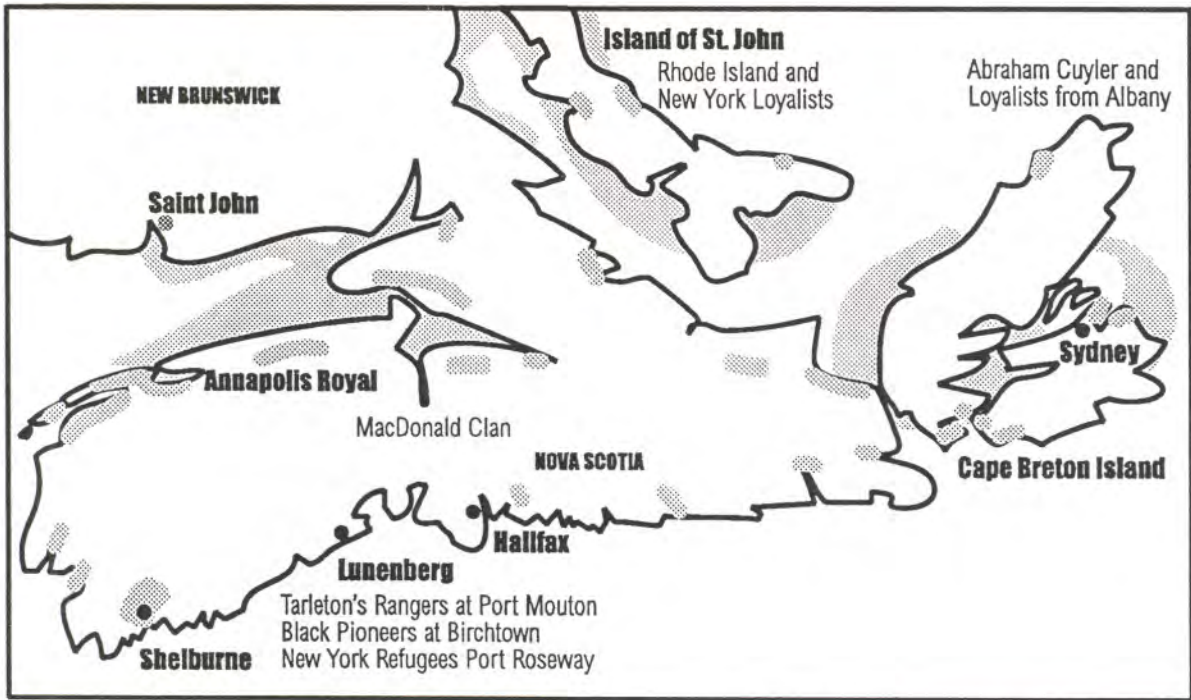


This monument erected in July of 1996 to commemorate Black Settlers, overlooks the site of Birchtown.

Artwork on the second plaque depicts the passage to freedom from slavery through the General Birch Certificate. General Samuel Birch befriended Blacks in New York and assisted in the establishment of Birchtown.

VII

THE MILITARY



Areas of Nova Scotia settled by regiments

The complete story of the provincial regiments involved in the American Revolution cannot be recounted here. Initially raised for local defense only, the provincial corps eventually served in areas far from home. Loyalist troops were stationed throughout the Thirteen Colonies, in Nova Scotia, Quebec, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, and even in the West Indies. Some Loyal Americans joined the British navy, while others worked in the bateaux service.

Throughout the war, the royal province of New York was a Loyalist stronghold and a gathering point for the refugee families of soldiers and other civilians who were forced to flee their homes. At the end of the war, New York became the chief port for the evacuation of these Loyalists.

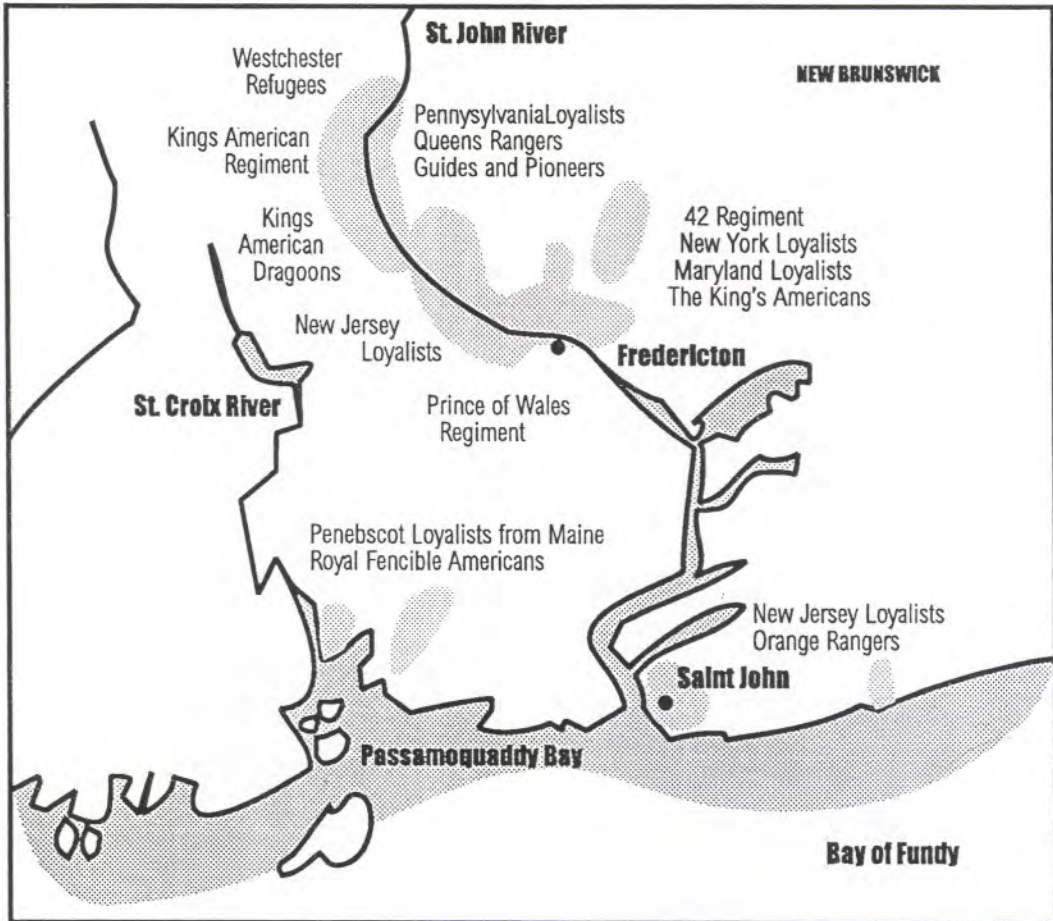
To Sir Guy Carleton, the commander-in-chief of

British forces in North America, fell the gigantic task of turning over the former Thirteen Colonies to the victorious rebel Americans—while at the same time ensuring the safety and evacuation of the refugees and soldiers gathered in New York. Between April and November 1783 five major fleets transported more than 30,000 people, including British soldiers and provincial corps, to various parts of Nova Scotia and what became New Brunswick. Carleton managed to evacuate the civilians by October, and in November the last of the troops left New York.

The maps and charts on the following pages show the areas of the Maritime Provinces settled by the main bodies of disbanded troops, although there was much moving around during the first few years of relocation.

LOYALIST REGIMENTS

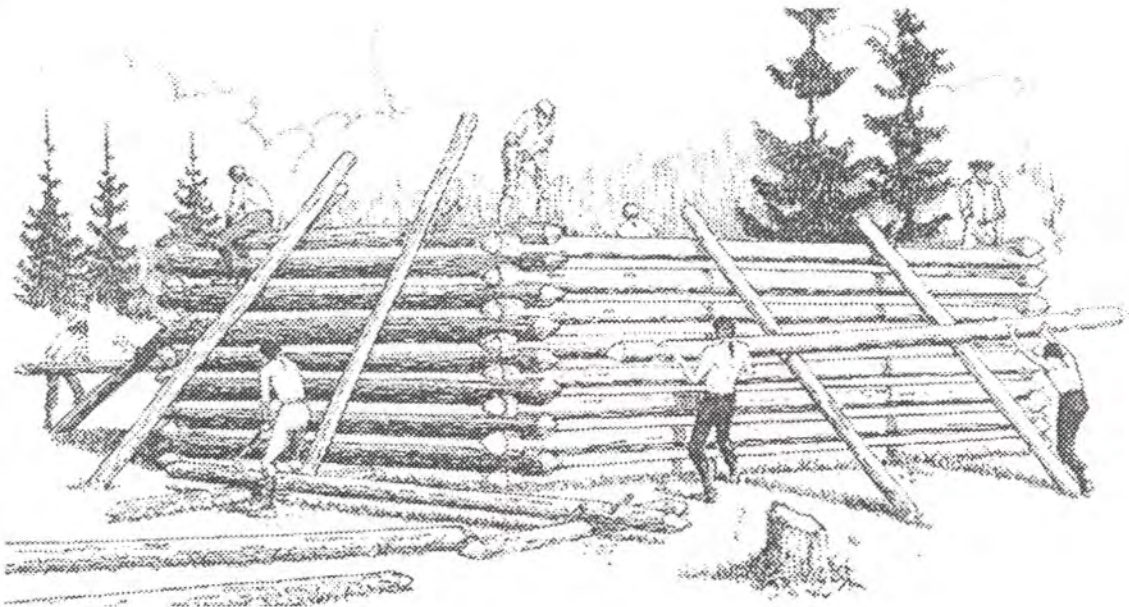
REGIMENT	COLONIAL ORIGIN	ORGANIZERS AND OTHER IMPORTANT INDIVIDUALS	MARITIME SETTLEMENTS
Banastre Tarleton's British Legion	Carolinas	Major George Hanger	Port Mouton (Guysborough) near Liverpool - destroyed by fire, May 1784 - some to Chedabucto Bay, some to Digby, others stayed nearby
Black Guides and Pioneers	Carolinas - labour battalion of freed slaves	Sgt. Thomas Peters, Sgt. Murphy Steele	Brindley Town (Digby) Annapolis Royal. Many left for Sierra Leone. Above Keswick along the St. John River.
Black Pioneers	Carolinas - freed slaves	Col. Stephen Blucke	Birchtown (Shelburne) many left for Sierra Leone
DeLancey's Cowboys	New York	Col. James DeLancey	Annapolis Valley
DeLancey's Brigade	New York	Oliver DeLancey, Lt. Col. Richard Hewlett, Col. Gabriel Ludlow	Woodstock, south of Fredericton, Saint John
King's American Dragoons	New England, New York	Benjamin Thompson (Count Rumford), Major Jonathan Odell, Major Joshua Upham, Dr. Adino Paddock	Prince William Parish between LongCreek and the Pokiok River
King's American Regiment	New York	Captain Abraham dePeyster	From the Pokiok to the Eel River
King's Orange Rangers	garrison duty at Cornwallis		Quaco-St. Martin's, east end of Saint John, Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton Island, Parrsborough
Loyal American Legion		Major Thomas Menzies	Penniac R., N.B.
Loyal American Regiment	New York	Col. Beverly Robinson, son John. Rev. John Beardsley, Dr. Peter Huggeford, Lt. John Ward, Col. Thomas Barclay	Along the St. John River, Maugerville, Saint John, Fredericton, Wilmot (Annapolis Valley)
3rd New Jersey Volunteers (Skinner's Cowboys)	New Jersey and New York	Lt. Col. Abraham Van Buskirk, Lt. Col. Stephen DeLancey, Gen. Cortlandt Skinner, Xenophon Lovett, Rev. Charles Inglis	Shelburne, Annapolis Royal, Kingsclear, Kennebecasis R.
New York Volunteers	New York	Maj. John Coffin	King's County, N.B., Keswick R. Valley
Queen's Rangers	New York, Connecticut, later Virginia	Col. Robert Rogers, Lt. Col. John Graves Simcoe, Capt. John Saunders, Lt. Stair Agnew	York County, N.B. Queensbury Parish
Royal Highland Emigrants	recruited as they arrived in the colonies from Scotland- served throughout the south and eventually were garrisoned at Fort Edward	Capt. Allen MacDonald, (Flora's husband) Maj. John Small	Douglas Twp., Hants County, N.S. near Windsor. Many returned to Scotland
King's (Carolina) Rangers Royal North Carolina Regiment, South Carolina Royalists	throughout the southern colonies	Maj. James Wright, Captain John Leggett	Country Harbour (Stormont)



New Brunswick settled by regiments

VIII

HOME LIFE OF THE TIME



THE FIRST HOMES OF THE LOYALISTS

*T*he British Army issued used tents to the newly arrived Loyalist refugees and these were their shelter until more permanent dwellings could be built. This was especially true for the New Brunswick Loyalists. Those who arrived after winter had set in had to endure the hardship of living in a tent for weeks and often for months. In order to avoid the arduous task of felling trees, the refugees often chose burned over areas, marshes, or interval lands for their homes.

Some of the group proceeded immediately to build themselves something more substantial than a tent to live in. One of these was Benjamin Ingraham, whose daughter Hannah, many years later, recalled the day they moved into their new house in New Brunswick.

"One morning we waked to find the snow lying deep on the ground all around us, and then father came walking through it and told us the house was ready and not to stop to light the fire then, and not mind the weather, but follow his tracks through the trees, for the trees were so many we soon lost sight of him going up the hill; it was snowing fast, and, oh, so cold. Father carried a chest and we all carried something and followed him up the hill through the trees.

It was not long before we heard him

pounding, and, oh, what a joy to see our gable end.

There was no floor laid, no window, no chimney, no door, but we had a roof at last.

A good fire was burning on the hearth, and mother had a big loaf of bread with us, and she boiled a kettle of water and put a good piece of butter in a pewter bowl, and we toasted our bread and all sat round the bowl to eat our breakfast that morning and mother said, "Thank God, we are no longer in dread of having shots fired through the house. This is the sweetest meal I have tasted for many a day."

The Ingrahams soon had a door, a floor, a window, and a chimney and were as snug as they could have hoped for, under the circumstances. Others were less fortunate and were forced to live in their tents all winter.

The first homes were little more than rough sheds, no larger than 15 to 20 feet square. They were one-room structures whose only luxury was the four- or six-pane window glazed with pieces of seven-by-nine inch glass issued to most Loyalist families. The walls, generally eight feet high, were constructed of unsquared basswood logs crudely notched at the corners, the considerable gaps chinked with wood

chips and clay. The simple roofs were shingled with two-to-three-foot wide strips of basswood or elm bark laid on rafters of poles with enough of a slope from front to back to encourage most of the rain and melting snow to run off. Some builders took the trouble to make a crude wooden chimney lined with mud or clay, but many allowed the smoke to escape through an opening in the roof. When boards could not be sawed to make a door, a blanket might have to be a poor substitute. If a floor other than tramped earth existed, it would be of split logs, flat side up and cut as evenly as a hatchet would allow.

Some builders took an even more primitive approach to housing, opting to use living trees as the frame of the structure—one tree at each corner of a

square cleared of underbrush—with bark roofs and walls of standing poles woven together with willow roots.

Needless to say, these early homes were meant to last only one or two years, for once a barn had been raised and a sufficient number of acres cleared for farming, the families returned to the task of housing and erected a more substantial residence, complete with foundation, stone chimney, plank floors and an upstairs loft that served as sleeping quarters. Although rough and seemingly fragile, the hardiness of the first dwellings was borne out by their continued use as chicken coops and pigsties, even as late as the turn of the 19 century.

THE LIVES OF WOMEN IN LOYALIST TIMES

Based on part of a speech by Orlo Jones printed in *The Loyalist Gazette* June 1985

When one thinks of Loyalists and disbanded troops one tends to think of men, but in addition to married women who came with their husbands and children, a sizeable number of Loyalist women, eg. Sarah Palmer, Margaret Enman, and Sarah Bremble, came as widows with their children.

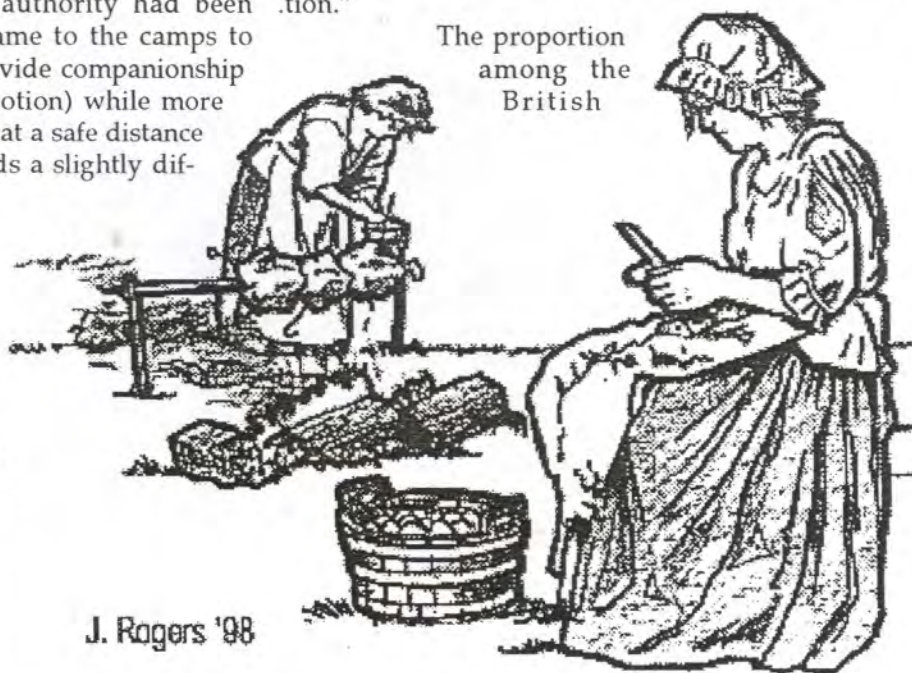
Loyalist women must have been a very special species; life was hard for women at best, but in war-time women played a very important but difficult role. It has been written that "There were women upon both sides of the conflict that followed the men into bloody battle lines and bitter winter weather." Some were drawn by love, others by hunger. At a time when hope was drained on the American side, and the imperial authority had been stopped on the other, they came to the camps to wash, to clean, to cook, to provide companionship (some in sin and some in devotion) while more comfortable citizens continued at a safe distance business as usual..." This sheds a slightly different light on the role of camp followers; we see they led very harsh lives during the Revolution, and had pathetically few or no material possessions.

The wives of the British troops and mercenaries were worse off. "There...was usually an allotted number of wives and alleged wives permitted to each British regiment by the military commanders, and transported overseas

with these troops. No certainty prevailed as to the marital status of many, and the number of women so allotted was often exceeded by those subsequently gathered by the forces along the way and in garrison. Since these latter might not receive rations, such camp followers, picked up by detachments on the march or in encampment with the passing months, through the necessity of foraging, encumbered the army more than did those brought from overseas."

After the Battle of Ticonderoga, the Hessian General Griedrich Von Wurmb wrote from Newport, "...The fact is that this corps has more women and children than men, which causes considerable vexation."

The proportion
among the
British



J. Rogers '98

troops was about one woman to every 4½ men while the mercenaries had one woman to every 15 men.

Women camp followers nursed their men. (It was another 70 years before Florence Nightingale started having nursing sisters to take care of the wounded.) These Revolutionary women were ordered to serve at so-called field hospitals as occasion might require although the overseas military mentality did not value a soldier's life. It was said to be cheaper "to buy a recruit than to cure a soldier."

"Throughout the struggle, the companionate wives and others of the British soldiery cooked, washed, and mended for their men as best they could. They were a recognized and mayhap needed element of the camps as then constituted." Hannah Winthrop wrote to Mercy Warren in a letter dated 11 November, 1777, "...Last Thursday, a large number of British troops came softly through the Town (Cambridge) ... on Friday we heard the Hessians were to make a Procession in the rout...I never had the least Idea that the Creation produced such a sordid set of creatures in human Figure—poor, dirty, emaciated men, great numbers of women, who seemed to be the beasts of burden, having a bushel basket on their back, by which they were bent double, the contents seemed to be Pots and Kettles, various sorts of Furniture, children peeping thro gridirons and other utensils, some very young infants who were born on the road, the women with bare feet, cloathed in dirty rags, effluvia filled the air while they were passing, had they not been smoking all the time, I should have been apprehensive of being contaminated by them. After a noble looking advanced Guard, Gen J-y B(urgoyne) headed this terrible group on horseback."

Women helped make musket balls from their pewter dishes and melted their leaden statues to make pellets. They spun and wove cloth, carried supplies to the troops. They took over farm work, made bread and carried supplies to troops. They kept their homes and husbands' businesses intact. They made hospital supplies, ministered to the sick and wounded and brought comfort to prisoners.

Among the American militia and the Continental line there were "...far fewer camp wives or other women than with the enemy." W.H. Blumenthal, in

the book *Women Camp Followers of the American Revolution*, has written that the reason the American troops were so ragged and unkempt in appearance was there were not enough women with them to do their washing and mending. It was an established tradition of that era that men-at-arms needed women-at-arms to fight and survive.



We can tend to glamorize the Loyalists and forget just how difficult life frequently was for them then. We read little of those who died of hunger and exposure or of the babies and children who perished for lack of nourishment and warmth. At first many of the Loyalists in the Maritimes used some of the deserted houses which had been abandoned at the time of the deportation of the Acadians and they farmed the land which had been cleared by the French. Later the Loyalists built their own homes, often of logs with the chinks filled with mud and moss, and heated them with a central fireplace. Some of the finer, larger frame homes built

by Loyalists in areas such as Shelburne and Saint John were beautifully finished and heated luxuriously by a fireplace in each room. However, these homes were very cold by our standards and the amount of work preparing a winter's supply of wood was no small task! The fireplaces shed some warmth in their immediate proximity, but they belched smoke and fine ashes throughout the whole room. Live coals on the hearth and sparks ignited many a woman's long dress as she worked about the kitchen, or burned many a young child who came too close to the open fire.

Beds were cold—a straw or feather tick provided some insulation but children slept several to a bed or in bed with their parents not only because beds were scarce, but also to keep the children from freezing to death. Boards, stones, and, for the fortunate few, bed warmers were heated in the fire and placed in frigid beds to remove some of the chill. These, too, were a source of many accidental burns.

Hot water was scarce and precious because heating it was difficult. This meant that bathing and shampooing were infrequent. Perfume was used to cover the body odours which tended to form from lack of sanitation, as we know it.

All clothing had to be completely made by

hand: the affluent copied Parisienne styles and used brighter colours, while the poorer people were glad to have even the simplest garments. The working class used sober colours which did not show dirt and grime so quickly, since laundry facilities were practically non-existent. Often the style of dress depicted the trade of the wearer. Clothing was valuable and was carefully mended and patched and passed down as hand-me-downs. Sometimes we find reference to certain items of apparel in wills, where the testator left a cherished item to a special child or friend. Shoes and boots were very precious. Leather was scarce and all workmanship was done manually.

Many Loyalist women came to Eastern Canada feeling that the future could not possibly be any worse, or even as bad, as the experiences they had recently encountered. A widow, Sarah Palmer, for example, was one of the ten women in a party which came from Shelburne to settle around Bedeque Harbour. She brought her two children with her, one of whom was under ten years of age. Her son, Jonathan was apparently older than ten, and on 15 June, 1786, he was given a land grant of 200 acres.

Margaret Enman, widow of Loyalist Jeremiah Enman, fled to the Island of St. John with her small sons. Fortunately, she married James Laird, a

Loyalist from Carolina, soon after she arrived. Laird readily accepted his already-made family.

Widow Baum/ Ballem came with her little son, Peter. Her husband had been killed in battle. About 1783 she married Nicholas Henschell /Jenkins, who had two motherless children at the time.

Other remarkable women included Mrs. George Price, who, with her two children, accompanied her husband as he transported farm produce from St. John's Island to Mirimachi, N.B. They were there one October evening in 1825 when the awful Mirimachi fire broke out. They soon found they were trapped by the fire and to save their lives they had to spend the whole night almost immersed in the cold river. The parents held the two children up so they would not drown while George covered them with wet blankets for added protection. Mrs. Price died one and one-half months later from the combined effects of the fire and complications of childbirth.

Loyalist women were strong and determined. They had withstood many rigours and tests in the colonies during the Revolution, and on the long trek to their new homeland. Once they arrived, their struggles continued. It is amazing that many of them lived long lives, in many cases surviving their husbands.

OVERCOMING HARDSHIPS AND OBSTACLES

Loyalist settlements developed in the wilderness, far from established colonies. Although many of the families had come from somewhat similar situations, they needed support to help them survive in the early years. This support came from three main sources: the native people who were already in the area, the British government, and each other.

Until June of 1786, the British government provided a few basic tools, and rations of food, clothing and seeds. Accounts mention the abundance of fish and game in the forest and streams. This was augmented by the food, shipped in barrels from Halifax. The amounts were based on a private soldier's daily ration and consisted of flour and pork, with small portions of beef, butter and salt. Clothing consisted of shoe soles, blankets and bolts of coarse woollen cloth and linen. Seed for spring wheat, peas, corn, and potatoes was also part of the government provisions. Travellers through the Loyalist settlements refer to the happiness and prosperity

which they observed everywhere.

To finish the back-breaking or boring tasks which were a part of life for the Loyalists more easily and quickly, and to have fun at the same time, neighbours organized "frolics" to which everyone came. The men would work together to clear land or move rocks or build a barn or complete some other task which was impossible for one or two. The women would prepare the meals and the children would have a chance to play with friends who lived at a distance. Women also had frolics to make quilts or card wool or shell corn. In this way, families had a chance to visit with one another as they were working. Loyalist narratives make many references to neighbours helping each other in times of sickness, accident, and childbirth as well as attending gatherings for weddings, funerals, and church services. Thus the community provided support which made the difficulties and loneliness bearable.

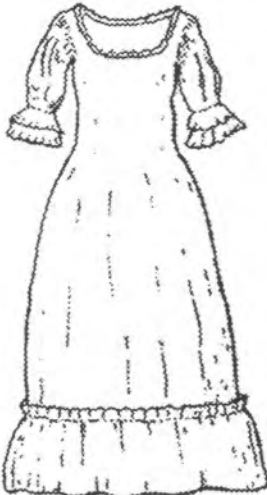
CLOTHING OF A PIONEER WOMAN 1770-1790

Mob Cap

worn everyday

Hair Style

Worn combed straight, in
braids or rolled into a bun



Undergarment

Chemise / Smock / Shift
also as a petticoat



Skirt
with drawstring ties



Bodice / Waistcoat

usually reversible
one side for everyday
other side for good



Pockets

on ribbon ties
worn around waist
under skirt



Apron (no Bib)

on ribbon ties
worn everyday



Square toed Shoes

with buckles
worn with hand made stockings

CLOTHING OF PIONEER CHILDREN



Boy

The boy's clothing was hand made by his mother and styled after the father's standard dress—only smaller.

Girl

The girl's clothing was also made by the mother with the girl's help and was styled after the mother's. It would be as she would wear as a adult.

Clothing was usually handed down from older children or from family to family.

CLOTHING OF A PIONEER MAN



Tricorn Hat

Vest or Tunic and Shirt
from military uniform

Long Shirt

also served as sleeping garment

Uniform Jacket

worn for special occasions
or as good clothes

Pants

from Uniform with
drop fly and seat

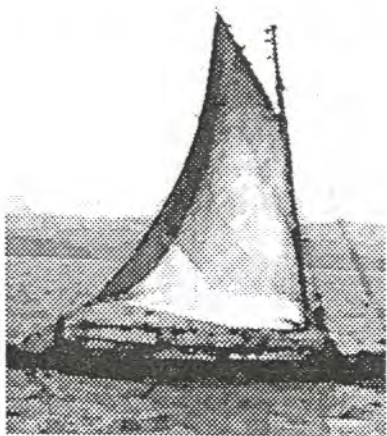
Shoes and Stockings

adapted from Military Uniform
or hand made by
spouse or self

TRANSPORTATION

Loyalists were greatly restricted in the choice of places to settle by the lack of roads and bridges. New-comers realized that they had to settle on or near river banks so that they had at least one way to move around.

CANOES and ROWBOATS were the most common types of boats used by the settlers. There were also bateaux—wall sided, flat-bottomed boats which the French introduced. A bateau ranged from 20 to 40 feet long and was sharp at both ends. Three to six tons of goods could be moved in this way.



The bateau, a kind of flat bottomed skiff, was the main transportation along the St. Lawrence River. 40 ft and made of cedar or spruce, it could haul a cargo of several tons.

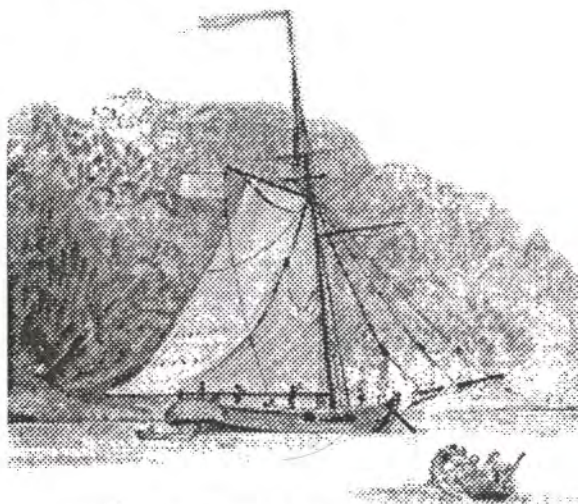
PIROGUES, or DUGOUTS, were made from large cedar logs. The boat-maker shaped an Indian canoe on the outside—then dug out the entire centre leaving the sides 1 to 1½ inches thick.

CATAMARANS were made by splitting 3 to 5 large logs in half and notching out both ends on the round side. These logs were placed round side down in the water and bound together. They were pro-

pelled by oars in deep water and a pole in shallow water. Sometimes a small sail was raised.

GONDOLAS or SLOOPS were used for carrying supplies and, by 1786, the schooner *The Four Sisters* was sailing regular trips from Fredericton to Woodstock.

A daily ferry service was established in 1784 running from Digby to what is now Saint John.



A Sloop, the common transport vessel of the time when The United Empire Loyalists fled the new United States. They came to the new colonies in ships of this type.

New Brunswick passed an act in 1786 providing for the construction of roads. The settlers along the road path were required to work on the roads for a certain number of days per year, but progress was slow. Tow paths along the river banks were cleared and improved and gradually became wide enough for teams of horses.

In winter, travel became difficult. Ice roads were used to carry goods to market but this could be dangerous when it thawed.

All three Maritime provinces were engaged in ship-building, not only for local use but also for sale abroad.

LOYALIST CHILDREN'S GAMES

GAMES

Since toys were scarce, Loyalist children had to amuse themselves with simple objects that were available around their houses or yards. Large families guaranteed an abundance of playmates but time free from work was limited. Sometimes work and play had to be combined and toys were made from materials left over from everyday tasks.

TOYS

DOLLS were made from corn husks, and carved pieces of wood. Their clothes were made from scraps of material left over from dressmaking, or from worn-out clothing.

TOY ANIMALS AND WAGONS were also whittled from scraps of wood.

WOODEN PUZZLES could be manufactured from wood chips left after trees were felled. Chips often provided interesting shapes.

TOYBOATS were made from leaves, birch bark to imitate native canoes, and twigs bound together with thongs or willow withes to form rafts.

WHISTLES were made from poplar wood. The bark was carefully removed from a small 4 to 6 inch long piece of wood and a groove was cut from a V nick at the top to the opposite end. When the bark was replaced it was possible to make a whistling sound by blowing into the groove.

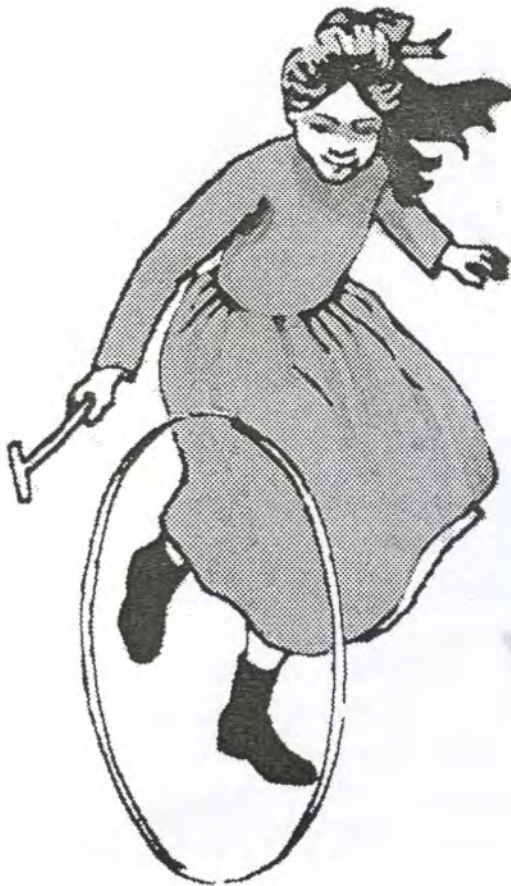
HOOPS were made from willow branches fastened into a circle. Children would run beside the hoop propelling it with a stick to see how far they could run before it fell over.

OUTDOOR GAMES

Loyalist children played many of the same games that modern children play. They jumped rope, skipped stones across water using the same techniques as if tossing a frisbee, played hopscotch, and tug-of-war. They also played tag, hide-and-seek, and leap-frog.

After a snowfall was also a good time to make snow angels or to play fox and goose. Children also imitated their fathers or older brothers who served in the militia by marching back and forth carrying sticks instead of guns.

Singing games, such as *Ring-Around-the Rosy*, whose words referred to the Great Plague of London in 1664-1665, *London Bridge*, whose words date back to the 11th century when troops of Norway's King Olaf destroyed one of London's bridges while Britons were standing on it, and *Drop the Handkerchief* were popular among Loyalist children.



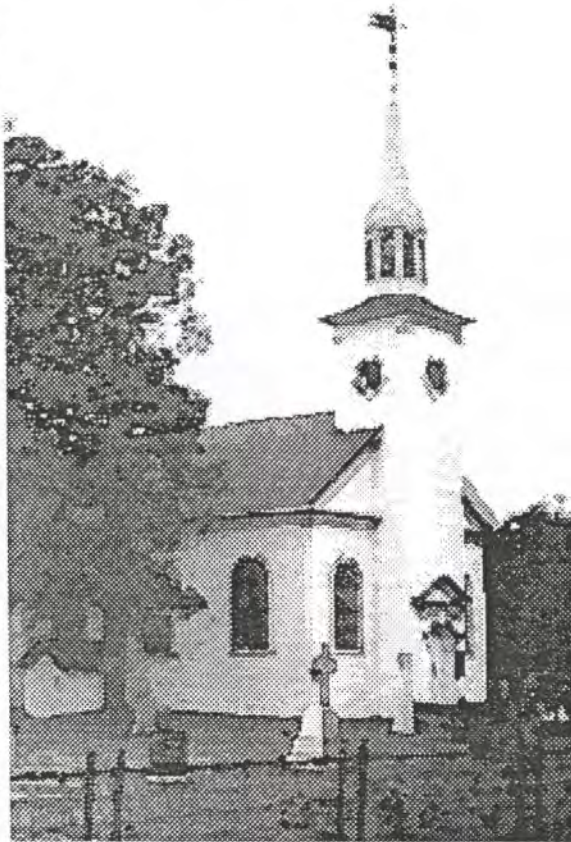
IX

RELIGION

REV. CHARLES INGLIS (1734-1816) FIRST BISHOP OF NOVA SCOTIA

Charles Inglis was born the third son of the family of a clergyman in Donegal, Ireland. He had lost both of his parents by age 11. His brother, Richard, taught him at home but couldn't afford the tuition to send him to university in order to be ordained into the Church of England. A relative, John Inglis, of Philadelphia offered to pay his passage if he would come and tutor his two sons. He taught the boys from 1753 until 1758 and caught the eye of the local rector who sent a letter to the Bishop of London recommending his ordination. Three months later, he was ordained and licenced to serve under the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) as a missionary to Kent County, Delaware. He married Mary Vining in 1764 but she died within the year in the premature delivery of twins. In December 1765 he accepted the position of assistant rector of Trinity Church, New York, a congregation with many leading citizens, and the responsibility for the administration of King's College, now Columbia University. He was able to continue his education, receiving an honorary MA from King's in 1767, and an MA from Oxford in 1768. He was appointed a governor of King's College in 1771.

In 1773 he married Margaret Crooke, a wealthy young woman of 25 and their children, Charles, Margaret, Anne, and John were born over the next four years. When the Patriots took over New York in 1775 he sent his family to safety at New Wind-



St. Mary's was built in 1790, the construction taking only 9 months. It is sometimes called the 'Mussel Shell Church' as the walls are covered with a plaster made from powdered mussel shells left in 1775 by fleeing Acadians.

The history of many of Nova Scotia's oldest families is connected in some way with St. Mary's. The gravestones of the Van Buskirks, Tuppers and other UEL families can be found in the adjoining churchyard.

sor, 70 miles away. In February 1776 General Washington sent word that he and his staff would be attending church. Inglis welcomed them but said his customary prayers for the King and his government as usual. He published a pamphlet, *Interpreter*, defending the British Constitution as the best guarantor of liberty and suggesting that an American Constitution be secured by mutual consent between Britain and the colonies. At the publication of the Declaration of Independence Trinity Church and its chapels were closed and Inglis refused to surrender the keys to rebel chaplains. The church was destroyed by fire in September 1776. He worked to help the Loyalist refugees who were streaming into New York after the British regained control in 1776.

His son, Charles, died in 1782 and his wife died the following year. The rebels confiscated his property. Heartbroken and impoverished, he went to England to see if he could find some way of making a living. In 1787 he was appointed Bishop of

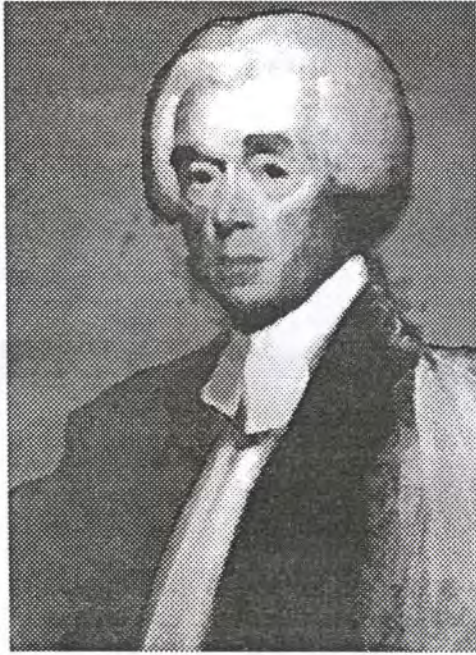
Nova Scotia which included not only what later became the Maritime provinces, but also the future Ontario and Quebec. He was surprised to find Anglicans in the minority in almost every place. In New Brunswick, however, the officials, who were mostly Anglican, cooperated in securing clergy and establishing congregations in new settlements. Before long Woodstock, Sussex, Kingston, Maugerville, Gagetown, Fredericton, and St. Andrew's all had priests and were beginning the erection of churches. Inglis

commented that the clergy in New Brunswick "*were a worthy body of men, of good moral and exemplary lives, diligent in the discharge of their duty, beloved and respected by congregations.*"

The story was somewhat different in the beginning in Nova Scotia, however. Not every clergyman made the effort to attend his first visitation, nor respond favourably to the 90-item questionnaire that he sent out. His initial reaction to these priests was that "Four are good men, four indifferent, and it would be better for themselves and the Church had the others not been ordained." Before long there were great improvements, however, and during his 29 year tenure 26 churches were built, of which 7 remain. He found many good and faithful clergy to serve in these churches. In addition he founded King's College school at Windsor, N.S. in 1788. His

nephew Richard was the first president and his son, John was one of the first students. He provided the design, found the president, and secured the funds for the establishment of King's College in 1789.

His great hobby was farming and from the compensation that he eventually received as a Loyalist, he acquired 10,000 acres in the Annapolis Valley where he pioneered the apple industry. He developed the Bishop Pippin apple. The connection with the clergy continued in his family. His son, John became the third Bishop of Nova Scotia. His daughter, Anne married Rev. George Pidgeon, his commissary in New Brunswick for 23 years and the rector at Trinity Church, Saint John. His daughter Margaret married Sir Brenton Haliburton. He had suffered from rheumatism and malaria for many years and died in 1816.



A LOYALIST FOUNDATION THE UNIVERSITY OF KING'S COLLEGE

by John F. Godfrey, M.Phil, D.Phil (Oxon), President, University of King's College

from *The Loyalist Gazette* Autumn, 1983

The University of King's College is the oldest university in English Canada. Its founding was a result of the American Revolution and the influx of Loyalists into Nova Scotia.

Nova Scotia did not side with the Thirteen Colonies in the American Revolution; it was, therefore, an obvious haven for those who, having supported the Crown, were forced to flee the new Republic. After 1782 the population of Nova Scotia doubled, profoundly altering its composition. The Loyalists became a crucial element; they, and the British government, hoped that Nova Scotia and New Brunswick would assume the role played by the breakaway colonies, for example, by supplying the West Indies with foodstuffs. Loyalists, such as Sir John Wentworth, began moving into positions of power. Wentworth, former Governor of New Hampshire, became Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia in 1791.

The stage was thus set for the creation of a prosperous new British Empire. From an economic point of view, these hopes were soon to be dashed. The signing of Jay's Treaty (1794) legalized trade between the United States and the West Indies. From an institutional point of view, however, the hopes of the Loyalists achieved more success.

It was held by men such as Charles Inglis, Rector of Trinity Church, New York before the Revolution, that the failure to establish an American bishopric had contributed to the loss of British control over the Thirteen Colonies. Accordingly, under Loyalist pressure, a bishopric was created in 1787. Although Nova Scotia had had an Established Church since 1758, the appointment of Charles Inglis as Bishop was the first step in what Professor Judith Fingard has called the "Anglican Design in Loyalist Nova Scotia."

Part of his design was the establishment of a College. This idea was complementary to the appointment of a Bishop. A Loyal colony required an Established Church and an episcopacy, with a steady supply of clergy. A College was therefore necessary.

In addition, an Anglican College would train laymen, loyal to the Church and State, fit to serve

the British Empire uninfected by ideas which might be contracted if they went to study in the United States.

The new College and College school, significantly enough named after King's College, New York, which had become Columbia College after the Revolution, was founded in Windsor in 1789. Windsor was considered more suitable than Halifax

because of the distractions the fleshpots of the Metropolis might cause to the students. The first building, which was completed in 1793, and survived until 1920, was built with the assistance of a grant of £1000 from the British government.

The nature of the College presented a fundamental problem. Anglicans comprised perhaps one quarter of the population of Nova Scotia. The new College was, however, part of a plan which made the Established Church a linchpin of loyalty to the Crown. Furthermore, the only two English universities were Anglican institutions. The statutes drawn up for the College in 1803 excluded all prospective students who refused to sign the 39 Articles of the Church of England. Although this requirement was modified within three years, the failure to reprint the altered statutes until 1821 and to eliminate all religious tests until 1829, meant that the College not only remained very small, but that other denominations began founding their own institutions, with the result that the maritime region of Canada has more universities per capita than any other jurisdiction in the world.

King's College is now in Halifax, where it moved in 1923, when it established an affiliation with Dalhousie University. The Collegiate School remains in Windsor, on the original grounds of the College and is now called The King's-Edgehill School. The University of King's College remains a small institution, with 500 students registered either in the Faculty of Arts and Science (which King's shares with Dalhousie) or in Journalism, a venture begun by King's in 1978. Despite many difficulties over nearly two hundred years, the Loyalists who founded and sustained King's during that time can be said with confidence to have built well.



DISSENTING PROTESTANTS

Although it is understandable to associate the Church of England most closely with the United Empire Loyalists in the Maritimes because of the sizeable number of Anglican churches built in the 18th century, other Protestant denominations appealed to the majority of the rank and file of the refugees.

Many had been attracted to the teachings of the Wesleys on both sides of the Atlantic and had converted to Methodism, a denomination with enormous appeal to ordinary people because of the simplicity, emotionalism, and enthusiasm connected with worship. In addition, the Methodists exhibited great flexibility in their willingness to worship wherever a group of the faithful could be found, under the leadership of itinerant "circuit riders", or devout lay-people. A barn or the open air were as acceptable to them for worship as was a consecrated church.

When the great Methodist evangelist George Whitefield died in 1770, he bequeathed an orphanage in America to Lady Selina Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon. This extraordinary woman, who had encouraged and supported Methodism in Britain, became interested in America, sending her own missionaries there to spread the faith.

The Countess met Dr. John Califf (UEL, St. Andrew's N.B.) while he was in Great Britain lobbying for the Penobscot River as the boundary with Maine. The Countess, after learning from Dr. Califf that most of the Loyalists had lost their books during the war gave him large numbers of Bibles and hymn books for them.

Quakers and Baptists, among other dissenting groups, had fled persecution in Europe to come to

America in search of religious freedom. This they had found in a large measure in a number of the English colonies but, uncertain that it would continue under new leadership, they had left for British North America with the political refugees. The Scots, many of whom were recent immigrants to America, were often Presbyterians, and they too were anxious to continue their traditional ways.

The Presbyterians and dissenting Protestants were uneasy about the Anglican desire for a resident bishop which could mean Church Courts, tithes, and the discriminatory measures which had caused many of them to leave Britain in the first place. In addition, they resented the terms of the Marriage Acts which limited the power to perform marriages to the clergy of the Church of England and Justices of the Peace. Dissenting clergy consecrated many marriages and baptisms, however, and although they could have been fined from £50 to £100, they were rarely prosecuted for their illegal activities. This practice did make record-keeping difficult and many couples had to be remarried years later in order to obtain legal marriage certificates. It was also the custom for missionaries either to send their lists of marriages, deaths, and baptisms back to their sponsors, such as Lady Huntingdon, or else take these records with them when they moved on. This, along with the many fires which swept through Loyalist settlements, accounts for the abundance of missing records.

The Church of England lobbied hard, but unsuccessfully, to be named the "Established Church" in the Loyalist Colonies. Eventually the other churches were accepted as having legal status and the right to take responsibility for their congregations.

THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH -ST. GEORGE N.B.

Soon after the American Revolution was ended a Scottish soldier who had fought for the crown was awarded a land grant in the area of St. George, N.B. This grant not only marked the founding of what is now St. George, but also of the establishment of a church of the Presbyterian faith. Peter Clinch was the soldier given the land between Letang and St. George, and he was also one of the first owners of the church property, which was not actually handed over to the church elders until

about 1855. This was the first church of any kind in St. George, and the very first Presbyterian Church in Canada. The first records of the early church have either been lost or destroyed so there is no clear idea how many helped raise the church building, probably in the barn-raising tradition, in 1790. The church has been in continuous use, and its history is tightly interwoven with the history of St. George.



X

LOYALIST SYMBOLS

LOYALIST DAY PROCLAIMED IN NEW BRUNSWICK

Address by the Honourable George F.G. Stanley*, Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, delivered

*M*in Saint John, New Brunswick in 1983 on the occasion of the proclamation of 18 May as "Loyalist Day" in New Brunswick.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Premier, Your Worship, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen. It has been my privilege and pleasure, this morning, to read to you the proclamation which I signed earlier in His Worship's office, declaring that this day, 18 May, shall henceforth be designated officially as "Loyalist Day". To those of you whose ancestors proved their devotion to His Gracious Majesty King George III by taking arms on his behalf and who left their homes in the rebellious colonies to establish themselves in this new land and, indeed, to all those who since those tumultuous days of two centuries ago, have chosen our province of New Brunswick as the land of their adoption, I bring you greetings from our Gracious Lady Queen Elizabeth II, the lineal descendant of that king whose memory has, I think, all too often been maligned, and whose actions have been too often distorted by historians whose sympathies were with the rebels.

The outbreak in 1775 of what was, to all intents and purposes, a civil war, presented all British people, living in America, with a terrible dilemma. Principles were at stake, and no conflict is more terrible than one involving a clash of principles. During the American Revolution both sides fought for principles: the one for loyalty to a sworn allegiance, the other for loyalty to the idea of independence. It was a clash of obligation as against private conviction: for King, against Congress.

It is sometimes forgotten that the number of Loyalists who fought for the Crown was large. One American historian has suggested that about one-third of the Colonists fought for the Crown, one-third for Congress, and the other third were neutral, waiting to see which side would prove the stronger.

Actually, some sixty Loyalist corps were mustered. Some were in existence only a short time, and were amalgamated with other corps. Some were quite large. Colonel DeLancey's regiment in New York included three battalions. Colonel Skinner's in New Jersey, six battalions. And there were others such as the Queen Rangers and Sir John Johnson's King's Royal Regiment of New York.

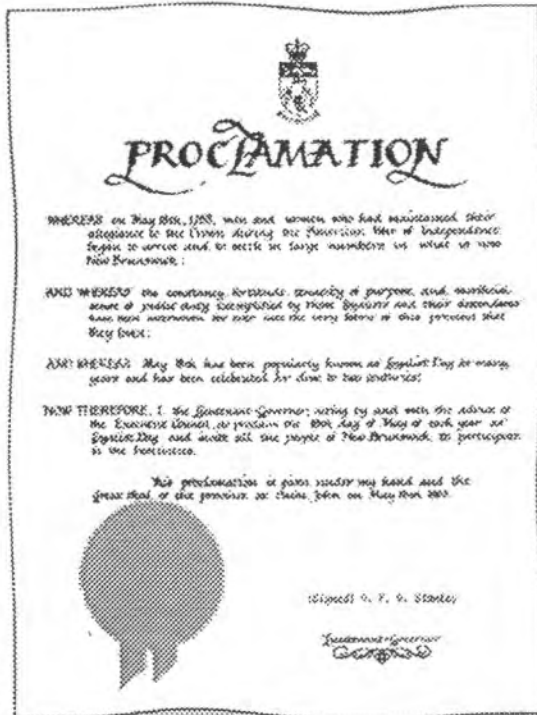
When Great Britain relinquished the struggle, many Loyalist officers took their men, en masse, to Nova Scotia (New Brunswick) or to Canada. This Loyalist migration in 1783 led not only to the establishment of the new provinces of New Brunswick and Cape Breton in 1784, but also to the establishment of the provinces of Upper Canada (Ontario) and Lower Canada in 1791. Bringing with them their ideas of justice and parliamentary government, the Loyalists left

an impact upon our history which has lasted to the present day. Had it not been for the Loyalists and the Loyalist migration, Canada as we know it—a distinct political entity in North America based on the principle of monarchy—would not be in existence today.

The question immediately arises—Does this past history have any relevance today? There is, to my mind, much material here for professional historians to study.

Do the qualities displayed by our ancestors of 200 years ago have any meaning today? What were those qualities? Loyalty and devotion to duty are the most obvious. Courage, most assuredly; and fortitude in distress and, of course, faith. It was only the strong in mind and body who were willing to migrate to what was called "Nova Scarcity."

Are these qualities still relevant 200 years later? Today Canada is faced with serious problems.



Just when we have, by peaceful evolution, attained our own distinctive Canadian identity, subversive forces have emerged which threaten to tear us apart. To maintain our Canada, we need those qualities of our ancestors, the loyalty and devotion to duty of the Loyalist soldiers; the courage and fortitude of those who left the settled regions in the Thirteen Colonies to build new homes in the Canadian wilderness. And above all, we need a sense of tolerance—tolerance of others, of our Native people, of our Acadian neighbours, tolerance of their cultures and their languages, if we are to fulfill our destinies as Canadians and preserve the federal union which is ours. Let us also remember that the Loyalists themselves included peoples of other than Anglo-Saxon origin. I refer to those of Celtic

origin—the Gaelic speaking Highlanders from the Mohawk Valley and the Blacks of the Carolinas, who in British North America gained freedom seventy years before those who remained in the United States. Loyalty, dedication, fortitude in distress, and tolerance in success: those are the four corners of our past; they remain the four corner stones of our future.

A poet wrote in 1839:

Do not look mournfully on the past.

It comes not again.

Wisely prove the present—

It is thine.

Go forth to meet the shadowy future

Without fear, and with a manly heart.

*Colonel Stanley created the design which was chosen for the Canadian flag in 1965. He was teaching at Kingston, Ontario, when an old friend, John Matheson, MP, asked him to write a report on the history of the beaver and the maple leaf as Canadian Symbols. Matheson, a member of the government committee, also suggested that he include ideas he might have for a new flag. This was a subject close to Col. Stanley's heart as he had always believed the nation should have a different flag in place of the old Red Ensign.

He reached the now-familiar decision by considering the nation's official colours—red and white—and a symbol that represents Canada. He rejected the beaver because it was hard to draw and looked like a "drowned muskrat." That left the Maple Leaf which had already been recognized on the country's coat of arms and was the best-known and best-loved symbol of Canada.

Col. Stanley feels proud every time he sees the flag and flies it daily in front of his home.

THE MARK OF HONOUR - UE

Based on material from *Loyalist Lineages*, Toronto Branch, UELAC

After the initial flurry of settling the United Empire Loyalists on their new lands, Lord Dorchester, Governor of British North America decided to honour those who had lost virtually everything they owned.

On November 9, 1789, in Council at Quebec City, he gave particular recognition to the "First Loyalists."

The Dorchester Resolution, approved by the Council:

- 1) defined the U.E. Loyalists as those who had adhered to the Unity of Empire and joined the Royal Standard in America (publicly showed support for the British) before the Treaty of Separation in the year 1783.
- 2) put a Mark of Honour upon the Families of the UE Loyalists
- 3) approved the granting by the Land Boards of 200 acres of land to the sons and daughters of the U.E. Loyalists

Accompanying the resolution to be laid before King George III in London was the following:

"N.B. Those Loyalists who have adhered to the Unity of the Empire, and joined the Royal Standard (in America) before the Treaty of Separation in the year 1783, and all their children and their descendants by either sex, are to be distinguished by the following Capitals, affixed to their names: UE. Alluding to their principle The Unity of the Empire."

In the covering letter, Lord Dorchester explained: "Care had been taken to reward the spirit of loyalty and industry, to extend and transmit it to future generations."

Today, descendants of those "First Loyalists" are entitled to use these initials.

THE BADGE OF THE UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS' ASSOCIATION OF CANADA

by Conrad Swan, Herald of Arms-in-Ordinary to Her Majesty the Queen

Within a wreath quarterly of maple leaves Gules and Oak Leaves Vert fructed Or charged with four crosses formy the letters and figures G III R also gold.

The badge of the Association consists of a wreath made up of Red Maple Leaves and Oak Leaves and Acorns. Maple occupies the upper left and lower right quarters of the circle; Oak makes up the remainder and each quarter is separated by a cross formy (i.e. a cross made up of 4 triangular shapes equal in size).

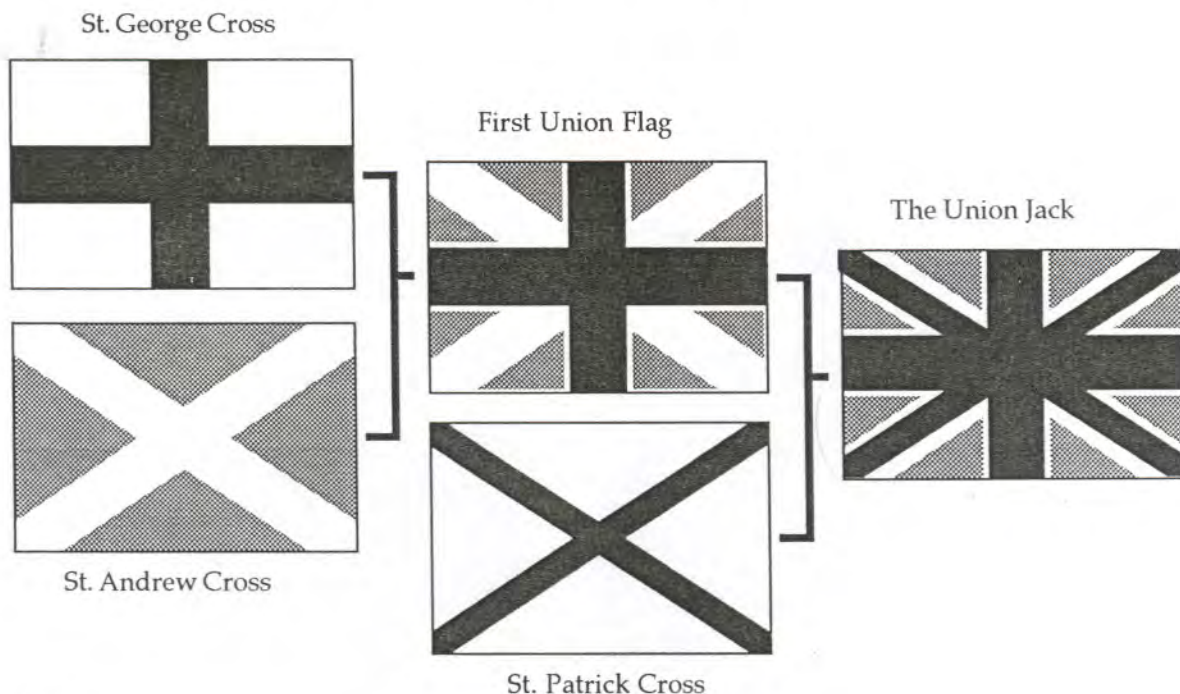
The Maple Leaves are of obvious relevance as the Association is 'of Canada'. On the other hand, the Oak Leaves and Acorns are a long held symbol of loyalty and fidelity to the Monarchy. In the British traditions, this has been particularly so since Charles II was hidden in the Oak Tree after the Battle of Worcester in 1651. As a consequence, he

chose an Oak Tree as the symbol for his Coronation Medal following the Restoration, and ever since, the oak has had this particular symbolism of fidelity for loyalists.

The crosses formy placed at each point where the Maple and Oak come together in the Badge is inspired by that form of cross which has long been used by the Association. In the centre is the Cypher G III R signifying Georgius Tertius Rex, the sovereign to whom the Loyalists gave their devotion and their service in such a pre-eminent manner. This Cypher is similar to the one actually used by George III during his lifetime.



THE LOYALIST FLAG



The First Union Flag, which came into being from England in the year 1606, is the flag which symbolizes the heritage of the United Empire Loyalists. Created at the command of James I of England (formerly James VI of Scotland), it symbolized the unity of those two countries under his rule. The flag was composed of the Cross of St. George, patron saint of England (a red cross on a white background), and the Cross of St. Andrew, patron saint of Scotland (a diagonal white cross on a blue background).

Neither the English nor the Scots welcomed the new flag. Each complained that its part of the flag was blurred or obliterated by that of the other. Their protests, however, were of no avail, and a new union flag, which was to fly in many new and strange lands, was born. The flag was meant chiefly for use at sea and was to be flown on the mainmasts. By 1707, the flag, then known as the Union Jack, was accepted without question as the flag of the British Empire. The word "Jack" comes from the same root as "Jacket" and refers to the coat which warriors and knights wore for protection as early as the Crusades. The cross of the patron saint of each warrior was sewn on his surcoat and served as identification.

It was such a flag that the British explorers, and later the settlers, brought to Canada during those early years of our country's history. This flag

was flown on the ships of such explorers as Henry Hudson and James Cook. It flew from the ramparts of the Hudson's Bay Company trading posts and the British military forts all over the world. The forces of Gen. James Wolfe and Col. George Washington marched behind this flag during the Seven Years War in America and it replaced the French *fleur-de-lis* on the fortifications of Louisbourg and the Upper Town of Quebec when those strongholds fell to the British in 1758 and 1759, respectively. It flew from the masts of the ships which brought the despised tea belonging to the East India Company to Boston in 1773.

When the Continental Congress of the Thirteen Colonies adopted the "Stars and Stripes" in 1777, forces loyal to the British government continued to display the Union Jack. Indeed, the Union Jack still flies at Colonial historic sites in the United States. When the United Empire Loyalists left the United States for their new homes in British North America, they brought their flag with them.

The Union Jack became the official flag of Great Britain in 1801 when the cross of St. Patrick (a diagonal red cross on a white field) was incorporated in the first Union Jack.

In 1892, the Canadian Red Ensign, a red flag with the Union Jack in the upper corner next the staff and the Canadian Coat-of-Arms to the right became the official flag of Canadian merchant

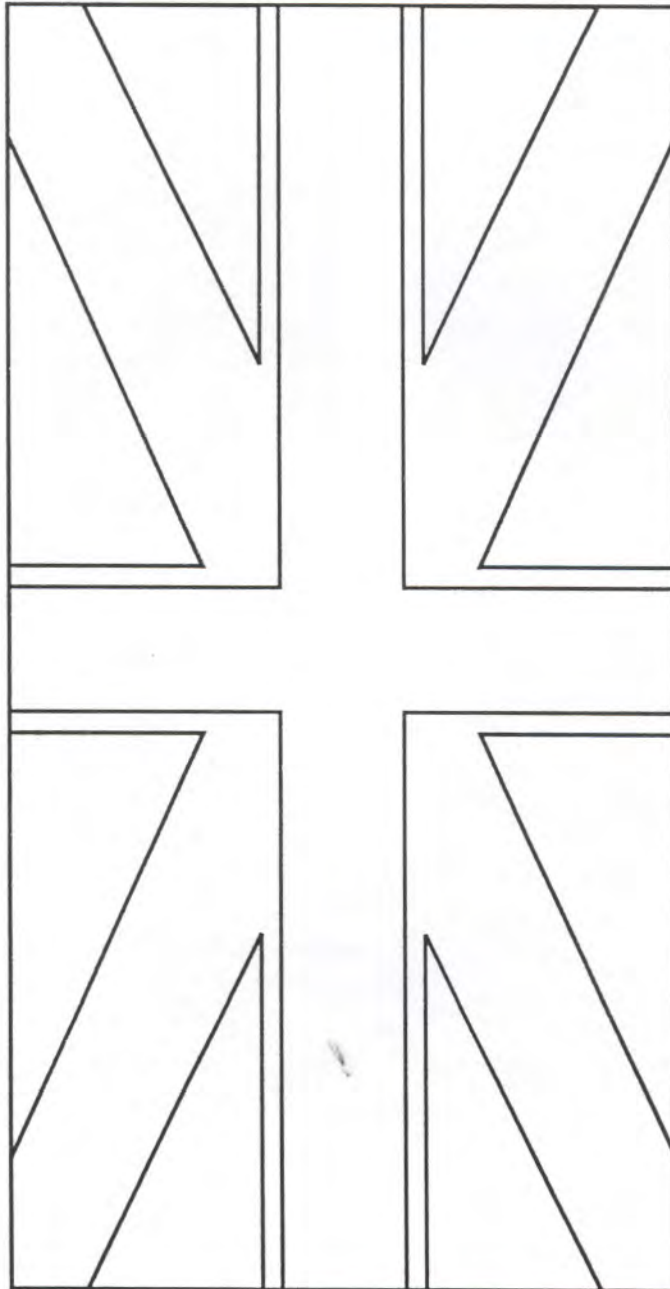
Loyalists of the Maritimes

ships. Both the ensign and the Union Jack, were accepted as Canada's flags until 1965 when the Canadian Parliament approved a distinctive National Flag.

The Union Jack is flown in Canada today as the national flag of the United Kingdom and as a symbol of Canada membership in the Commonwealth and of her allegiance to Queen Elizabeth II, the Queen of Canada. It is flown during royal visits, for example, and is flown, along with Canada's Na-

tional Flag, on such occasions as the official observance of Her Majesty the Queen's birthday (the Monday preceding May 24).

Originally the symbol of the union of two peoples, today the Union Flag represents the unity of the British Empire for which the Loyalists stood. In addition, it reminds us of the traditions of peace, order, and good government which the Loyalists upheld and brought with them to their new homes.

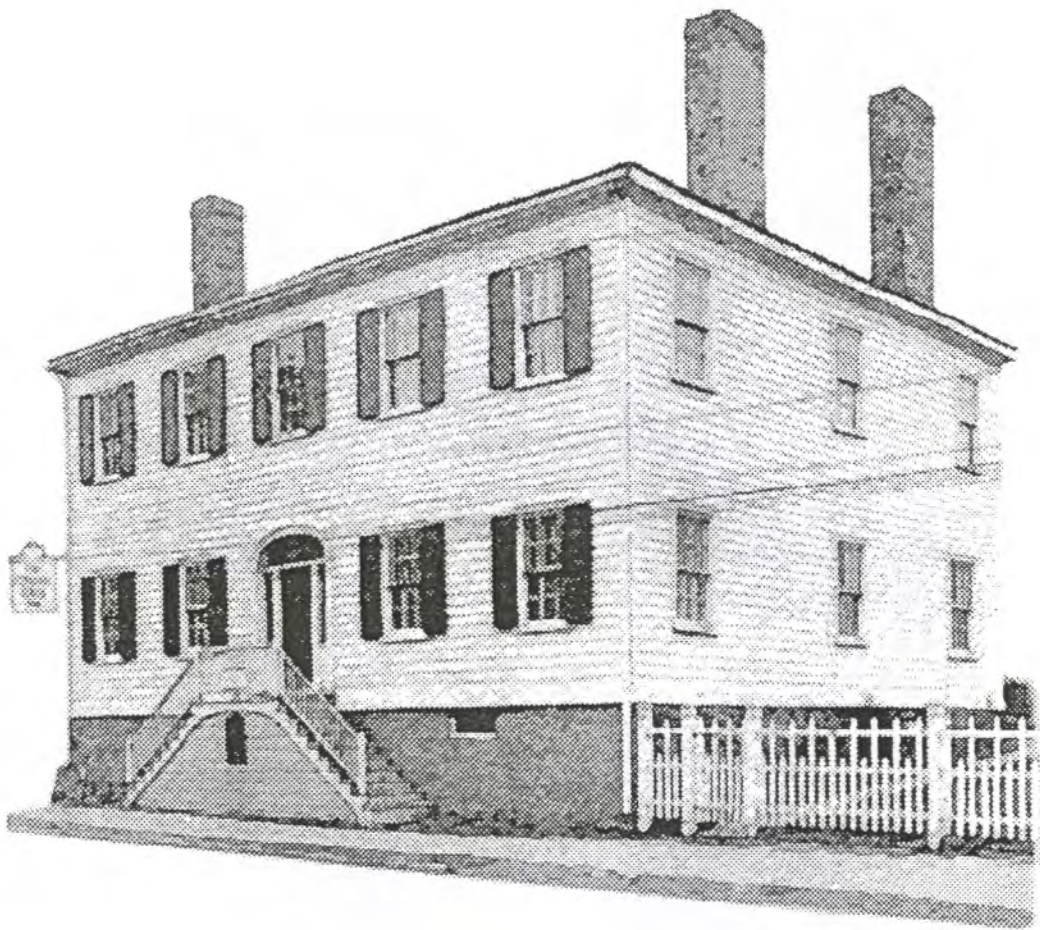


XI

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

1. Set up a Loyalist display in your library.
2. Have the students make a family tree. Perhaps some will have Loyalist ancestors.
3. Have the class locate the Thirteen Colonies. Discuss how the Loyalists travelled to their new land.
4. Think about the time (1783) and make a list of hardships the Loyalists might have encountered.
5. Today, political refugees are still coming to Canada. Are there those in the class who have come here for similar reasons as the Loyalists came? Perhaps they would like to share their experiences.
6. Make a paper Loyalist flag to display.
7. Have a play time using only games that require no special equipment. Have the students create games using found materials - just as Loyalist children would have done.
8. Compare what present day immigrants receive in help, to what the Loyalists received in 1783.
9. Have the students keep a detailed diary of one day's activities. Then have them write a diary of one day's activities in Loyalist times.
10. Using clothing catalogues or ads, cut out pictures of what we wear today, and contrast that with what Loyalists wore.
11. Compare a kitchen, bedroom, or some room of a modern house, with the equivalent Loyalist room in a house.





Loyalist House, in Saint John, New Brunswick, was built by David Daniel Merritt, a Loyalist who arrived in 1783 from New York when he was 19, with his parents and one brother. In 1810 he began the building of this house for his family of seven.

Merritt died in 1820, and the house was passed along in the family for about 150 years.