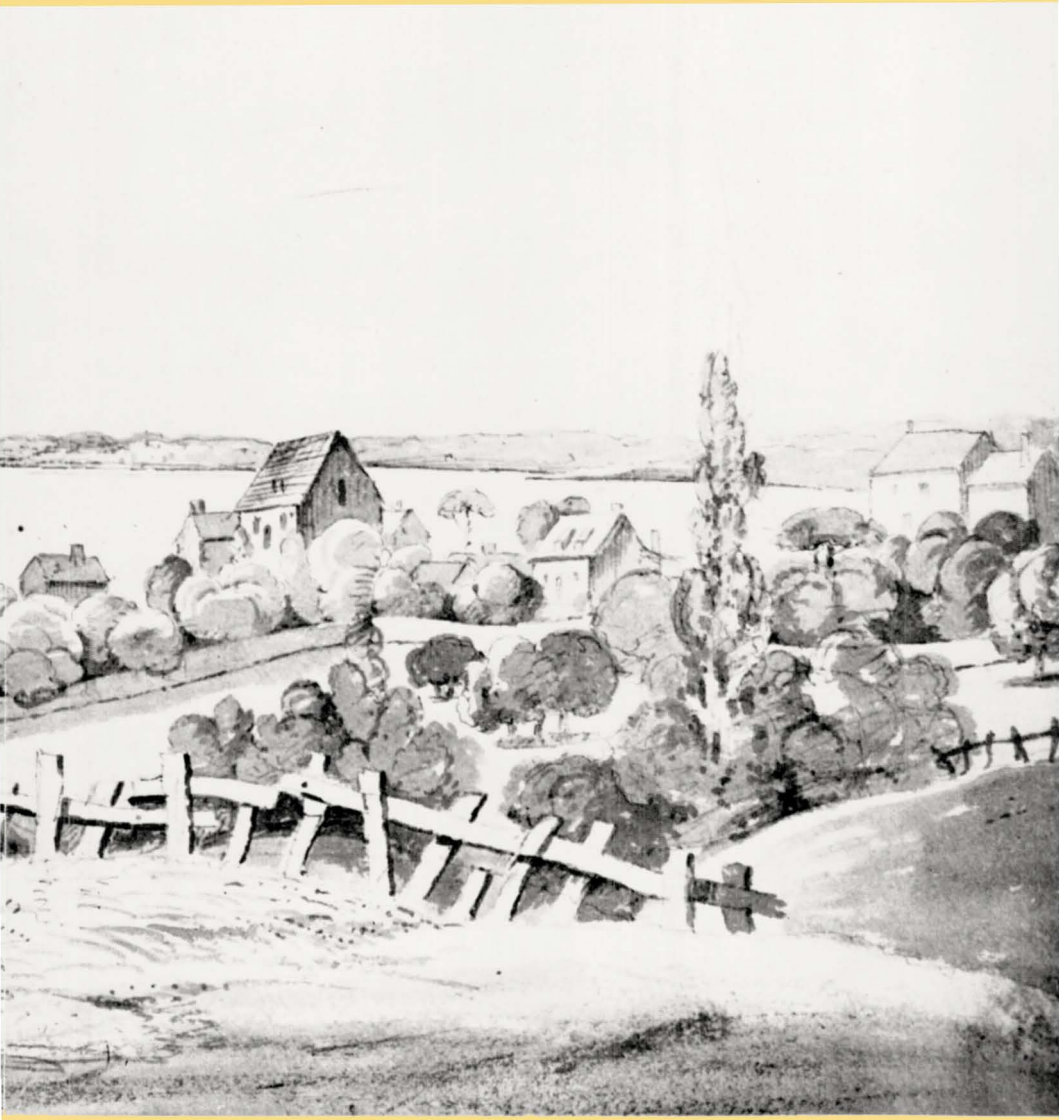
Nova Scotia Historical Review

Volume 3, Number 1, 1983



Nova Scotia Historical Review

Volume 3, Number 1, 1983

Cover Photo:
J.E. Woolford, "Shelburne Harbour from the town of Shelburne, 1817"
Provenance:
Nova Scotia Museum
Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly / Review

Back Issues Available

Quarterly
Volume 2 — Number 4
Volume 3 — Numbers 1, 2, 3 and 4
Volume 4 — Numbers 1, 2, 3 and 4
Volume 6 — Numbers 1 and 3
Volume 7 — Numbers 2 and 4
Volume 8 — Numbers 1 and 4
Volume 9 — Numbers 1, 3 and 4
Volume 10 — Numbers 1, 2, 3 and 4
Special Supplement, 1975

Available at $2.00 each or $3.00 for two.

Review
Volume 2 — Number 1
Volume 2 — Number 2

Available at $4.00 per copy.

from:

Nova Scotia Historical Review
Public Archives of Nova Scotia
6016 University Avenue
Halifax, Nova Scotia
B3H 1W4

Contents

EDITORIAL

The year 1983 is a full one for Nova Scotians, and for their friends and relations outside the province. Hundreds of events are already underway for the Bicentenary of the Loyalists' arrival in Nova Scotia; the Second International Gathering of the Clans in Nova Scotia is from 27 June to 20 August, and for it there are twenty-four different festivals and fifty different clan gatherings. In this issue we have several articles on the Shelburne County Loyalists and a history of the Antigonish Highland Games as our contribution to this event-filled year. In the Autumn issue there will be articles on individual Loyalists such as Colonel James Moody and Colonel James Delancey.

This Spring issue is the largest printing so far -- thirteen hundred copies. Past sales attest to the *Review*'s growing readership. All copies of the two 1981 issues are sold out, and of the 1982 publications, there are a dozen copies left of the Spring issue and less than one hundred of the Autumn one. This issue is also the first for which we have accepted advertising. Any firm or individual wishing to place an advertisement should write to myself; our rates are $100 per page or $50 per half page.

We are already engaged in planning the 1984 issues. One of these will be devoted to articles on early religion in Nova Scotia. Contributions are most welcome and should be sent to Mrs. Lois Kernaghan, c/o Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 6016 University Avenue, Halifax, Nova Scotia, B3H 1W4.

Historical societies and similar organizations are encouraged to buy blocks of 50 copies of the *Review* at $2.00 per copy for sale to their members, friends and visitors at $4.00 per copy, the profit accruing to the society.

This issue of the *Review* is made possible by a grant from the Nova Scotia Department of Culture, Recreation and Fitness.

Brian Cuthbertson
Managing Editor

ISSN 0227-4752

Contributors

MARY R. ARCHIBALD
was born in Mamaroneck, New York, but received part of her early education in Shelburne. She holds a B.A. from Mount Allison University, and a M.Ed. from Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York City. A resident of Shelburne, she has taught extensively in the school system.

Mrs. Archibald is well known for her interest in and promotion of Nova Scotia's Loyalist heritage, particularly in the Shelburne area. She has written widely on the subject, including *Gideon White Loyalist* (1975), *The United Empire Loyalists* (1978) and *The Loyalists of Nova Scotia* (1982). Her most recent publication, *Loyalist Dress in Nova Scotia 1775-1800*, is reviewed in this issue of the *Nova Scotia Historical Review*. Mrs. Archibald's efforts have been recognized by a Cultural Award from the Nova Scotia Historical Federation. She is also a member of both the Shelburne Historical Society and the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society.

MARION ROBERTSON
was born in Somerville, Massachusetts, but was educated in Barrington, at the Mount Allison Ladies' College, Sackville, and at the Teachers' College, Truro. She presently resides in Shelburne.

Mrs. Robertson has long been involved with historical research and writing, with particular reference to Shelburne County. Her interest in native studies has resulted in two books, *Red Earth* (1968) and *Rock Drawings of the Micmac Indians* (1973). She has compiled some seventy columns of local history for the *Shelburne Coast Guard*, has presented various papers before the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society, and has written extensively for such publications as the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* and the *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly*. Her latest book, *King's Bounty, a History of Early Shelburne*, will be published this spring, and has already gained for Mrs. Robertson the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society's Centennial Award in History.

ALYCE TAYLOR CHESKA
was born in Duluth, Minnesota. She holds B.S. and M.A. degrees from the University of Minnesota, and an Ed.D. from the University of California, Berkeley. She has done post-doctoral work in anthropology, specializing in the social science of physical education and anthropology. At present, she is a professor of physical education and anthropologist in another unit at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. Her summers are spent at Sebim Beach, Yarmouth County.

Dr. Cheska is author of three books and co-author of a fourth, *Anthropology of Sports*, to be published in late 1983. Her writings deal with the anthropology of play, games, sports and women's sports. She is an editor, has prepared various radio and television presentations, and is a member of advisory boards and an officer of several professional associations concerned with anthropology and the history of play and physical education. This is her second article in the *Nova Scotia Historical Review*.

BARBARA B. SHAW

is a native of Halifax. She holds a B.A. from Mount Allison University and a B.L.S. from McGill. She has worked as a cataloguer and librarian with various libraries in Nova Scotia and Toronto, and is presently the editor of publications for the Nova Scotia Museum, Halifax.

Mrs. Shaw has written for the children's magazine *Ahoy* and for the Nova Scotia Museum (*The Village Blacksmith*, 1972). Her *Kiki of Kingfisher Cove* (1977) has been a popular children's book. She has also served as editor for the Publications Committee of the Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia. In her spare time, Mrs. Shaw paints in watercolours, and the Sambro lighthouse has been a favourite subject.

KATHLEEN TUDOR

is a native of Shelburne County, and attributes her interest in its history to her United Empire Loyalist and Yankee roots there. She holds a B.A. from Concordia University, Montreal, an M.A. (Cum Laude) from the University of Montreal and a Ph.D. from the University of Toronto, all in English literature. She has taught school in Shelburne County, in Quebec and in London, England. At present she is an associate professor of English at St. Mary's University, but is on leave during 1982/83, teaching English at the Shandong Teachers' University in Jinan, Shandong Province, People's Republic of China.

Professor Tudor is involved with regional history at both the local and academic levels. She is a member of the Shelburne Historical Society and the Atlantic Canada Studies Committee at St. Mary's, and has also served on the editorial board of the *Atlantic Provinces Book Review*. She has written articles and reviews for such publications as the *Pottersfield Portfolio*, *Atlantis*, *Fiddlehead*, and the *Antigonish Review*. Shelburne County and its history provide much of the inspiration for her writing.

HERBERT R. BANKS
was born in Barrington Passage, where he attended the local school, continuing his education at Dalhousie University, where he was granted the degree of B.Sc. During his employment with the administrative staff of the provincial Department of Welfare (Social Services), Mr. Banks edited the in-service *Welfare News* quarterly publication.

A founding member and a past president of the Cape Sable Historical Society, Barrington, he was for some years treasurer of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society. Since his retirement, Mr. Banks has returned to Barrington Passage, where he pursues his interest in historical research and the collection of Novascotiana in books.

The Shelburne Loyalists

Mary Archibald

In the days following the British and Loyalist defeat at Yorktown, 19 October 1781, the price of loyalty became alarmingly clear to the thousands of colonials who had supported Great Britain during the long years of the American Revolution. Whether through high ideals or low opportunism, the Loyalists had grimly hung on, confident of a British victory and the vindication of their loyalist principles. After Yorktown, they watched in dismay as England decided to end the expensive war in America which threatened the security of the entire British Empire, and then as it became evident that England would not be able to protect the interests of her loyal colonials in the subsequent peace talks held in Paris.

The United States began by refusing compensation for any losses suffered by the Loyalists. Even more shattering was the news that eight of the thirteen new states had banished specifically listed Loyalists, and that neither Congress nor any of the individual states would guarantee the safety of any Loyalist attempting to return home.[1] The outcome was that some eighty to one hundred thousand colonials were forced to leave their country, many of them embarking from New York City, the last stronghold of the British army in the new United States of America. This article concerns the story of those thousands who found their first refuge on the shores of the harbour at Port Roseway, now Shelburne, Nova Scotia.

At the beginning of the American Revolution, the population of Nova Scotia had been between seventeen and twenty thousand. Half were from New England, having immigrated since 1758 when the colony was granted an elected assembly.[2] By 1775, many of these recent immigrants had become disenchanted with the government of Nova Scotia and were sympathetic with their families and friends "back home" in the Thirteen Colonies. Fires had been set in the Halifax dockyard; hay destined for the British Horse in Boston had been burnt before it could be loaded on the transports riding at anchor in Halifax harbour and, with five exceptions, the people of Truro, Onslow and Londonderry had refused to take the oath of allegiance. In 1776, Jonathan Eddy, former member of the House of Assembly at Halifax, had led an attack on Fort Cumberland, the British outpost on the Isthmus of

1 Wallace Brown, *The Good Americans* (New York, 1969), p. 147.

2 George Rawlyk, *Nova Scotia's Massachusetts* (Toronto, 1974), p. 222.

Chignecto.[3] At the close of the revolution, officials in London and some members of the government at Halifax were anxious to welcome to Nova Scotia settlers who had proven their loyalty to the Empire.

At New York City, Gideon White, a Loyalist from Plymouth, Massachusetts, who knew well the south-western coast of Nova Scotia, recommended the Port Roseway location to one of the emigrating loyalist groups, citing its "fine harbour, safe distance from the sea and potential for the fishery."[4] Impressed with Gideon White's suggestion, 120 heads of families soon organized themselves into the Port Roseway Associates and proceeded to make careful plans for the city they hoped to build in the Nova Scotian wilderness. In December, 1782, two of the members, Joseph Pynchon and James Dole were commissioned to proceed to Nova Scotia and lay the requests of the Associates before the authorities at Halifax. They were specifically instructed to ask that the new settlement be incorporated as a city.[5]

The two Associates were well received by the governor and council, who told them "we have been waiting for someone to come." Charles Morris, surveyor-general for the province, assured them that Port Roseway was ideal for farming as well as for fishing and it was suggested that since the site was ideally situated for westward trade through the Bay of Fundy, it would no doubt become a commercial centre and "a capital port of North America."[6] Unfortunately, Joseph Pynchon aroused jealousies in Halifax and throughout the province by giving his opinion that Port Roseway would some day outrival Halifax and become the capital. When Pynchon and Dole returned to New York, they carried no promises, except that adequate lands would be available for the Port Roseway Associates in south-western Nova Scotia.

In the early spring of 1783 there was much communication with Sir Guy Carleton, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces, based at New York, who ordered that the Associates organize themselves into companies of militia, headed by captains who would be responsible for law and order until

3 Beamish Murdoch, *A History of Nova-Scotia or Acadie* (Halifax, 1866), Vol. II, pp. 539, 557.

4 Mary Archibald, *Gideon White, Loyalist* (Halifax, 1975), p. 7.

5 For further details, see this issue, Marion Robertson, "The Port Roseway Associates."

6 Minute Book, Port Roseway Associates. MG9, B9-14, Vol. 1, Public Archives of Canada (hereafter PAC). There is a copy in the Shelburne County Museum, Shelburne, Nova Scotia.

the "Government of Nova Scotia takes place." Sixteen captains were duly elected.

On 16 April, the Spring Fleet sailed out of New York, carrying 441 Port Roseway Associates, their families, a small advance contingent of Black Pioneers,[7] who were to assist with the building of wharves and public buildings, the army, and members of the Engineering Department under Lieutenant Douglas Lawson who carried the following instructions from Robert Morse, chief engineer for Nova Scotia:

> Upon your arrival you will in conjunction with the commanding officer of the troops, the superior officer of the navy and such persons as you may find authorized by the Governor of the Province, carefully examine the harbour with a view to finding a proper place to land the troops, provisions, ordnance and the King's stores, and to establish the Military post which may afford a protection to shipping and be capable of defence toward the sea as well as by land having in contemplation a town, wharves, barracks and other Publick buildings necessary to a great and permanent establishment, for all of which purposes ample reservations of lands should be made and the refugee Settlers shewn the spot intended for the town, upon which only they should be allowed to build, agreeably to a plan laid out for them.[8]

Seven days later, on 4 May, the fleet arrived at its destination and was met by William Morris and Benjamin Marston, the two men sent by Governor Parr to lay out the settlement. William Morris was the son of Charles Morris, while Benjamin Marston was a Loyalist, the cousin of Colonel Edward Winslow, muster master in charge of settling the Loyalists in Nova Scotia. Winslow had effected Marston's posting to Port Roseway, where his cousin was to be, in Winslow's estimation, "a kind of Governor-General."[9]

From the beginning, there was friction between Marston and the Associates. When the latter objected to the site chosen for the town and wished to form committees to reconsider the matter, Marston wrote in his diary, "This cursed republican, town-meeting spirit has been the ruin of us already. Mankind of ten [*sic*] times posesses too much liberty." On 9 May, King Street was laid out and on 21 May the people drew for their town lots.

---

7 The Black Pioneers were members from the only all-black regiment raised by Britain during the American Revolution.

8 W.O. Raymond, "The Founding of Shelburne," *Proceedings* of the New Brunswick Historical Society, VIII (1909), pp. 217-18.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 216.

Marston in his diary wrote "The Association from New York are a curious set, they take it upon themselves to determine who are proper subjects of the King's grant -- they have chosen a committee of 16 [presumably the 16 captains chosen earlier in New York] who point out who are to be elegible." During May there was another source of friction noted by Marston. Stephen Binney, deputy customs collector and impost officer at Halifax, came "to pick a little money out of the people's pockets under the pretence of entering their vessels," but was foiled when it was established that British government transports were exempt from the fees demanded of merchant vessels entering and leaving Nova Scotian ports.[10]

During May and June Morris directed survey operations, but Benjamin Marston later took over, with Messrs. Mason, Lyman and Tully as assistants. The two divisions lying north and south of King Street, North and South Division, quickly proved inadequate for the Associates and for the 800 disbanded soldiers and 40 servants who soon arrived in the new settlement. On 26 June, General James Paterson, in charge of the army in Nova Scotia, arrived from Halifax to supervise the laying out of a further tract, named in his honour -- Paterson's Division.[11]

By the end of June amazing accomplishments had been made at Port Roseway. James Courtney, one of the Associates at Port Roseway, wrote Alexander Cunningham, still in New York City:

> My reason for not writing ere this was on our arrival dark woods and dismal Rocks covered the ground which belongs to the Associated Loyalists. On my first going in shore after travelling five or six hours, returned quite discouraged, and had in the course of my rambles knocked down a brace of Partridges and one Goose, Next time went further and still returned dissatisfied. I thot Hunger look'd every wretch in the face that could not hit or Shoot for his Subsistance -- Boasted land of Canaan my stay here shall be very short but I will first look at the fishery we went off and returned well Satisfied. Providence never was more plenty nor easily come at, as from this place. Great Number of Vessels from different places of New England are here fishing which by the by was infamous in the Peace Makers to allow.
>
> We have got our town Lotts, which is just large enough for a good House and Small garden, and when the trees are cut the Ground looks and is

10 *Ibid.*, pp. 211, 213.

11 Don W. Thomson, "Surveying the Site for Shelburne Town, 1783," *Men and Meridians: The History of Surveying and Mapping in Canada* (Ottawa, 1966), p. 4; Ellen Gibson Wilson, *The Loyal Blacks* (New York, 1976), p. 82; Raymond, "The Founding of Shelburne," p. 228.

> exceeding good, far superior to any about Halifax and I think equal to any I have seen in the Province if Encouragement is given by Government it will in time be a fine Settlement: the Harbour is one of the largest and best in the World exceeding easy of access and very secure when in -- so that had I wrote you at first and have given a poor and unjust account of it, for I am determined to stay and think exceeding well... .The Governor did set his intention of visiting but on the passage was taken ill and obliged to return, yet sent a very genteel letter being [illegible] to see a place which [illegible] to be the first in the province.[12]

Article III of the Peace of Paris had given the people of the United States the right to fish, and dry their fish ashore, along the coasts of what is now Atlantic Canada.

By mid-summer 1783, as the individual states increased their harassment of Loyalists and Sir Guy Carleton received orders to evacuate New York by December, increasing numbers of refugees became desperate to migrate to Nova Scotia. Some individuals who were not Loyalists were drawn to Port Roseway by enticing advertisements in the New York newspapers, and by notices which fostered the notion that the new community would soon become a booming metropolis.

> Robert Wilkins Company
>
> Those persons who have entered their names to go to Port Roseway under the conduct of the subscriber are hereby requested to appear in the Forenoon of this day on board the *Appollo* now lying at Goodrich's Wharf in order to regulate their accomodation on board. Such persons as refuse or neglect complying with this notice must abide the consequences.[13]

On 22 July Governor Parr paid his first visit to the settlement which he renamed Shelburne, in honour of his patron, Lord Shelburne, who had been secretary of state during the Paris peace negotiations in 1782. The governor appointed five justices of the peace, but told the populace he did not have the authority to grant a city charter, one of the original requests of the Associates. During his visit there were great festivities. The governor and his suite dined at the house of "Justice Robertson with the principal inhabitants," and in the evening a public supper and ball were given by the town, "conducted with the greatest festivity and decorum," which lasted

12 White Family Papers, MG1, Vol. 948, No. 210, Public Archives of Nova Scotia (hereafter PANS).

13 Raymond, "The Founding of Shelburne," p. 251.

until five o'clock in the morning. When Governor Parr returned to Halifax, he had a 500-acre tract of land, a mile and a half south of the town of Shelburne, set aside for a personal farm, "Bow-Wood" -- just in case Shelburne should ever become the provincial capital.[14]

During August, the *L'Abondance*, a British transport, brought 409 men, women and children, Black Pioneers and other Black settlers to Shelburne. Among this group were Stephen Bluck, the leader of the Black Pioneers, Boston and Violet King who would become prominent religious forces in the community and Henry Washington, who had been a slave to General George Washington, who became the first president of the United States of America. On the governor's orders, and with the approval of Stephen Bluck, the Black Loyalists were settled on the north-west arm of Shelburne harbour. They named their settlement, the first all-black community in North America, Birchtown, in honour of General Samuel Birch, the commandant at New York City, who guaranteed their freedom during the last months of the revolution.[15]

Late in September or early in October, 1783, the Fall Fleet brought some 5,000 new settlers, disbanded soldiers and their families to Shelburne. It was quite impossible to survey lands for all these newcomers; many spent the winter "in the cove" aboard the transports that had brought them.[16] Early in October, members of the British Legion were brought in transports, but when their leaders saw the crowded conditions at Shelburne, they gave the men a choice --- stay in Shelburne or go on to Port Mouton along the coast toward Halifax. Twenty-one Legion men and their families remained at Shelburne.[17] Late in October, or early in November, Captain Dennis Van Toyle of the Legion and his wife Deborah, with her parents, arrived in their ship the *Cherry Bounce* to find three feet of snow on the ground and their

14 Beamish Murdoch, *A History of Nova-Scotia, or Acadie* (Halifax, 1867), Vol. III, pp. 18-19; Raymond, "The Founding of Shelburne," p. 239.

15 Wilson, *The Loyal Blacks*, pp. 85, 87. The Shelburne/Birchtown black people made up 40% of the local population, the highest such concentration in the province.

16 Raymond, "The Founding of Shelburne," p. 242. "The Cove" is at the south of the town and was named "Bell's Cove" for Joseph Bell, a captain of one of the companies of Loyalists.

17 Thomas Raddall, "Tarleton's Legion," unpublished paper read before the Nova Scotia Historical Society, 11 April 1947; MG20, Vol. 676, No. 9, PANS. Raymond, "The Founding of Shelburne," p. 244.

friends the Van Buskirks living in tents, "the servants with lean-tos to cook under."[18]

By the close of 1783 the situation at Shelburne was desperate. Some historians put the population at that time at 16,000.[19] There was no more available land near the town; the entire west side of the harbour facing the town had been reserved for the Church of England and the military. It was almost impossible to maintain order since the sessions court, where criminal cases were heard, was held at Liverpool, 50 miles distant and accessible only by water. The commercial basis of the new community was jeopardized by fishermen from New England who monopolized the North Atlantic fishery and by the authorities at Halifax who levied heavy duties on all vessels entering and leaving Shelburne harbour -- even on small boats bringing farm produce to the settlement. In spite of these conditions, Governor Parr wrote Lord Shelburne that all was well in the new community, and that he had not a doubt of its becoming "one day or other the finest Port in this part of America."[20]

During that first winter government assistance was necessary to sustain all the loyalist communities in Nova Scotia. On 8 January 1784, Edward Brinley, the assistant commissary general, distributed monthly rations of pork and flour to 8,645 settlers from three large framed warehouses that had been erected on the island lying off the town;[21] some older inhabitants of Shelburne still call this now-peninsula "the Commissary." Many people at Shelburne and Birchtown were not receiving government provisions. James Banks, a free black man originally victualled with John Martin's family, but later mustered at Birchtown, received provisions for two months until "Captain Martin went off to England." Sabina Fergusson, another black person who had travelled in April-May 1783 under the protection of the

18 Mary Archibald, *The Loyalists of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1982), p. 1. Abraham Van Buskirk had been Colonel of the Third Battalion of New Jersey Volunteers during the American Revolution.

19 C. Bruce Fergusson, *Clarkson's Mission to America* (Halifax, 1971), p. 15.

20 Court of General Sessions of the Peace, Shelburne County, RG34-321, PANS; these papers are presently being catalogued and a more precise identification is currently impossible. Raymond, "The Founding of Shelburne," p. 254.

21 Evelyn B. Harvey, "The Negro Loyalists," *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly*, I (1971), p. 192.

Selkrig family, had received no provisions since her arrival at Port Roseway.[22]

In the spring of 1784, at least three more groups of refugees came to Shelburne: twenty-five members of the Duke of Cumberland's Regiment commanded by Captain Gideon White, 289 black settlers from Port Mouton who had spent the winter there, and in the early spring had seen the settlement burn to the ground, and a group of Loyalists from St. Augustine, East Florida, who had chosen to remain in the British Empire after East Florida was ceded to Spain after the revolution.[23]

At least four of the St. Augustine Loyalists influenced subsequent local history. James Bruce, who had been a member of the Governor's Council and customs inspector at Pensacola, West Florida, and who had led the refugee group who had fled to St. Augustine, became customs inspector at Shelburne, where he died in 1804. Adam Bower and his family had come from Germany in 1761 to District Ninety-Six in South Carolina; hundreds of his descendants still live in Shelburne County. Robert Ross had emigrated from Aberdeen, Scotland, to South Carolina, and during the revolution had traded on the Mississippi trying to stop Spanish support of the Americans. He and his brother George built the Ross-Thomson House in Shelburne, now one of the Nova Scotia Museum's chain of Historic Properties. William Moses had been a prominent ship-owner at St. Augustine. He established a business at Shelburne but later moved to Yarmouth, where many of his descendants have been leading citizens of that county.[24]

The maintenance of law and order, one of the earliest difficulties encountered by the community, was improved early in 1784 when Shelburne and the surrounding area were set off as a separate county from Queens County. The first sessions court was held on 30 March at the home of Justice McEwan "near the cove." The magistrates' first concern was fire prevention in the settlement. Twelve fire-wards were appointed, two for each town division. Directors of chimney sweeps were named and fees set for sweeping. Regulations were established, stipulating that "Every chimney must be regularly swept once a month"; if the owner of the building failed to

22 Muster of the Free Blacks at Birchtown, August 1784. MG9, B9-14, Vol. 1, PAC. A copy is at the Shelburne County Museum.

23 A.C. Jost, *Guysborough Sketches and Essays* (Kentville, 1950), p. 120; Muster of the Free Blacks at Birchtown; Jost, *Guysborough Sketches*, p. 173.

24 Genealogical records, Shelburne County Museum.

comply and the chimney caught on fire, the fine would be twenty shillings.[25] In August 1784 the Friendly Fire-Club was formed, designed "to Give Relief to all citizens of Shelburne in case of fire." By 1786 there were two fire engines in the town, Newsham pumpers purchased in England, one by James Robertson and the other by Benjamin Davis, on behalf of the Shelburne Chamber of Commerce.[26]

In 1784, the magistrates were concerned with regulating other aspects of community life in Shelburne. Joshua Watson, Peter Lynch, Valentine Nutter and Benjamin Davis were appointed Surveyors of Lines and Bounds and Conservors of the Poor. John Miller, secretary of the Port Roseway Associates, was named Cutter and Inspector of Hoops and Staves, Ebenezer Parker was nominated Cutter and Surveyor of Fish, Patrick Wall and John Minshull were appointed Township Assessors, John Graham the Inspector of Liquor Measurements, and Gregory Springhall the Provincial Assessor.[27]

In July 1784, what some historians have called Nova Scotia's first race riots broke out in Shelburne, when some disbanded soldiers rose against certain of the black settlers living within the town and tore down their houses, forcing them to flee to Birchtown. The soldiers then turned against Benjamin Marston, who found refuge first in the barracks across the harbour, but later left for Halifax where Governor Parr accused him of the most corrupt practices while he was surveyor at Shelburne. Marston maintained that the soldiers had turned on the negroes because they, the negroes, were willing to work for less pay than the soldiers, but as James Walker writes in *The Black Loyalists*, the riots occured because there was not enough land available for all the refugees who had come to Shelburne. The frustrations resulted in violence.[28]

In August, fifteen months after the arrival of the first Loyalists, a land board was set up under Isaac Wilkins, former member of the New York Legislature, in an effort to stabilize the chaotic conditions in the settlement. It was, unfortunately, too late. Water lots had been granted without access to

25 Mary Archibald, *The Loyalists of Nova Scotia*, Rules and Orders of the Friendly Fire-Club, No. 14.

26 *Ibid.* One of these pumpers can be seen today at the Shelburne County Museum.

27 *Ibid.*

28 James W. St. G. Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870* (Halifax, 1976), p. 49.

the harbour. Land had been given to many settlers who has shown no loyalty during the revolution. Many prominent Nova Scotians had received property, just in case Shelburne became the capital of the province; these people never came to live in Shelburne.[29] In 1787, the Reverend Mr. George Panton, one of the Anglican ministers at Shelburne, wrote that many people were still not on their lands, and in 1788, Dr. William Walter, the other Anglican clergyman, wrote that many people had left the community "because they could not get their land in season."[30]

The situation was summed up by Robert Morse, chief engineer for the province, who noted that during 1784 the Loyalists at Shelburne and at the mouth of the River St. John had been very active, raising "astonishing towns...and in less time perhaps than ever was know in any country before." He lamented the fact that more effort had not been spent in cultivating the land, for "besides loss of time, they have wasted their substance in that which can never prove profitable to themselves or useful to the country." He went on to cite the "great irregularities that had happened in escheating and laying out their land," and "the want of foresight and wisdom to make necessary arrangements and steadiness to carry them in to execution." Finally he laid much of the blame for the plight of the refugees at the feet of the members of the Legislative Assembly:

> ...a great part of the old inhabitants, especially the wealthy ones, are from New England, and, they discovered, during the late war, the same sentiments which prevailed in that country. I think it necessary to add that the Legislature is principally composed of these men, and that some of the higher public offices are at present filled with the most notorious of such characters.[31]

---

29 In addition to Governor Parr, Charles Morris, Lawrence Hartshorne and Robert Pagan, many people received grants at Shelburne. John Wentworth, former governor of New Hampshire, who became governor of Nova Scotia in 1792, received a six-mile long island in the Roseway River.

30 W.O. Raymond, "The Church of England at Shelburne," *Proceedings* of the New Brunswick Historical Society, VIII (1909). Among the first to leave was a group for Tusket which included Dennis Van Toyle and his family and Gabriel Van Norden and his family. William Schurman sailed for Charlottetown, Ile. St. Jean (Prince Edward Island), 26 July 1784. In September this group was followed by two groups of disbanded soldiers and other Loyalists.

31 Report on Nova Scotia by Col. Robert Morse, R.E., 1784, in *Report* on Canadian Archives, 1884, p. x1.

Late in 1784, Benjamin Marston provided another, somewhat more pragmatic assessment of conditions at Shelburne. He noted that by 1 February 1784 1,127 houses had been built, 231 framed, the rest of logs. Between then and late 1784, "near 300 houses and stores" had been erected, for the most part "large and commodious." During his time in Shelburne, Marston had surveyed "2,400 House Lotts, 837 store and wharf lots, 800 country lots and 50 500 acre lots." There were two sawmills in the neighbourhood and about 50 vessels sailing out of the port. A recent New York refugee had even entered his vessel in the whale fishery, which was regarded as promising. Marston found the climate to be "healthy, the winter rather more open than on the continent," and recommended the area as the "finest grazing land in America." During his surveys he had discovered promising deposits of coal, copper and limestone. In his estimation, Nova Scotia in general needed "nothing but industry, a good constitution of government, and that steadily administered to make it a country in which life can be spent with as much pleasure and satisfaction as in most parts of this terrestrial globe."[32]

Early in 1785 the two newspapers published in Shelburne presented a prosperous picture of the community. The *Port Roseway Gazetteer and General Advertiser* was published at the south-eastern junction of King and Water streets by James Robertson Jr. and Thomas and James Swords. Across King Street stood the Merchants' Coffee House. Across Water Street, Bartholomew Sullivan and Nathaniel Mills advertised in the *Royal American Gazette*, 31 March 1785, that they would accept "fish, furs or lumber" as payment for goods purchased in their settlement. Joshua Pell and George Lowe, both Port Roseway Associates, had their place of business on George Street, where they would accept offers of "Vessels to charter to land at St. Andrews or Campobello to sail to one or two of the Bahama Islands and then with Cargo to London, Bristol or Glasgow." Alexander Gay, Loyalist from South Carolina, offered from his office on Dorney Lane, "boards, staves, shingles or scantling" as cargo for vessels sailing to the West Indies. Captain Lownds had Nova Scotia produce for sale at his stone house, "flour in sacks, fresh from the mills, sweet and substantial. Oats and Bran of excellent quality." Thomas Turnbull had a thousand feet of pine boards which he was

32 W.O. Raymond, "The Founding of Shelburne."

willing to sell in smaller quantities "as may suit the purchaser"; he also wanted to charter "a vessel from one - two hundred tons burthen."[33]

But there were many problems in the community. Sometime in 1785 a memorial was presented to Governor Parr by Alexander Robertson, Samuel Campbell and Robert Ross, on behalf of the "Merchants, Traders, Farmers and Others Settled in the Town and County of Shelburne." This lengthy document reveals a keen awareness of the weaknesses already perceived in the new community and a prescient understanding of certain factors which would make it impossible for the Loyalists to realize the dreams they had had for this settlement in the wilderness.[34]

An immediate concern was the lack of provisions in His Majesty's Stores in the community; if Shelburne was to survive, government support must continue. Next, the petitioners addressed the land problem, requesting that the large tracts of reserved land surrounding Shelburne be divided into small parcels to accommodate those settlers still awaiting grants.

The memorialists then proceeded to what they perceived to be the crucial factors holding the new community back from successful development: trade, taxation and lack of representation in the provincial government. They noted that large cargoes were illegally entering Shelburne "from the Revolted Colonies, in British and American bottoms," and that consequently, "bullion, to a great amount" had passed from Shelburne to the United States. They were also perturbed over the Assembly's continued levying of impost and excise duties on "Merchandize already imported, and to be imported into the Settlement," and argued that the hardships which they had endured since arriving at Shelburne ill prepared them "to bear the burden of others, or contribute to purposes foreign to their own wants."[35] By this they meant that proceeds of such taxation were not being used for "purposes of Public Utility to this Settlement," but were passing to Halifax, "either [to] be lost in the hands of individuals" or to be disposed of by an assembly in which they had no representation. They reminded the governor that while still at New York in 1782, they had been led to expect that upon

33 Unless otherwise cited, all examples are from the *Port Roseway Gazetteer and General Advertiser*, 12 May 1785.

34 Memorial of Robert Ross, Samuel Campbell, and Alexander Robertson, to Governor Parr, n.d., typed copy certified by the late Robert Thomson (possessor of the original). MG 100, Vol. 220, No. 13, PANS.

35 *Ibid.*

their arrival in Nova Scotia, they would receive the same "Rights, Privileges, and Immunities granted to and enjoyed by the Original Settlers at Halifax in the year 1748 [*sic*]". The old spectre of taxation without representation thus rankled deeply, and the memorialists consequently demanded that an assembly be called which would include both representatives from Shelburne and other Loyalist settlements from throughout Nova Scotia.

The Shelburne memorialists also requested exemption from taxation for a ten-year period, so that they might successfully establish their community. In the interim, they pledged to make every effort to provide churches, schools and other community welfare needs from their own resources, rather than from government funds. Their final warning was that if the government continued to ignore their situation, their community was doomed to failure: already "a great many, tired out with fruitless expectations, have emigrated to other parts."

Unfortunately, the memorial was largely ignored by the Halifax authorities. Certain of its requests, as with other concessions previously solicited by the Shelburne Loyalists, were beyond the powers of the colonial administration to grant. Others were controversial, especially to a government dedicated to maintaining the *status quo*. While assembly representation was achieved late in 1785, this in itself did little to bring the desired prosperity to Shelburne.

Other positive indicators were evident during these early years. Hopes for developing Shelburne as a viable commercial centre were strengthened by the emergence of a growing local shipping industry. In 1786 the keel of a 90-ton brig was laid at a new shipyard at Watson's Point, joining several other vessels already under construction in local yards.[36] On 24 January 1787, tenders were called for a lighthouse at Cape Roseway, another boom for marine activity. This lighthouse was completed in 1792 with Alexander Cocken, a Port Roseway Associate, as the first keeper of the light.[37]

Improved road communication was vital for Shelburne's future and development. Early in 1783 tenders were called for a road between Shelburne and Liverpool, and by August it had been laid out to Jordan Falls; anyone "aggrieved by said road" was to make complaints within 30 days.[38]

36 *Nova Scotia Packet*, 15 June 1786.

37 *Port Roseway Gazetteer and General Advertiser*, 25 January 1787.

38 *Nova Scotia Packet*, 25 May 1786; 31 August 1786.

By 1787 the Grand Jury was agitating for government money to build a road westward to Barrington, Argyle and Yarmouth, since "the markets of Shelburne could be supplied with Butchers' Meat from those townships alone"; this in turn would "Preserve in the province large Sums of Money which must necessarily continue to be carried out of it for the purpose of buying in the States of America what our own County would furnish us with were the communications available."[39]

During these early years of high hopes and vigorous expansion, Shelburne was an exciting community. Various forms of entertainment were available for the diversion of the settlers. A Mr. Moore was in town in May 1785 to deliver "Fashionable Railery with Alterations to be preceded by an Eloquim on Free Masonry." The evening's entertainment would conclude with "A Poetical Vision called The Court of Momus," in which Mr. Moore would imitate many dramatic characters. The program was to be presented at the Merchants' Coffee House, and no person would be admitted after half-past seven in the evening.[40]

Masonic activities were another interest. On 24 June 1786, the brethen of Parr Lodge, No. 3, ancient York Masons celebrated the anniversary of St. John's at "Brother Steel's": dinner was "precisely at half past three o'clock." Hiram Lodge No. 10 celebrated at "Brother McGrath's," presumably McGrath's Tavern, which had been established in 1783.[41]

In 1790 the Friendly Club was instituted, the members agreeing to "assist and relieve each other" and to "provide mutual kindness and good neighbourhood." A revised and amended constitution and rules were presented to the society's quarterly meeting of 4 August 1795, held at the Merchants' Coffee House. The society's president that year was Colin Campbell, and the standing committee included James Holden, who has many descendants today in the Jordan River area. Members had to be "of a fair unblemished character and have visible ways of gaining their livelihood." Fines were levied if members "appeared at any meeting disguised in liquor," and also if they swore or created disputes, "or discord concerning religion, politics or government" at the meetings. In return, if a member died without leaving "sufficient to bury him in decency," his

39 Court of General Sessions of the Peace, Shelburne County, RG34-321, PANS.

40 *Port Roseway Gazetteer and Advertiser*, 12 May 1785.

41 *Nova Scotia Packet*, 22 June 1786.

expenses would be assumed by the society who would also financially assist his widow and children.[42]

The cosmopolitan atmosphere of the community was also enhanced by the presence of the military. During the winter of 1783 five companies of the 37th regiment were stationed at Shelburne; contingents of the 17th and 6th regiments afterwards successively occupied the barracks on the west side of the harbour. The soldiers cut a road over the three miles to town, and each Sunday they marched into Shelburne, attended church and then gave a concert on the waterfront for the inhabitants. On 27 February 1787, the 6th regiment gave a concert at the church on Hammond Street for the "Benefit of the Poor."[43]

There was a serious side to the military presence at Shelburne. In August 1785 General John Campbell visited the community and found the place well fortified. At Point Carleton, the fort located at the entrance to the main harbour, barracks, an ordnance storekeeper's house, engineer's quarters and various other storehouses had been constructed. The guns at Point Carleton included "6 field Pieces or Battalion Guns, 2 Brass Howitzers, several Iron Guns of Different Calibres, lying in Skids, with 3 Iron Howitzers -- The shot and shells were regularly piled and one 12 pounder, mounted on a signal gun."[44] The army stayed in Shelburne until 1793, when the Napoleonic Wars began, and the forces were removed to Annapolis.

The appearance of prosperity during these years was fostered by progressive and continuing efforts to build the community on a solid foundation. In this respect, the local government was responsible for regulating various aspects of economic and social welfare, and in attempting to correct perceived weaknesses. The sessions court recommended in April 1786 that Grand Jury members be drawn from the county as well, to prevent "Jealousies and Uneasiness." Mindful of the new community's precarious commercial status, the sessions court recommended that no lumber be exported that was "not altogether merchantable," and then proceeded to regulate the local cartage of same. In order to protect natural resources in the area, the justices also strictly regulated the river fisheries and

42 *The Constitution and Rules of the Friendly Club* (Shelburne, 1795), Shelburne County Museum.

43 *Port Roseway Gazetteer and General Advertiser*, 22 Feb. 1787.

44 "Journal of a Tour with Genl. Campbell in July and August 1785," *Report* of the Board of Trustees of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1933, pp. 49-50.

the forests; no fires were to be set between 1 June and 15 October, and any person found "discharging his Fowling Piece or Smoaking his Pipe where Brush is piled for burning" would forfeit and pay.

The justices also addressed themselves to social problems, warning the overseers of the poor to pay careful attention to binding out the "Children of the Poor," especially the black children, so that they might be "brought up usefull and not a Burthen to the Community." They also noted that there were too many "Dram Shops" in Shelburne, and by April 1787, the Grand Inquest was recommending that "no Licences for the sale of liquor in the future be granted."[45]

Such an enlightened approach to community welfare and local government could not, however, conceal the fact that there were many problems at Shelburne which threatened the community with failure. By 1787, the Grand Inquest was warning of the "present low State of Finances & accumulating Debt of the county," and was advocating that "a more equitable System of expenditure of Public Money is Absolutely Necessary for the ensuing Year."[46] Built in the wilderness upon the twin foundations of hope and loyalty, the fourth largest city in North America could not hope to live up to the dreams of its founders amidst its isolation, its local conflicts and frustrations, its faltering economic bases and its domination by the well-established rival, Halifax.

The story could have been different if fewer people had come to Shelburne in the years immediately following the American Revolution. It could have been different had a land board been set up soon after the arrival of the first refugees, instead of some fifteen months later. It could have been very different indeed, had the Halifax authorities looked kindly upon this settlement which had promised to be such a "great and permanent establishment" and a "capital port of North America."

45 RG34-321, PANS. The black settlers were not faring well. On 27 September 1785, Colonel Bluck advised the sessions court that only about one-fifth of the black people mustered at Birchtown (presumably in the summer of 1784) were still in the settlement; the rest "were distributed through the province for Support." Of the local black people some were fishing, others "loitering their lives in and about Shelburne." *Ibid.*

46 *Ibid.*

The Port Roseway Associates

Marion Robertson

In the years following the American Revolution, many thousands of Loyalist refugees came to Nova Scotia, seeking homes in a land still British. Among these immigrants were several hundred who chose Port Roseway, on the south-western coast of Nova Scotia, as their future homeland.

During the years of struggle for American independence, many who remained true to the past and who wished for a peaceful settlement of their differences with Great Britain, sought refuge in the city of New York which, during the war, was a British stronghold. It was from among these Loyalists that the founders of the Port Roseway Association came in the spring of 1783.

As the months passed following the surrender of the British at Yorktown, Virginia, in October 1781, the Loyalists behind British lines in New York began to consider where they could remove to live under the British constitution. Among those seeking a new homeland were men who, as master mariners and seaman, were well acquainted with the rugged southern coastline of the loyal colony of Nova Scotia. Port Roseway stood out in their memories as a suitable place for a viable community, its economic stability to be founded on fishing, farming, trade and commerce, which would be secured to their advantage by British laws of trade and navigation.

With the decision of several Loyalist families to remove there, Joseph Durfee, a former merchant, farmer, shipowner and master mariner of Newport, Rhode Island, wrote on 20 August 1782 to the governor of Nova Scotia, Sir Andrew Snape Hammond, to enquire if land at Port Roseway was available. With the assurance that it was,[1] a group of interested settlers met in mid-November at the Roubalet Tavern, to found the Port Roseway Association.[2]

As a group of Loyalists anxious to find a homeland where they could live under the British flag, they shaped their Association to express their desire for a peaceful settlement, founded upon the equality of all their members. Foremost in their thoughts for shaping an orderly, happy community, was the choice of members. Aware that many Loyalists who had sheltered in

1 Letterbook. RG1, Vol. 136, p. 307, Public Archives of Nova Scotia (hereafter PANS).

2 Minute Book, Port Roseway Association, p. 25 (hereafter Minute Book). MG9, B9-14, Vol. 1, Public Archives of Canada (hereafter PAC).

New York were undesirable citizens in any community, they were determined to exclude them from membership, admitting only those recommended by a member or someone whose opinion they trusted.

To express their decisions and their requests for concessions considered essential to the future stability of Port Roseway, and to transact their business with Sir Guy Carleton, commander-in-chief of the British forces in America and responsible for the evacuation of New York, they appointed seven of their members as a working committee. They were men trusted for their integrity and their ability to carry forward the work of the Association. They were: Joseph Pynchon, a Connecticut farmer; Joseph Durfee, noted above; James Dole, a farmer, merchant and master mariner of Albany, New York; Doctor Pinkstone of Georgia, who, on his decision not to go to Port Roseway, was succeeded by Peter Lynch, a native of Ireland and a Boston hatter; Thomas Courtney, another Irishman who had established himself in Boston as a merchant-tailor; Joshua Pell, a farmer from Pelham Manor, New York State; and William Hill, a New York baker.[3] A few weeks later, Andrew Barclay, a Scottish book-binder who had established himself in Boston during the early 1760s, and Valentine Nutter, a New York book-binder and merchant, were appointed to assist the committee in their arrangements for departure.[4]

On the advice of Sir Guy Carleton that commissioners should be sent to Halifax to arrange for the new settlement, Joseph Pynchon and James Dole were selected to go to Nova Scotia. With them went instructions that the requested grants of land should be exempt from quit rents, laid out and surveyed at government expense, and that fishing and fowling in the rivers and bays within the bounds of their land should be reserved for only the Associates. They were to ask for a patent as a city; for the right to nominate all officers necessary for the settlement; and for a guarantee that their settling at Port Roseway should in no way interfere with their claims for losses, nor be considered as compensation for the same. They were also to request assistance in building houses, sawmills and roads, as well as protection for the harbour and coast of Port Roseway. Finally, remembering the suffering of those pressed into the British navy, Pynchon and Dole were also to ask

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 30.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 42.

that all inhabitants of their new community be "exempted from Impress forever."[5]

Determined that they alone should shape and govern their community, the expectations of the Port Roseway Associates were soon shattered, when they learned that other Loyalists had also asked for land at the same location, and that the special privileges they had requested were not within the power of the Nova Scotian governor to grant. They were even more distressed to learn that no instructions whatever had been received in Nova Scotia from His Majesty's government respecting the settlement of Loyalists in that colony.[6] The resulting struggle of the Associates to maintain their identity as the founders of Port Roseway, and their subsequent frustrations and disappointments, belong to the early history of Shelburne,[7] the name soon bestowed on the new community by Governor Parr, in honour of the Earl of Shelburne.

This present article instead concerns the Port Roseway Associates as individuals, recounting their experiences as Loyalists during the revolution, and as immigrants meeting the challenge of a new land. The names of many free blacks will appear in the sketches which follow. These people were former slaves who came behind British lines in response to proclamations offering them protection. They came thus not as Loyalists, but as blacks seeking the freedom they envisioned would be theirs. When, at the end of the war they had still not been liberated, proclamations were issued by the British generals, guaranteeing their freedom. To aid in the evacuation of those blacks who had found their way into New York, Carleton had many of them placed on transports bearing the Port Roseway Associates to Nova Scotia. For their further protection, he entrusted these blacks to the care of the captains of the various companies (into which he had suggested that the Associates should divide their members), and even to specific families within the different companies. As free blacks, they were as eager to see their new homeland as were the Loyalists sailing with them from New York in late April 1783.

In the brief biographies which follow, there is no pretence to exhaustive individual studies; rather, the sketches portray some twenty-three

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 37-40.

6 *Ibid.*, pp. 59-66: 78-80.

7 Marion Robertson, *King's Bounty: A History of Early Shelburne, Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1982).

Associates who, through their claims for losses and in other documents, reveal interesting facets of their lives. It will be noted that several of the Associates were not American Loyalists, that is, they were not native-born, but were instead recent immigrants to America, who remained loyal to Great Britain. An appendix to this study lists the names of all known Port Roseway Associates.

Weart Banta

Weart Banta, of Hackensack, New Jersey, whose ancestors came from Friesland, arrived in Shelburne with his wife Elizabeth, as a second lieutenant in Captain Peter Lynch's company of Associates. By trade a carpenter and joiner, he had worked for many years in New York until, in 1774, he was obliged to flee the city after assisting others to remove from a cart a Loyalist who was about to be tarred and feathered. In Albany, where he sought refuge, he was imprisoned when he refused to sign a rebel document. On his escape ten months later, he fled back to New York, then held by the British. As a zealous Loyalist, he served as a guide and scout for the British army, and recruited volunteers for Colonel Bayard and Lieutenant-Colonel Abraham Van Buskirk. In February 1779, he was commissioned a lieutenant in the company of Captain Peter Earle, but was soon wounded in the knee by a musket ball during a skirmish in New Jersey, and was crippled for life. He was carried to New York, where he remained until he came to Nova Scotia.

In Shelburne, he did not fare well as a carpenter and contractor, but he was considered "an honest man and a good workman." In 1778 he went to London to request a lieutenant's half-pay, and was granted an allowance of £70 per annum. William Booth of the Royal Engineers wrote of his return to Shelburne that

> Mr. Banta has got 70£ p. annum for Life for his Services in the War, Banta took some Prisoners for which Service he is rewarded and seems quite happy here -- has got fat, don't walk so Lame and dresses better, with a Tail, before which his hair was lank, wears a fashionable Green Coat with buttons on his waistcoat as broad as my hand, tout au fait Anglaise.

Shortly after his return from London, he left Shelburne for New York

where, after his death in 1795, his widow lived for many years with her grandson.[8]

Andrew Barclay

Andrew Barclay was a native of the Scottish lowlands, where he was born in 1738 in the village of Cleish, near Loch Levin in Fifeshire. He was of an old Scots-Norman family, originally de Berkeley, but changed to Barclay during the fifteenth century.

As a young man, Barclay came to Boston where, by 1773, he was established as a book-binder at the Sign of the Gilt Bible, and where, in 1761, he married Mary Bleigh. When he first came to Boston, there was little to disturb a loyal Scot in his allegiance to the British Crown. As the years passed, and discontent with the British administration spread, Barclay took an active stand against the patriots when he joined the Loyal North British Volunteers. In the growing turmoil and subsequent evacuation of the city in 1776, he and his family went first with the British troops to Halifax, and from there to New York.

In New York he established himself as a merchant and book-binder on Wall Street; he also worked in the loan office, at that time an important adjunct to the city treasurer's office. Continuing in New York, he awaited the end of the war and the defeat of the rebels. The surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown and the decision of the British not to continue hostilities was thus a staggering blow. By the fall of 1782 he had decided to go to Nova Scotia and had joined the Port Roseway Associates. As a valued member, he was elected one of a committee to carry forward plans for the settlement, and was later appointed to enrol the members' names at his home at 25 Queen Street. When the Associates were divided into groups, he was chosen one of sixteen captains to assist the emigrants in leaving New York, and to represent their interests in the new settlement. In his company were 105 men, women and children, with 57 men, women and children registered as servants. In Barclay's family were himself, his wife, their eight children, plus five servants and their four children.

---

8 E. Alfred Jones, *Loyalists of New Jersey in the Revolution* (Newark, 1927), pp. 17-18; Ruth M. Keesy, "Loyalty and Reprisal," unpublished doctoral thesis, Rutgers University, pp. 19-20, 125-129; Captain William Booth, R.E., "Rough Notes and Memorandums," Acadia University Library; American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution of Great Britain, MG23, B1, Vol. 440, Doc. 29, PAC.

In Shelburne, Andrew Barclay was given a town lot in the north division, and a water lot on St. George's Street, where he likely built his house facing the long reach of the harbour, and where the captains of the Association held a meeting in late September 1783. On his request for a lot of land on the public block on Water Street north of King Street, Governor Parr granted him, in May 1784, lot number four, he "to pay to His Majesty... a free quit Rent of one farthing per acre." Here he built a book and stationery store and combined his trade as a book-binder with candlemaking. For a woodlot and for a garden, he was given seven acres on the common, at the corner of Pell's Road. Later, he acquired 200 acres at Pell's Mill Brook (now Swansburg's Brook) on the Shelburne-Jordan road, for a farm he called Barclay Valley; he cleared acres of land and built a house well back from the road, overlooking the brook that wended its way through his meadow and which became known as Barclay's Brook.

As a farmer, book-binder and candlemaker, Andrew Barclay reshaped for himself and his family a new life in a new homeland, replenishing with his labour his losses as a Loyalist. As a citizen of Shelburne, he was one of the founders of the Friendly Fire Club, an association mainly of merchants pledged to protect each other's property. With his farm on the Shelburne-Jordan road, he was appointed in 1797 overseer of the highway, and in 1800 he was a grand juror of the Shelburne court of sessions. His role in the new community was rounded out by his activities in the Presbyterian church, which he served until his death in 1823.

Of Andrew and Mary Barclay's eight children, James, Andrew and George remained in the Shelburne area as farmers, merchants and shipowners; they also had an interest in shipbuilding, and maintained a saw mill and grist mill. A grandson, Andrew, returned to Boston, where he was a collector of the port, and where either he or his sons founded the prosperous firm of Barclay and Company, general shipping and commission merchants on Atlantic Avenue.[9]

9 *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XXI (1867), p. 381; birthplace of Barclay, informant, Miss Hannah French; E. Alfred Jones, *Loyalists of Massachusetts* (London, 1930), p. 19: claim, A.O. 13/24, #1674, originals at Public Record Office (hereafter PRO), microfilm at PANS; *New York Gazette*, 22 Nov. 1778; Abbot, *New York in the Revolution, Supplement*, p. 196; Minute Book, pp. 4, 42, 81, 93, 97; Provision Returns, A. Barclay's Company, Vertical Manuscript File: Shelburne, PANS; Winslow Papers, Vol. 22, University of New Brunswick Archives, Marston's Diary, 19 Sept. 1783; Book 16, p. 19, Crown Lands Office, Halifax; Land Grants, RG20, PANS; White Collection, MG1, Vol. 952, Doc. 924, PANS; Sessions Court, 18 April 1797, 25 Sept. 1800, Shelburne Court House Records (hereafter SCHR); Probate Court, Shelburne County, Estate A225; *Cape Sable Advertiser*, 30 Sept. 1886.

Charles Oliver Bruff

Charles Oliver Bruff, silvermith, goldsmith and jeweller, was born in 1735 in Talbot County, Maryland, the son, grandson and great-grandson of silversmiths. He first worked as a silversmith in Elizabethtown, New Jersey, but later established himself in New York at the Sign of the Teapot, Tankard and Ear-ring, on the corner of King Street. As discontent with British rule grew, Bruff was inclined toward the Loyalists, but nevertheless served in the New York city watch, and as a good sword cutter, continued supplying the rebels. When the British landed on Long Island, he fled to Tarrytown, but soon after joined the British army and returned to New York as a goldsmith and jeweller at the Teapot and Tankard, now on Queen Street at the corner of Golden Hill. As he had cut swords for the rebels, he now cut them for the British, silver-mounted "light horse swords with death's head and cross bones." These were prosperous years for Bruff. To meet his need for artisans, he advertised for jewellers, sword cutters, blacksmiths and for "3 good hands at filing at the highest wages -- And a quart of GROGG a day." Along with sword-making, he also engraved elegant likenesses of His Majesty on ornamental sword guards, emblazoned "Success to the British Arms," and made new-fashioned D'Artoise pattern shoe buckles suitable for all Loyalists. These buckles carried the same inscription, with the joints and corners mounted with a crown and an old English rose.

For Bruff, the war ended with those Americans with whom he had walked the city streets as a watchman, now exulting in victory; there was no hope of his remaining in the land of his birth. On the recommendation of Alexander Robertson, he joined the Port Roseway Association. In 1763, he had married Mary Letellier in New York; her ancestors were also silversmiths. They had five children who came with them to Port Roseway on the *London*, frigate, in Captain James Dole's company. With them came eight servants who were free blacks; they remained with the family for about a year, finally leaving when Bruff withheld part of the rations allowed for his servants and their families.

In Shelburne, Bruff re-established himself as a goldsmith and jeweller at the Sign of the Tea-Pot, Tankard and Cross Swords, on the corner of Queen and Carleton (now Charlotte) Streets, near St. John's Market at the head of the cove. Here he repaired clocks and watches, made surveyors' and mariners' compasses, keys for locks, and mourning rings set with coffin stones; he also repaired buckles and set miniature pictures. There were few in early Shelburne to employ his talents as a silversmith, and in 1785 he was forced to offer for sale both his town lot, enclosed with a picket fence, and his story-and-a-half loghouse. As the years passed and he remained in Shelburne, he was listed as a tinker.

In New York Bruff had walked the city streets as a watchman; in Shelburne he slashed his name as a constable from the placards of the sessions court, and performed his duties only on penalty of a fine or

imprisonment. A man of contentious disposition, veering like a weathercock from patriot to Loyalist, Bruff's frustrations as a skilled craftsman reduced to a tinker, were reflected in his exaggerated claim for losses. Warned of the penalty for false statements, he lowered the value of his Maryland property from £48,000 to £4,000 Maryland currency. His claim dismissed, Bruff's reward for loyalty was a few acres of land that he subsequently sold for a few guineas.

In 1793, Bruff moved to Liverpool, where Simeon Perkins noted that he was "a man used to different kinds of handy work about Guns...and he says he can work on watches and any kind of silverwork." For Perkins himself, Bruff made a brand boldly marked "S. PERKINS." He died in Liverpool on 27 January 1817, and was remembered as a Loyalist who had "suffered much persecution at New York, where he finally quitted a very comfortable situation and sought asylum in this Country." As a silversmith, Bruff had few to equal his skill in the years when he shaped fine silver bowls, spoons and sugar tongs in America. In Nova Scotia, there is only one known example of his work, a wrought iron wafer iron now in the Nova Scotia Museum.[10]

John Burnham

Among the earliest New England families were the Burnhams, John, Robert and Thomas, natives of Norwich, England, who settled in Ipswich, Massachusetts, after being shipwrecked on the Maine coast in 1635. Their descendants spread throughout the northern colonies, and it is likely that John Burnham of Connecticut was one of them.

As a master mariner, Burnham seems to have sailed out of the port of New York, where he married, in 1778, Elizabeth Cox, who was of a Loyalist family. When they joined Captain Andrew Barclay's company, their family consisted of a young child less than ten years of age, and a servant, perhaps a man who had sailed with Captain Burnham. In Shelburne, they were given a

10 Minute Book, pp. 4, 180, 188, 190; List of ships sailing between New York and Port Roseway, 1783, compiled from Carleton Papers, PAC; Donald C. MacKay, *Silversmiths and Related Craftsmen of the Atlantic Provinces* (Halifax, 1973), pp. 3-5; J. Hall Pleasants and Howard Sill, "Charles Oliver Bruff, Silversmith," *Antiques*, June 1941, p. 309; Second *Report*, Bureau of Archives, Ontario, 1904, p. 139, claim no. 66; *New York Gazette*, 19 Jan., 19 June 1778; *Royal American Gazette*, 13 Jan. 1785; Special Sessions, 6 June 1786, General Sessions, 10, 11, 19 April 1786, SCHR; Registry of Deeds, Shelburne County, Vol. 1, p. 217, Vol. 2, p. 37; Capitation tax, 1792, RG1, Vol. 443, Doc. 28, PANS; C. Bruce Fergusson, ed., *The Diary of Simeon Perkins*, The Champlain Society, Vol. XXXIX (Toronto, 1961), 30 Dec. 1793, and Vol. XLIII (Toronto, 1967), 14 April 1800; *Acadian Recorder*, 8 Feb. 1817.

water lot and a town lot on Hammond Street, where they built their house. Later, they were granted 150 acres at Green Harbour, on the eastern shore of the bay.

During the busy summer of 1783, when many hundreds of Loyalists and disbanded soldiers were seeking a new homeland in Nova Scotia, John Burnham sailed as master of the sloop *Gigg* between New York and Shelburne, laden with cargoes for the latter, and returning in ballast to New York. Southward of McNutt's Island lies a rock that breaks the heavy swell of the sea as the tides flow against it; on early charts it is marked Gigg Rock. Did the sloop *Gigg* graze its dark shoulders and leave its name to mark the rock as a warning to sailors? In October 1783, sailing under the command of Captain Goddard, the *Gigg* was lost at Port Mouton.

The Burnhams did not remain long in Shelburne. In 1785 they sold one of their town lots, and in 1787 they sold their Green Harbour acreage. About this time, they went with their family to Digby, where John Burnham continued to sail as the master of ships. Sometime following the 1803 baptism of their son Joshua, their eigth child, John Burnham was drowned in Halifax harbour. Many of his descendants are prominent citizens of the land chosen by their ancestors as a place of refuge.[11]

Thomas Chetwynd

In the years prior to the American Revolution, Thomas Chetwynd came from Staffordshire, England to America, where as a merchant, he joined the firm of Hall and Birks in New York; in 1783 he was recommended by them for membership in the Port Roseway Association. His family included his wife, two children and two servants. In Shelburne he was allotted a town and a water lot in the north division of the town. He did not remain long, however, but instead pushed westward to Argyle township, to Cockewhite (as the name Cockawit/Cockerwit/Coquewit was then spelt), where his son William had already found land along the harbour.

---

11 William Richard Cutter, *Genealogical and Personal Memoirs Relating to the Families of Boston and Eastern Massachusetts* (New York, 1908), p. 342; Burnham Genealogy, MG1, Vol. 162B, PANS; Provision Returns, A. Barclay's Company, Vertical Manuscript File: Shelburne, PANS; Assessment Rolls, Shelburne County, MG4, Vol. 140, PANS; Allottment of land records, SCHR; Ships clearing New York, 1783, MG23, B1, Vol. 440, Doc. 127, PAC; D.C. Harvey and C. Bruce Fergusson, eds., *The Diary of Simeon Perkins*, The Champlain Society, Vol. XXXVI (Toronto, 1956), p. 204; Registry of Deeds, Shelburne County, Vol. 2, p. 7, Vol. 3, p. 76; Rev. Allan Hill, *Chapters in the History of Digby County and its Early Settlers* (Halifax), p. 39.

A story recorded of William Chetwynd's arrival in Nova Scotia relates that he and a son of Abner Nickerson, the Barrington grantee, with two others, were being forced to join the rebel army when they stole a shallop, the *Hard Head*, and fled along the coast from New England to Barrington.

Thomas Chetwynd and his son were allotted land, Thomas 300 acres, William 100 acres, near the boundary of 1,000 acres granted in 1772 to Rev. Samuel Wood (who gave old Cockewhite its present name of Upper Woods Harbour). The terms of their grant, which was not confirmed until 1812, emphasized the number of acres they must clear to hold their grant, the dwelling house they must build, and the two shillings quit rent due annually on midsummer day, payable "Unto Us, our Heirs, or Successors, or to our Receiver General for the time being."

Their grant was not choice farmland, but there was some upland for cattle and gardens, as well as marshland for salt hay, and inland swamps and meadows. The sea that washed against their shores provided for them, and for others who came as early settlers to Upper Woods Harbour, which soon became a viable community, the fish they needed for trade in distant seaports. In later years, William Chetwynd taught school, going from place to place where there were children requiring instruction. The surname Chetwynd has been recorded, over the years, as Chatwynd, Chitwynde, and even, on the 1827 census, as Chatevin, where William was listed as a farmer with a family of seven. The surname is still common in Shelburne County, where the original family burying ground is on an island in their Cockewhite marshland.[12]

Charles Church

Charles Church was from Freetown, Massachusetts. His family roots went back to Richard Church, who came to New England in 1630, subsequently founding a prosperous and prominent line of descendants. Charles Church is the only known family member who did not support his country in its struggle for independence. According to family tradition, he had not wished to take sides in the growing conflict and so, being a master mariner, had gone

12 Family information, informant, Miss Phyllis Chetwynd, Kemnay, Scotland; Minute Book, p. 5; Book 9, p. 311, Book 10, p. 36, Book C, pp. 45, 48, Crown Lands Office, Halifax; Edwin Crowell, *History of Barrington Township* (Yarmouth, 1923), p. 444.

on a lengthy whaling voyage to Greenland. On his return, he found his property confiscated by the rebels. Church personally met with General Washington to protest that one who had not fired a shot against the Americans should not have his property taken from him. Washington reputably asked, "On which side would you have fought had you been here?" to which Church replied, "I am British to the back bone and would have fought for my King."

On the defeat of the British, and when he began to think of a new homeland, his thoughts were perhaps drawn to Nova Scotia, and to those bearing his surname already living there in Falmouth, Newport and Annapolis, among the New England Planter immigrants of the 1760s. Thus, in the spring of 1783, he came to Port Roseway in Captain Alexander Murray's company. With him came his wife, Lillis, the daughter of Jeremiah and Lillis (Haile) Bowen, and at least five of their nine children born prior to 1783. Church was active in the new community as a master mariner, being captain of the sloop *Fanny* when she sailed from New York in June 1783, laden with merchandise for Shelburne. Church was granted a town lot on Parr Street in Paterson's division, and a warehouse lot on Maiden Lane, where he likely built a place to live until he could find the acreage he wanted, somewhere on the shores of Nova Scotia.

In 1784 he was appointed by the court of sessions as a surveyor and weigher of hay. About this time, with others of Alexander Murray's company, he was busy investigating the shores of Ragged Islands for suitable land. With interest being shown in settling that harbour, Church, George Patton and Whitford Smith were appointed by the sessions court in 1785 to "ascertain the necessity of a Road from East side of Jordan River to Ragged Island Harbour." With their favourable report, the road was authorized by the court.

The potential of the Ragged Islands area was soon recognized in the Alexander Murray location of 15,060 acres, stretching northward from the shores of Ragged Islands Harbour. Church received 200 acres here, thirty of which were on Pleasant Point, where there was a sheltered cove with anchorage for vessels and land for wharves, fish houses and flakes. Here he quickly established himself and, as a master mariner and owner of a vessel, with fish flakes and fish houses, his assessment in 1786 far exceeded all others in the town and district of Shelburne. Perhaps he considered this assessment of 34 shillings county tax and 17 shillings poor tax far too high, for he soon left Ragged Islands and went to Dover, in Halifax County, where he re-established himself. On his death by drowning, he was buried on an

island that still bears his name, Church Island, where his wife, on her death, was also interred.

At least one of Charles and Lillis Church's children returned to live at Ragged Islands. Their daughter Elizabeth married Ambrose Allen, whose father came from Wales to America shortly before the revolution, and during the war settled on Tancook Island. Elizabeth and Ambrose Allen subsequently returned to Shelburne County and the area where they lived, near the head of Ragged Islands Harbour, became known as Allandale. Their son Jacob was for many years a shipbuilder in Sable River. Charles and Lillis' son, Charles Lot Church, was a schoolmaster in Chester, and was elected a member of the House of Assembly for Lunenburg County in 1820.[13]

The Courtneys

Descendants of an ancient Irish family, the Courtneys who came to Shelburne were merchant-tailors in Boston prior to the American Revolution. With the first murmurs of discontent, Thomas Courtney and his sons, Thomas, James and Richard, declared themselves for the British. Amid the growing turmoil, Thomas Sr. boldly signed a loyal address to Governor Gage on the latter's departure for England. A few months later, with the evacuation of Boston, Courtney and his family of eleven went to Halifax. From there they went to New York, and with other leading Loyalists who had fled from Boston, Thomas Courtney was banished by an act of the State of Massachusetts and his property was confiscated. We know little of the activities of most refugees in New York during those years, but for Thomas Courtney there is one tantalizing glimpse, an advertisement in the *New York Gazette*: "Thomas Courtney. Dock Street. A curious Magic Lanthorn [*sic*], will be exhibited this, and every Evening this Week, at six o'clock precisely. Tickets at Two Shillings."

With the founding of the Port Roseway Association, Courtney and his sons, Richard and James, were among the first to join. Thomas was

13 F.E. Crowell, "New Englanders in Nova Scotia," No. 165, microfilm, PANS; Allen family, MG100, Vol. 101, No. 34-34B, PANS; MG23, B1, Vol. 7, Doc. 127, PAC; Board of Agents records, land allottment, SCHR; Court of General Sessions, 6 April 1784, Special Sessions, 24 Feb., 10 March 1785, RG34-321, PANS; map of Alexander Murray location, made by R.E. Dickie, 1945, in author's private collection; John V. Duncanson, *Falmouth: A New England Township in Nova Scotia* (Windsor, Ontario, 1965), pp. 200-201; Beamish Murdoch, *A History of Nova-Scotia or Acadie* (Halifax, 1867), Vol. III, p. 467; Allen family information, informant, Dorothy Arnold.

appointed one of the committee of six to arrange for the settlement, and was treasurer of the Association. Richard was elected captain of a group of Associates, and James was commissioned first lieutenant in Captain Peter Lynch's company. In their family groups, as they were registered, were the following: Thomas and his wife, two children and five servants; Richard, his wife, two children and four servants; James and his wife, one child and seven servants. It would seem that at least several of these sixteen servants were free blacks placed in the Courtney families, the masters of the household to draw rations for them. Thomas Courtney soon turned his five away, no longer giving them their share. Richard gave full rations to his free black, Benjamin Lightfoot, and treated him well, as did James his two, Lawrence Foster and Peter Warner.

In Shelburne, the Courtneys were given house lots, plus three of the most desirable water lots, extending south of St. George's Street from Water Street to the waterfront, with allowance along the shore for wharves and boat landings. On the west side of the Roseway River, they were granted 1500 acres of forest on the lake that now bears their surname, and other lots of 50 acres on both the east and west sides of the Roseway. Since hundreds of other Loyalists and disbanded soldiers had not received any good farmland whatever, and many not even a suitable town or water lot, the Courtneys' acquisitions soon stirred animosity, and during the riots of 1784, when the streets swarmed with landless, protesting settlers, the home of Thomas Courtney was guarded by order of the sessions court.

As the Courtneys acquired land, they began to build their homes. Thomas erected a stone house near the shore on his water lot south of St. George's Street, but chose not to live there, settling instead on seven acres he managed to acquire on the common, where he lived as a gardner and small farmer. Richard Courtney established himself as a merchant-tailor in a large house and store on the north-east corner of St. George's and Water Streets. His brother James cleared land for a farm, and had a saw and grist mill on the west side of the Roseway River above the lower falls. The Courtneys also took an active role in the community, Thomas serving as an assessor for the township in 1786, and James on the grand jury of the sessions court in March and November 1786.

They were joined briefly in Shelburne by Thomas Courtney Jr., who had left New York in 1780, first for Charleston, then on to the safety of St. Augustine, East Florida. With the subsequent ceding of that territory to Spain by the British, he came to Shelburne as the captain of a company of 46

refugees. He did not remain, however, and in October 1786 was living in London, pressing his claims for losses of £415.14.0.

The other Courtneys also did not stay long in Shelburne. Thomas Sr. went to Philadelphia; in 1785, Richard advertised his house and store to let, prior to leaving for South Carolina. James also advertised his house and mill for sale the same year, but property was hard to dispose of in early Shelburne, when hundreds were leaving, and thus it was not until 1790 that James finally sold his water lot to a Shelburne merchant and his grist and saw mill to Gideon White. His house and farmland on the west side of the Roseway River he sold to Amos Williams for five shillings.

The Courtneys are long gone, but in Shelburne there still linger old tales of Thomas Sr.'s stone house. It became a surveyor's mark from the further shore across the harbour, Christopher Tully noting that "To old Courtney's stone house N E 69° [was] 3000 feet." For many years it stood derelict, until its broken walls were pulled down, and in a cellar closet was found the skeleton of a woman standing upright against a wall, where she had been left, many years before.[14]

Joseph Durfee

Joseph Durfee, a leading member of the Port Roseway Association, was born in Portsmouth, Rhode Island, 29 January 1734. He was a son of Thomas and Sarah (Briggs) Durfee, and was a descendant of Thomas Durfee, whose name first appeared in the Rhode Island records in 1664, when he attended sessions of the General Assembly. When the American Revolution began, Joseph Durfee was a prosperous merchant, shipowner and master mariner in Newport.

With the first rumbles of discontent, Durfee declared himself for the British, and when they landed troops in Rhode Island, he joined them. A few months later, on the withdrawal of the British from Newport, he and his wife, the former Ann Lawton of Portsmouth, fearing the anger of the rebels, took their family to Dartmouth, Massachusetts. There the patriots were as obnoxious as in Newport, so the Durfees returned to Rhode Island. When

14 Stark, *Loyalists of Massachusetts and the other side of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1910), pp. 132, 134, 137; *New York Gazette*, 8 May 1780; Minute Book, pp. 5, 26, 41, 97; MG23, B1, Vol. 3, p. 209, PAC; Muster of the Free Blacks at Birchtown, 1784, pp. 31, 40, 41, 43, MG9, B9-14, Vol. 1, PAC; Land Grants, RG20, PANS; General Sessions, 5 Aug. 1784, 28 March, 7 April, 11 Nov. 1786, SCHR; Registry of Deeds, Shelburne County, Vol. 4, pp. 37, 44; Marston's Diary, 16 Feb. 1784; W.H. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida, 1774 to 1785* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 25-29; *Royal American Gazette*, 11 April, 11 Aug. 1785.

the British returned, Durfee joined the Loyal American Associators, under Sir Robert Pigot, in August 1777. He was appointed first lieutenant, and later captain, under the command of General Wenton.

With the decision not to hold Newport as a British stonghold, Durfee and his family went to New York. On the invitation of Sir Henry Clinton, Durfee then went to Charleston, South Carolina, where he laid bouys and captained the frigate *Richmond* to safe anchorage. On his return to New York, he was appointed director of small craft, having under his command two schooners employed by the barracks officers.

For the Durfees, the end of the war meant that they must seek a new homeland. They had lost their home, their farmlands and their business in Newport, which included half interests in the schooners *Friendship*, *Peggy* and *Dolphin* and their cargoes, losses which Durfee valued at £1700. In the late fall of 1782, he and his son joined the Port Roseway Association, and Durfee was soon appointed one of a committee to transact the group's business with Sir Guy Carleton; he was also responsible for enrolling Association members. In his own family, he listed one man, one woman, six children and six servants; the profession he intended to follow at Port Roseway was that of a farmer. His son Robert he listed as a farmer with one servant.

In Shelburne, Joseph and Robert Durfee were allotted town and water lots, and during the busy summer of 1783 they searched the nearby shoreline for farmland to their liking. For Joseph Durfee there were added responsibilities when Governor Parr appointed him a justice of the peace for the county of Queens, in which the town of Shelburne lay. Later, when the boundaries of Shelburne district were defined, he remained a justice of the inferior court and, as a justice of the peace, was also empowered to take oaths of allegiance and to hold courts of sessions. In 1786, when Shelburne County was struck off from Queens, Durfee was again commissioned a justice of the peace, responsible for holding sessions courts.

Besides his judicial duties, Joseph Durfee was fisheries overseer on the Birchtown and Roseway rivers, in charge of all Shelburne area pilots, and in 1786, overseer of the Shelburne-Point Carleton road. In the same year, he and David Thomson were named surveyors of vessels built in Shelburne County, which included responsibility for local administration of the bounty offered on all ships built in Nova Scotia. Durfee and Thomson were also among those appointed to oversee the construction of a lighthouse at Cape Roseway, on the southern tip of McNutt's Island.

During these busy years, Joseph Durfee also cleared part of his 550-acre

farm at Churchover, on the western shores of Shelburne harbour, granted to him on 13 May 1784. On the side of the hill overlooking the harbour he built a sturdy, wooden-framed house over a deep cellar kitchen neatly walled with field stones. It stood fair to the east and Thomas Backhouse in 1798 marked it on his sea chart as a guide to mariners sailing the long reach of the harbour. Later, a bell-shaped gambrel roofed ell was added to the house for a kitchen on the ground level. At the end of the road across his farm, he built a boat landing which soon became known as Duffy's Landing.

With acres of his farmland cleared, cattle, horses and hogs feeding in his fields, and his house nicely furnished with mahogany and pine furniture, curtained bedsteads, fine silver and glassware, tall clocks and deep chests, his property in 1786 was assessed at 28/4 county tax, and 14/2 poor tax. When he died in 1801, it was noted of him that "Few men possessed a more manly and independent mind, exhibited more striking traits of industry, or have quitted life more generally and universally regretted."

Durfee's son Robert, with whom he had shared his farmland, was a farmer and master mariner. As captain of the schooner *Mayflower*, he sailed out of Shelburne to distant seaports, returning laden with produce for the local merchants, George and Robert Ross. He had training as a medical practitioner as well, and was subsequently doctor on the privateer *Nelson*. In 1808 he married Elizabeth Sinclair, and they had one son, Joseph Robert, who for many years was a Shelburne blockmaker.[15]

The Hardings

Jasper Harding and his brothers Richard, Robert and George, emigrated from Ireland to Pennsylvania, probably in 1765. Jasper established himself as a tailor in Hiddletown, Bucks County, where he also had a dairy farm and bred horses. Richard and Robert, who was a shoemaker, settled in Philadelphia, as did George, who was a house carpenter and horse breeder.

15 F.A. Crowell, "New Englanders in Nova Scotia," in *Yarmouth Herald*, 17 Feb. 1931; Ontario Archives *Report*, p. 50, No. 10; Commission Book, 1781-1792, 22 July 1783, 20 Jan., 6 Feb. 1784, RG1, PANS; Council Minutes, 20 Feb. 1784, RG1, PANS; *Journals* of the House of Assembly, 27 March 1793; Minute Book, pp. 2, 26; oath of allegiance, 22 July 1783, SCHR; General Sessions, 28 March, 31 Oct. 1786, 8 May 1788, 18 April 1797, SCHR; Court of Probate, Shelburne County, Estate A123; Registry of Deeds, Shelburne County, Vol. 13, p. 109; Assessment Rolls, Shelburne County, MG4, Vol. 140, PANS; *Nova Scotia Packet*, 16 Nov. 1786; Book 14, p. 30, Crown Lands Office, Halifax; T.W. Smith, "History of Shelburne County," copy of original manuscript, author's private collection; Booth, "Rough Notes," 6 Feb. 1789; Naval Office records, 1800, microfilm, Dalhousie University Archives; *Nova Scotia Royal Gazette*, 23 April 1801; Christ Church Anglican records, marriages, 20 Jan. 1808, baptisms, 19 Sept. 1811.

Amid the growing discontent, the Hardings declared themselves against rebellion. Robert remained in Philadelphia until the evacuation in 1778, when he was obliged to abandon his property and to seek refuge behind the British lines in New York. Jasper also brought his family to New York, losing property he valued at £478. Richard, it would seem, left no statement of his losses or of how he and his family came to join the Port Roseway Associates.

In the first months of warfare, George Harding took no part in the struggle, but declared himself opposed to rebellion as a means of obtaining the objectives desired by the patriots. In the growing tension, he avoided enlistment in the rebel forces, and in 1777 he instead joined the Pennsylvania Loyalists; he was commissioned an ensign initially, and was later promoted to captain. When the British left Philadelphia, he intended to go with them, but was instead captured by a group of rebels who accused him of high treason. He was tried, convicted and sentenced to hang. For months he was held prisoner, while his wife, brothers, friends, and even the judge and jurymen who had convicted him, pleaded with the Pennsylvania council to spare his life. Determined that he should hang, the council ordered his execution. He was taken to the gallows, the rope about his neck, and was only saved when the British general, Sir Henry Clinton, threatened immediately to hang ten rebels if Harding was executed. A reprieve was ordered, and on a late October night in 1779, Harding was quietly turned out of prison and allowed to escape to New York.

During the months of his imprisonment, his property had been confiscated and sold, yielding £13,300 to the rebels. He had lost a brick house in Southwick, on the outskirts of Philadelphia, plus four framed houses that he had built and rented, his horses, cows and his farmland.

Jasper Harding and his brothers Robert and Richard were among the first members of the Port Roseway Association. George, it would seem, did not join until after the record book was closed, being one of those accepted by the Association shortly before sailing for Nova Scotia. Once arrived, the four brothers were allotted town and water lots, and soon built houses for themselves and their families. George's house on Mowat Street is still a sturdy home known as the Bell House, after a subsequent owner.

The Hardings, however, preferred to live outside the new town. By the summer of 1784, Jasper, Richard and George had found land for farming and fishing on the east side of Sable River. Other Loyalists also liked this location, and soon joined with George Harding in an association for an allottment of 2500 acres. Robert Harding instead selected land near Jones Harbour at Little Port Hebert, but his choice brought tragedy when he was drowned in a sudden storm on his way to Jones Harbour, "leaving his wife

and family in greatest distress." To support them, his widow, Elizabeth Sheehan Harding, opened a tiny store in their former home on St. Patrick's Lane, Shelburne, where she sold ribbons and pretty lace.

Jasper and Richard subsequently moved to Little Port Hebert, where Jasper settled on his brother Robert's land, writing in his family Bible, "1785 Aprel 16 I Com to Jons Harbor." There he built a house and cleared acres of land for a farm with cattle, hogs and sheep. As the years passed, he acquired several hundred acres, later willed to his wife and children, admonishing his sons not to infringe on their mother's rights to the land with their cattle and sheep, and not to take a wife into their mother's home during her lifetime, and warning his daughters "to be kind and affectionate to their mother and Support and Protect her in her old Age." A son George, by Jasper's first marriage, was provided for upon his marriage to Joanna Decker in 1807, by a generous portion of Jones Harbour property. Jasper Harding died in 1820, aged 72; his second wife, Elizabeth, died in 1831, aged 66. They lie buried in a field Jasper took from the wilderness, their tombstones hidden among the trees that have since invaded the land where they laboured to bring up a family of nine children.

Richard Harding also settled at Little Port Hebert, on land near his brother Jasper. In 1791 he had three acres of cleared land, stocked with a cow and hogs. His family of five children also ensured that the surname Harding would remain prominent in the locality for years to come.

George Harding was the only brother to remain in Shelburne, where he was a carpenter and tavernkeeper. In 1784 he was appointed a surveyor of lumber and cordwood by the sessions court. Shortly after the death of his wife Mary in 1788, however, he returned to Ireland, sailing from Shelburne in the brig *Elizabeth*. There he married in Dublin, 4 November 1790, Mary Redd, whom it is believed was a cousin of his first wife. They subsequently returned to America, to live in Philadelphia, where their five children were born. Their son Jasper began as a publisher at the age of 18, purchased *The Philadelphia Inquirer* in 1829, and went on to found the largest Bible printing house in America. One of his Bibles is now in the Old Meeting House in Barrington, where it is used when the church is occasionally opened for worship.[16]

16 Loyalist claims, A.O.13/96, part 2, A.O. Series II, No. 25, p. 165, microfilm, PANS; Ontario Archives *Report*, p. 517, No. 472; papers in author's private collection; Harding family information from private collection of late Victor Williams; Pennsylvania Archives, First Series, Vol. III, p. 360; Scarf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, Vol. I, p. 397; Booth, "Rough Notes," 25 June 1789; MG23, B1, Vol. 40, Doc. 29, PAC; Land Grants, RG20, PANS; Court of Probate, Shelburne County, Estate A23, A211; Registry of Deeds, Shelburne County, Vol. 4, p. 77; Assessment Rolls, Shelburne County, MG4, Vol. 140, PANS; Court of Sessions, 6 April 1784, 14 July 1785, SCHR; Return of Inhabitants, Sable River and Port Hebert, 1791, MG1, Vol. 950, Doc. 543, PANS; Christ Church records.

James Holden

In family traditions, Sergeant James Holden was the son of Captain James Holden of the Prince of Wales regiment, and had been born in 1756 on a frigate in the English Channel. He had lived in the army, where he was a cooper, and in New York had been married to Ann (Nancy) Watt by the Reverend Charles Inglis, rector of Trinity Church and later the first bishop of Nova Scotia.

As a Loyalist, Holden was recommended to the Port Roseway Associates by Captain Robert Wilkins, in whose company he came to Shelburne, with his wife and a servant. On the day prior to their departure from New York, his mother, Ann Holden, applied to Sir Guy Carleton for permission to emigrate with her son. Her name, however, does not appear among the Shelburne grantees, and in the last hours before her son sailed for Nova Scotia, it must have been her decision to remain in America.

In Shelburne, Holden first worked in the commissariat department under Edward Brinley. By 1786 he was a cooper on Parr Street, where he had been granted a lot in Paterson's division. In the same year, he paid Daniel Goddard five shillings for 50 acres of land at Lower Sandy Point, with a dwelling house, other buildings and improvements. He continued to live in Shelburne, leaving little trace of his activities among area records. In 1820, he was chosen foreman of a jury called to try Patty Bowen, "a girl of colour," for stealing a calico gown worth one shilling, which she had worn to meeting on the Sabbath day; found guilty, she was given ten lashes on the bare back, and told to leave the township immediately.

James Holden died in 1844, his wife Ann in 1849. They had a family of ten children, nine sons and one daughter. Their sons Thomas, William and Joseph, bought 500 acres of undivided land in 1818, at the falls of the Jordan on the east side of the river. It was land that had previously been granted to William Hargraves and David Catherwood for their business interests in trade and shipping, and included houses, outbuildings, barns and stables, and the right to the water and to water courses. There was farmland with oak and maple and good white pine for timber, and in the river were salmon, trout and alewives. As farmers and coopers, the Holdens continued to live on the Jordan, where many of their descendants still find the land a good place to dwell.[17]

17 Return, Wilkins' Company, Misc. Documents, Vol. 21, No. 43, PAC; Ann Holden, memorial, MG23, B1, Vol. 8, PAC; Land Grants, RG20, PANS; Assessment Rolls, Shelburne County, MG4, Vol. 140, PANS; misc. church and family records; Special Sessions, Aug. 1820, SCHR; Registry of Deeds, Shelburne County, Vol. 6, p. 485; Lib. 3, fol. 79, Book 14, No. 55, Crown Lands Office, Halifax.

Charles Lyon

Charles Lyon was a Virginia Loyalist, from Princess Ann County, where he had owned two plantations, "The Den" and "Glen Lyon," and from where he sailed as a mariner. When the struggle for independence began in Virginia, he joined the British under the Earl of Dunmore and, with him, in 1775 embarked with the fleet for New York, where he was employed in the departments of the commissary general and the quartermaster general. He joined the Port Roseway Associates on the recommendation of Thomas Power, a mariner like himself. In Captain Andrew Barclay's company, Lyon, his wife Catherine, and their servant Elizabeth Hunter, a free black, came to Shelburne in early May 1783.

Lyon was given two town lots, plus 50 acres in Mason's division at Lower Sandy Point. To one who had lost valuable plantations in Virginia, 50 acres of rough land covered with alders and stunted black spruce must have been a sharp disappointment. He was later to write of his plantations, remembering their hundreds of acres of marshland and fine upland, with 200 acres in cultivation; his dwelling houses and their kitchens; his barn and coach house and other buildings; his horses and cows, sheep and hogs; and his six blacks, Sharpee, Jacob, Hirling, Glasgow, Edinburg and Alice, whom he remembered as fine and healthy adults. All these he had forfeited, and looking back to his good days in Virginia, he considered his financial losses as exceeding £1700.

In Shelburne, he continued as a mariner while he had his land cleared and houses and stables built. By 1786 he was living as a farmer "on the Bay" (Lower Sandy Point), where his property was assessed for three shillings county tax and 1/6 poor tax. The following year he was listed as living at Roseway River. It offered better prospects to a farmer, but it was still not the good farmland of his Virginia plantations, and so, in 1787, he sold his house in Shelburne and his name disappeared from local records.[18]

18 Claim, A.O. 13, Vol. 25, p. 337, microfilm, PANS; Provision Return, Andrew Barclay's Company of Associates, Vertical Manuscript File: Shelburne, PANS; Assessment Rolls, Shelburne County, MG4, Vol. 140, PANS; Registry of Deeds, Shelburne County, Vol. 1, pp. 158, 225, Vol. 3, p. 116; Muster of the Free Blacks, p. 43.

Gilbert McKenna

Gilbert McKenna was a native of Scotland, where he was born, 3 November 1751, in Wigtonshire. As a young man he came to America, where he married in New York, 25 April 1782, Jannet McCormick, also born in Wigtonshire, 15 May 1766. She was a sister of Agnes McCormick who married James Muir (q.v.). In the spring of 1783, McKenna joined Captain Alexander Murray's company of Port Roseway Associates and with his wife and their son Samuel, born a few weeks before they sailed, he came in the first fleet for Port Roseway.

McKenna was a labourer who wanted to be a farmer. In Shelburne, he was given a warehouse lot near the waterfront, and a town lot on Hammond Street, where he built a house near the corner of St. John's Street. For farmland, he was granted 50 acres on Sandy Point, not far from town, and 200 acres at Rockland, in Alexander Murray's Ragged Islands location. At Sandy Point he cleared land for pastures and gardens, enclosed these acres with fences, and built a small house. His land was on a slope of a hill that bent sharply to the waterfront. It was not good land for extensive farming, and in 1787, he sold the property to the Shelburne merchant William Milby, and returned as a labourer to his house on Hammond Street.

In the early 1790s, the McKennas moved to Churchover, where they lived near Joseph Durfee. As the years passed, McKenna acquired property extending along the western shores of Shelburne harbour, from the reserved land below Point Carleton (Fort Point) to Carleton Village.

Gilbert McKenna died in 1821 and was buried in St. John's Churchyard, Shelburne, where a friend of his youth later visited his grave, remembering it as "far indeed from the land of his fathers." With the cleared acres left to her by her husband, Jannet McKenna supported her family by growing crops of grain, hay and many bushels of potatoes, and with the cattle, sheep and pigs feeding in her green pastures. She died in 1847 and was buried near her husband. Near them also are the graves of four of their children: Elizabeth, Mathew, Rosanna, and their sister Margaret, who was one hundred years of age when she died in 1894. Gilbert and Jannet McKenna had twelve children altogether, six daughters and six sons. Four of the sons were master mariners and died or were lost at sea. Another son, Gilbert, was twice elected

Liberal member for Shelburne County, and in 1868 was appointed to the legislative council until his death in 1877.[19]

Samuel Mann

Bearing a name of ancient Norman lineage, Samuel Mann was listed in the Port Roseway Association records as a farmer. He was a son of David and Sarah Mann of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, and had joined the British forces in the early years of the revolution. He had distinguished himself when, in a raid on Springfield, he had, with John and Cornelius Hatfield, captured two American officers who were later exchanged in New York for a British captain and 96 rank and file soldiers held by the rebels.

In Shelburne, Mann built a small house on Water Street, which he soon sold in 1784, with "Buildings and Timber trees," to John McVicar, for eight guineas. Mann was a seaman by 1790, serving as master mariner in command of Robert Barry's brig *Greyhound*, outward bound on a coasting voyage to Newfoundland; a slave, George Jolly, hired from his owner for fourteen dollars a month, was a member of the crew.

About this time, Mann moved to Liverpool, where he married in 1794 Elizabeth McLeod, widow of Lieutenant Donald McLeod of the King's Royal Rangers. As a master mariner, Mann continued to sail out of Liverpool with cargoes for American and West Indian seaports, and for the Newfoundland trade where, as a fisherman, he caught cod along the Labrador coast, returning to Liverpool each fall with hundreds of quintals of fish. In the summer of 1796 his sloop, laden with fish, was captured by a French privateer off the coast of Nova Scotia, and Mann was put aboard a vessel inward bound for Halifax. Following instead in the wake of his sloop, he caught up with her in Boston, purchased her from the privateers, and returned to Liverpool with her cargo intact. About 1807, Mann and his family went to live in Gabarus, Cape Breton, where many descendants still remain.[20]

19 Family information from notes by Hon. Robert Irwin; list of Alexander Murray's Associates from author's private collection; Registry of Deeds, Shelburne County, Vol. 3, p. 15, Vol. 6, p. 460, Vol. 7, p. 18; Court of Probate, Shelburne County, Estate A216; Assessment Rolls, Shelburne County, MG4, Vol. 140, PANS; Capitation Tax lists, RG1, Vol. 442, 443, PANS; 1827 Census, RG1, Vol. 446, PANS; "Tour from Windsor to Cape Negro, in the county of Shelburne, 1822," in *Report*, PANS, 1937, p. 29; C. Bruce Fergusson, *Directory, M.L.A.'s of Nova Scotia, 1758-1958* (Halifax, 1958).

20 Cutter, *Genealogical and Personal Memoirs*, Vol. 3, p. 1461; Minute Book, p. 14; Jones, *Loyalists of New Jersey*, p. 91; Registry of Deeds, Shelburne County, Vol. 1, p. 274; T.W. Smith, "History of Shelburne County," p. 79; Assessment Roll, 1790, MG4, Vol. 140, PANS; *Diary of Simeon Perkins*, Vol. XXXIX and XLIII, *passim*.

James Muir

James Muir was born in Ayrshire, Scotland, in 1758. As a young man he came to America, where he married in New York, Ann Agnes McCormack, who had been born in Wigtonshire in 1760. In the spring of 1783, Muir joined Captain Andrew Barclay's company of Port Roseway Associates and came to Shelburne in the first fleet. With him were his wife and their infant son John, born shortly before they sailed.

In Shelburne, Muir was allotted a town lot on Mowat Street in the north division of the town, and a warehouse or water lot on one of the waterfront lanes, also in the north division. On the west side of the Jordan, below Jordan Ferry, he was granted 50 acres of shore and woodland in Mason's division. By trade a ship carpenter and master shipwright, he worked in the early town shipyards, helping build many of the first vessels to sail from Shelburne to distant seaports.

Muir died a young man of 44 on 15 December 1802, leaving a widow with twelve or more children. She, like her sister, Jannet McCormack McKenna, became a farmer, tilling her seven acres of land, growing grain, wheat, hay and potatoes. In 1805, Governor John Wentworth granted her the right to occupy one of the Navy Islands, where there was forage for cattle, sheep and pigs. She died in 1846, an old lady of 86, and was buried beside her husband in St. John's churchyard. Of their large family of children, four daughters and their son John share the family plot, with a stone marking the death of their son James in Grenada in 1817, where he had sailed as a mariner in a Shelburne vessel. Their sons and daughters and their descendants have been useful and prominent citizens in Shelburne and elsewhere, working as carpenters, coopers, shipbuilders, shipowners and physicians.[21]

The Perrys

Among the many Perrys who came to Shelburne, three were Port Roseway Associates: Thomas, Samuel and Silas, from Sandwich, Massachusetts, whence they were banished when they fled their homes and took refuge behind British lines in Rhode Island. Their roots went deep into Cape Cod, back to their ancestor Ezra Perry, who first appeared in Sandwich town records in 1644.

21 Provision Return of Andrew Barclay's Company, Vertical Manuscript File: Shelburne, PANS; genealogical notes collected by Hon. Robert Irwin; Land Grants, RG20, PANS; Registry of Deeds, Shelburne County, Vol. 5, p. 501; 1827 Census, RG1, Vol. 446.

Thomas Perry was a yeoman and a master mariner. With his brother Seth, also a Loyalist and a pilot on His Majesty's vessels during the Revolution, Thomas shared an undivided estate left to them by their father, Nathan Perry. He thus lost his interest in 400 acres of land in Sandwich; 60 cleared and cultivated acres; his house, a new barn and other buildings; twelve acres of good meadow land; twelve head of cattle; oxen and cows; his carts, ploughs and farming tools; plus 55 sheep, all of which he valued at a total of £405.

As a British sympathizer, Thomas suffered insults from the rebels and, in 1777, when they drafted him into the town militia on an expedition into Rhode Island, he instead deserted, being the first to inform the British of the impending rebel attack. He was immediately employed as a spy and narrowly escaped capture. He also served as a pilot, and later provided wood for the British garrison in New York.

During these long years of warfare, Perry's wife and family remained in Sandwich. She perhaps sided with the patriots, for as her poverty deepened, a plea was entered with the local court by the committee of correspondence for the support of "Sarah Perry, wife of Thomas Perry, absentee." She later joined her husband in New York, and came to Port Roseway with their three children and a servant.

Samuel Perry was also a farmer and master mariner. When he took refuge with the British in Rhode Island in 1777, he lost his house and 100 acres of land, which he valued at £130. He reputedly sailed on a British man-of-war in New England waters, and at the end of the war he joined the Port Roseway Associates on the recommendation of Joseph Durfee. In his family were his wife, Thankful Bourne, and their eight children.

Silas Perry, also recommended by Joseph Durfee, was a labourer whose property had been confiscated by the State of Massachusetts. He was enrolled by the Associates as intending to go to Port Roseway accompanied by a servant.

The three Perrys were allotted town and water lots in Shelburne, but their interest was in farmland, and as mariners they especially wanted land near the sea. Well to the westward of Shelburne, they found what they were looking for, west of Round Bay and the land reserved there for the early New England settlers. Hundreds of acres along the Cape Negro Shores and on Black Point (Ingomar) were subsequently surveyed "to Silas Perry et al." Samuel Perry was given 375 acres; his son Samuel 65 acres; his son Stephen 55 acres; Thomas Perry received 305 acres; and Silas Perry was allotted 55 acres, with an additional 50 acres at Lower Jordan Bay. They also shared, with others, small plots of meadow and marshland for cattle and hay.

As farmers they tilled their land; as fishermen and seamen, master mariners and shipowners, they sailed the sea that came to the shores of their properties. Thomas Perry, a master seaman, sailed from Shelburne to Boston in the schooner *Lorence* for barrels of bread and flour and for bushels of Indian corn for the town merchants, George and Robert Ross. In the schooner *Juno*, he sailed to New York for flour and corn for Peter Guyon; in the schooner *Jane*, to New York for flour and crackers, naval stores, peas and corn for her owners, Gabriel and Cornelius Van Norden and James Lent of Tusket. As part owner of the schooner *Swallow*, he picked up cargoes of flour and corn in Philadelphia; in the schooner *Mikmack*, he imported hogsheads of salt for the Shelburne merchants, Cox and Walter. Finally, in 1807, he apparently returned to America, for his name then disappeared from the Shelburne records.

Silas Perry farmed his land on the Cape Negro Shores and had a small boat for fishing and coasting. Captain Samuel Perry farmed and fished and told stories of his years on a British man-of-war. One particular tale he told as an old man was of Benedict Arnold, who at the time of his desertion to the British, came aboard the vessel on which Perry served. One day when Arnold was on the quarter-deck, a countryman was brought aboard. Arnold asked him what people on shore were saying about General Arnold. "Do you mean Arnold the traitor?" asked the countryman. "Yes," replied Arnold, "if you like to call him such." "Well," said the man, "our folks say that if they could catch him they would cut off all his scars obtained by honourable warfare in defence of his country, and give them honest burial; the rest of him they would burn with fire."[22]

Old Captain Samuel Perry's story would seem to sum up quite nicely the dilemma facing all those who chose Britain over America. Whether their decision was based on true loyalty, like the Courtneys; on expediency, like Charles Bruff; or because the decision had been taken out of their hands, like Charles Church, one fact remained: they were not welcome in the Thirteen Colonies after 1783. The families of the Port Roseway Association

22 Minute Book, p. 15; Stark, *Loyalists of Massachusetts*, p. 139; Loyalist claim, Thomas Perry, A.O. Series II, No. 25, microfilm, PANS; Claim, Samuel Perry, A.O. 13/93, pp. 158-160, microfilm, PANS; Land Grants, RG20, PANS; Home Office Papers, H076, 1 and 2 (179-96), microfilm at Dalhousie University Archives; Naval Office Records, Port of Shelburne, 1796, microfilm at Dalhousie University Archives; Assessment Rolls, Shelburne County, MG4, Vol. 140, PANS; Tax Book, 1807, author's private collection; Capitation Tax, 1792, RG1, Vol. 443, PANS; Benedict Arnold story from notebook of Prof. Arnold Doane, extracts in author's private collection; George F. Willison, *The Pilgrim Reader*, p. 452; *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, Vol. 115, 116; MG23, B1, Vol. 40 (8), Doc. 29, PAC; Index Map 19, Dept. of Lands and Forests, Halifax.

contributed much to Nova Scotia by their decision to emigrate here. As Loyalists seeking new homes in a land still British, after years of labour they left a good inheritance to their descendants, many of whom still live along the very shores which their forefathers farmed and fished and where they sought, through their labour, to gain the precious gift of independence for themselves and their families.

Members of the Port Roseway Association as listed in the Minute Book of the Port Roseway Associates.

Philip Ackland
William Anderson
John Anderson
Stephen Arents
George Auld
Samuel Aldworth
Samuel Aikins
James Allen
Peter Anderson

Andrew Barclay
Richard Brazel
Jonathan Baxter
Samuel Butler Jr
William Burke
Nicholas Browne
William Branthwaite
Samuel Browne
Edward Bowldby
William Burton
Charles Bowldby
Samuel Baxter
Chas Oliver Bruff
John Blackwell
Andw. Bierman
William Black
John Bridgman
Joseph Barlow
Thomas Barlow
David Bennett
Joseph Black

John Bowser
George Beattie
Alex. Bradbyrne
Daniel Brown
Henry Bolton

Thomas Courtney
Richard Courtney
Douglas Campbell
Ammi Chase
John Clisby
George Chisholm
William Calwell
Thomas Curren
Alexander Campbell
Alexander Cockene
Archibald Campbell
William Carson
John Compton
Evan Cameron
Archibald Clarke
William Cameron
Robert Connell
Christopher Connor
Thomas Chetwynd
Robert Cunard
James Courtney
Daniel Carroll
Elisha Cord
Arthur Cullum
William Castle

John Cooke
Lawrence Corrall
Alexander Currey
George Campbell

Joseph Durfee
James Dole
Nathl. Dickinson
Robert Durfee
Luke Dormy
John Davidson
John Demill
Alexander Dove
Tyler Dibble
Roger Dempsey
Alexander Donaldson
Thomas Denham

Joseph English
Henry Elvins
James Ellis
Robert Easton
John Edmonds
Isaac Enslow

Jonathan Finley
Alexander Fraser
James Ferguson
John Ferguson
Robert Fox
Hugh Frazer

James Frazer
Alexander Farlin
Thomas Florrinane
James Ferguson
Daniel Frazer
Alex. Frazer
Simon Frazer

John Gardner
John Graham
Isaac Goodman
Thomas Greaves
Jobe Goddard
John Goddard
Matthew Gemmil
Michael Grass
Hugh Glinn
Benjamin Grovenor
Casper Grasman
George Goswell
James Griffin
Isaac Gray
Daniel Grandin
Thomas Gold
William Graham
James Gautier
James Gamage
Peter Grant
Peter Gray
William Gibson
Peter Grant

Thomas Hazard
John Hefferman
Nathl. Hanno
William Hill
John Haskin
Thomas Hodson
William Hanney
Thomas Hartley
Isaac Hall
Samuel Harrison
John Hislop

Rufus Handy
Rufus Handy Junr
Joshua Hill
Henry Hodgkinson
Edward Hanney
Owen Hughes
Jasper Harding
Thomas Harrison
Samuel Humbertone
Mr. Enoch Hunt
John Houston
William Hughes
William Harper
William Hale
Robert Harden
Charles Hart
Richard Hardy

John Johnston
William Johnston
William Jackson
Jenkinson Jeanes

John Kenney
John Kingston
Dennis Kennedy
David Knapp

John Lownds
Peter Lynch
James Lowey
Michael Lamey
Amos Lockwood
John Lovell
Charles Lyon
James Lodge
John Leighton
Peter Lenox
George Lowe
Jesse Lear

James McMaster
James Moffatt

Nathaniel Munro
William McLeod
Samuel Mann
John McLinden
John Miller
Hugh McMullin
William McKenzie
James Miller
Caleb Mallery
Jeremiah Meyer
David Maxwell
Thomas Mullin
William Murchey
William Murray
John Menzies
Daniel Munro
Stephen Millidge
John McAlpine
Jesse Marchant
Thomas Moore
Soirle Mcdonald
Donald McCrummin
George Moseley
James Murray
John George Meyer
John McAlpine
William McCree
John McNeal
Alexander Murray
Donald McAlpine
Robert McCullock
Frederick Meyers
Bartholomew Musgrave
Timothy Mahone
Luke Murphey

Joshua Pell
Peter Parker
Benjamin Palmer
Moses Pitcher
Samuel Perry
Joseph Pynchon
Fleming Pinkstone

George Pashley
Thomas Perry
David Phillips
James Potter
Thomas Power
Joseph Prescot
John Pack
Silas Perry
Joshua Parker
Benjamin Pack
James Pryor
Timothy Prout
George Patton
Alphaus Palmer

Alexander Robertson
James Rose
Joseph Ristine
James Rose
William Randall
Nathaniel Rand
Charles Richards
Iram I. Richards
Edmund Russel
John Rivers
Peter Robinson
Cornelius Ryan
Alexander Reid
William Rose
Colin Reed
William Robinson
James Reath

John Stuart
Peter Stewart
James Smither
George Scott
Benjamin Smith
William Sutherland
George Smith
Thomas Strembock
Paul Speed
John Spencer
Thomas Somner

Peter Sparling
John Stackhouse
Ephraim Smith
Whitford Smith
Thomas Shaw
David Simm
James Sprinks
John Stanton
John Sinclair
Matthew Stacey
Samuel Sharpe
Joseph Sharpe
John Smart
Stephen Shakespear

Abel Thatcher
Richard Thomas
Robert Turnbull
Nathaniel Thomas
Robert Thomson
John Tench
Thomas Turnbull
William Tribe
Bennett Trelone
John Turner
John Takway
John Tolbert

Nathan Vail
Joseph Vassey
Robert Vail
Nathaniel Vail Jun

Gideon White
Robert Wilkins
Richard White
Thomas Whiting
John Williams
Daniel Wright
Samuel Wade
Edmund Ward
Richard Wetton
Pelham Winslow
Amos White

John Williams Jun
Samuel Williams
John Watson
John Wilson
John Walker
George Walls
Duncan White
Daniel Williams
John Watt
David Willson
James Willson

Of these 303 members listed above, at least 69 did not come to Port Roseway, or if they did they did not remain long enough to receive an allotment of land. Of those who did come, over one hundred are not listed on the assessment roll of 1786. By 1790, only 87 were recorded as still living within the district of Shelburne. The 303 listed members fall far short of the 441 persons whom the captains of the Association insisted were eligible to receive grants of land within their chosen settlement of Port Roseway. Many of the missing names failed to be registered in the records of the Associates, as they were Loyalists who joined after 25 March, when the membership roll was closed. They were those admitted by the captains to fill the quota of their individual companies, each captain having been admonished by the Associates to be "particularly careful in those members he may admit." The following names have been compiled from pages of the minute book, commission papers for captains and lieutenants, muster rolls, ration returns, claims and other statements made by Shelburne Loyalists.

John Adams
Jeremiah Allen
James Ashley
Joseph Ashley
William Ashley

Weart Banta
John Barr
Robert Barry
Thomas Batt
John Bellington
William Branston
William Broome
John Browne, Jr.
John Browne, Sr.
John Burnham

Alan Calder
John Capewell
Patrick Carland
William Carmichael
John Cheese
Charles Church
John Clawson
James Cock
John Cooper
Alexander Cowan
John Cowling
Margaret Crawford
William Cruikshank
John Curry

William Dare
Samuel Davenport
John Davis
Hugh Deane
Daniel Delaney
Robert Dodds
Hugh Dogharty
John Dolphid
George Duncan
Thomas Duncan
George Dundass

Alexander Fairley
John Fitzpatrick
William Foster
Rev. Hugh Fraser
Thomas Full

Henry Goddard
John Goody
Alexander Gordon
Gregory Grant
Edward Green
Henry Guest

John Hale
Joseph Hardy
William Hargraves
Daniel Harris
James Holden
William Holderness
Alexander Houston
Robert Houston
Thomas Houston
George Harding

Richard Jolly

Henry Edwin Knox

Dennis Lawler
Thomas Lawrence
James Leslie
Peabody Little
James Littlewood
Benjamin Love

Michael Malcolm
David Mallows
Thomas Meston
Robert Moffatt
William Moody
James Moor
Robert Moor
Cabel Morgan
James Muir
Archibald McBeath
Donald McDonald
Neil McDonald
Ronald McDonald
James McEwen
John McEwen
William McEwen
John McGie
John McIntire
Ronald McIntire
Alexander McKay
George McKay
Alexander McKenzie
Gilbert McKenna
John McKerley
Colin McKinley
Duncan McKinnon
Alexander McLean
Donald McLeod
John McLeod
John McPhiel
Thomas McWaters

Anthony Nelson
Archibald Nesbit
John Nichols
Niel Nicholson
Peter Nicholson
Richard Nowland
Valentine Nutter

John O'Neil
William Owen

Lewis Palmer
Thomas Peck
William Peck
Richard Penny
John Phillips
David Porter
Christopher Potts

William Rankin
Patrick Reily
William Rigby
Alexander Robertson
James Robertson
Anthony Robinson
Andrew Ross
Donald Ross
William Ross
Thomas Rowlands

George Singleton
John Sloone
Cabel Smith

Peter Sparewater
Lathrop Stanton
Moses Start
Thomas Stewart
Jacob Styman

Ann Taylor
John Taylor
James Thomas
David Thomson
James Thompson
Harmon Tonson
John Turnell

John Ure

John Wade
Richard Walker
Thomas Ware (Weir)
Andrew Watson
George Watson
John Webster
George Wells
Joseph Welsh
David White
Richard Williams
Richard Williamson
William Wilson
Benjamin Wood

James Yule

As for the 303 members of the Port Roseway Association recorded in the minute book, many do not appear again in Shelburne records. They, as many others who came to Shelburne, found other locations more suitable to their needs. Many pushed along the shore to the already well-established New England communities; some went to the Annapolis Valley; a few to Cape Breton, and others to centers where there was land for new settlers. And many went back to their former homes in the new United States, where there were friends and relatives to welcome their return.

The Antigonish Highland Games: A Community's Involvement in the Scottish Festival of Eastern Canada

Alyce Taylor Cheska

The Highland Games of Antigonish, Nova Scotia, have helped keep alive the Gaelic ethnic identity in eastern Canada for well over one hundred years. Since the Antigonish Highland Society's first athletic meet in 1862, this group has been striving to maintain their ancestors' culture and traditions, primarily through the Highland Games, held annually in recognition of the early immigrants from Scotland (and Ireland) who brought with them tossing the caber, throwing the hammer and putting the shot; playing the bagpipes; dancing the Highland fling, reels and strathsprey; and the wearing of the tartan and kilt. Since its inception, the yearly event has been staged by volunteers, attracting first local county competitors, then provincial participants, and recently, over 1200 contenders from Canada and the United States, competing in athletics, piping and dancing.

The community of Antigonish has enthusiastically joined with its Scottish population in celebrating a "bit of Scotland" in this hilly, cliff-bound coastal area of north-eastern Nova Scotia. Every summer, the town is transformed for several days into a Scottish wonderland of plaid. Parades, parties and programs all add to the festive mood of local residents and the 13,000 visitors. Main Street businesses, carrying such names as McDonald, McDougall, Cameron, and Chisholm are festooned in Gaelic decor, and during this short time, everyone celebrates with the Scotsmen of Antigonish County their ethnic heritage. Any excuse will do, also, as a claim to "Scottishness." The highest honour, of course, is to be a descendant of the early Scottish pioneers who settled the land as early as 1783.[1] The status of in-law, friend, neighbour, or just being there is sufficient to establish a connection -- if, indeed, such is needed.

The continuity of the Highland Games since 1862 is amazing. The increasing impact this event has had on the Antigonish community is equally startling, especially as one examines the vicissitudes of other Highland Games in Canada and the United States. The Highland, or Caledonian Games, as they are called in the United States, increased from their reported beginning in New York City in 1836 to their apogee during the years from 1865 to 1885.[2] They then gradually diminished into near oblivion for three-quarters of a century. However, paralleling the recent

1 J.W. MacDonald, *History of Antigonish County* (Antigonish, 1876), pp. 20-21.

2 Fred E. Leonard and George B. Affleck, *A Guide to the History of Physical Education* (Philadelphia, 1947), p. 282; Gerald Redmond, *The Caledonian Games in 19th Century America* (Rutherford, 1971), p. 115.

growth in ethnic awareness, there has been a revival of sorts in the United States. Through all this, the historical integrity of the Antigonish Highland Games has been steadfastly maintained. It is this phenomenon that this article will address, dealing firstly with a brief history of the Scottish games, then with an examination of their growth and success as a Scottish festival at Antigonish, and lastly, with a discussion of community involvement in the annual celebration.

The origins of the strength and speed events of which the Highland Games consist have been lost in antiquity; however, such physical skill activities have long been associated with the display of manliness at Scottish festivities and celebrations. The parish or village games in Scotland have been in vogue from time immemorial, and have generally been held on or in connection with a local holiday.[3] The villagers of Ceres in Fife, whose name is that of the Latin goddess Ceres, protector of agriculture, claim that their Highland Gathering is the oldest in Scotland; this suggests that the caber tossing and such sports may be linked with fertility rites.[4] The early Celts, progenitors of the Gaelic Scots, held feasts, banqueting ceremonies, and public demonstrations of physical strength. At festivals or clan gatherings where the Celtic chief was present, the athletic traditions connected with heroic deeds of the past were displayed in a modified form. When the element of competition in strength events and piping was introduced to these outdoor gatherings, along with banquet and dancing celebrations, the format was set which continues to the present day.[5] Legend has it that the sporting feast originated in the eleventh century during the reign of King Malcolm Canmore, when the variation of the sword dance popular at the gatherings today was first introduced.[6] It has also been contended that running, jumping and stone casting were popular competitive events of European farmers in the Middle Ages, and that for cash prizes, foot races, sack races, and tug-of-war contests were competed in vigorously by both men and women. At farm festivals, vigorous dancing played an important role. Performers of the sword dance and other competitive dances vied for

3 Peter Ross, *The Scots in America* (New York, 1896), pp. 25-6.

4 David Webster, *Scottish Highland Games* (Glasgow, 1959), p. 10.

5 *Encyclopedia Canadiana* (Toronto, 1970), Vol. V, p. 124.

6 Webster, *Games*, p. 10.

prizes with the wildest steps, the most complicated jumps, and the strangest postures.[7]

In sparsely-populated rural Scotland, active participation was the keynote of clan gatherings, weddings and parties.[8] Most people took part in one way or another, for these activities introduced excitement into their relatively humdrum existence. At these celebrations, the implements used for competition were found around the farm or village. For throwing events, the following were used: the blacksmith's hammer, weighing from 12 to 16 pounds; a well-rounded stone from the river bed, weighing from 16 to 24 pounds; ordinary block weights up to 56 pounds; and the woodsmen's tree trunks (*cabers* in Gaelic), from 16 to 20 feet long and weighing up to 154 pounds. Running and jumping events required nothing but a flat piece of land.[9] It is generally agreed that the strength events of caber toss, hammer throw and stone put were most popular in the Scottish Highlands, while the running events were identified with the Lowlands.

Over the centuries, piping, athletic contests and dancing exhibitions continued to be popular, but were sometimes discouraged by laws passed to prohibit such activities as "ye casting of ye bar" (caber), which were proving more popular than the Sassenach archery.[10] With the decline of Scottish political aspirations after the defeat at Culloden in 1746, repressive bans were instigated against carrying arms, wearing the kilt, playing the bagpipes, and congregating in numbers. Many Scottish cultural traditions were thus abruptly severed. By the 1760s, the need to revive and retain Gaelic culture through traditional music, dance and kilt was felt; however, it was not until the 1780s that the newly-formed Highland Societies began to play a part in this preservation. In 1778, the prototype of the Highland Society was founded in London, working for the preservation of Highland bagpipe music and the repeal of proscriptions against Highland dress, which was achieved in 1781. The first recorded Highland Society Gathering took place at Falkirk in 1781; its success encouraged other gatherings. In 1819 the St. Fillian's Society of Scotland promoted a full scale "games" with piping, dancing and

7 Nicholas J. Moolenijzer, "Our Legacy from the Middle Ages," in Earle F. Zeigler, ed., *A History of Sport and Physical Education to 1900* (Champaign, Illinois, 1973), p. 236.

8 James Logan. *The Scottish Gael* (Hartford, 1851), pp. 237-322.

9 Webster, *Games*, p. 11.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

athletic competition; and during the 1820s, Highland gatherings were extensively organized throughout the country. The format of the modern Highland Games is almost identical to those of the early 1800s. Throughout the British Empire, public acknowledgement of the Scottish cultural revival received reinforcement by the British Crown; firstly by the appearance of King George IV in Highland dress while visiting Edinburgh in 1822, and then by the attendance of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert at the 1848 Braemar Gathering -- a tradition which started the royal patronage lasting to today, as noted by the attendance at the Braemar Highland Games of Queen Elizabeth, Prince Charles and his new wife Lady Diana, Princess of Wales, in the summer of 1981.[11]

The beginnings of Scottish expansion go back several centuries, as churchmen and scholars, craftsmen, traders and soldiers travelled over the European continent. During the 1600s, however, the Scots turned westward in a great migration, first to Ulster, Northern Ireland, and then on to the North American continent.[12] Scots appeared in Newfoundland as early as 1620. In 1621, Scotsman Sir William Alexander received from King James I a land grant designated "Nova Scotia [New Scotland] in America," thus beginning the tradition of three centuries of emigration and widespread settlement in the new world.[13] Emigration from Scotland during the 1600s and early 1700s soon swelled into a great human river, fed by religious, economic and political defeat, and by the suppression of all things Scottish:

> After Culloden in 1746 the English impressed upon the Highlands the most severe restriction. All Highlanders were forced to take the following oath. Those who refused...were treated as rebels. 'I...do swear, as I shall answer to God at the Great Day of Judgment, I have not, nor shall have in my possession any gun, sword, pistol or arms whatsoever, and never to use Tartan, plaid, or any part of the Highland Garb; and if I do so may I be cursed in my undertakings, family and property -- may I be killed in battle as a coward, and lie without burial in a strange land, far from the graves of my forefathers and kindred; may all this come across me if I break my oath.'[14]

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 15; *Time*, 21 Sept. 1981, p. 61.

12 Gordon Donaldson, *The Scots Overseas* (London, 1966), p. 100.

13 Gerald Redmond, *The Sporting Scots of Nineteenth-Century Canada* (London and Toronto, in press).

14 Antigonish Highland Games *Program* (Antigonish, 1970), p. 23.

Emulating the phenomenon of the Highland Society movement in their native land, Scots in the new world formed similar organizations in Canada and in the United States, where they were named Caledonian Societies (*Caledonia* being the Roman name for Scotland). The first Highland Society in Canada was established in Glengarry in 1818, a mere 40 years after the founding of the first society in Britain. The Nova Scotian organizations, as branches of the London Highland Society, were established in Halifax and on Prince Edward Island in 1838, and in Cape Breton in 1848.[15] According to the 1839 *Constitution and First Annual Report* of the Highland Society of Nova Scotia, shortly after the founding meeting in Halifax, a meeting was held in the county courthouse in Antigonish, where "a considerable portion of the inhabitants of the County of Sydney" resolved to form a similar society.[16] Verification of the Antigonish organization between 1839 and 1861, however, appears vague. Thus, 22 August 1861 is considered the official founding date of the Highland Society of the County of Sydney (later called Antigonish),[17] and A.A. MacKenzie has suggested the following reasons why area residents again organized such a society:

> They feared that the people might forget the songs, customs, and traditions that had brightened their existence during the strenous pioneer days. The immigrant generation was dying off too; there was a danger that the old ties, the feeling of kinship and affection for the Scottish homeland would disappear.[18]

The admonition of the local Antigonish newspaper, *The Casket*, to the new organization was that "We hope this Society will be instrumental in keeping up to some extent the noble spirit and memory of Old Scotia."[19] Membership in the society was reserved for persons of Highland descent, or for those related by marriage. From its inception, however, worthy non-

15 Patricia A. Lotz, "Scots in Groups: The Origin and History of Scottish Societies with Particular References to Those Established in Nova Scotia," unpublished M.A. thesis, St. Francis Xavier University, 1975, pp. 48, 107.

16 *Constitution and First Annual Report* (Halifax, 1839), p. 14.

17 David G. Whidden, *The History of the Town of Angtigonish* (Wolfville, 1934), p. 134.

18 Quoted in Lotz, "Scots in Groups," p. 113.

19 *The Casket* (Antigonish), 29 Aug. 1861.

Highlanders could be elected to honourary membership, thus providing a mechanism for the involvement of persons who had only emotional ties and affections for Scotland; however, the leadership over the years remained predominantly Scottish. The stated "objects" of the Antigonish Highland Society were basically the same as other such organizations: 1) preserve the martial spirit, language, dress, music, games and antiquities of the Caledonians; 2) relieve distressed Highlanders at a distance from their native homes; 3) promote the improvement and general welfare of their native country.[20]

Over the years, these articles of faith were translated into action. The charitable and welfare objectives were in part fulfilled by the collection of monies for distressed Hebrides Islanders, the needy in Antigonish County, local hospital construction, the war memorial, a monument at Arisaig commemorating the landing of the first settlers, and the education of local children and adults. However, the early and continuous attention to preserving the Gaelic tradition in martial spirit, language, antiquities, dress, music and games was the prime thrust. In this, the Highland Games project proved the synthesizing and rallying vehicle for the Society,[21] as well as for other earlier Scottish groups such as the Caledonian Club of Prince Edward Island, who reportedly held, in 1838, the first traditional Highland Games in North America. In 1836, the Highland Society of New York held a "Sportive Meeting." The Caledonian Society of Cape Breton held Highland Games in Sydney in 1848, which included track and field events, piping and dancing. In 1853 the Boston Scotsmen staged Highland Games; in 1855 Montreal held its first Caledonian Games; in 1858 the Philadelphia Society held its first Caledonian Games, and Newark, New Jersey, started theirs in 1861, followed by the Brooklyn Caledonian Club and the Milwaukee St. Andrew's Society, who held their respective Annual Games in 1867; that same year, the first international games were held between clubs of Canada and the United States.[22]

---

20 Minute Book of the Highland Society of the County of Sydney (1861), as quoted in Antigonish Highland Games *Program*, 1979, p. 1.

21 *The Casket*, 1 Jan. 1861.

22 Redmond, *Caledonian Games*, p. 146; Donaldson, *The Scots Overseas*, pp. 126-7; Henry Roxborough, *One Hundred Not Out: The Story of 19th Century Canadian Sport* (Toronto, 1966), p. 110; John A. Lucas and Ronald A. Smith, *Saga of American Sport* (Philadelphia, 1978), p. 107, 140.

The Highland Society of the County of Sydney held its first athletic meet on 25 September 1862, followed by its first Highland Games on 18 October 1863.[23] *The Casket* ran a two-column account of the first Games, written by its editor, the treasurer of the Highland Society, Scotsman John Boyd. He stated that

> The Highland Games, in connection with the "Highland Society of Antigonish," were played on Friday last, on Apple Tree Island -- the beautiful grounds of W.C. Hierlihy, Esquire... . The day was all that the most ardent admirer of the sports could have desired... . Long ere the Society and their guests had reached the grounds (in procession), numbers had flocked...eager to witness the coming sports... . We are quite convinced, too, that the "sons of the heather" who might have witnessed these sports, would have good reason to feel proud of their countrymen and their descendants in this and the adjoining Counties.[24]

The successful competitors were given prizes in the following events: throwing the heavy (16 pound) hammer; throwing the light (12 pound) hammer; putting the heavy (24 pound) stone; putting the light (16 pound) stone; throwing the 20 foot caber; running (high) leap; standing (long) jump; running (long) jump; foot race; playing the bag pipes; dancing the Highland fling; plus two novelty events: the wheelbarrow and sack races. To defray the cost of the prizes, society members purchased competitor's tickets at 25 cents each.

Over the years, the basic sports were the strength events of the hammer, caber and stone throws, plus an increasing presence of Lowland running events. In the 1868 Highland Games, additional competitive events included the hurdle race, archery, sword dance and the Highland reel. Also, prizes were added for the broad sword exercise and for the wearer of the best Highland costume. An entry fee of 50 cents was charged, enabling a male to compete in all events for first and second cash prizes up to $5.00 and $4.00 respectively.[25]

The tenth Antigonish Highland Games, held on 24 September 1873,

23 *The Casket*, 12 July 1928.

24 *Ibid.*, 22 Oct. 1863. Apple Tree Island is no longer discernable, since the diversion of the James River caused the channel which separated the island from land to become dry and to grow over with foliage (John Dewar, 24 May 1981).

25 *The Casket*, 30 July 1868.

marked a decrease in prize money to $2.50 and $1.50 for first and second prizes respectively, except for pipe music prizes of $5.00 and $4.00 each. Also came the division of contestants into professionals competing for cash prizes, and amateurs for gold and silver medals.[26] In 1876 the first gold medal was offered to the winner of the Nova Scotia hammer throw.[27] The amateur competition by 1899 was under the sanction of the Maritime Provinces Amateur Athletic Association, and the prizes included both cash and gold and silver medals.[28] At the 1901 Highland Games, winners in all events received either gold or silver medals, with no mention of cash prizes.[29] Such variance in the annual methods of reward reflected the growing conflict between amateur and professional competition in Canada as well as the United States.

As the Games gathered momentum during the 1870s and 1880s, accomodations were expanded. A special grandstand was built for spectators. Local organizations sold food and crafts. Residents housed competitors and visitors. Reduced rates on special excursion trains from the major cities of Halifax and Sydney to Antigonish were offered. A 25 cent admission fee for visitors was charged, with 50 cent tickets for the grandstand seats.[30] Special novelty events were intermittently added, such as tug-of-war and bicycle races, along with exhibitions by outstanding professional and amateur athletes.[31] For example, in 1899 the "hometown-boy-made-good," Ronald J. MacDonald, world long-distance champion and later a physician, was to demonstrate his talent in the two-mile run. When the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States, where MacDonald competed while attending Yale University, found out, MacDonald was barred from any further meet demonstrations in which professionals competed and cash prizes were offered. He turned professional in 1905.[32]

26 *Ibid.*, 10 Aug. 1899.

27 *Ibid.*, 22 June 1876.

28 *Ibid.*, 10 Aug. 1899.

29 *Ibid.*, 15 Aug. 1901.

30 *Ibid.*, 23 Sept. 1875.

31 *Ibid.*, 15 Sept. 1898.

32 *Ibid.*, 10, 22 and 24 Aug. 1899.

This points up two major difficulties of the Highland Games concept: their Scottish character and their professionalism. One observer has noted that "From 1868 onwards, amateur clubs were offering competition in the same running, jumping, and throwing events [as the Highland Games], but they omitted the 'peculiar' Scottish events, like tossing the caber and the highland fling, and the elements of Scottish pageantry."[33] The contribution of the Highland (Caledonian) Games to American track and field has been recognized, but with the increased popularity of track and field along with other sports, the Caledonian Games' appeal declined in the late 1880s, although the Canadian Highland Games fared better and continued through the waning decades of the 1900s.[34]

The Antigonish Highland Games committee took great pride from the early years onward in conducting exciting, well-organized events. However, by 1899 the Society registered disappointment in the community response, observing that "While they [the Games] were most successfully conducted and were highly pleasing to the spectators...that notwithstanding a pleasantly warm and bright day, only six hundred people were in attendance." It was noted, however, that the financial result to the Society was satisfactory.[35]

The Antigonish Highland Games in the late 1800s and the early 1900s had to compete with similar events conducted by other Highland Societies, town committees, and amateur athletic associations. Rival competitions were held in such communities as Sydney, North Sydney, Port Hood, and even Antigonish itself, where during this period there were many track and field meets sponsored by the Antigonish Amateur Athletic Association, to the exclusion of traditional Scottish events. *The Casket* recorded the annual occurrence of the Highland Games in Antigonish until 1908, except for 1884, when a picnic was held instead. The 1901 newspaper account reported that the Games were held on Wednesday, along with a lead story about Ronald J. MacDonald winning the ten-mile race by 40 feet. The program listed the events divided into five professional and ten amateur classes.[36] There was no record of the Games being held from 1909 through

33 Redmond, *Caledonian Games*, p. 115.

34 Leonard and Affleck, *History of Physical Education*, *passim*; Redmond, *Caledonian Games* and *The Sporting Scots*, *passim*.

35 *The Casket*, 10 Aug. 1899.

36 *Ibid.*, 29 Aug. 1901.

1918, but *The Casket* announced on 8 December 1910 that "the Society, the oldest in town, has taken on renewed vitality," seeming to infer that the leadership had faltered. The Games were again held 17 July 1919, with an expanded program of 135 cash prizes totalling $1,000, along with medals, increased seating, and featured exhibitions.[37] This $1,000 cash prize pool had greatly inceased from the 1895 sum of $100.[38] In 1920, a new determination in the Highland Society was evidenced by their proclamation that "the Games hereafter are to be an annual occurrence."[39]

The Diamond Jubilee Games of the Highland Society in 1921 were highly touted. Violin competition was added to the athletic, dance and bagpiping events, plus a boxing exhibition and a Gaelic concert of dance, songs and readings.[40] In the same year, the Highland Society became incorporated through the action of the Nova Scotia Legislature, but not without considerable comment aroused by those who thought that "Canadians have no interest in maintaining the customs and traditions of a 'foreign country.' "[41] To allay certain other claims, the Highland Society had previously reassured the public that there was absolutely no personal gain in putting on the Games:

> The profits (if any) are devoted to patriotic purposes... . Come, then, everybody to our great national festival on Thursday, the 22nd, and do not begrudge the price of admission; remembering that we have no sordid interest in the matter, but only a strong desire to propagate the language and literature, the music, dances, customs, and athletics of our noble ancestors.[42]

A junior division (under 12 years) was added to the 1920 Highland Games, and in 1922, ladies' and girls' competitions in track and field events were officially noted. The 1924 Games resulted from the co-operative effort of the Highland Society and the total Antigonish community to raise money for the local St. Martha's hospital construction. The unique two-day bazaar

37 *Ibid.*, 5 June 1895.

38 *Ibid.*, 11 July 1920.

39 *Ibid.*, 8 July 1920.

40 *Ibid.*, 23 June 1921.

41 *Ibid.*, 7 April 1921.

42 *Ibid.*, 15 July 1920.

and games were praised: "It was successful as an athletic event, financially, socially, and as an outstanding example of whole-hearted community effort."[43] Proceeds from the bazaar alone totalled $9,000. In retrospect, it would thus appear that by the 1920s, the Highland Games had survived the onslaught of amateurism, increased popularity of track and field and other sports events, inroads from other organizations' "Scottish Games" and sports competitions, and insular nationalism.

The 1930 Highland Games carried community pride in its athletes, for the event was the "warm-up" to the British Empire Games held in Hamilton, Ontario, in which three winners had also won seven events at Antigonish the week previously. The decision by the Highland Society to hold the Games as usual during World War II was supported by the community through local co-operation, attendance and competitors. All the profits during those years were donated to the Red Cross. In 1940 the Highland Games were sanctioned by the Maritime Provinces branch of the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada as the official Maritime track and field event.[44] In 1943 the Highland Games were increased from a one-day to a two-day affair to accommodate the increased number of competitors and visitors.

During the immediate post-war period, the Antigonish Games continued to draw increasingly larger crowds of spectators and competitors; the program format continued to be basically of a competitive nature, with an eye towards records in track and field events, including the Scottish events of caber, hammer and stone. In 1953, *The Casket* summarized the indefatigable efforts of the Highland Society:

> The successful career of the Highland Games has been mainly due to the 92-year-old Antigonish Highland Society which over a period of almost a century has greatly contributed to the preservation of Scottish culture and traditions and also the promotion of athletics in Nova Scotia.[45]

During the period from 1950 to 1980, the community of Antigonish increasingly attracted visitors to the Highland Games by feature articles and expanded announcements in local and provincial tourist materials, adopting

43 *Ibid.*, 31 July 1924.

44 *Ibid.*, 8 Aug. 1940.

45 *Ibid.*, 23 July 1953.

the Scottish flavour in commercial advertising, offering special social events, and even calling the rains "Scottish mist."[46] In 1954, local business firms and civic groups were urged to enter floats in the pre-Games parade.[47] Trophies for float prizes and feature events were donated annually by local businesses. The tradition of an introductory speech by an important political or business figure who "opened the Games" continued, with even more prestigious Scots from Nova Scotia, Canada, the United States and Britain. Security and public order, a matter of community pride, were provided during this period by increased police. The 1955 Antigonish town council declared the day of the Games an official half-holiday.[48]

In 1961, the Highland Society marked its own hundredth anniversary by an elaborate week-long program, and in 1963 the centennial of the Highland Games was a seven-day community celebration. Some of the special events included the annual Highland Ball, power boat races, a doll carriage parade, a kite-flying contest, a Scottish concert, a kilted golf tournament, an Old Time dance, the 4-H Club concert, and a parade of bands and floats. Increased band competition (pipes and drums) and exhibitions, plus the stirring military Tattoo concert added to the excitement.[49] In the 1978 Highland Games, which were attended by 13,000 people, the major feature was the International Gathering of the Clans, with emphasis on the brotherhood of Scotsmen.[50]

Such large numbers and international emphasis reflected the importance of the Games as a tourist attraction and major cultural event. As such, during the 1970s there were marked shifts of responsibility by the Highland Society, such as obtaining help from the Nova Scotia tourist bureau in advertising; gaining a subsidy of the athletic program by Loto Canada, the national lottery; consolidating vendor contract negotiations; and establishing a permanent headquarters office with paid staff to administer ticket sales and security, in addition to committee volunteers who served at least one day a

46 *Ibid.*, 25 July 1957.

47 *Ibid.*, 8 July 1954.

48 *Ibid.*, 7 July 1955.

49 *Ibid.*, 25 July 1963.

50 Raymond A. MacLean, *History of Antigonish* (Antigonish, 1976), Vol. 1, p. 42, and interview, 26 July 1979.

week. The 1981 Highland Games attracted skilled track and field athletes from Quebec and the Maritime Provinces, who competed as provincial teams in preparation for the Canada Games held in August in Thunder Bay, Ontario. It is interesting to note that the *Encyclopedia Canadiana* (1972) referred to the town of Antigonish as the sponsor of the annual event known as the Highland Games. This omission of Highland Society sponsorship may be technically in error, but is increasingly accurate in spirit.

An analysis of *The Casket*'s coverage of the Highland Games from 1863 to 1980 was made to determine community involvement. References to the Games and related topics totalled 424. Most articles referred to the growth and development of the Antigonish Games, followed by those of community involvement, with the third most frequent being the contribution of Antigonish leaders. An additional 100 peripherally related items concerning the Games were noted. The combination of community involvement and the contribution of Antigonish leaders is significant, since there appears to be a positive relationship between the Games' longevity and this high ratio of community concern. It further indicates the local acceptance of the Games as an expression of Scottish ethnic preservation; a favourable response to the Games' sponsorship by the Highland Society; the continuing commitment and public support of the Games by the people of Antigonish; and favourable reporting of the event by the local newspaper, *The Casket*.

The remarks of the then lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, H.P. MacKeen, as he opened the illustrious 1963 centennial Highland Games, perhaps best garner the spirit of Scotland that the Antigonish event has captured for so long:

> These Games are symbols of Nova Scotia's Scottish heritage. Along with other characteristics including romanticism, love of learning, sense of honour, and patriotism, the love of combat, whether physical or mental, is inherent in the Scot. Its natural beauty and Scottish background makes Antigonish a perfect setting for Highland Games.[51]

51 *The Casket*, 25 July 1963.

There's No Life Like It: Reminiscences of Lightkeeping on Sambro Island

Barbara Shaw

"Like floating in the middle of the sky" is the way Roy Gilkie described his feeling when greasing the weather vane on Sambro Island lighthouse, where his father was lightkeeper. The vane was secured to a ball on the lighthouse roof and simply getting up to it was no small accomplishment; it meant climbing to the roof by a ladder outside the light, then onto another ladder curving with the shape of the roof to the ball. In this position, you were 115 feet from the base of the lighthouse, and standing on the ball and clutching the weather vane consequently gave the sensation of floating in space, since you couldn't see the lighthouse below -- only the small roof you were standing above.[1]

Sambro Island is composed of granite rock and is located about three miles off the village of Sambro, Nova Scotia, commanding the outer approaches to Halifax harbour. It is about one mile in circumference and is practically inaccessible except for an inlet about 300 feet long and 70 feet wide on the south-west side, which serves as a very snug anchorage. The chief feature of the island is the tall lighthouse with three horizontal bands of red, which help to make it more visible at a distance and in bad weather. Since the surrounding waters are infamous for their dangerous reefs and ledges, there was an attempt made as early as 1752 to raise money to build a lighthouse "at or near Cape Sambrough"; it was not until 1758, however, that the masonry was completed and the lantern installed.[2]

The first keeper was Captain Joseph Rous and then the Matthew Pennells, father and son. Next was James Goodwin who became keeper in 1817 and he was followed by his son-in-law, William Gilkie. Then came Joseph Gilkie, Alfred Gilkie and Arthur J. Gilkie,[3] Roy's father, who retired in 1929, ending a period of lightkeeping in one family totalling over 100 years. Arthur had been a shoemaker in Amherst, but when his father retired in 1914, he took over the position. He was, apparently, the stuff of which lightkeepers are made. From his bedroom he could see Chebucto Head light from one window and his own light from the other and Roy says that his

1 Interviews with Roy Gilkie, Halifax, April 1976, *passim*.

2 Thomas Beamish Akins, "History of Halifax City," *Nova Scotia Historical Society Collections*, VIII (1895), p. 51.

3 Hugh F. Pullen, *The Sea Road to Halifax* (Halifax, 1980), p. 23.

father became, in time, so tuned to the functioning of the light that if, while he was sleeping, there was some irregularity in its flash or if it went out, he would wake instantly. Roy was four years old when he came to the island and he lived there until he was nineteen. Never during that time did he go to school, but he and his two sisters were instructed by a teacher who came to the island and lived in the Gilkie home during the school year, conducting classes in the dining-room.

In Roy's time there were two dwellings on the island, plus the fog alarm building and the lighthouse itself. The older house was torn down in 1928, at which time a coin dated 1730 was found in the north-west corner plate, with the date "1816" scratched on its surface. One could thus conclude that this was the date the building had been constructed. The island has two distinct depressions -- one referred to as "the valley" and the other as "the yard." In order to get from the dwelling to the lighthouse, it was necessary to go down 20 steps into the yard and climb "the long ladder" of 25 steps up the other side. Subsequent keepers built a walkway across this area to save clambering down one side and up the other every time they had to go to the light.

At the time Arthur Gilkie was keeper of the Sambro Island light, the optical equipment in use was manufactured by Barbier, Bénard and Turenne of Paris and had been installed in 1906. A petroleum vapour incandescent burner produced 83,000 candlepower, multiplied to 900,000 candlepower by the lens. Centre discs or bullseyes, surrounded by a series of reflecting prisms, increased the light and bent the vertical rays into a horizontal path. The reflecting apparatus stood about nine feet high and weighed two tons. It was removed in 1966 and may now be seen at the Maritime Museum of the Atlantic, in Halifax.

Rotation of the lens was governed by a clockwork mechanism and to cut down friction as much as possible, the turntable was mounted on an iron trough filled with 900 pounds of mercury. Rollers held the whole apparatus steady, but friction was so much reduced that the lens, despite its great weight, could be moved with a little finger! When the temperature went down, however, the bed of mercury supporting the lens would shrink. When this happened, it allowed the lens to settle on top of the rollers with its full weight, hindering movement. If the temperature rose, the lens would then bind at the top. Thus, if the keeper felt the temperature was going down at night he would add one quart to the vat of mercury. If the temperature rose, the mercury could be drawn off from the bottom.

The illumination was produced by burning vapourized oil in an incandescent mantle, magnified by the powerful lens. The oil, under 50

pounds pressure, came out in a fine mist through a series of pin-hole openings or jets, so before lighting, the pressure had to be pumped up by hand. Once lit, the mantle would glow with a red flame and then gradually change to white, and the height of the flame was adjusted until it produced the greatest light possible. There was much to cause concern here to the conscientious lightkeeper. It was necessary to check the pressure regularly to maintain the quality of the light, since otherwise it would glow red. If a spot of dirt got into the jets, they could become plugged and instead of vapour, liquid oil would come out, burning as a ball of raw fuel and creating quantities of soot. When this happened, it could be seen from the dwelling house and the keeper knew he had five minutes to get to the burner and shut it off, otherwise it would go up in flames. He then had to cover the 20 steps down into the yard, cross the yard and run up the 25 steps to the lighthouse, then up 74 steps inside before reaching the light and getting at the problem. This was a rigourous course at the best of times, but particularly so when rocks and steps were covered with ice. By the time the keeper reached the top, the lens would be hung with soot and the dome would be covered with tags of soot hanging like icicles, six inches or longer. A stand-by light would have to be placed in operation and the lighting unit would have to be dismantled. To do this, since it would still be very hot, it was necessary to wear asbestos gloves. Even if there were no emergencies, the lens had to be cleaned two or three times a week, and this process took five hours. First, the oily film caused by the burners had to be washed off the glass with a solution of vinegar and water. Then the prisms were individually cleaned with a block of Bon Ami and polished with a chamois. If for any reason it was necessary to work around the light when it was burning, dark indigo glasses were worn to protect the eyes from the intense brightness.

During World War I, black-out curtains covered all the windows at night, so light would not show through and be visible to enemy vessels that might be in the vicinity. The beacon was lit only at certain times and for a stated number of minutes, when it was known that ships were due; these times were given in special coded instructions received by letter from the Admiralty. When it was imperative that messages be received, they were delivered by government vessel directly to the island; at other times, the mail was collected ashore at Sambro.

Neighbouring lighthouses that could be seen from Sambro Island were Chebucto Head, four miles away, as well as Devil's Island, Shut-In Island and Inner Sambro. When Chebucto Head was no longer visible because of fog, that was the signal to start the fog alarm. The building housing the alarm faced the open sea. Two-inch steel poles projected from the building, and

during periods of fog, signal bomb rockets placed on the ends of these poles were fired every ten minutes. The time of firing was regulated by an eight-day Seth Thomas ship's clock. In time, Roy's father invented a mechanism which made the firing automatic. During World War I the signal rockets, which were manufactured in England, were unobtainable, and a substitute method had to be found for alerting vessels to the proximity of land in foggy weather. A French naval deck gun was therefore installed in the fog alarm building. When a shell from this gun failed to fire for some reason, there was "some scrambling" to maintain the ten-minute interval. When such a misfire happened, one had to wait eight minutes for the shell to cool. It then had to be ejected and a new one loaded, which took two minutes, so that there was not time to spare. It was vital to maintain the timing as well, since the ten-minute interval specifically identified Sambro Island to mariners. Roy often acted as relief for his father in this duty, and the longest period covered by father and son at one stretch was 368 hours, or 15 days, without missing a shot.

Winter always brought additional problems for anyone responsible for a lighthouse. During severe storms a wind from the north-east meant the snow was dry and would not cling; if from the south-east it would be very wet and fall off. The westerly storms were the worst, since in this type of storm the snow might thaw and then freeze, sticking like glue, and the glass would have to be cleaned every four hours. This meant first going up a short ladder located on the "tame" side, outside the light -- so called because strong winds did not usually come from that direction. Then you grabbed one of the handles placed for support at intervals around the surrounding panes of glass and "climbed around like a spider," with one hand holding on for dear life and one hand removing snow and ice, with just barely a toe-hold on the narrow catwalk below. If you were not holding on securely to the ice-encrusted handles, you could be blown off!

Almost every winter the underwater telephone cable would break and communication with the mainland was cut off until the line was repaired in the spring. This meant that the island residents were even more isolated. If there was an emergency and the telephone was not working, the crisis was indicated by igniting the light in daytime and aiming one of the bullseyes of the lens at the village of Sambro. The mainlanders would then know that something was amiss and would send out a boat.

The length of time it took to get to the mainland varied with the weather. Although the distance was relatively short, it was a treacherous stretch of water, exposed to the effects of wind and tide. In winter the day might be calm and fine when you started out, with a clear passage through the ice.

When it was time to return, however, weather and wind could change and the route might be suddenly cut off by drift ice, so that you could find yourself in the middle of an ice field, with no water visible as far as the eye could see. In this situation it was quite possible that the water intake for the motor would suck in ice and clog; restarting the motor when surrounded by ice could also cause the propellor to shear off, and rowing was not feasible. As time passed, the greater became the danger of being caught in a snowstorm, since conditions changed so quickly. Many times when Roy's father went to the mainland in winter, he would encounter one or more of these difficulties, and his family would wait anxiously for his return some hours later. But he always did return. Several years ago, the present keeper was not so fortunate when he and his wife were marooned for some hours in perilous circumstances.

Emergencies, though not frequent, had a way of happening when the weather was as its worst. Roy himself, six years old at the time, was once involved in a serious accident during a raging snowstorm. Old caps from the signal gun, which served as the fog alarm, were piled in a dump on the island until enough had accumulated for a large quantity to be removed at one time. Roy had taken one of these caps to repair a toy pipe. The part that he wanted could not easily be removed, so he tried to pry it off with a penknife. Unknown to him, this was a cap that had misfired; it was still live, and the prying detonated it in his hand, resulting in a very serious injury. The accident happened about noon, but due to the storm it was impossible to get off the island to seek medical help. The earliest a trip to the mainland could be made was about nine o'clock the following morning, when the assistant keeper took Roy to Sambro on the first lap of the long trip to Halifax and the nearest doctor, about 20 miles away.

Fortunately the telephone was working at the time and Johnny Smith and his sleigh were waiting at the Sambro wharf. Word of the accident had spread and people from the intervening villages turned out in force to clear the road so that the horse and sleigh could get through. Men from Portuguese Cove shovelled to meet those from Ketch Harbour, three miles away, and so on. It was hard, slow work, and in some places there were eight-foot drifts to contend with. The sleigh, which left Sambro around ten in the morning, arrived in Halifax at three o'clock the following morning. Dr. Edward Farrell, whose office was on Gottingen Street, was waiting for the small patient who had been *en route* for so long. Roy recalls that he had to soak his hand in a disinfecting creolin solution for three hours, after which Dr. Farrell set to work, without benefit of anesthetic for the patient. Roy was in Halifax for two months, making almost daily trips to the doctor's office,

and staying with a Mrs. Hartlen on Black Street; she was a friend of his mother's and a sister of Mather Pearl, the lightkeeper on Pearl Island for many years. It says much for the doctor's skill that the injury gave little trouble to Roy in later life.

Roy's endurance was severely tested when his father was asked to go to Little Hope, a small, rocky island off Port Joli, as temporary lightkeeper. Mr. Gilkie made it clear that he would not be able to go unless a replacement was sent to Sambro by the Department of Marine and Fisheries, as he had no assistant at the time. This was agreed to, but when the department vessel, the *Lady Laurier*, arrived to pick him up, there was no replacement. Not going would mean Little Hope would be without a keeper, so Mr. Gilkie asked Roy, who was then 14, if he could handle the job at Sambro. Of course Roy said yes. He had not been feeling too well when his father left, and was a bit flushed, but under the circumstances it seemed important to appear to be in the best of health. Mr. Gilkie had not been gone long, however, when it was discovered that Roy had measles! As luck would have it, his father, who had not expected to be away more than a few days, was gone for two weeks. Due to bad weather setting in, he could not get off Little Hope. The same bad weather struck Sambro Island, bringing with it a blinding snowstorm which lasted three days. During this time the fog alarm had to be kept going, as well as the light -- both by one 14-year-old boy with measles. It took five gallons of oil a day to supply the burners in the lantern and there was only one way to transport it -- carrying the oil can weighing 50 pounds up 74 spiral steps. Roy managed to fill his role as stand-in keeper well, but missed one of the lens-cleaning schedules while tending the fog alarm during the snowstorm. By the time the senior Gilkie got back, the measles had run their course -- but Arthur did think his son looked a bit peaked.

The Gilkies had two cows, hens, and a garden which supplied them well in summer. In the fall they always had cabbage from Tancook Island and made a trip to Halifax by boat to stock up on supplies for winter, returning with barrels of apples, four and other staples, including coffee and tea. After such a trip there was no need to go ashore again for supplies for six months. If they wanted fish for dinner, Roy would go down to the inlet with his fishing rod. Looking into the clear water, he could see the intended meal swimming around below: haddock, cod or perch and lobster in abundance. He seldom returned empty-handed. If he fancied lobster, he would take a cod or haddock head along and drop it to the bottom. In no time at all he would see five or ten lobsters approaching the head, and with a dip net he would gently nudge one so that it would back into the net!

In winter there was plenty of black duck. When the lakes froze over,

ducks came regularly to the coast, and although most tended to taste fishy because of their diet, the black ones apparently did not. Leach's petrels, known locally as "Mother Carey's chickens" or "Carey chickens," were common, but in a heavy storm it was usual to see a great variety of birds that had been blown off course by the high winds. Many, attracted by the light and the warm glass, would hit the lighthouse. Roy recalls that after one storm that came from the tropics, five bushel baskets of dead birds were picked up. Unfortunate as this was for the birds, it also created a problem for the lightkeeper. As a result of so many feathered bodies crashing into it, the glass surrounding the light became very oily. In fact, Roy remembers it actually "dripping with Carey chicken oil" which, when dry, hardened like varnish, and was consequently very difficult to remove.

There were a number of wrecks in the vicinity during Roy Gilkie's time on Sambro Island, including *Romdalsfjord*, a Norwegian vessel carrying iron ore, which went aground on The Sisters, the outermost of the eastern Sambro Ledges, in 1920. Her hydrometer, in its mahogany case, came ashore in heavy seas and was picked up in the long grass of "the valley." The *Belle of Burgeo* foundered on Fairweather Rock, about a mile and a half from the island, in full view of the keeper and his family, who were powerless to help. The wind was due east during that storm and all manner of things came to rest on the island -- teak doors and door casings, stairways, mahogany bunk boards and even a clock; the salvaged material was put to good use and book cases were made from the bunk boards. The *City of Vienna*, a troop ship, went aground in 1918 and was lost completely, but there was no loss of life. Seven men were lost off the *Bohemian* in March 1920, but the majority made it to safety over a line running between the ship and a tug that was standing by. In 1921 the *City of Brunswick* and the *Letitia*, a hospital ship, went ashore at Portuguese Cove, and the *Premier* grounded on the Sambro Ledges.

Today's technology has eliminated much of the isolation and responsibility from lightkeeping and many lighthouses are now unmanned. In 1966 the Sambro Island lighthouse was automated, although there is still a keeper on the island.[4] Before automation, however, few occupations carried the same responsibility for human life or demanded as much self-reliance in a continual battle with the elements, as that of the lighthousekeepers. They, like the seafarers whose way they marked, had to be iron men.

4 Pullen, *op. cit.*

David George: Black Loyalist

Kathleen Tudor

"The persecution increased and became so great that it did not seem possible to preach and I thought I must leave Shelburne."[1] David George, former slave, Black Loyalist and Baptist minister, must have thought many times of the circumstances that led to his arrival in Shelburne in 1783, and to his departure for another country only nine years later. He had, along with hundreds of other blacks, responded to the British offer of freedom made as American rebels launched their campaign for independence. The prospect of freedom in a new land and the opportunity to continue the ministry he had begun at Silver Bluff in South Carolina awaited him. It was not to be. He and hundreds of other black men, women and children found little difference between life under their former cruel masters, who at least had never disguised their attitudes toward slaves, and life under a system of government that talked freedom but practised bigotry and persecution. Once again he must move on. This time his destination and that of 1,196 other Black Loyalists was Sierra Leone, where the "Nova Scotians," as he and his people were called, distinguished themselves for their leadership in the building of that nation.

David George's story began in 1742 in Virginia where, according to his own account, he was born to slave parents who were brought from Africa. As a small child on the Southern plantation of his master, he fetched water and carded cotton. Later he worked as a field slave on corn and tobacco plantations:

> I had four brothers and four sisters, who, with myself, were all born in slavery. Our master's name was Chapel -- a very bad man to the negroes. My oldest sister was called Patty. I have seen her several times so whipped that her back has been all corruption, as though it would rot. My brother Dick ran away but they caught him, and brought him home, and as they were going to tie him up, he broke away again and they hunted him with horses and dogs till they took him and they hung him up to a cherry tree in the yard by his two hands, quite naked, except his breeches, with his feet about half a yard

1 David George, "An Account of the Life of Mr. David George from Sierra Leone in Africa given by himself in a conversation with Brother Rippon of London and Brother Pearce of Birmingham," from a transcript of the original copied by Mary Archibald at the British Museum. The "Life" appeared in *The Baptist Annual Register*, Vol. I, 1790-93. Biographical information is from that source unless otherwise indicated. I would like to thank Mary Archibald for suggesting this topic to me and for permitting me to use her papers.

> from the ground. They tied his legs together and put a pole between them, at one end of which one of the master's sons sat, to keep him down, and another son at the other. After he had received five hundred lashes, or more, they washed his back with salt water, and whipped it in, as well as rubbed it in with a rag, and then directly sent him to work in pulling off the suckers of tobacco.

He too was oftentimes whipped, "sometimes till the blood has run down over my waist band," but the worst he had to suffer was witnessing the beatings of his mother, whom "they would strip directly, and cut away." Unable to bear more, he began the first of his voyages in search of freedom. David George knew the price of failure -- his brother's beating was meant to deter -- but he set out regardless. Escaping at midnight, he made his way across rivers and over unfrequented trails, taking weeks to cover short distances. He was sheltered briefly by a kindly person, until "the hue and cry found me out" and he was forced to move on. On one occasion the white man for whom he worked said, "There are thirty guineas offered for you, but I will have no hand in it." Again he found refuge working with a white man until, once more pursued, he ran away "up among the Creek Indians." Captured by the Indian king, Blue Salt, he lived with the Indians where he "made fences, planted corn, and worked hard but the people were good to me." Once more he was pursued, this time by the master's son who, bribing King Blue Salt with "rum, linen and a gun," almost succeeded in capturing him. But David George made his escape and joined the Natchez Indians. After only a few weeks he was sold to a Mr. Galphin, who left him with the manager of his fur trading post. There he mended deer skins, kept the horses and carried deer skins to Mr. Galphin's estate at Silver Bluff, some 400 miles distant "over five or six rivers." After three years he became a house slave on the Silver Bluff estate.

Silver Bluff proved another turning point in David George's life. Up to this time he admitted that "I lived a bad life, and had no serious thought about my own soul, but after my wife was delivered of our first child, a man of my race, named Cyrus, told me one day in the woods that if I lived so I should never see the face of God in glory." Silver Bluff and its master, George Galphin, seem to have achieved a reputation unique in slave country. Walter Brooks in his 1922 article on the founding of the Silver Bluff Church noted that "A master less humane, less considerate of the happiness and moral weal of his dependents, less tolerant in spirit, would never have consented to the establishment of a Negro church on his estate."[2]

2 Walter H. Brooks, "The Priority of the Silver Bluff Church and its Promoters," *Journal of Negro History*, VII (1922), p. 184.

For David George, the struggle to win his soul was not an easy one. The agony of his self-doubts made him ill and he was unable to wait upon his master. Finally he confided in Mr. Palmer, the "powerful" preacher who visited the estate, and soon he, his wife and other slaves were baptized. In spite of his own uncertainties about his ability to serve slaves on his master's estate, David George was being urged to take over the direction of the new congregation. Brother Palmer recognized his ability and urged him to preach, but he felt unworthy until he was warned "take care that you don't offend the Lord." He was subsequently appointed Elder, received instruction on how to conduct himself as a speaker, and finally learned to read:

> Then I got a spelling book and began to read. As Master was a great man, he kept a white schoolmaster to teach the white children to read. I used to go to the little children to teach me a, b, c. They would give me a lesson which I tried to learn and then I would go to them again and ask them if I was right. The reading so ran in my mind, that I think I learned in my sleep, as [truly] as when I was awake, and I can now read the Bible, so that what I have in my heart, I can see again in the scriptures.

Furthermore, because Brother Palmer was no longer allowed to come among the slaves, he had "the whole management [of the church] and used to preach among them" himself.

War between Great Britain and its American colonies was, however, impending during all those days in which David George first sought his own conversion and then actively worked in his church. In 1775 the governor of Virginia, Lord Dunmore, issued a proclamation which, in the words of James Walker, committed the British " to free any rebel-owned slave who would resort to the Loyalist standard."[3] David George continued preaching at Silver Bluff "till the British came to the city of Savannah and took it." With the approach of the British, Mr. Galphin, who supported the rebel cause, abandoned his estate and the slaves as well. There now followed an interim period in the life of David George which must have been distressing for him and others caught between the battling forces of king and rebel. Making his way with his wife and children and other slaves to the British lines near Savannah, he was for a while imprisoned but was then released by the British. After his release he continued preaching, while at the same time working in the fields. His wife "used to wash for General Clinton," so that it was obvious that contact had already been made with the British forces, and

3 James Walker, *The Black Loyalists* (New York, 1976), p. 2.

undoubtedly Lord Dunmore's message had been taken to heart. Over two years passed, during which he and his family suffered great hardships, but finally he was evacuated by the British from Charleston, along with many other fleeing Loyalists. When David George disembarked at Halifax, he immediately reported to General James Paterson, who made arrangements for his wife and children to follow him. In the meantime, unable to preach in Halifax, he set out for Shelburne in General Paterson's boat and began what one of his biographers calls his "Nova Scotia Experience."[4]

That experience, as suggested earlier, was a mixed one. Alternately filled with hope for the success of his ministry, and despair at the cruelty and oppression of the whites, he nevertheless carried on. Even on his first arrival in Shelburne, the contradictions were evident. He preached in the woods at a camp:

> The black people came [from] far and near it was so new to them. I kept on so every night in the week, and appointed a meeting for the first Lord's day, in a valley between two hills, close by the river, and a great number of white and black people came and I was so overjoyed with having an opportunity once more to preach the word of God that after I had given out the hymn I could not speak for tears. In the afternoon we met again in the same place, and I had great liberty from the Lord. We had a meeting now every evening, and those poor creatures who had never heard the gospel before, listened to me very attentively, but the white people, the justices, and all, were in an uproar and said that I might go out into the woods for I should not stay there. I ought to except one white man, who knew me at Savannah and who said I should have his lot to live upon as long as I would and build a house if I pleased.

In spite of those whites who opposed him, David George's efforts were successful. He formed a mission, a church was built, and the congregation increased. By the second summer of his residence in Shelburne, the church had grown to fifty people, and among his congregation were white people, most notably William and Deborah Holmes of Jones Harbour. Their case epitomizes some of the difficulties that led David George finally to abandon Shelburne and to take his black followers with him to Sierra Leone. The Holmeses, who had invited David George to stay with them in Jones Harbour, and who had accompanied him to Liverpool where he preached, returned with him to Shelburne

4 Anthony Kirk-Greene, "David George: The Nova Scotian Experience," *Sierra Leone Studies (n.s.)*, #14, December 1960, pp. 93-120.

> and gave their experiences to the church on Thursday, and were baptized on the Lord's Day. Their relations who lived in the town were very angry, raised a mob, and endeavoured to hinder their being baptized. Mrs. Holmes's sister especially laid hold of her hair to keep her from going down into the water but the Justices commanded peace and said that she should be baptized, as she herself desired it.

This event seems to have marked the beginning of even more serious troubles for David George and his Black Baptists. Disbanded soldiers, angered because blacks accepted lower wages for their work (having no choice, of course), used this opportunity to attack the blacks. Forty or fifty of them "came with the tackle of ships" and overturned the dwelling houses on the lots, even those of some whites, and would have burned down the meeting house had their ringleader, afraid of the blasphemy, not deterred them. David George continued to preach, surely aware by this time that to capitulate to such bullying would mean the end of personal as well as religious freedom. They stood before his pulpit and threatened him, "But I stayed and preached and the next day they came and beat me with sticks and drove me into the swamp." Escaping briefly to Birchtown, the area on the outskirts of Shelburne earlier established as the blacks' segregated lands, he continued to preach even when some of his own people, probably fearing retaliation from the powerful white community, rejected him, until he returned to the Meeting House in Shelburne from which he had been driven. Many years after, David George gave an account of this event; but the memories of the racial hatred he suffered were still strong: "In my absence the Meeting House was occupied by a sort of tavern keeper who said 'the old Negro wanted to make a heaven of this place but I'll make a hell of it.' "

The constant harrassment seemed only to strengthen his determination to preach. He spoke in Shelburne and in Ragged Island [Lockeport]. He travelled to Saint John, New Brunswick, although again local people tried to prevent his preaching by demanding he have a licence. He travelled to Fredericton, got the licence from the governor, and returned to Shelburne after successfully establishing a ministry at Saint John. He seems never to have rested, going now to Halifax, then to Wolfville, back to Saint John and again to Fredericton. By now he had developed a reputation as a powerful speaker and many came to hear him: "When I was landing at St. John's [Saint John], some of the people who intended to be baptized were so full of joy they ran out from waiting at table on their masters with the knives and forks in their hands, to meet me at the waterside." Returning home once

more, he visited Preston, on the outskirts of Dartmouth, where he baptized five people and organized a congregation. This time the return voyage by boat to Shelburne led to their being lost in a storm. He suffered frost-bite, and although he recovered, he remarked that, "I could walk again but have never been strong."

And now his own story approaches the final stage of his life, that of the meeting with John Clarkson that led to the removal of so many Nova Scotian Blacks to Sierra Leone. By this time, 1791, David George was nearly fifty years old and had impressive accomplishments behind him. Recognized today as one of the founders and the earliest pastor of North America's first black church, that at Silver Bluff, he was also a pioneer in establishing Baptist churches in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. We have seen his efforts in Shelburne and Rev. George Edward Levy mentions as well that "It is of particular interest that the first Baptist converts at Ragged Island [Lockeport] were the result of the coloured preacher's efforts." He goes on, "when his circumstances are considered there are few, if any, more heroic and romantic figures among the pioneers than David George, the ex-slave."[5] It is not surprising that John Clarkson came to depend on this man whose qualities he recognized from the first.

Clarkson left England for Nova Scotia in August 1791 as the agent of the Sierra Leone Company. Unfortunately, it is not posible to linger over his story. Suffice it to say that he was an officer in the British navy, he came to question the morality of war, he opposed flogging in the navy, he became a member of the Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade and he "became more and more involved in efforts to relieve the black poor, to better the lot of freed slaves, and to found the colony of Sierra Leone."[6] In 1787, the Sierra Leone Company had transported some 400 freed black men, women and children (and some whites) from England to Sierra Leone. Illnesses at sea and additional deaths soon after landing weakened the community and made it apparent that if the settlement were to survive, more recruits were needed. It was at this crucial period that Thomas Peters,[7] a Black Loyalist from Annapolis, arrived in England to put before British authorities and the British public the plight of Nova Scotian Blacks,

5 George Edward Levy, *The Baptists of the Maritime Provinces, 1753-1946* (Saint John, 1946), p. 56.

6 Charles Bruce Fergusson, ed., *Clarkson's Mission to America 1791-1792* (Halifax, 1971), p. 9.

7 C.H. Fyfe, "Thomas Peters: History and Legend," *Sierra Leone Studies (n.s.)*, #1, December 1953, pp. 4-13.

particularly the fact that they had not been granted their promised lands. Meeting with Granville Sharp, famous for his philanthropic activities on behalf of blacks, Peters was given a sympathetic audience. In fact, it seemed that Nova Scotian Blacks might well be the settlers needed in Sierra Leone. Subsequently, John Clarkson was given the task of recruiting them and arranging for the removal of any who wished to go to the new settlement.

Clarkson himself was a complex man. Only twenty-seven years old when he acquired this tremendous responsibility, he was a sensitive person given to periods of self-doubt and frustration that resulted in physical collapse. But he was a kind man, conscientious, intent on dealing with every aspect of the enterprise he was charged with, and therefore, perhaps, over-burdened with detail. It seems apparent that a good deal of the success and some of the failures of the early colony resulted from the personality of this man. For the purposes of our story, the significant thing is that he and David George were immediately compatible.

On 7 October 1791, Clarkson arrived in Halifax. On 25 October he was in Shelburne to begin consultations with the blacks in that place:

> At 7 landed at Shelburne and immediately on quitting the vessel were met by a black man of the name of David George, one of the principal Baptist Ministers among the blacks in this district.
>
> He was on the point of embarking for Halifax, having been previously chosen by his brethren to go there and inform himself from me of the real intentions, both of government and the Company, as they were at a loss to know how to act from the various reports circulated by interested people, some to induce them to stay, and others to persuade them to accept the Company's offers -- both parties had their interest in view.
>
> Breakfasted and bespoke lodgings in the Merchants Coffee House on Water Street. The same man who addressed us [i.e. David George] upon landing came to inform us that the principal inhabitants and white people of this neighbourhood were averse to any plan that tended to deprive them of the assistance of the blacks in the cultivation of their lands, well knowing the people of their own color would never engage with them without being paid an equitable price for their labour.
>
> He said his companions were kept in the most abject state of servitude and that if it were known in the town that he had conversed with us in private his life would not be safe. He cautioned us from appearing in the town or country after it was dark for as some of the inhabitants were [there] to do us injury.[8]

8 Fergusson, p. 51.

Opposition to the blacks' leaving may seem puzzling, but is explained by the fact that they were a source of cheap labour which the white people were not reluctant to abuse when present, but recognized as essential when it might disappear. In some cases it would seem that whites simply opposed the Sierra Leone plan because it offered an escape to the blacks and because it appeared that their eagerness to leave reflected badly on the white community. Which it did. In any case, in spite of the attempts to thwart the plan by spreading rumours undermining it, blacks flocked to the meetings called by Clarkson. On 26 October 1791, for instance, Clarkson reported: "Arrived at Birch Town about noon. The Blacks had by this time collected in great numbers and after waiting a short time were upon account of the rain desired to assemble in their Church, which they did, to the amount of about three or four hundred... ."[9] On 4 November Clarkson was still in Shelburne and was visited by David George: "A preacher among the Blacks called upon us. He appeared to stand in fear of the principal white people of this town, who had thrown out several menaces against him, with a view to prevent his taking an active part in this businesses; he nevertheless was absolutely bent on leaving this country, and had sold off all his property for this purpose."[10]

Clarkson returned to Halifax. When the blacks from Shelburne arrived, he renewed his acquaintance with David George, who grew in his esteem. He had already placed him in charge of the Shelburne recruits, and now in Halifax one day, on walking about the barracks housing the emigrants, Clarkson heard him preach:

> Went up to the top of the Sugar House barracks, which contained 200 of the Free Blacks where I found my friend David George preaching, and I never remembered to have heard the Psalms, sung so charmingly, in my life before; the generality of the Blacks who attended, seemed to feel more at singing than they did at Prayers... . I left them sooner [than] I wished, fearing that David George, if he had seen me might have been confused, but I have too good an opinion of him to think that the presence of anyone, would in the least deter him from offering up his praises to his Creator... .[11]

C.H. Fyfe mentions that during preparation for the voyage and while at sea,

9 *Ibid.*, p. 53.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 60.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 104.

David George acted "as a general intermediary between the people and Clarkson, who loved and admired him."[12] By the end of February the ships arrived in Sierra Leone and new trouble awaited the Black Loyalists.

David George was to play as prominent a part in these new circumstances as he had done bringing his blacks to Sierra Leone. The problems awaiting the "Nova Scotians" in Sierra Leone were immensely complicated, requiring most of James Walker's book, *The Black Loyalists*, to explain, and about a hundred pages of Christopher Fyfe's *History of Sierra Leone*. Briefly, many of the problems stemmed from the fact that most of the emigrants, like David George, had been born into slavery. Above all else they wanted freedom. They had been promised freedom in Nova Scotia and had not achieved it. The one place where they felt free was in their own church, whether Baptist, Methodist or other, so that their churches and their leaders represented for them their own institutions, free of white control. Their other aspiration was for land. Again, they had been promised land in Nova Scotia and had either been denied it or had been given such paltry or inferior land, that they felt cheated. The church was the symbol of their spiritual life, land the symbol of material freedom:

> The 1,196 who actually quitted Nova Scotia were not a discontented minority of the black population, but the majority of those who had an effective choice whether to leave or to stay. And they were not merely seeking an opportunity for individual economic improvement. Clarkson was offering more than free land, he was offering them a homeland. Slavery was absolutely forbidden in the new colony, taxes were light, and settlers were promised control of their own affairs, religious liberty, and the full rights and protection of British subjects. In the event, these promises remained unfulfilled. But in 1791 the black loyalists had faith that Clarkson spoke with the authority of the company's board of directors.[13]

"These promises remained unfulfilled." That statement suggests the source of the difficulties facing the Nova Scotians soon after landing. Clarkson had expected all to be ready for his emigrants when they should arrive. In fact, nothing was ready: lots had not been laid out, there were no buildings, food was in short supply, and the white officials were disorganized and quarrelling among themselves. Over sixty of the immigrants were

12 C.H. Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone* (Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 36.

13 James Walker, "The Establishment of a Free Black Community in Nova Scotia," from *The African Diaspora*, ed. Martin L. Kilson and Robert I. Rotberg (Harvard University Press, 1976), p. 222.

without proper shelter, forty more died and 500 were ill: "The people died so fast it was difficult to procure a funeral for them."[14] The Nova Scotians found themselves governed by whites guilty of arrogance and racism, inefficient, sometimes drunken, and always bureaucratic. The increasing ilness and constant hunger led finally to talk of revolt. Of the captains, David George opposed the mutinous talk of Thomas Peters and some of the Methodists, although he was "threatened with assassination for so doing."[15] This marked the first of many occasions when David George, apparently out of loyalty to Clarkson and admiration for him, kept his Baptist followers in line, sometimes at the risk of being called a tool of the whites. Even when some of the early difficulties were overcome and Clarkson was given the power he needed to run the colony more efficiently, trouble continued, principally because the land that had been promised was not assigned.

Clarkson was relieved of his post as governor when he returned to England in 1792. The men who replaced him, first Richard Dawes and then Zachary Macaulay, had none of his influence with the Nova Scotians, who had looked upon Clarkson as a kind of Moses who had led them to the promised land. Although some self-government was permitted under a system of elected tythingmen and hundredors (David George was a hundredor), revolt grew in the colony, on several occasions reaching the point of mutiny. David George was absent from Sierra Leone for about the first six months of the new regime, having gone to England on the same ship as Clarkson to make contact with British Baptists. He would have been absent during the bitter quarrels over the allotment of land to Nova Scotians that occurred almost immediately upon Dawe's taking office in January 1793. When he returned from England in August 1793, he carried out missionary work among the Temnes of Sierra Leone, becoming, in fact, probably the first North American missionary in Africa. During that period he may have been less involved in settlers' quarrles than other leading Nova Scotians. It seems, however, that he was still capable of great anger when he felt the rights of his people were being threatened by the white rulers. Macaulay described David George's reaction, in 1794, to proposed new marriage laws:

> No sooner had the notice [concerning the laws of marriage] met David George's eye than he began to exclaim most outrageously against it, talked

14 Walker, *The Black Loyalists*, p. 147.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 149.

> loudly of the violation of their religious rights and of the call there was to resist such acts even to blood.... David's passions were too violently agitated to attend to reasoning. He then went to some of the most disaffected of the Methodist leaders... . though he succeeded in stirring up the Methodists, was not equally successful with his own people, who are in general sober-minded and temperate men.
>
> David George came to me this morning. He saw the mischief his intemperate conduct was likely to cause.[16]

David George was then instructed "to influence settlers to join in suppressing an insurrection." Walker remarks of the aftermath, that "Faced with hanging, the Methodists' leaders backed down. David George's defection and the governor's assurance that no threat was intended to their genuine religious rights dissipated their anger and the unity displayed a few days earlier."[17]

There seems to be some contradiction here between suggestions that David George was cautious and moderate and Macaulay's description of him as hot-headed. Undoubtedly both things were true of him; in this instance, his inclination towards rashness perhaps was accentuated by the greater tendency of the Methodists to rebellious conduct, possibly a result of their incohesiveness in the new colony. The Methodists seemed to have a history of factionalism, since Kirk-Greene remarks that "in the Methodist camp there was trouble, for they had withdrawn from church entirely, and their attendance would have exposed them to ex-communication." David George's Baptists were more solidly established, comprising about "half of the 400 churchgoing Nova Scotians" (perhaps again attributable to his leadership).[18] David George seems to have been widely admired, especially by Clarkson and, if less wholeheartedly, even by those who followed Clarkson. Neither does there seem any reason to believe that this admiration was because the black leader was perceived to be "an easy tool."

The result of the Nova Scotians' quarrels with the white administrators was the strengthening of their conviction that they were a chosen people and the translating of this belief, for awhile at least, into greater economic and political power in the community. The coming of other black people to the

16 Kirk-Greene, p. 116.

17 Walker, *The Black Loyalists*, p. 209.

18 Kirk-Greene, p. 117.

colony -- the Maroons (who, ironically, arrived in time to put down the last Nova Scotian rebellion in 1799), freed slaves, immigrants from other African countries -- altered their superior position, finally reducing them to an ineffective group in a relatively flourishing colony. The 1799 rebellion marked the end of Nova Scotian influence, followed as it was in 1800 by new governing policies; the fact remains that "Without the Nova Scotians the colony would not have survived its first misfortunes."[19]

David George, then in his late sixties, never in good health since his exposure at sea many years before, laboured quietly, one assumes, at his work of preaching and converting. He died in Sierra Leone in 1810.

19 Fyfe, "Thomas Peters," p. 11.

The Loyalist Printers: James and Alexander Robertson

Marion Robertson

The aftermath of the American Revolution brought to the shores of Port Roseway on the south-western coast of Nova Scotia many hundreds of Loyalists who had supported the British in their effort to hold the American colonies for the Crown. Among those who came in the first fleet to sail from New York in the spring of 1783 were James and Alexander Robertson, Scottish printers, who published the first newspaper in the new town of Shelburne.

They were the sons of Alexander Robertson, a printer and in 1785 a burgess of Edinburgh. Alexander was born in 1742, his brother James in 1747, in the seaport town of Stonehaven on the coast of Kincardine.[1] In their father's shop they learned the skills of a printer, and in 1766, with a number of other young Scots who envisioned opportunities in America not theirs in their native land, James came to Boston as a journeyman to the firm of Fleming and Mein, printers and booksellers.[2] In 1767 he joined in Boston the Scots Charitable Association, a sort of insurance company for immigrant Scots of that time.[3] As a competent printer, in 1768 he joined his brother Alexander in New York, where they founded the business of James Robertson and Company on Broad Street, from where they removed in 1769 to the "Corner of Beaver Street opposite his Excellence Gov. Gage's."[4] Here they did job printing, published pamphlets, and printed the third American

1 Alexander Robertson, the father of James and Alexander, and of their sisters Magdalen and Mary, married Elizabeth Anderson, but there is no proof that she was the mother of his children. She was the daughter of Thomas Anderson, a saddler and burgess of Edinburgh. She died in 1833. Alexander Robertson, Junior, had three children: Mary; Amy, who married William Brown in 1820, a printer mentioned in the trial of James Robertson in 1793 as his apprentice; and James, referred to in family papers as James junior. James Robertson, born in 1747, married firstly Amy (maiden name unknown) who died in Norwich, Connecticut, in 1776, and is buried in the First Society's cemetery; and secondly, Mary (maiden name unknown) whose name appears in documents pertaining to James Robertson's bankruptcy. Their sister Mary, who died in Edinburgh, 2 December 1812, married Walter Berry, who was at one time speaker of the House of Representatives and later, in Prince Edward Island, a merchant and member of the House of Assembly. Informant, Miss Eleanor Berry of "Fetternear," Kemnay, Scotland, a descendant of Mary and Walter Berry.

2 Berry.

3 *Ibid.*

4 Charles R. Hildeburn, *Sketches of Printers and Printing in Colonial New York* (New York, 1895), Vol. 2.

edition of William Livington's *Review of the Military Operations in America from 1753-1756*.[5] On 8 May 1769, they began the publication of the *New-York Chronicle*, a weekly and semi-weekly newspaper which they continued until 1770.[6] Alexander Robertson's contribution to the firm was his skill as a writer, for he was a cripple and was unable to walk.

With the encouragement of Sir William Johnson, superintendent of Indian affairs in America, the Robertsons in 1771 established a printing office at Albany, New York, the first in the colony outside New York City. Johnson loaned them the money to purchase the necessary equipment and in the late fall of 1771 they founded a weekly newspaper, the *Albany Gazette*. Two years later, in partnership with John Trumbull, they established a second printing office in Norwich, Connecticut, and in October 1773, they published that community's first newspaper, the *Norwich Packet*. It was a weekly, printed on a single sheet of crown paper in long primer type. The masthead, *Norwich Packet*, engraved in large German lettering, was divided with the cut of a ship under sail, followed by the imprint: "Norwich: printed by Alexander Robertson, James Robertson, and John Trumbull at the Printing Office near the Corner House at six shillings and eight pence per annum, advertisements, etc., are thankfully received for this and all manner of Printing work is performed with Care, Fidelity and Expedition." Besides the publication of the *Norwich Packet*, they published a few pamphlets and brough out an edition of Watt's *Psalms*.[7]

With printing offices in Norwich and Albany, James and Alexander lived in the latter community, leaving the publication of the *Norwich Packet* to their partner, John Trumbull. When the long rumbles of discontent with the British and their administration of American affairs broke into open conflict, James and Alexander were attacked by the rebels for their adherence to the Crown. To escape injury, they fled to Norwich, leaving their press with a friend who buried it for safekeeping. Finding that in Norwich they could no longer publish the *Packet* without making it subservient to the cause of rebellion, in 1776 they sold their interest to Trumbull and returned to Albany, "where they imagined they could be of more immediate service to Government."[8]

5 *Ibid*, Vol. I.

6 Douglas C. McMurtrie, *The Royalist Printers at Shelburne, Nova Scotia* (Chicago, 1933), p. 3.

7 McMurtrie, *Royalist Printers*, p. 4; Hildeburn, *Sketches*, Vol. 2.

8 McMurtrie, *Royalist Printers*, p. 4, 14 footnote 3; Memorial, Alexander and James Robertson, Printers, Series A6, Prince Edward Island (M. 404-E), p. 183, Public Archives of Canada (hereafter PAC).

In their adherence to Great Britain they followed the traditions of their past, for men tend to mould their beliefs to the customs established by their forbears. In the estimation of James and Alexander Robertson, who were not native-born Americans, difficulties imposed by the British on their American colonies could be overcome by peaceful means and within the sheltering arms of the empire. Back in Albany, they were eager to be of service to the King's friends. Colonel Edmeston of the 48th regiment, then held a prisoner in Albany, hired them to print and circulate such papers as might promote the interest of Great Britain. For printing the papers, James Robertson was soon routed from his house and forced into the woods to Nesquetair, a new settlement of Scots some thirteen miles from Albany, where he had his printing material sent to him. The rebels, suspecting that he had escaped into Connecticut, searched for him in Norwich; not finding him, they surmised that he had gone to Nesquetair. On being told of their intention to search for him there, Robertson fled in the night back to Albany. There he was advised to attempt to reach New York, then held by the British as a fortress for themselves and those loyal to the King.[9]

Divesting himself of all papers except a forged pass in the name of the chairman of the Albany committee, plus some letters intended to mislead those who might obstruct him on his way, and with Colonel Edmeston's military dispatches hidden in the heel of one of his boots, he again eluded the rebels. In their frustration, they fell upon his crippled brother Alexander, and with their journeyman, William Lewis, and Alexander's servant, Patrick Kelly, he was thrust into jail. Colonel Edmeston managed to free Lewis on bail, but after other papers detrimental to the rebels appeared from James Robertson's press, Lewis was again jailed by the patriots.[10] Months later, James Robertson was to write of his brother's incarceration that

> After Alexander Robertson had been six months confined in a most hideous apartment in Albany jail, he was sent to Esopus, that he might be out of reach of those Friends who could give him any support. At that jail he was treated with every species of cruelty, and was in imminent danger of being deprived of existence. When the British Troops under the command of General Vaughan, were marching up from the River Hudson to demolish that Town, such of the British Prisoners as were able to walk were marched off; but it was Alexander Robertson's unhappy fate to be left in jail until the building was

9 Memorial.

10 *Ibid.*

> on fire; he however made his way through the House, on his hands and knees, and attained a cabbage garden, where, by digging a pit with his hands, and bringing cabbages to it, he saved himself by lying on his belly and chewing them to prevent being suffocated. Three days after he was found amongst the ruins by the returning foe; who were so little moved with compassionate feelings, though his hair and most of his clothes were burnt, and his body, (particularly his hands and knees) in blisters, that they ordered him to Hurby-jail, four or five miles distant. On his recovery, he was remanded back to Albany jail from which he was exchanged in the latter end of December, 1777, and sent to New York, after experiencing near twelve months imprisonment, and more severe treatment than any British subject has experienced during the late or any former war.[11]

Meanwhile, having reached safety within the bounds of New York, James Robertson hired a printing press and began the publication of a weekly newspaper, the *Royal American Gazette*. With the patronage of General Sir William Howe, Governor Tryon, and other government officials, he was a prosperous printer when James Rivington[12] arrived from England as His Majesty's Printer and threw government printing out of Robertson's hands. On his brother's release from jail, the business being too trifling to support them both, in February 1778 James went with the British army to Philadelphia, where he published the *Royal Pennsylvania Gazette*, a semi-weekly publication, and also opened a shop. With the British evacuation of the city a few months later, he was again without work, and he trudged the long road back to New York.[13]

Soon after his return, he opened a shop in Hanover Square and rejoined his brother in the publication of the *Royal American Gazette*. On 3 April 1780, on the request of Sir Henry Clinton's secretary, James Robertson, with two young men, as printers to the British, joined the reinforcements being sent

11 *Ibid.*

12 James Rivington (ca. 1742-1802) was born in London, England. He emigrated to Philadelphia in 1760 and in 1761 settled in New York, where he opened a bookstore on Wall Street. From 1773 until his press was destroyed by a party of Connecticut militia in 1775, he published the *New York Gazetteer* as a Loyalist newspaper. He then went to England where he secured the position of King's Printer in New York. On his return, he published *Rivington's New York Loyal Gazette*, later renamed the *Royal Gazette*, and opened a coffeehouse where he, as a double-agent, gathered information from British officers that he passed on to General Washington. On the evacuation of New York by the British in 1783 he endeavoured to continue his newspaper under the name *Rivington's New York Gazette and Universal Advertiser*, but he was unpopular with the Americans and it soon ceased publication. He died in 1802 in great poverty.

13 Memorial.

from New York to the army on the outskirts of Charleston, South Carolina. Again there was frustration for James when Robert Wells in England was appointed King's Printer, and sent his commission to his son in Charleston. Robertson, with his two young printers, Donald MacDonald and Alexander Cameron, then turned to printing the *Royal South Carolina Gazette*, a newspaper which they continued to publish until 17 May 1781, when it was printed by James Robertson as sole publisher until 12 September 1782.[14]

The long and disastrous conflict in America was drawing to a close as the commander-in-chief of the British forces approached Yorktown, Virginia, and the surrender of the British to the Americans. For James Robertson there was nothing left for him but to return to New York in the first fleet to sail from Charleston in December 1782.[15]

In partnership with Nathaniel Mills and John Hicks,[16] James and Alexander continued the publication of the *Royal American Gazette* on Hanover Street in New York until 31 July 1783.[17] For them, as for many hundreds of Loyalists, the surrender of the British to the Americans was a shattering blow. They had believed that ultimately the British would override the spirit of rebellion and would restore order and peace in the colonies. It was not that they feared independence, for many, as the memorials by the early Shelburne Loyalists declare, believed they were competent to shape the future of their country unaided by the British if the rights and privileges they sought were bestowed upon them. They wanted, however, to enjoy those rights and privileges within the framework of the British constitution, not as strangers without. As in all civil conflicts, a bitterness not easily erased stood between the Loyalists and the Patriots.

14 *Ibid;* Clarence S. Brigham, *History of Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820* (Worcester, 1947).

15 McMurtrie, *Royalist Printers*, p. 4.

16 Nathaniel Mills and John Hicks were printers in Boston of the *Massachusetts Gazette and Post Boy* until they incurred the anger of the rebels who prevented their carriers from delivering their newspaper. In 1776 they left Boston with the British troops for Halifax and were banished in 1778 from the state of Massachusetts. Later in New York they founded the firm of Mills and Hicks, opened a stationery store, and did printing for the Royal Army and Navy. Afterwards, in partnership with James and Alexander Robertson, they published the *Royal American Gazette*. Both came to Shelburne in 1783. John Hicks remained for a few months; Nathaniel Mills, in partnership with Bartholomew Sullivan, established the firm of Sullivan and Mills on Water Street. In 1786 they had the brig *Governor Parr* built in Shelburne, one of the finest vessels built in the town.

17 McMurtrie, *Royalist Printers*, p. 14, footnote 6.

Each had rendered to the other blow for blow. Those who were the victors were not soon to forget the ravaging of their farms and fish boats, and the violent assaults on women and children perpetrated by Loyalist and British soldiers. Those who had lost stung with anger for similar assaults on their farms and boats, their women and children. For those who had stood firmly for the King, as had Alexander and James Robertson, there was no second choice but to depart from the land of their adoption. They chose Port Roseway, and in late April 1783 they joined the company of Captain Andrew Barclay, who was, like themselves, a Scot.[18]

Barclay, with whom the Robertsons set sail from New York, was one of sixteen captains chosen by the Port Roseway Associates to guide their members into companies for their departure from New York, and to watch over their interests in their land of refuge. In Barclay's company came several Scots besides the Robertsons, all of whom had found refuge in New York during the revolution. Among these were James Muir, a shipwright and shipbuilder; James Thompson, a carpenter; and John Webster, a labourer. The group also included James Smithers, who engraved the seal for the Shelburne court of common pleas; James Allen and David Knap, carpenters; the master mariners, Duncan White and John Burnham; mariners and seamen, Thomas Powers and James Prior; Charles Lyon, farmer and mariner; William Carson, an able shipwright; John O'Neil, a mason; Joshua Hill, a farmer; George Beatie, coppersmith; William Rigby, a merchant and an associate of James Robertson; and Alexander Dove who was a bookbinder like the captain of their company, Andrew Barclay.[19]

With the Port Roseway Associates came numbers of freed blacks placed in different Loyalist families for their own protection, and to have someone on their arrival in Port Roseway to look after their interests and to draw their rations for them. To the care of Alexander Robertson were assigned several blacks: Diana Weeks and her infant daughter, Sarah; Joseph Williams, a carpenter; John Prior, a cooper; and Cuffy Warwick, a labourer, with his wife Lydia.[20] Besides the freed blacks placed in his care, with Alexander came the servant who looked after him as a cripple. With James were four men

18 Provision Return, Andrew Barclay's Company Associated Loyalists, 1 July 1783. Vertical File: Shelburne, Public Archives of Nova Scotia (hereafter PANS).

19 *Ibid.*

20 Muster Book of the Free Black Settlement of Birchtown 1784, pp. 35-37. MG9, B9-14, Vol. I, PAC.

servants, three women and two children, the servants being apprentices learning the printing trade, or men who worked in his printing office.[21]

When the Robertsons arrived at Port Roseway in early May 1783, the three surveyors sent by Governor Parr to lay out the town had already noted that the eastern shores of the upper harbour were better than the western side of the bay. Remembering their Scotland, the wooded shores of Port Roseway were perhaps not the disappointment they were to those who knew the green fields of New England or had walked only city streets, for to the Associates, the land was a sharp rebuff to their expectations of the King's bounty to his faithful Loyalists.

Coming ashore, James Robertson was assigned a portion of land on a site reserved by the surveyors as public ground. Here he built on the north-west corner of King and Water Streets a house which served as a printing office and a store, as well as for a residence for those who worked for him. Here the freed blacks assigned to his brother's care also built huts for their accommodation.[22] In June, when land south of the main town was surveyed and cut into house lots, James and Alexander drew lots in St. John's Division near the Cove. Here James built his house near the corner of Hammond and William Streets. Later, in 1784, each was granted 200 acres on the Roseway River for farm and woodland. Near the river, James Robertson had land cleared that soon became known as "Mr. Justice Robertson's farm."[23]

In July, amid the clatter of house building, Governor John Parr came to view the new town of Port Roseway. On Tuesday, 22 July, he came ashore, named the town Shelburne, and appointed James Robertson one of five justices of the peace to maintain order and justice in the new community.[24] On Wednesday he again came ashore, and with captains Mowat and Elphinston of the Royal Navy, he dined with James Robertson and other leading Port Roseway Associates at Robertson's house. It was a day of gala

21 Barclay Return, 1783, PANS; James Robertson to Gov. Parr, Halifax, 29 November 1784, Manuscript Documents, Nova Scotia, 1783-1787, RG1, Vol. 223, Doc. 43, PANS.

22 Robertson to Parr, 29 November 1784; General Quarter Sessions, 7 April 1784, Shelburne Court House Records (hereafter SCHR).

23 Locations in the District of Shelburne, Recommended by the Board of Agents and Special Sessions, 24 February 1785, SCHR.

24 Marston's Diary, Winslow Papers, Vol. 22, University of New Brunswick Archives; *Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle* (Halifax), 29 July 1783.

events, with a supper in the evening and a ball that did not break up until five o'clock in the morning.[25]

Shortly after the governor's departure from Shelburne, James Robertson set off for New York, bearing letters from the governor to Sir Guy Carleton.[26] On 5 August, the two brothers' partnership with Mills and Hicks as publishers of the *Royal American Gazette* in New York was dissolved, and in late August or early September 1783, James and Alexander, under the masthead of the royal coat of arms, began the publication of the *Royal American Gazette* in Shelburne at their printing office on King Street, corner of Water Street.[27]

As the first newspaper in Shelburne, the *Gazette* continued publication until Alexander's death in November 1784,[28] when James continued it under his own imprint. Shortly before his father Alexander's death, in partnership with Thomas and James Swords,[29] James Robertson, Junior (meaning, as in eighteenth century usage, James Robertson, the younger in the Robertson family) began the publication of a second newspaper, *The Port-Roseway Gazetteer; and the Shelburne Advertiser.* Under the masthead of the crown and the royal signature GR, it was a weekly published on Thursdays, following the *Gazette* which came out each Monday. It was printed, as was the *Gazette*, on a single sheet of paper folded once to a four-page journal measuring 15 inches by 10¼ inches, except when paper was scarce, when it appeared as a smaller 10¾ inch by 8 inch newspaper. Both publications were similar in format, carried advertisements for the same merchants, and provided items of local interest and excerpts from foreign newspapers. Both, it would seem, were published until midsummer 1786, when the co-partnership of Robertson and Swords was dissolved,[30] and when James

25 *Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle, ibid.*

26 Governor Parr to Sir Guy Carleton, Shelburne, 25 July 1783, RG1, Vol. 369, Doc. 66, PANS.

27 McMurtrie, *Royalist Printers*, p. 14, footnote 6.

28 *Port-Roseway Gazetteer*, December 1784, as quoted by Berry.

29 Thomas and James Swords came to Shelburne in 1783 and were each given a town lot in Paterson's Division and 250 acres each on the west side of the Roseway River. Their co-partnership with James Robertson, Jr., was dissolved in August 1786, when they returned to New York. In 1791 they founded a newspaper in New York which they continued to publish until 1817.

30 *Nova Scotia Packet*, 10 August 1786, MG4, No. 142, PANS. Further details concerning James Robertson, Junior, are not at present known.

Robertson, Senior, was preparing to leave Shelburne with his printing press for Prince Edward Island.

About the same time in 1783 as James and Alexander Robertson began the publication of the *Royal American Gazette*, James Robertson and William Rigby, who had also come to Port Roseway in Andrew Barclay's company, opened a store on King Street opposite the British Coffee House. They sold their goods "on the most reasonable terms, for cash, bills of exchange, fish, furs, or lumber," and carried a wide assortment of merchandise: Irish linens, velvets and corduroys, counterpanes, men's silk hose and superfine camblet cloaks lined with green baise, surtouts, and slops [ready-made clothes] of sundry kinds, as well as ketchup and pickles, buttons, buckles and hardware. Besides their store on King Street, they had a store on Milby's wharf on the corner of St. Andrew's Lane in Dock Street. Here they sold tea, sugar and molasses, spirits, wines, cheese and spice, with iron, steel, powder and shot -- again for cash, lumber or fish. Old high proof rum in excellent flavour, in hogsheads, and the very best muscovado sugar in hogsheads and barrels which they imported in the brigantine *Providence* from Barbadoes, they sold at private sales along with West India rum.[31]

In early December 1783, James Robertson sailed from Halifax to England to present his and his brother's claim to the British commissioners investigating the losses and services of the American Loyalists. For their losses sustained in Albany when the rebels drove them from their home and imprisoned Alexander, they claimed £650. Of this amount, the commissioners awarded them £200 on 4 August 1784.[32]

By August 1784, the merchants of early Shelburne, with many others who had sought refuge in the new town, were aware that there were many hindrances to their founding a stable community and to establishing the brisk trade and commerce which they had envisioned would be theirs. Foremost for the merchants was their failure firstly to obtain, by acts of the House of Assembly and from the British, the tax exemptions and favourable terms for trade in foreign ports, that they considered necessary to found a viable community and to establish their trade on a firm foundation. Then,

31 *Port Roseway Gazetteer*, 12 May 1785, MG4, No. 142, PANS; *Royal American Gazette*, 13 December 1784, New York Public Library.

32 Memorial; Robertson to Parr, RG1, Vol. 223, Doc. 43, PANS; H.E. Egerton, *The Royal Commission on the Losses and Services of the American Loyalists 1783 to 1785*, p. 165. From a statement by Gov. Fanning to Lord Dorchester, 6 December 1788, James Robertson had not to that date received any compensation for his losses. CO 222/12, No. 38, 6 December 1788, (No. 2) p. 385.

the failure on the part of the Port Roseway Associates to assess the natural resources of the area before the location was chosen as their port of refuge, and to measure the capabilities of their members to develop the available resources into merchantable items for trade, spelt disaster to the merchants, as it did to those who had expected good farmland and other amenities not available to them.

In the rapid decline of Shelburne, the firm of Robertson and Rigby was among the first to fall by the wayside. For debts contracted by James Robertson, the sheriff seized their property and held it for future disposition.[33] Rigby became a vendue master and was the licensed auctioneer for the town, where many were disposing of their possessions as they fled to locations more favourable to their circumstances.[34] James Robertson, with the encouragement of Governor Edmund Fanning of the Island of St. John (Prince Edward Island), took his printing press to Charlottetown to print the acts of the House of Assembly, with the expectation that he would be appointed King's Printer with a salary that would enable him to continue his career as a printer and as publisher of the *Royal American Gazette and Intelligence* (as it was known in Prince Edward Island), marking the introduction of printing on the island. He was very favourably recommended to Lord Sydney and to Lord Dorchester for the position by Governor Fanning and His Majesty's Council for the Island of St. John. It was his bitter disappointment when word came from England that there was "no objection to naming Robertson the official printer, but that there would be no salary for the position."[35]

In 1789, with Walter Berry, who had married his sister Mary, James Robertson returned to Scotland, where he and his brother-in-law established themselves as printers and booksellers in Edinburgh. In 1793 he printed and sold in his brother-in-law's bookshop a pamphlet entitled *The Political Progress of Great Britain*. Its stark statements drew Robertson and Berry, for selling the pamphlet, before the High Court of Scotland and into prison where, undeterred, Robertson wrote and published an account of the trial of

33 Letter Books, Joshua Watson and George and Robert Ross, in private collections.

34 Assessment list, 1787, SCHR; *Nova Scotia Packet*, 28 September 1786, MG4, No. 142, PANS.

35 Fanning to Lord Sydney, Charlottetown, 6 Dec. 1788, Series A, Prince Edward Island (M406-A), p. 74, PAC; Fanning and committee of the House of Assembly to Lord Dorchester, Charlottetown, 4 June 1788, CO 226/12, No. 38; McMurtrie, *Royalist Printers*, p. 7.

three men who had been sent to Australia for their advanced political views. When released from prison, he continued printing with his business in the Horse Wynd, Edinburgh. In 1805, the dark shadow of disaster still following him, his estate was sequestrated for his debts. He died in bankruptcy in Edinburgh in 1816.[36]

36 Berry.

The Barrington Robertsons

Herbert R. Banks

The first of the Robertson name in Barrington, Nova Scotia, was William Robertson, a native of Renfrew, Scotland, who settled in south-western Nova Scotia, having arrived there with the United Empire Loyalists from New York at the close of the Revolutionary War. Although a merchant of Shelburne previous to his taking up residence in Barrington, he was prominent in the business affairs of the Cape Sable area for forty years. He did not himself represent the county or township in the House of Assembly at Halifax, but a son, grandson and great-grandson were active in this capacity, and consequently the Robertson name filled a large place in the affairs of Barrington for many years.

With the Robertson name being almost non-existent in the Cape Sable area at the present time, it is the purpose of this article to rescue from oblivion the available facts and traditions concerning the Barrington Robertsons, and to place them in such form that they may be preserved for their descendants and others who may be interested. It is intended to confine this sketch more particularly to the said William Robertson and his descendants; therefore, no attempt will be made to give any full account of the origin or early history of the family.

Those interested in the earliest generations of Robertsons are invited to consult the *Robertson Family Records*, compiled by J. Montgomery Seaver for the American Historical-Genealogical Society of Philadelphia in 1928, as well as Iain Moncreiffe's clan history, *Clann Donnachaidh of Atholl* (W. and A.K. Johnston, 1954). The Barrington Robertsons trace their ancestry back to one William Robertson (1700-1790) of Renfrew, and it was the tradition that he was of noble lineage that led to the initial family research, conducted among the Renfrew records during the mid-nineteenth century. Since the search failed to indicate the father of William Robertson, the research proved inconclusive.

This William Robertson was married to a woman named Elizabeth Kaye, and they are reported to have had six children: two daughters died in infancy; two sons are not referred to by name; one son, William, went to sea and was never heard of again; and the eldest son, John, provides the connecting link to Nova Scotia.

John Robertson also lived in Renfrew, where he was a stonemason. He is reported to have been born in 1739 and to have lived until 1790. He married a Janet Semple and of that union there were nine children. Unfortunately, while we have the names of those nine, we do not have their years of birth,

other than for William, the eldest, born in 1765. It is known that a daughter Helen married Robert Dunlop; another daughter Elizabeth married William Jaffery; a son Robert died in infancy; a daughter Jean married James McHutcheson; a daughter Janet died in infancy; another daughter Janet married William Stevenson; and of a set of twins, John and Robert, we know only that John married Marion Muirhead. We also know that of these children, William and John emigrated to Nova Scotia.

While the Barrington Robertsons are descended from the William Robertson line, a passing glance must also be given to John Robertson, who emigrated after his brother, and who did not remain long in this province. Edwin Crowell, in his *History of Barrington Township* (Yarmouth, 1923), states that John was a Scottish weaver who came to Barrington Passage and who at one time carried the mails on foot between Shelburne and Yarmouth. Arnold Doane's Notebook H_2, held by the Cape Sable Historical Society, also records the following:

A Pleasant Reunion

> The late William Robertson of Barrington Passage removed to this county and settled in this town [Shelburne]. About 1812 he removed to Barrington where he resided until his death. About 1814 his brother John came to Nova Scotia from Scotland and was a resident of our county until 1819 when he and his family removed to the United States. From that time all communication ceased until the present year [1890], when William Robertson, Esq., of Fall River, a son of John Robertson, visited Barrington. Though separated but a short distance from each other, all intercourse between these branches of the Robertson family had ceased. John Robertson had settled near Providence, Rhode Island, and was interested in the cotton spinning business. His only living son, William, has been for many years a resident of Fall River. Robert, another son who was about 19 years of age when he left Shelburne, settled in Georgia and prior to 1860 had accumulated much wealth which was lost, however, during the war.
>
> The William Robertson who recently visited Shelburne is 76 years of age, hale and hearty for one of his years and bears a striking resemblance to William Robertson of Barrington, so well known to the older residents of this county.

William, the progenitor of the Nova Scotian Robertsons, and the eldest son of John Robertson, was born in Renfrew, 15 July 1765. An extract from the parish birth register shows that he was baptized on 18 July. There seem to be no extant records relating to his boyhood, but in 1779, aged 14, he left

his home in Scotland for America. He was in New York until 1783 when, with other Loyalists, he removed to Halifax, whence he departed, almost immediately, for Shelburne. While in that new community, he carried on business as a general merchant and was universally respected. Shelburne records indicate that he was involved in several property transfers, particularly in 1793, and the records of the Friendly Fire Club show that he was also a member of that organization. In 1792 he received an appointment as justice of the peace for the county, and of his legal abilities it was said that at sessions of the supreme court, if but one lawyer attended, Mr. Robertson, if present, was allowed to defend the opposite side, and generally gained his case. It has been suggested that he may have removed to St. John's, Newfoundland, for a time, but records would indicate that he made visits there only as supercargo when doing business in that city. However, he did live briefly in the town of Yarmouth before finally taking up permanent residence in Barrington just previous to 1814.

William Robertson lived at "The Passage," in the western portion of Barrington. There he acquired the former home of Alexander Christie, who had removed to Tatamagouche, and with it a considerable acreage on which a number of his family eventually settled. He was actively engaged in Barrington as a blacksmith, and his sons were associated with him as well in that business. Close by were to be found John Stalker, a caulker, John Osborne, a boot-maker, and Alexander Hogg, a cooper.

On moving to Barrington, Robertson was at once made a notary and tabellion public by Sir John Sherbrooke, a capacity which he fulfilled until his death. In 1829 he was appointed one of three county commissioners for encouraging the provincial fisheries, and in 1837 he was named collector of customs. As well, over a considerable period of time he frequently served as school commissioner for the county. In view of the fact that his wife was more than twenty years his junior, and that they had nine offspring, it is understandable that his involvement in school matters continued to an advanced age.

Robertson also continued to have interests in shipping, and served as the local Lloyd's agent and receiver of wrecks. Crowell's *History of Barrington Township* notes that Robertson was kept active in the latter capacities, since the area from the Half Moons to the Seal Islands was a noted "ships' graveyard." One notable wreck was that of the brig *Eclipse*, which wrecked on Cape Sable at New Year's, 1832, leaving the entire shoreline covered knee-deep in flour. Another was the brig *Havre*, which struck at Mutton Island and was subsequently beached at Robertson's landing, where it

remained for thirty years, roofed over and made into a warehouse to which the wharf was connected. The deck was used as a drill shed by local militia volunteers during the 1860s, and even sheltered a political caucus at one point. At about the same time also, a grand-daughter of William Robertson committed the appearance of the wharf to canvas, a painting presently owned by this author. Indeed, Robertson's wharf gradually became the nucleus of various small industries catering to shipping and domestic needs. Most notable was the first canning plant in Nova Scotia, a venture centred on halibut and lobsters and run from Hichens' wharf by Solomon Kendrick, A.C. White and others.

William Robertson married, 22 January 1811, Sarah Van Norden of Tusket, probably while he was employed in Yarmouth. She had been born on 1 April 1787, a daughter of Gabriel and Janetje (Westervelt) Van Norden, who also had come to Nova Scotia as Loyalists, first to Shelburne, then to Tusket, and finally to Arcadia. Sarah was an Anglican and her husband a Presbyterian; both held to their own modes of worship, and their home became the nucleus of these denominations in the township. They raised funds for the building of their respective churches and the sons embraced their father's religion while the daughters followed their mother's example.

William Robertson died at Barrington, 9 November 1853, in his 89th year. He and several of his sons are buried at Clyde River, while the remaining ones are interred in Forest Hill Cemetery, Barrington Passage, where Mrs. Robertson (d. 1866) and her daughters lie in the Anglican cemetery. A Yarmouth newspaper carried the following notice on Robertson's death:

> At Barrington on Thursday morning the 10th, in the 89th year of his age, William Robertson , deservedly esteemed. Mr. Robertson emigrated from Scotland to New York abut 75 years ago and removed to Shelburne with those Loyalists who settled that township. Few have passed from amongst us who have been held in more esteem by their fellow men than the deceased. He died humbly trusting in salvation through the merits of a crucified Saviour.

Issue of William and Sarah Robertson:

1. John, b. 30 Oct. 1811; d. 7 June 1850; marr. 1837, Susan **Stalker** of Clyde River. She was the youngest of twelve children, born in 1815 to John and Jean Stalker; she d. 27 Oct. 1844. John Robertson was associated with his father as a blacksmith, succeeded his father as

receiver of wrecks and also as the local United States consul, and was as well a prominent general merchant. Although family papers give no indication that John Robertson had shipping interests, in 1978 this writer, in reading before the Cape Sable Historical Society the first three chapters of Captain Benjamin Doane's journal, noted that Doane had first been employed on coastal schooners, owned or partly owned by John Robertson. Since, then, it has been established, by examining photocopies of shipping records held by the Public Archives of Canada, that Robertson was, in 1847, owner of the *Nancy* (60 tons), and had been part owner of the schooners *Two Sons, Teazer* and *Thomas Edward*, with neighbours Jesse Smith, John Knowles and others.

It will be noted that both John Robertson and his wife lived relatively short lives, and that John's parents thus outlived them, taking upon themselves the responsibility of raising John and Susan's three orphaned children. While it is known that William Robertson owned a fairly extensive parcel of land, and that he reputably built a home for John in 1837, upon the latter's marriage, it is not known when the parents moved into his home, vacating the former Christie house located nearer the shore and later demolished. Letters still extant, written by Susan Robertson to her sister in New York, before and immediately after her marriage, make no mention of living arrangements, nor even that she occupied a new home.

When John Robertson acquired his store and commenced business as a general merchant is also not known. The store was originally located near his home, but closer to the highway. At the time of his death, it had been removed to a location a short distance north and on the upper side of the road; here it has remained with its several extensions or additions of more recent years.

A ledger for the period 1843 to 1850 is now held by the Cape Sable Historical Society, as are John Robertson's records as notary public for the years 1841 to 1850. Fortunately, his father's records for the latter office during the period from 1814 to 1840 (most concerned with shipwrecks), and those of John's brother, Gabriel, who succeeded him, have also been retained, so that an unbroken 45-year period is available locally for study. Particularly interesting to the researcher are the auxiliary records of the receiver of wrecks, kept by John Robertson and his successors for the period of 1841 to 1863, and John's records as United States consul, from 1834 to 1849.

Issue of John and Susan Robertson:

(1) William, b. 3 Dec. 1838; d. 30 April 1919; marr. 26 March 1867,

Clara Gordon **Harley**. William Robertson left Barrington Passage at an early age and spent his adult life in Halifax. Upon his death, the Halifax *Morning Chronicle* carried the following obituary:

> The death of William Robertson has removed from the city one of its best known and most respected citizens. Few men in the business world had won so universal esteem for integrity and wisdom, while the success which followed his different undertakings is evidence of the high gifts which he possessed.
>
> Mr. Robertson was born on December 3rd., 1838, at Barrington Passage, and came as a young man of about seventeen to Halifax where he entered the hardware establishment of E.K. Brown. In 1871 he started business for himself at the head of the Commercial wharf, and in 1879 purchased the building formerly occupied by E. Albro and Company, in which place his business has since been conducted. In 1890 he was chosen a director of the Union Bank of Halifax and when the late Hon. W.J. Stairs retired from the presidency in 1898 his place was taken by Mr. Robertson, during whose period of rule the Bank reached an enviable position of strength and popularity. The prosperity of the Union Bank must in no small degree be ascribed to the great confidence which was placed by the people of the Province in the financial ability and trustworthiness of these two presidents... . At the merger of the Union Bank with the Royal Bank of Canada Mr. Robertson was place upon the directorate of the larger institution.
>
> Mr. Robertson has always been deeply interested in religious matters and has been an active leading member of the Presbyterian church, having associated with Fort Massey from its origin. He taught for years in its Sunday school and exercised the office of elder during a forty-five year period.

Although William Robertson left home at an early age, his interest in Barrington Passage remained keen throughout his entire life. Before there was a rail line between the city and Barrington, he had established a summer home on the Clyde River, where he and his family came regularly, first by coastal steamship and eventually by train. He also retained for years, a portion of the homestead property and an interest in Robertson's wharf, eventually acquiring a substantial number of shares in the Cape Island Steam Ferry Company operating from that location.

Robertson was no doubt instrumental in having the Union

Bank of Halifax open a branch at "The Passage," and certainly was responsible, during his presidency of the bank, for having a modern and attractive brick structure built in 1908, to house the rapidly expanding business of the bank. It was officially opened in February 1909, and from 1910, as a branch of the Royal Bank of Canada, has probably been responsible, in no small measure, for "The Passage" becoming the acknowledged "hub" of the municipality. Only now, as this article is being written, is the bank about to build a replacement, in that the prosperity of the area and a subsequent increase in business makes the move imperative.

Issue of William and Clara Robertson:

(1a) William Gordon, b. 10 May 1868; d. 25 Dec. 1939; marr. 1 June 1897, Florence **Anderson**. He was a partner in the Halifax hardware firm of William Robertson and Son, and his three sons were to follow him in that business, which is now closed, the site becoming that of the new Maritime Museum of the Atlantic.

Issue of William and Florence Robertson:

(1b) William Gordon, b. 17 Jan. 1902; d. 23 Nov. 1969; marr. 9 June 1934, Dorothy **Bower**.

(2b) John Willoughby, b. 13 Aug. 1905; d. Sept. 1969; marr. 17 Aug. 9146, Mary Louise **MacAskill**.

(3b) Hugh Blanchard, b. 25 Aug. 1910; d. 25 Feb. 1982; marr. 1 June 1940, Naomi Elizabeth **MacAskill**.

(2a) Helen Maude, b. Aug. 1871; d. 12 Dec. 1872.

(3a) Mabel Howard, b. 9 Feb. 1874; d. 13 Oct. 1956; marr. Professor James W. **Falconer**, D.D., prominent clergyman of the United Church. Issue.

(4a) Mollie Stanley, b. 29 Dec. 1877; d. April 1959; marr. 1919, George H. **Sedgewick**, later a justice of the supreme court of Ontario. Issue.

(2) Colin, b. 1840; d. Dec. 1861; lost at sea on the schooner *Promenade* bound for Halifax from Jamaica.

(3) Thomas Wishart (Wishart), b. 21 Jan. 1842; d. 12 July 1921; marr. 11 Jan. 1865, Frances Amelia **Wilson**. Wishart Robertson remained in Barrington Passage. As a young man, he was employed in Robertson's blacksmith shop, but following the accidental loss of an eye, he tried his hand, not too successfully, in operating the general store formerly occupied by his late

father. In 1883 he was appointed a notary public, in 1885 he was made an official referee for the area, and in 1892 he was named United States consul for Barrington. He became receiver of wrecks in 1897, and in 1898 replaced Daniel Sargent as collector of customs. These appointments he held until a few weeks before his death.

Wishart Robertson was for many years an elder of the Presbyterian church and superintendant of its Sunday school. A photo of Barrington's first municipal council shows him as having been elected the deputy warden. For over 35 years he was also president and managing director of the Barrington and Cape Island Steam Ferry Company Ltd., and from 1909 to 1921 he was president of Barrington Township Telephone Company Ltd. His death was marked by the following obituary, from an unidentified newspaper of the time:

> There passed away at Barrington Passage on the 12th. of July, a man whose influence, though quiet and unobtrusive, was yet strong and elevating. Here he was the acknowledged leader and friend of all. He never failed to put the interests of the community before his own, and while he sought the temporal well-being of the Township, yet the Church filled the largest place in his life. Mr. Robertson combined qualities that are as rare as they are admirable, a high sense of honour, a well-balanced mind and a genuine kindness of heart. His death is like the passing away of a great light, but the glow of his memory will long abide with those who knew, respected and loved him.

Issue of Wishart and Frances Robertson:

(1a) Margaret Crowell, b. 4 July 1869; d. 1967; marr. 1907, Dr. Herbert Huntington **Banks**, as his second wife. Before her marriage, Margaret Robertson successfully operated the local general store formerly conducted by her father and grandfather, and for years was the secretary-treasurer of the locally owned telephone and ferry companies. Issue[1].

2. Sarah, b. 1 Sept. 1813; d. 28 March 1905; marr. 1839, Thomas **Crowell**, son of Ebenezer Crowell and his second wife, Hannah Lovitt. Sarah Crowell is buried in the Anglican cemetery at Barrington

1 The writer of this article, Herbert Robertson Banks, is a son of Herbert and Margaret. He was b. 29 Oct. 1908 and marr. 15 Sept. 1938, Kathleen Logan. Issue.

Passage, as are her mother, her husband and her children. There were seven children from the marriage.

3. William, b. 26 Oct. 1815; d. 1853; marr. Ann (Nancy) **Homer**, daughter of Joseph and Mary Homer. William Robertson, like his father and brother John, is buried in the cemetery at Clyde River. He seems to have been employed as a blacksmith, but for several years before his death suffered from a lung ailment, and is said to have died of consumption. He lived almost directly behind the general store operated by his brother John, located at the head of the road leading to Robertson's wharf.

   Issue of William and Nancy Robertson:

   (1) Charles H., b. 1852; d. 7 May 1891, Halifax; marr. Helen **Penny** (1857-1930), daughter of William A. Penny, publisher of *The Halifax Journal*. For the few years that he lived in Halifax, Charles Robertson operated a crockery-ware store on Granville Street. Upon his death, his widow and children removed to the home of his father in Barrington Passage. Mrs. Robertson's parents, the Pennys, also moved there, residing in the same home. An addition was built on the house for Mrs. Robertson to conduct a millinery business, and she also operated a guest home for summer visitors to the area. About 1925, she left Barrington Passage to take up permanent residence in Victoria, British Columbia.

      Issue of Charles and Helen Robertson:

      (1a) William Homer, b. 20 Nov. 1888, Halifax; d. 27 May 1966, Victoria, British Columbia; marr. 18 April 1952, Sarah D. **Bosdet**. William Robertson, after attending school in Barrington Passage, went to the University of Toronto (Ontario Agricultural College, Guelph), graduating in 1911 with a B.S.A. In 1912 he joined the British Columbia department of agriculture as an assistant horticulturalist. During World War I, he joined the 5th. regiment, Coast Artillery, at Victoria and was later drafted to the 62nd. battery, 15th. Brigade Ammunitition Column. In 1917 he was moved to the 58th. battery, C.F.A. in France as a lance-corporal. This unit was made up largely of university graduates and students from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. His active military career ended in the summer of 1918, when he sustained a broken leg in an accident behind the front lines. On his return to

Canada, "Bobby," as he was then known, rejoined the department of agriculture and in 1920 was named provincial horticulturalist, a post he held until his appointment as deputy minister in 1950. He retired in 1954. His mother and sister joined him in Victoria in the early 1920s, and it was not until after their deaths that he married a widow whose children were already married. At the time of his death, those associated with him in earlier years were loud in their praise of his efforts on behalf of the agriculturalists of that province. Once such person stated, "I know of no other man who has contributed more to horticulture in British Columbia."

(2a) Helen Charles (Nellie), b. 14 Aug. 1891; d. 30 July 1943, Victoria; unm. Nellie Robertson and her mother, "Mrs. Helen," are easily recalled in memory by older residents of Barrington Passage. They remember Nellie as being particularly attractive, pleasant, and always associated with her mother as an assistant. She was also active in community social activities. Except for a year at the Agricultural College in Guelph, she was always at home. The beautiful flower gardens of their Victoria residence were for many years an outstanding show-piece of the city.

4. Robert, b. 31 March 1817; d. 21 Aug. 1901; marr. 1851, Sarah **Richan** (1829-1860), daughter of William Richan, Yarmouth. Robert Robertson's home was built into the side of a hill, close by the highway, to the west of the home occupied by his brother John and by his parents in their later years. While most references to be found concerning him deal mainly with his political life, one or two directories list him as being a farmer or carpenter.

During his political career, Robert Robertson represented Barrington township in the House of Assembly for the period 1855 to 1867, and then represented the county from 1867 to 1877. He was the last representative of Barrington township, and was a Reformer/Anti-Confederate. On the executive council, he served as commissioner of public works and mines from 7 Nov. 1867 to 18 April 1871; 4 Jan. 1875 to 15 Dec. 1877; and without portfolio from 18 April 1871 to 2 Jan. 1875. He retired in 1878. Reports of his death refer to his many community activities, and state that he was "a man of sterling integrity."

Issue of Robert and Sarah Robertson:

(1) Thomas, b. 13 Sept. 1852; d. 19 April 1902; marr. 10 Jan. 1884, Josephine **Allan**. Before entering the political arena, Thomas Robertson was employed as a civil servant, holding positions in the provincial secretary's office, with the department of mines and works, and with the immigration department. During these years, he competed successfully on two occasions in the Atkins' County History Prize essay contest, winning for his accounts of Shelburne and Digby counties. In 1886, he also succeeded in establishing a local weekly newspaper, *The Cape Sable Advertiser.*

His political career began in 1878, when he failed to hold his father's seat in a by-election held on the latter's retirement. Robert Robertson went on to win the Shelburne seat in the House of Commons later that same year, and held it until 1887 when, although elected, the vote was declared void. In 1894 he was elected as a Liberal to the House of Assembly in Halifax, representing Shelburne County, a seat which he retained until his death. In February 1902 he was chosen speaker of the house, but because of ill health, left the province at the close of that session to visit his brother Henry in South Dakota, where it was hoped the change of climate would benefit him; while there, he passed away. The *Yarmouth Herald* of 22 April 1902 said of him that

> From his earliest youth, Mr. Robertson had cherished the idea of a railway extension through Shelburne County, and the chief ambition of his life was to see that hope realized. Our readers are conversant with the facts connected with his efforts on behalf of the Coast Railway, of which company he was for a long time its honoured president. He laboured in season and out of season to advance the interests of his native county in this regard, and no task was to him too difficult to undertake to promote all measures tending in that direction... . He was gifted with a most genial and kindly disposition, which endeared him to all who came within the circle of his acquaintance. He was a most pleasing and popular speaker, was well posted on public matters, and devoted himself zealously to all questions of public interest that came under his supervision.

Issue of Thomas and Josephine Robertson:

(1a) R. Burnley H., b. 8 Dec. 1884; d. 21 Oct. 1918; marr. 1914, Olive **Stairs**. Burnley Robertson graduated in law

from Dalhousie University in 1911 and after practising in Liverpool for a short time, removed to Bridgewater, where he formed a partnership with Judge Paton. He married in the same year. His death in 1918 was from pneumonia, which he developed following the Spanish influenza so prevalent in the province at that time.

Issue of Burnley and Olive Robertson:

(1b) George Burnley, b. 8 Aug. 1916; marr. 1950, Shirley **Barnstead**. He is a prominent Halifax lawyer and partner in the firm of McInnes, Cooper and Robertson.

Issue of George and Shirley Robertson:

(1c) Heather.
(2c) Cynthia.
(3c) Judith.
(4c) Janet.

(2b) Nancy, b. 11 Oct. 1917; marr. 1953, James Eric **Graham**. Issue.

(2a) Wishart Allan, b. 20 Sept. 1886; d. 22 Sept. 1888.

(3a) Wishart McLea, b. 15 Feb. 1891; d. 16 Aug. 1967; marr. 1919, Ethel **Walker**. He is buried in Forest Hill Cemetery, Barrington Passage, in the same family plot as his father and grandfather, all parliamentarians. At the time of his passing, it was said that Wishart Robertson was "One of Nova Scotia's most distinguished contributions to the political life of Canada."

Wishart Robertson was born in Barrington Passage and attended school there, but for a time he also lived in Brooklyn, New York, where he continued his education. In 1906 he journeyed west to become part of the railroad survey team, and did not return home until six years later. From 1916 to 1918 he served in France as a lieutenant in the 219th. and 85th. battalions, C.E.F. He then was employed with the Union Supply Company Ltd. of Bridgewater. In 1919 he married and a year later moved to Halifax, where he subsequently became president of Argyle Motor Service Ltd., initiating the first garage-parking service in Halifax. At the same time, he was also president of Robertson Motors Ltd., later becoming

president of Provincial Motors Ltd. While attending Dalhousie-King's in the late 1920s, this writer recalls that Wishart Robertson's company was then the distributor in this province for the Reo "Flying Cloud," which was unfortunately a slow seller, in that it was more expensive than most of the popular models of the day.

Wishart Robertson's political career began in 1928, when he was elected to represent Shelburne County in the Nova Scotia legislature, thus becoming the third generation of his family to do so. He served until 1933, not re-offering in that year, since the number of seats had been reduced and Shelburne's senior representative carried on alone.

He was summoned to the Canadian Senate in 1943. Subsequently he maintained a strong, active interest in the Liberal organization of his native province, and as well became president of the National Liberal Federation of Canada, serving from 1943 to 1945. He was appointed government leader in the Senate and a member of the Privy Council in 1945, and from 1953 to 1957 was the speaker of the Senate. In 1946 he began a long and distinguished career as an international parliamentarian when he was named a Canadian delegate to the United Nations General Assembly in New York. He also played an active role in NATO, organizing the first Canadian NATO Parliamentary Association in 1955. Until his retirement in 1966, due to ill health, he remained heavily involved with all these political concerns, and was internationally recognized for his initiative and ability.

Issue of Senator Wishart and Ethel Robertson:

(1b) Charles Douglas, b. 23 Oct. 1922; marr. 1959, Antoinette (Dumaresq) **Murphy**. He resides in Ottawa, where he is employed as a legal counsel in a government department.

Issue of Charles Douglas and Antoinette Robertson:

(1c) James.

(2b) Alexander Wishart, b. 15 Oct. 1927; marr. 1951, Joan **Chew**. He was for some years employed in the lumber firm of the late Senator Hawkins at Milford,

but more recently lived in Caledonia, Queens County, where he operated his own clothing store. He now resides in Truro.

Issue of Alexander and Joan Robertson:

(1c) Bruce Alexander.

(2c) Brenda.

(3c) Brian W.

(4c) Blair J.

(4a) James Glen Allan, b. 19 July 1893, Barrington Passage; d. 18 Feb. 1958, Bridgewater; marr. 1924, Mary **Oxner**. James Robertson graduated in law from Dalhousie University in 1918, and presumably succeeded his brother Burnley in practice with Judge Paton. He became a prominent local lawyer in a career culminated in 1944 by his appointment as a county judge. He was also active in community concerns and in the work of St. John's United Church, Bridgewater.

Issue of Judge James and Mary Robertson:

(1b) M. Josephine, b. 29 June 1925; marr. 1948, Andrew **Eisenhauer**. Issue.

(2b) Janet, b. 9 May 1929; marr. 1955, Graham **Bennett**. Issue.

(2) Annie Homer, b. 6 Aug. 1854; d. 1933; unm. Annie Robertson spent most of her life in Barrington Passage, living in the home of her brother Thomas, following the death of her parents. Later she lived elsewhere in the homes of a sister-in-law and of nephews, the latter always thinking of her as a second mother, and so they recorded her as such on her tombstone in Forest Hill Cemetery, Barrington Passage. As a painter in oils, Annie Robertson seems to have recorded for posterity some of the early landmarks of her native village, most notably the painting cited above of Robertson's wharf, 1869.

(3) Robert, b. 28 Jan. 1857; d. 21 Aug. 1901; unm. He died in Dell Rapids, South Dakota, where he had practiced law with his younger brother, Henry.

(4) Henry McNeil, b. 18 March 1859; d. 8 Dec. 1923; marr. 26 March 1902, Isabella M.G. **Webster**, of Yarmouth. After studying law at Dalhousie University, he may have practised in Yarmouth before moving to Dell Rapids, apparently for health reasons.

Issue of Henry and Isabella Robertson:

(1a) Robert, b. 14 Feb. 1903; d. 4 Nov. 1903.

(2a) Kenefick, b. 11 March 1904; d. 1980; marr. Sept. 1928, Helen **Requa**.

(3a) Mary Ina, b. 16 Dec. 1905; marr. 1939, Howard **Buffinton**.

5. Janet, b. 12 Aug. 1819; d. 28 Sept. 1840. The writer has found no references to her other than in the family Bible.

6. Gabriel, b. 4 March 1821; d. 22 Sept. 1884; marr. 29 Dec. 1850, Isabel **Stalker** (1821-1902), daughter of John Stalker Jr. Gabriel Robertson lived on family property at Barrington Passage, in a dwelling later occupied by Dr. Freeman Smith. The latter returned to Mill Village in 1889 and was succeeded by Dr. Herbert H. Banks, who occupied the dwelling until his death in 1941; his widow Margaret, daughter of T. Wishart Robertson, continued to reside there until 1955. As this is being written, a new Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce building is being erected on the former site of that residence. Gabriel Robertson is recorded in a number of occupations; he operated the Robertson family store for a time, was a receiver of wrecks, a United States consul, and also a notary public.

Issue of Gabriel and Isabel Robertson:

(1) John, b. 12 March 1852; d. 5 Oct. 1943; unm. Buried in West Roxbury, Mass. John Robertson taught school for several years in the Cape Sable Island and Barrington Passage schools and then moved to Boston, where he spent the remainder of his working years as a tailor.

(2) Gabriel, b. 7 Sept. 1854; d. 28 Nov. 1935; marr. Ella **Crowell**, daughter of Prince Crowell. He was a wheelwright. Following the death of his wife, his living quarters were located above his place of business, on property now occupied by the Goudey Theatre. Among the writer's keepsakes are a child-sized wheelbarrow, cart and dumpcart made by Gabriel for him in his early years.

Issue of Gabriel and Ella Robertson:

(1a) Caroline, b. 24 Nov. 1884; marr. George **Curtis**, Mass. She moved to Boston, where she lived with her uncle John until marriage. Now a widow, she continues to live alone in that city at the age of 98.

(3) Susan, b. 6 April 1856; d. 22 Dec. 1859.

(4) Sarah, b. 7 Sept. 1858; d. 9 Dec. 1859.

(5) James Allan, b. 25 May 1860; d. 30 Oct. 1950; marr. Mary **Ross**. Although James Allan Robertson did not operate a photographic studio at Barrington Passage in his early years, he was certainly a pioneer of picture taking there -- that is, taking photos on glass, in the period between tintype and modern photographic film. Copies of these blue-coloured photos are held by the Cape Sable Historical Society, and are also in the homes of a number of Robertson-descended families locally. Most of the pictures were taken in the 1890s, and are probably the best record of the Barrington Passage scene still in existence. James Allan was later employed as a draftsman for the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad.

Issue of James Allan and Mary Robertson:

(1a) Glen Allan, b. 21 Oct. 1893; d. 15 Nov. 1976, Conn.; marr. Muriel **MacDonald**. He was employed first as a banker, but later in the real estate business on Long Island, New York.

Issue of Glen Allan and Muriel Robertson:

(1b) Glen Allan Jr., b. 1926; in Alaska.

(2b) James McLeod, b. 1928; retired in Conn. from the U.S. navy.

(2a) Janet, b. 31 July 1896; unm. Resides in Milton, Mass., after being employed for years as a private secretary with the United Shoe Machinery Co. in Boston.

(6) Isabel, b. 10 Aug. 1862; d. 5 Oct. 1863.

(7) Janet Stalker, b. 19 Jan. 1864; d. 17 Aug. 1937; marr. 30 Sept. 1891, Francis **Doane**, East Boston. Issue.

(8) Colin, b. 17 Oct. 1866; d. 28 Jan. 1922; marr. Annie **Ross**. He was a woodcarver and worked on the Harriman estate in Harriman, New York, fashioning fancy bannisters, frames, etc. Issue of Colin and Annie Robertson:

(1a) Colin Ross, b. 28 July 1903; marr. firstly, Marion **Childs**; secondly, Marie **Tolman**.

(2a) John, b. 24 July 1905; d. 1971; marr. Esther **Tooksbury**.

(3a) Bruce, b. 13 July 1913; marr. twice; living in Maine.

7. Charles, b. 26 Nov. 1822; d. June 1844; unm. He is buried in St. Matthew's Church cemetery, Clyde River.

8. Thomas S. (Semple?), b. 22 Aug. 1825; d. 18 Feb. 1884; marr. Jan. 1858, Letitia **Crowell**, daughter of Andrew Crowell. While several members of the Robertson family were at times employed in the

Robertson blacksmith shop, Thomas was probably never employed otherwise.

Issue of Thomas and Letitia Robertson:

(1) Andrew C., b. 11 Feb. 1859; d. 15 June 1922; unm. He succeeded his father in the blacksmith business, but was later appointed fisheries officer for the area. He eventually returned to blacksmithing with John Richard Gammon.

(2) Cedric, b. 31 May 1860; d. 26 Jan. 1910; marr. June 1902, Letitia **Banks**, daughter of Thomas Banks. At an early age, Cedric was employed for a short time as purser on the *City of St. John*, Captain Harvey Doane, master. However, it was as an accountant and bank manager with the Union Bank of Halifax that he spent practically all his years of employment in the Barrington area.

Issue of Cedric and Letitia Robertson:

(1a) Cedric, b. 22 April 1903.

(2a) Norman Murray, b. 6 Jan. 1905; d. 9 June 1974; marr. Aug. 1927, Nettie **Thomas**, daughter of LeBert Thomas.

Issue of Norman and Nettie Robertson:

(1b) Frances Eileen, b. 28 July 1936.

(3a) Mabel Letitia, b. 26 Dec. 1907; marr. March 1926, Ronald **Nickerson**. Issue.

(4a) Frances Amelia, b. 21 Dec. 1909; unm.

(3) Sarah, b. 25 Dec. 1861; d. 15 Oct. 1882; unm.

(4) Jane, b. 17 Oct. 1865; d. 24 April 1892; marr. 1890, Captain H. Nehemiah **Wilson**, son of Captain Nehemiah Wilson.

(5) Marie, b. 30 June 1867; d. 31 Oct. 1869.

(6) Israel Thomas, b. 8 Oct. 1871; d. 12 Dec. 1936, Sydney, N.S.; marr. 1904, Edith Mae **Clark**, Boston. Israel lived in Boston for sometime prior to removing to Sydney; he spent most of his working life as an insurance salesman.

Issue of Israel and Edith Robertson:

(1a) Thomas Clark, b. 2 Aug. 1906, Boston; marr. 23 Sept. 1932, Evelyn **Mitchell**, daughter of William Mitchell, Sydney. Until his retirement, he was a well-known radio announcer in eastern Nova Scotia.

Issue of Thomas and Evelyn Robertson:

(1b) John Kenneth, b. 11 Dec. 1933; marr. Margaret **Mullowney**, daughter of Michael Mullowney. He is a radar instructor and they have three children.

(2b) Barbara Evelyn, b. 30 May 1937; marr. Gordon Roy **Reid**, son of John and Eileen Reid. Issue.

(3b) Marjorie Edith, b. 19 July 1938; marr. Fred W. **Scairfe**, son of William Scairfe, Pictou. She is a registered nurse. Issue.

9. Maria, b. 18 July 1828; d. 17 March 1865; marr. 9 July 1855, Daniel **Sargent**, son of John Sargent Jr. After her death, he married secondly, 17 May 1867, Charlotte Thompson, daughter of John S. Thompson and sister of the Rt. Hon. Sir John S.D. Thompson, later the fourth prime minister of Canada. Issue.

Court of General Sessions of the Peace, Shelburne County: Selected Documents

Historical records have a bad habit of getting lost. Sometime ago, numerous boxes of old documents stored in the basement of the Shelburne courthouse were on their way to the dump, when they were fortuitously rescued and deposited in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

The documents, dating from the founding of Shelburne in 1783, and continuing up to the 1860s, turned out to be a unique and priceless collection of local records from the court of general sessions of the peace. Among them were financial papers, accounts from the overseers of the poor, quarantine orders, papers from the house of correction, petitions concerning roads and bridges, statute labour returns, papers dealing with the administration of justice, miscellaneous court cases and, of course, proceedings of the court of general sessions.

Upon arrival at the Archives, the documents were in bundles, and in no particular order. Mrs. Elinor Walker, Mrs. Marjorie Barteaux and Ms. Jeanie Peterson volunteered to sort, number and catalogue the collection. Mrs. Walker and Mrs. Barteaux have been working since April 1982, and have since been joined by Mrs. Sally King and Mrs. Yvonne Lewsey.

The majority of the papers have now been sorted and will soon be available to the public as part of RG34-321, Court of General Sessions of the Peace. Two examples of the type of documents to be found in the collection follow. The first is a return of the inhabitants summoned to work on the road in their district, under the direction of Colonel Abraham Van Buskirk, in 1791. The second is a list of those who received licences to operate shops in 1814. This list shows that although there were supposedly only three to four hundred people left in Shelburne at that time, the town was by no means "dead." Many of those who operated the shops were women, probably widows trying to earn a living. Both the documents which follow indicate just what a wealth of history can be retrieved from what at first glance appears to be nothing but "trash."

Return of the Inhabitants Summonsed to work on the Highways under the Direction of Colonel Buskirk, from 10.th April to the 9.th July 1791.

	Days		Days		Days
Joseph Durfee, Esq.r	6	Charles Dickson	6	John Paul	6
McFarland	6	Norfolk Scarberry	6	William Ash	
Jacob Mood	6	Moses Kelly	6	Robert Keeling	6
William Robertson	6	George Wise		John Waring	6
Mrs. Walker	6	Abram Cry	6	John Banberry	6
Mrs. Elvin	6	Samuel Dickson	6	Thomas Bacchus	6
George Johnston	6	John Ivy	6	Robert Turner	6
M.c Sparlin	6	Cyrus Spur	6	Joseph Warrinton	6
John Leighton	6	Phillip Lawrence	6	Samuel Perry	
Richard Swan [Sloan?]	6	John Salsberry	6	Nathaniel Snowball, Sen.r	6
Edward Godfrey	6	Henry Cook	6	James Robertson	6
Luke Jordan	6	Harry Washinton	6	John Primus	6
Samuel Campbell	6	Robert Morris	6	Jonathan Glasgow	6
Adam Peters	6	Thomas Cain	6	Peter Herbert	
Richard Dickson	6	Thomas Channel	6	John Williams	6
Luke Dickson	6	Luke Wilson	6	Pompey Brown	6
Joseph Blair	6	Tobias Johnson	6	Anthony Matthews	6
Charles Wilkinson	6	Bristol Garnett	6	Cornelius Van Sile	6
Exekiel Campbell	6	Joseph Bennett	6	Isaac James	6
Abraham Hazell	6	Christopher Rich	6	Joseph Raven	
William O'neal	6	Adam Jones	6	Robert Jackson	
James Connor	6	Cato Perkins	6	James Hector	6
Toney Wilkins	6	Samuel Whitten	6	Nathaniel Snowball Jun.r	
London Bly	6	Joseph Brown	6	Richard Leach	6
Anthony Truett	6	Solomon Lawson		John Jackson	6
Job Alleyne	6	Limus Church	6	Jupieter Farmer	6
John McKay	6	Samuel Bolton	6	James Thompson	6
Robert Nickerson	6	James Robinson (pilot)	6	William Davis	
Pompey Rutledge	6	Peter Weeks	6	Martin Cox	6
Jacob Johnstone	6	Lewis Pandarvis	6		
Lemps Sulivan	6	Peter Harden	6		

County of Shelburne Dr. to Ab.r V. Buskirk

Account of Monies received for Licences Granted in March 1814. and expires the 25.th day of March 1815.

Time when Granted	No.	To Whom Granted	Time paid for Quarters	Mos.	days	Sum paid		
1814								
March 25	1.	Mary Davenport	4			2	10	
	2.	Ann Snyder	4			2	10	
	3.	Catherine Bingay	4			2	10	
	4.	Henry Guest	4			2	10	
Shop	5.	Henry Snyder	4			2	10	
Licences	6.	Jesse Lear & Co.	4			2	10	
at 50/.	7.	Joshua Snow	4			2	10	
p Annum	8.	Catherine McDonald	4			2	10	
	9.	Alex Huston Sen.r	4			2	10	
	10.	Joseph C. Williams	4			2	10	
	11.	James Barclay	4			2	10	
	12.	Anne Andrews	4			2	10	
	13.	Jane Sutherland	4			2	10	
	14.	William Robertson	4			2	10	
July 25	15.	Robert Gordon	2	2		1	13	4
	16.	John Bingay	2	2		1	13	4
1814								
March 25	1.	Elizabeth Dorris	4			3		
	2.	Elizabeth McKinney	4			3		
Tavern	3.	Edward Kendrick	4			3		
Licences at	4.	Gideon C. White	4			3		
60/ p Annum	5.	Charles Roche	4			3		
May 4	6.	Zenos Nickerson	3	1	21	2	13	6
	7.	James Johnston	3	1	21	2	13	6
Aug.t 17	8.	James Lippencut, 7 mos. & 8 days, 36/4d, Bal.c due by him, 21/4d	1				15	
April 9		Arthur Gibbon a Pedler (for one Horse)	1			3		
						62	8	8
		Com.s on £62.8.8 a. 7½ p Cent...				4	13	8
						£57	15	
1814								
March 25	1.	Francis Boole						
	2.	Richard Walls						
	3.	Ann Brown						
	4.	John McMullen						
	5.	John Stalker						
	6.	Joseph Warrington			Tavern Licences			
	7.	Gilbert McKay						
	8.	Peter Spearwater			Gratis			
	9.	Jonathan Smith						
May 10	10.	William Pride						
	11.	Hugh Morison						
July 5	12.	James Richardson						
	13.	William Hope						

Book Reviews

Eleven Exiles: Accounts of Loyalists of the American Revolution, edited by Phyllis R. Blakeley and John Grant. ISBN 0-919670-63-6. Dundern Press, Toronto and Charlottetown, 1982. 336 pages, illustrated with maps, hardcover, $24.95 and softcover, $14.95.

Eleven Exiles is the first substantial book to appear on the Loyalists as a contribution to the Loyalist Bicentenary. It consists of eleven biographical sketches of Loyalists who came to what is now Canada. The individuals chosen are a good mixture: professional men such as Ward Chipman who went to New Brunswick; Molly Brant, the Mohawk who was the most politically active Loyalist woman to come to Canada; the Rev. Ranna Cossit who built St. George's in Sydney, Cape Breton; and Boston King, the Black Loyalist preacher of Shelburne who later went to Sierra Leone. The other Loyalists included are John Howe senior, Francis Green, Joseph Durfee, William Shurman, Sir John Johnson, Sarah Sherwood and William H. Jarvis.

John Grant has written a succinct introduction about "...those in General called Loyalists" as well as the best available biography of John Howe (the father of Joseph Howe) who settled in Halifax. In fact, five out of the eleven biographies are of Loyalists who came to Nova Scotia. Each biography has an accompanying map, a necessity if the reader is to follow the exploits of each individual; there is also a portrait or illustration for each biography. The biographies are well footnoted; the two appendices, a "Chronology of Major Events 1763 to 1791" and "A Diary of the Military Events of the American Revolution 1775-1784" are both well done. The bibliography at the end provides a well selected summary of books on the Loyalists. Clearly the editors and Mary Beacock Fryer have done their utmost to ensure that the biographies of the eleven exiles are well supported by complementing information.

As is to be expected, some biographies are more appealing than others, and often it is simply a question of available historical sources. Although all are of an acceptable standard, the three I enjoyed reading the most were Darrell Butler's Ward Chipman, Donald Wetmore's William Shurman, and Robert Allen's William Jarvis.

The editors, authors and Dundern Press are to be congratulated in bringing out *Eleven Exiles* in this first of the two-year celebrations of the Loyalist Bicentenary. BCUC

Post Offices (1754-1981), Nova Scotia Postal History, Vol. 1, by L.B. MacPherson. ISBN 0-919380-42-5. Petheric Press, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1982. 136 pages, plus four page addendum, softcover, $15.00; hardcover, $25.00.

This slim volume is filled with abundant information never before assembled. Only many years of patient compilation and research could result in the logical arrangement of 3,241 entries. Each of these locates a post office by county and date on which mail service began and ended, if the office is now closed. An entry in the long list is not to be taken as confirmation that a post office existed in the early years, but simply that mail service was provided to that locality. Both the main text and an addendum, however, give the date on which may of the way offices, or "two penny" offices as they were then called, were officially upgraded to full post office status.

A short introduction, candidly written, modestly describes the painstaking research and classifies and ponders the use of place names and how they evolved and changed through time. It includes also some speculation on the basis for the policy of the post office department, after Confederation, in choosing succeeding names for the same place. Five localities had as many as four different appellations. The compendium of offices is supplemented by 637 notes elucidating changes in location, in spelling, and in the name itself; these often correct previously published information that was erroneous. Of more general interest are the illustrations, based entirely on postcards from the author's collection, showing post offices as they were in the early years of this century. The information is obviously valuable to the postal historian or to anyone interested in relating the postmarks found on stamps or on old envelopes with their geographical location. However, this book is not only for the philatelist, but also for genealogists and historians who will find it an easy reference, removing the ambiguity of where many places of similar or even identical name, really are.

The notes will confirm that there are some instances where additional historical research is needed before we can decide on the correct location or the chronology of succession for a number of early offices. For example, what were the relationships between the post offices at Fort Lawrence, Cumberland and Amherst from 1820 to 1845? The information on the shifting of Tatamagouche offices, in contrast, is an excellent example of the detective work necessary to unravel the changes of office that served one small community. In a different vein, what was so interesting about Ports along the Strait of Canso in the 1860s? Why did Ship Harbour, MacNair's

Cove and Plaister Cove become Port Hawkesbury, Port Mulgrave and Port Hastings respectively? This volume is obviously not just a simple listing of offices, it is filled with other interesting information.

The text itself is remarkably free from error and although additions to the list will most likely come to light, one finds it difficult to quarrel with the author's data. The listing for McNab requires further work. Dr. MacPherson has chosen this spelling, although the only evidence for the existence of the way office, a marking on a cover of 1838, has the spelling MacNab. This single criticism in over three thousand entries attests to the thoroughness of the research. J.J. MacDonald

Loyalist Dress in Nova Scotia 1775-1800, by Mary Archibald, Elizabeth deMolitor and Cathy Homes. Shelburne County Museum, with assistance of Nova Scotia Museum, Halifax, 1982. 62 pages, illustrated, softcover, $4.00. Available from Shelburne County Museum, P.O. Box 39, Shelburne, Nova Scotia, B0T 1W0.

Shelburne, one of the major Loyalist settlements of 1783 in Nova Scotia, has been planning since 1975 for the bicentennial of its founding. In preparation for these celebrations a costume committee was formed for the purpose of designing and constructing costumes for display and use during the festivities. Several have been made to date; four of these, that of a woman, man, boy and girl, are on display at the Shelburne County Museum.

Another result of the costume committee has been a book, *Loyalist Dress in Nova Scotia 1775-1800*, which tells you all that you want to know about how Loyalists of all social classes dressed, the kind of material they used, how the hair was worn and types of shoes and hats. It also gives sources of supplies for materials, patterns and accessories. Included are some pictures of Loyalist costumes, as well as several excellent line drawings by Finn Bower, showing various articles of clothing. Sketches of a colonial shirt and breeches are detailed with instructions for their construction.

This book is a must for anybody interested in making a Loyalist costume or for those interested in the Loyalists themselves, since throughout the book, representative refugees such as James and Martha Delancey and Rose Fortune are referred to when illustrating period dress. J. Peterson

Joseph Howe: Conservative Reformer, 1804-1848, Volume 1, by J. Murray Beck. ISBN 0-7735-0387-0. McGill-Queen's University Press, Kingston and Montreal, 1982. 389 pages, illustrated, hardcover, $35.00.

Joseph Howe towers above all other Nova Scotians in our history. His finest hour was also the greatest achievement of our province: the winning of responsible government, the principles of which have changed the British Empire into the Commonwealth of Nations we know today.

Howe aroused passionate feelings among his biographers and historians in general, as well as among his contemporaries. Beck cares intensely about his subject; his study of the man has been life-long. He is, however, fair in his portrayal of a dynamic and temperamental man; his intention, and in this he succeeds admirably, is to let Howe tell his own story in his own words. Beck has thus written not only a political biography, but also a history of the winning of responsible government in Nova Scotia.

Life was never easy for Howe, and he was never to make matters easy for himself either. Largely self-educated, he became a newspaper editor, the best of his day in British North America. Through his newspaper and his "rambles" collecting subscriptions, Howe gained his "education" about his native province, an education unequalled for any politician then or since. The human as much as political rapport that Howe gained with the yeomen farmers of Nova Scotia in the 1830s and 1840s was the basis of his political power; without their steady support he could never have continued his struggle to "make Nova Scotia, by her loyalty, intelligence and spirit, as it were, a normal school for British North America."

This first volume of Beck's two-volume biography is a work of superb scholarship, human insight and perceptive political analysis. Only a thousand copies have been printed and it is likely to be a collector's prize by this Christmas. BCUC

Expeditions of Honour: The Journal of John Salusbury in Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1749-53, by Ronald Rompkey. ISBN 0-87413-169-3. University of Delaware Press, Newark, New Jersey, 1982. 221 pages, illustrated, hardbound, $32.00 Canadian. Available from Associated University Presses, 4 Cornwall Drive, East Brunswick, New Jersey, 08816, U.S.A.

The personalities involved in and the events surrounding the founding of Halifax in 1749 continue to fascinate; readers of the *Review* will remember Steven Greiert's article, "The Earl of Halifax and the Settlement of Nova Scotia, 1749-1753," which appeared in Volume 1, Number 1. This article serves as an excellent background to *Expeditions of Honour*.

John Salusbury arrived with Governor Edward Cornwallis in 1749 and remained until 1753, with the exception of a leave of absence reluctantly granted by Cornwallis during the winter of 1751-52. As Cornwallis soon

discovered, Salusbury was not your ideal colonial official; rather, he had been driven by his indebtedness and abysmal lack of prospects to accept the position of Registrar of Deeds and Receiver of the King's Rents at Halifax. A man without initiative and ambition, separated from his family by an ocean, and unable to gain the ear of Cornwallis or other senior officials, Salusbury used his journal to vent his impotence and to unburden his unhappiness.

The journal itself has interesting insights into the difficulties and disputes that engulfed the early community. Salusbury's comments on Cornwallis's handling of the Indian menace and of the recalcitrant Acadians, for example, do provide an interesting view of the debates within Halifax officialdom, on what policies should be adopted. However, the journal tends to confirm, rather than add to our knowledge. It also is not easy reading; Salusbury's plaintive tone and soured outlook on his enforced sojourn pervade the pages, and detract somewhat from the journal's overall value.

Rompkey has written an informative and comprehensive introduction, included biographical sketches of the principal persons mentioned, and provided copious footnotes. Without these, the journal makes little sense. Although its existence has been known for some years (it is on microfilm in the PANS), not until Professor Rompkey's excellent editing has Salusbury's legacy become readily accessible to historians and to those interested in early Halifax.

BCUC

Louisbourg Portraits: Life in an Eighteenth-Century Garrison Town, by Christopher Moore. ISBN 0-7715-9712-6. Macmillan of Canada, Toronto, 1982. 302 pages, hardcover, $19.95.

Fortress Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island is associated in our minds with the two great seiges of 1745 and 1758. What Christopher Moore does in *Louisbourg Portraits* is to remind us that, while still the greatest fortress ever constructed in North America, Louisbourg was no less a multi-faceted eighteenth-century community of people. He does this by recounting the lives of five different individuals who lived there before the New Englanders captured the fort in 1745. Moore tells his stories with both skill and drama. Moreover, the wealth of material available in French archives has allowed him to write nothing but history: he has not invented a single character, episode, or event, nor has he transposed the latter in time or place.

Moore worked at Louisbourg as a staff historian during the years of its reconstruction, and obviously came to know well the mores and ambitions of its eighteenth century inhabitants. The lives he has chosen to recount have been selected to represent various aspects of the community. There is the sailor, Louis Davory, who becomes the prime suspect in an unsolved

robbery of rolls of tobacco; the young, ambitious clerk, Jacques Roland, who marries the daughter of a widow, only to have his vengeful mother-in-law destroy him when he trangresses the social rules governing the family; the fisherman, Charles Renaut, whose life personifies the saga of the Louisbourg fishery; the courageous, ambitious Louis Lelarge, sea captain, privateer and eventually naval officer; and the Swiss mercenary, Sergeant Jodocus Koller, the individual through whom Moore recreates the first Louisbourg seige.

Moore avoids the major pitfall of so many social historians whose writings are all bone and no flesh, all analysis and no life. He is not only a good social historian, but also a superb story teller. For the reader who wants to enjoy both at their best, *Louisbourg Portraits* will prove rewarding. BCUC

Course à l'Accadie -- journal de campagne de François Du Pont Duvivier en 1744, by Bernard Pothier. ISBN 2-7600-0074-5. Editions d'acadie, Moncton, 1982. 195 pages, softcover, $11.80. Available from the publisher, Box 85, Moncton, New Brunswick, E1C 8N8.

François Du Pont Duvivier was the commander of an expedition sent from Louisbourg to retake Port Royal and wrest Nova Scotia from English control at the start of the War of the Austrian Succession in 1744. Such an expedition had been considered for many years, and was decided upon after a force under Duvivier's command had taken Canso without a shot being fired. Despite this forethought, the venture to Annapolis Royal was a failure, due to the inability of the French to co-ordinate land and sea activities, the unfulfilled expectation of support from the Acadians, and Duvivier's own reluctance to take the military initiative.

Duvivier was born at Port Royal in 1705, the son of a French officer, François Du Pont Duvivier, and his colonial wife, Marie Mius d'Entremont, a grand-daughter of Charles Saint-Etienne de la Tour. He was equally well-connected on his father's side, his uncle, Du Pont Duchambon, becoming governor at Louisbourg in 1744. With his position in the elite of Acadia, Duvivier was able to amass a sizable fortune through various business ventures, while holding a position in the Louisbourg garrison. These factors also make him an excellent subject for our curiosity about things Acadian.

The book is divided into three parts: Pothier's introduction; Duvivier's journal; and a number of letters and documents relating to the expedition. The author does an admirable job of placing the events of 1744 in context, a task for which he is well-suited, having researched French sources for the Louisbourg restoration and having authored many *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* articles on Acadian personalities.

The journal itself occupies about half the book. It is not a travel account

and, mercifully, Duvivier is not preoccupied with the weather. Linguistically, however, it is not an Acadian work, as Duvivier himself was educated in France, and the journal was rewritten by someone else prior to being deposited with the French authorities. For an anglophone, the journal also poses some difficulty in reading, as much of the spelling is phonetic.

The journal formed the basis of Duvivier's subsequent report to France, and as such is devoted almost entirely to military matters -- and, naturally, to displaying Duvivier as the potential liberator of Acadia, thwarted only by the dilatoriness of others. The account tells little about Acadia under Paul Mascarene's rule, apart from the Acadians' reluctance to disturb their position by supporting the French forces. As a vivid recounting of ambition and strategy, however, *Course à l'Accadie* makes for an interesting read -- and for some insights into the French colonial forces. John MacLeod

Canada's Flowers: History of the Corvettes of Canada, by Thomas G. Lynch. ISBN 0-920852-15-7. Nimbus Publishing Limited, Halifax, 1981. 103 pages, illustrated, softcover, $9.95. Available from the publisher, P.O. Box 9301, Halifax, N.S., B3K 5N5.

Canada's Flowers is a popular history, not a scholarly tome, and it aims as much to tell the story of these remarkable little ships as to chronicle their particulars. Comparisons with classics like March's *British Destroyers*, although perhaps inevitable, should be minimized.

This "special," as the author describes it, is clearly the product of extensive research. It presents an excellent collection of photographs of every variation of the Canadian corvette, accompanied by observant, instructive and occasionally reminiscent captions. The only major omissions are photographs of the messdecks after a winter's run. Without them, an appreciation of the conditions the corvette crews endured is difficult for the modern reader to grasp. The accompanying text covers the corvettes' participation in the Battle of the Atlantic quite thoroughly, alternating throughout between narration and anecdote.

The book concludes with a series of appendices encompassing everything from a list of commanding officers to a section on the camouflage and disruptive paint schemes used by the RCN during the war. The author's notes throughout the work on this subject are excellent, and in this reviewer's opinion, constitute one of the most important components of the book. It is unfortunate that more information was not presented on the reasons for the selection of the various paint schemes, but this is a notoriously difficult subject to research.

I found several areas which detract somewhat from the overall potential of this book. *Canada's Flowers* is quite badly organized and rather cut up. It would have had a much more professional impact had it been properly organized into chapters, and if it had linked related topics more closely. For example, the discussion on design considerations and the actual plans are separated by the entire body of the book. The type jumps from bold to light repeatedly, and there are a variety of grammatical indiscretions. The text is also quite subjective, and terms like "useless" and "as usual" appear in various condemnations of equipment and paint. Lastly, Mr. Lynch has designed his book, at least in part, for the scale modeller. I found references to model making in the text, or accompanying the illustrations, disruptive, and would have much preferred to see them consolidated into a separate appendix.

Notwithstanding these criticisms, Mr. Lynch has put a wealth of information into a thoroughly interesting book, and I commend him for an important contribution to the story of Canada's war at sea.

Lcdr G.V. Davidson, CAF

A Reader's Guide to Canadian History, Volume 1: Beginnings to Confederation, edited by D.A. Muise, and *Volume 2: Confederation to the Present*, edited by J.L. Granatstein and Paul Stevens. ISBN 0-8020-6442-6. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1982. Volume 1, 253 pages and Volume 2, 329 pages, softcovers, Volume $7.95 and Volume 2, $8.95.

More has been written about Canada's past since the 1967 centenary than in our entire preceding history. This explosion in historical writing has meant that few are aware of the full extent of the wealth of new sources and interpretations now available for both the reader and the researcher. The two-volume *A Reader's Guide to Canadian History* thus fills an essential need in making available a critical bibliographical guide for the use of anyone interested in Canadian history.

Readers of the *Review* will find the sections on the Atlantic Provinces the most useful. In Volume 1, D.A. Muise critically examines the literature for our region under particular subject headings, such as Immigration and Settlement, Politics, Religion and Education. In Volume 2, W.B. Hamilton uses both provincial and subject headings in his look at the historical literature from Confederation to our own time.

A Reader's Guide is an essential book for school and other libraries; it is also a necessary reference work for anyone engaged in historical research.

BCUC

A *Genealogical Review of the Bowser Family*, by Reginald Burton Bowser. Privately published, Moncton, 1981. 225 pages, illustrated, softcover, $12.00. Available from the author, 68 Bromley Avenue, Moncton, N.B., E1C 5T9.

To a certain extent, genealogy is still regarded in some professional circles as the *bar sinister* of social history. Compilers of family lineages -- even trained genealogists -- are often suspect because of their zealous approach, their narrow focus of interest, and their sometimes disappointing research results. All too often, genealogy appears to be nothing but a dull recitation of names, dates and places, all bones and no skin to flesh out the body of the past. Every now and then, however, a book like *The Bowser Family* comes along to re-affirm our faith in the fine art of ancestor hunting.

Reg Bowser may be an armchair historian, but his ability to call up the past, his attention to detail, and his determination to leave no stone unturned have resulted in an uncommonly interesting book detailing the antecedants and descendants of Thomas Bowser, Yorkshire immigrant to the Isthmus of Chignecto during the 1770s. *The Bowser Family* is an amateur compilation, and as such has perhaps a surfeit of information, but it is so enticingly presented that anyone interested in family studies will approach the book with all the anticipation normally reserved for Christmas dinner. The Bowsers are a veritable feast of detail and animation.

Detailed genealogical lines, extracts from public records, family photographs, and a wealth of supportive local history serve to set the family neatly within the larger context of life in Yorkshire, and subsequently in the area around Sackville, New Brunswick. While the sections dealing with the family in Great Britain may seem excessively lengthy and detailed, they should be of particular interest to Canadians struggling to unravel overseas family links. The author provides an excellent overview of available source materials, and his slow but steady -- and, one would suspect, expensive -- progress via British researchers is a lesson in itself to both professional genealogists and their clients: persistence and patience do pay off. In this case, they have resulted in a wealth of vivid glimpses into the lives of the Bowser family during the late middle ages. This is the stuff of which real genealogy is made!

For members of the family, this book is a bonanza. For others intrigued with such studies, *The Bowser Family* will reveal genealogical detective work at its best. And for those of us involved in similar pursuits down narrow family trails, it will be an inspiration to lure us back to the drawing board. LKK

Twice a Refugee -- The Bower Story, by Alice Jones. Passage Print and Litho Ltd., Barrington Passage, N.S.; 1979.

In the first part of this book, the reader follows Adam Bauer on a perilous journey from Germany to England, then to South Carolina and later to Nova Scotia. The 300 German Protestants were abandoned in London by their promoter, Sir Charles Temple. Later, with the aid of the British government, the refugees were settled in South Carolina. There they prospered until hostilities between Britain and America forced those loyal to the British government, like Adam Bauer, to leave for British-controlled Nova Scotia.

This narrative reads smoothly, coloured with historical and political background, the emotional problems and economic conditions facing the Germans, and even suspense, as Adam fights American soldiers and his daughter, Elizabeth, becomes a British spy. As the writer explains in an introduction, "some of the story is legend passed down through the years."

The second part of the book consists of a well-constructed, easy to read genealogy of the Bauer (changed by Adam to the English spelling, Bower) family. Also included in this section are several memorials to Adam Bauer as well as his last will and testament. Heather MacDonald