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Colonel James DeLancey (1747-1804)
Courtesy of Mr. George DeLancey Hanger
of Roanoke, Virginia

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Lieutenant James Moody (1774-1809)
Courtesy of Mr. William D. Moody
of Burlington, Ontario

EDITORIAL

This, the second of our two issues concerning Nova Scotian Loyalists, concentrates on the Annapolis Valley through biographies and general interest articles. We are also pleased to include an article on North Sydney's Loyalist heritage. The first Loyalist issue has sold very well; only a few copies remain at $4.00 each.

The finances of the *Review* have been under study all summer and it has now become necessary to raise our annual subscription fee to $10.00 for the two issues. This will bring the subscription rate only up to those of similar publications. Even with this increase, the provincial Department of Culture will be subsidizing each issue by as much as fifty per cent. The new rate will apply for the 1984 issues; those who have already re-subscribed for the coming year will not be billed for the difference.

We at the *Review* sincerely believe in the need for such a publication as this; we hope that you, the subcribers, will continue to support our efforts, and thereby to promote the preservation of our provincial heritage. We welcome your comments or suggestions concerning the *Review*, its format and its future direction.

We are proceeding with plans for the Autumn 1984 issue commemorating the bicentenary of the death of Henry Alline, the famous evangelist from Falmouth Township who led the Great Awakening in Nova Scotia. Sufficient authors have come forward, so that we already have the required number of items for this issue. In fact, the *Review* now has enough material to carry us into 1985, and authors submitting articles should not expect publication before then.

Historical societies and similar organizations are encouraged to buy blocks of fifty 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.

Correspondence and submissions should be sent to myself or the literary editor, Mrs. Lois Kernaghan, c/o Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 6016 Unversity Avenue, Halifax, Nova Scotia, B3H 1W4.

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Brian Cuthbertson
Managing Editor

Contributors

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is a native of North Sydney. She holds a B.A., an M.A. and a teaching diploma from Acadia University, and was employed variously as a high school teacher, supervising principal and guidance counsellor in the North Sydney school system for thirty-five years. Presently retired, she is actively involved in historical and genealogical research, especially that concerning the Musgrave family.

Miss Jackson is well-known throughout Cape Breton for her historical writing. She has had numerous articles published in the *Cape Breton Post*, and her two books, *Cape Breton and the Jackson Kith and Kin* (1971) and *North Sydney, Windows on the Past* (1974) have been acclaimed as valuable contributions to island history.

D. PETER MACLELLAN
was born in Halifax, but grew up in Sydney. He holds a B.A. from Dalhousie, and is currently an M.A. candidate in the Atlantic Canada Studies program at St. Mary's University. Mr. MacLellan is employed as the Public Affairs Manager with H.H. Marshall Ltd., Halifax.

Mr. MacLellan serves on the board of governors for the University of King's College, and as a director of the Atlantic Canada Institute. He has a strong background in tourism and colonial history, and is a member of various provincial historical groups. He has previously been published locally in *Atlantic Insight* and *Barometer*. His interest in James Addington Holdsworth owes some debt to the fact that he is married to Holdsworth's great-great-great-great-grand-daughter.

GEORGE DELANCEY HANGER
was born in Portsmouth, Virginia, and was educated both there and in Lexington at the Virginia Military Institute, from which he holds a B.S. in civil engineering. From 1928 to 1969, except for military service during World War II, Mr. Hanger was involved in property insurance. He is now retired in Roanoke, but continues his interest in various state and Nova Scotian historical groups.

A great-great-grandson of Colonel James DeLancey, Mr. Hanger has been collecting family information for over sixty years, and the resultant manuscript is now being read for possible publication.

LEONE BANKS COUSINS
is a native of the Annapolis Valley. She was educated at the Provincial Normal College and also holds a B.A. from St. Mary's University. Mrs. Cousins has taught in England, at various Canadian Forces Bases in France and Germany, and for twenty years with the Halifax city school system. She is now retired in Kingston, and is working on a history of Wilmot township.

A member of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society, the Genealogical Association of Nova Scotia, the Annapolis Valley Historical Society and the Canadian Author's Association, Mrs. Cousins has done extensive research in local history and genealogy. Her work has been published in, among others, the *Nova Scotia Historical Review, Canada: An Historical Magazine, Bluenose* and various provincial newspapers.

SUSAN BURGESS SHENSTONE
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Mrs. Shenstone currently lives in Ottawa, where she is working on a projected full-length biography of James Moody. She spends her summers in Smith's Cove, Digby County.

JOHN WENTWORTH MOODY
was born in Hamilton, Ontario, and is a graduate of the University of Toronto, with a B.A.Sc. in metallurgical engineering. He is also a graduate in electronics and weapons from the Royal Military College of Science, Shrivenham, England. Following a military career, Mr. Moody was employed for many years with Canada Post, retiring in 1978 as Director of Coding and Mechanization.

He maintains a general interest in all aspects of history, and is a member of both the Yarmouth County and Weymouth historical societies, as well as of the Genealogical Association of Nova Scotia. Mr. Moody is a sixth-generation direct descendant of Colonel James, and is currently anticipating additional family research in Ireland.

Some of North Sydney's Loyalists

Elva E. Jackson

While some Loyalists, such as many at Sydney, took prominent parts in the political life of their new communities, and others concentrated on agricultural pursuits, many of North Sydney's[1] loyal refugees instead turned their attention to commercial enterprises involving the sea at their door. Settling on the North West Arm of one of the world's finest harbours, they soon engaged in shipbuilding and trading, manning their own vessels. Moreover, becoming a close-knit community, though there were no marriages among blood relatives, these immigrants so intermarried that within three generations most families were entwined in complex relationships with each other.

It all started in New York during the Revolutionary War. At that time, New York and its environs were in British hands. From the middle of September 1776, when Washington and his troops fled, until the signing of the peace treaty in 1783, the city's population was augmented by refugees, largely from Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Jersey.

The refugees found New York a safe haven, and the majority carried on their normal occupations. Many had given up large properties and their possessions to escape the wrath of their neighbours who resented their continuing loyalty to the British crown. In the New York area they purchased, rented, or simply took over, houses and farms abandoned by the rebels at the advance of the British. It has been established that when General Howe took possession in 1776, only 5000 of New York's former 25,000 inhabitants remained. By the time of the final evacuation in 1783, the population had swelled to over 33,000, in addition to the 10,000 British troops, with their 25,000 dependants, who were stationed there. Many refugees were employed in work connected with the hostilities: supplying the garrison in New York, working with civil departments of the army, bringing in food, and supplying services for the general population. Churches became hospitals, warehouses held supplies, and empty buildings became compounds for prisoners of war. Despite inflation and shortages, New York remained peaceful and prosperous during the revolution.[2] It was

1 North Sydney's present boundaries were set in 1885 at the time of its incorporation. Before that, what is now Ward 1 and the lower half of Upper North Sydney were called North Sydney. The writer is using the earlier boundaries.

2 Esmond Wright, "The New York Loyalists: A Cross-section of Colonial Society," pp. 80-82.

in this background that there lived several families who were to reside later at Upper North Sydney, Nova Scotia.

On 18 August 1760, on the ship *Pery* from Limerick City, Ireland, there arrived in New York Peter Sparling and his wife. Born in Killiheen, Ireland, about 1732, Sparling had married Margaret Fissell in 1754.[3] Both fourth-generation Germans, their great-grandparents, strong Protestants, had fled from the Palatinate on the Upper Rhine, early in the eighteenth century when armies of King Louis XIV of France had overrun their homeland. Taken from Holland to England by Queen Anne's ships, and then to Lord Southwell's estate in Ireland, they had prospered. In 1760, however, the Peter Sparlings, along with other German families, after their rents had been raised and their pasture lands taken, sailed to America where they hoped to obtain a joint land grant somewhere in New York State.

As the years went by and they waited in New York, Peter Sparling put the following advertisement in the New York *Mercury* of 14 May 1767:

> A public school was opened the First Day of this Instant May, at the East end of Horse and Cart Street the Second Door from the Corner, near the new High Dutch Lutheran Church Where the Public may depend upon having their Children taught after a most concise Method applicable to Business; in Reading, Writing, Arithmetick with the utmost Care and Dispatch.
>
> by Peter Sparling

Most of the Irish Palatines who had come to New York with the Sparlings were Methodists, having been converted in Ireland by the Rev. John Wesley; two of their members organized the first Methodist Society in America. Nevertheless, Peter Sparling and his family attended Trinity Lutheran Church in New York, near where he conducted his school.

It was not until the spring of 1770 that Sparling, his wife and family, and twenty-four other families, with only a verbal agreement from their new landlord, James Duane, a New York lawyer, trekked to settle on 2500 acres in Camden Valley, south-western Vermont. Unknown to them, this border land was in dispute between Yankees of New Hampshire and Yorkers of New York State. As his share, Peter Sparling received 187½ acres. As time went on and they all awaited leases, he wrote Duane requesting land for two nephews, George Sparling and his unnamed brother. Although he was refused his request, in 1773 the original families negotiated a lease.

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3 Eula C. Lapp, *To Their Heirs Forever* (Picton, Ont., 1970), pp. 51, 108.

By 1774, however, Peter Sparling had become dissatisfied. The area around Camden Valley held many who were showing great resistance to the British. Among these were the Green Mountain Boys, led by Ethan Allen. As a peace-loving man, Sparling may have sensed what the coming rebellion would mean to their settlement. He sold his house, stock, and land for £100 to Garret Miller.[4] On their return to New York City, the Sparlings had at least three children--Ann, Peter Jr., and Philip. By 1782, three more had been born--Margaret, Jacob, and George. Though we do not know how he earned a living, it is probable that Sparling again taught school.

At that time, living in New York was Bartholomew Musgrave (1757-1837), a mariner, said to have been born in Penrith, Westmoreland, England. On 27 September 1778, at Trinity Church, he married Ann, daughter of Peter Sparling.

Also in New York, among the Rhode Island refugees, was James Moffatt, his wife and family. After the death of his first wife, Tabitha Mumford, Moffatt had married Mary (Roach) Ross, widow of John Ross of Newport. With them were his son John Moffatt (b. 1777) and her son John Ross (1772-1841). At Newport, James Moffatt had been a general merchant "on Thames Street at the bottom of Church Lane," where he sold English and West India goods,[5] near Trinity Episcopal Church which they attended. When the Loyalists were forced to proceed to New York, leaving behind all their possessions, the Moffatts attempted to take such portable goods as their silverplate. When rebel soldiers searched their house, one of the children, too young to fully understand what was going on, betrayed the valuables hidden temporarily under a bed, and all their goods were confiscated.

In addition to the Sparlings, Musgraves and Moffats, there were also in the area various military men who were in due course to be linked with these families by marriage. Fighting for the British around New York during the war was Frederic Weilhausen (1755-1826), a Hessian soldier who served eight years under General Alt Von Lossberg's Regiment of Fusiliers, which first landed, 15 August 1776, on Staten Island. After the war, he came to Cape Breton where he first obtained land at the North West Arm of Sydney Harbour, and later at St. Ann's.[6] In Sydney, 27 January 1791,

4 *Ibid., passim*, pp. 51-110.

5 *Gazette* (Newport, R.I.), 26 Feb. 1777.

6 Calendar of Cape Breton Land Papers, Doc. 920. RG20, Series B, Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

Frederic married Elizabeth Robar. Their daughter Charlotte married Bartholomew Thomas Musgrave, grandson of the Loyalist Bartholomew.

Frederic's friend, John Christian Grandmyer (ca. 1753-1846), born at Barksen, near Heidelberg, Germany, who also served under General Alt Von Lossberg, returned to Europe in 1783 and emigrated to Cape Breton in 1785.[7] He settled at the North West Arm, across the harbour from Upper North Sydney. His son, Donald Peter, on 10 August 1843, married Eliza Moore Leslie, a grand-daughter of the Loyalist Bartholomew Musgrave.

Daniel Watson (d. 1826) and his wife, both born in Scotland, went to New York, "lost all their property in the British cause," and subsequently came as Loyalists to the North West Arm. On 12 November 1829, Mary Isabella Watson married John Bartholomew Musgrave, a master mariner and grandson of the Loyalist Bartholomew.

Henry Roberts, of Major Cardin's Company in the Prince of Wales' American Regiment of Volunteers,[8] after living for a short time at Shelburne where his son Henry Newman Roberts was born, received a town lot on the Esplanade, Sydney. An Elizabeth Roberts, possibly his sister, married John Musgrave, oldest son of the pioneer.

Meanwhile, the fortunes of war swayed between the British and Americans until the former, under Lord Cornwallis, were defeated at Yorktown, 17 October 1781. Though this marked virtually the end of the war, the peace treaty was not signed until 19 September 1783. Outside New York, those who did not join the rebellion were in precarious positions: "The histories of individual Loyalists provide many accounts of tarring, feathering, riding on rails, imprisonment in chains, execution or threats of death escaped only because Loyalists fled to the surrounding woods or broke out of an issufficiently guarded gaol."[9]

During the war, while reports of such persecutions filtered into New York and, as time went on, knowledge came that there would be no amnesty for Loyalists, the New York refugees, fully realizing their plight, began to seek a safe haven. Nova Scotia, which then included New Brunswick, was

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7 Spelled *Grandmyer* on gravestone in St. John's Anglican cemetery, Point Edward, N.S. Since then variously spelled *Grantmyer, Grantmyre, Grantmire, et al.*

8 Military "C" Records, RG8, C1895, pp. 10, 14, 27, 33, 47y, 53, and 63, Public Archives of Canada (hereafter PAC).

9 Esther Clark Wright, *The Loyalists of New Brunswick* (Moncton, 1955), p. 20.

considered the most desirable refuge because it was the nearest British territory to New York and had a long coastline. Encouragement was given for settlement at Port Roseway, now Shelburne, by Sir Guy Carleton, commander-in-chief at New York, and by Sir Andrew Snape Hamond, the acting governor of Nova Scotia.

In the autumn of 1782, a group of refugees in New York banded themselves together as the Port Roseway Associates.[10] Their object was to request from Sir Guy Carleton his protection and assistance in removing themselves and their families to form a settlement in Nova Scotia. Among the members were Bartholomew Musgrave, Peter Sparling, and James Moffatt. The meetings of the society, closed to all except members, at first held in the Roubalet Tavern, were held in New York city hall when the membership increased. There they worked out plans for their emigration and for the grants and supplies they would need.

In January 1783, their deputies, Joseph Pynchon of New York City and Captain James Dole of Albany, met with government officials at Halifax. All were most enthusiastic about the site of the proposed town, believing it would soon be one of the capital ports of America. In New York, by the end of February, when the time of embarkation was drawing near, it was thought expedient for the planning committee to be augmented by twenty-five "gentlemen." Among those selected was James Moffatt, the merchant from Newport. A month later, when the members voted by ballot for sixteen captains, for marshalling families and goods on the transports, James Moffatt was again one of those elected.[11]

The long, slow task of loading the transports began in the middle of April. Men, women and children were picked up at Lloyd's Neck and Eaton's Neck on Long Island, and at other scattered hamlets around New York. Provisions were made for each family to carry a considerable quantity of furniture and personal effects. Only those who had resided more than twelve months behind the British lines were permitted to embark as refugees. Finally, on 26 April 1783, what was called the Spring Fleet--thirty-two vessels--sailed with the Port Roseway Associates, and others, for Port Roseway and the St. John River.

10 Minute Book, Port Roseway Association. MG9, B9-14, Vol. I, PAC.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 18, 14 and 13, respectively.

At Port Roseway, the Loyalists found a bleak scene of dense forests running back from the rocky shores. Without delay, surveyors tackled the plan for the town -- five long parallel streets, crossed by others at right angles, each square containing sixteen lots with a depth of 120 feet and 60 feet frontage. The space between Water Street and the shore was to be cut up by small lanes so that each settler might have a warehouse lot as well as his town lot. Outside the town, each was to have a 50-acre farm lot either on the shore or nearby. Of the later Upper North Sydney residents receiving town lots were Peter Sparling, Peter Sparling Jr., Bartholomew Musgrave, and James Moffatt.[12]

It was the middle of July, two months after they sailed into the harbour, before the refugees drew for the 50-acre lots. Bartholomew Musgrave's grant was on McNutt's Island. James Moffatt's was near Sandy Point, plus a 200-acre grant at Port Hebert Harbour. Peter Sparling got a tract at Lower Jordan Bay, and at Cape Negro Harbour, William Musgrave and Peter Sparling received a joint grant of 97 acres. Was William the father, or brother, of Bartholomew? We know nothing more of him. In 1790, Bartholomew Musgrave received 100 acres at Sable River, Shelburne County -- land he never registered, because by that time he had settled at Upper North Sydney.

In 1783, it appears that Peter Sparling may have been a deputy surveyor in the new community. Benjamin Marston, the official surveyor, wrote of a "Mr. Sperling," who "with a pocket compass and a codline ran over the western side of the harbour as far as Cape Negro, laying out 50-acre lots." It was understood that Sparling was being paid about two dollars each for all the white people who were to settle on this property.[13]

At Shelburne, Bartholomew and Ann Musgrave added two children to their family of three with whom they had left New York -- Anna (Ann), born 16 August 1785, was baptized at the new Christ Church Anglican, 18 September 1785, and Bartholomew Jr., born 16 February 1788, was baptized 13 April 1788.[14]

12 Marion Gilroy, *Loyalists and Land Settlement in Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1937), pp. 95, 96, 101. Also Index Sheet of Crown Grants, No. 18, N.S. Dept. of Lands and Forests.

13 North Callahan, *Flight From the Republic: The Tories of the American Revolution* (Westport, Conn., 1967), p. 4.

14 Baptismal records of Christ Church Anglican, Shelburne, N.S., in Shelburne County Museum, Shelburne.

In a short itme, however, many became dissatisfied with life at Shelburne. In many cases the lots drawn were not suitable for the plans of their owners, who could only exchange them with difficulty; the province set heavy duties on the imports of the town; the promised road to Annapolis did not materialize, nor did other roads necessary for the isolated settlement; and the people themselves, who had largely come from cities, found it hard to adjust to a pioneer community where fishing and farming were the chief industries.

As early as November 1784, Bartholomew and Ann Musgrave sold their town lot,[15] and on 28 March 1785, James Moffatt disposed of his 50-acre lot.[16] Since Mary Moffatt's name did not appear on the latter deed, it is possible that Moffatt was once again a widower. Because there is no record of the sale of the Sparling lands, it is possible that this family simply abandoned their crown grants. We do not know at this time why, or when, they came to Cape Breton. Musgrave, a mariner,probably knew Sydney Harbour and had seen the desirable, gently-sloping lands of Upper North Sydney. It is certain that the Musgraves settled in Cape Breton between the baptism of their fifth child, 13 April 1788, at Shelburne, and that of their sixth child, 16 September 1790, at Sydney.

Meanwhile, Sydney had been founded in 1785. After the French regime ended in 1758, only a few scattered settlements remained in Cape Breton, and Britain refused to give land grants. When Loyalists began seeking places to settle, Abraham Cuyler, a former major of Albany, New York, who had led forces against the rebels during the revolution, and who had made a hydrographic survey of the coasts of Nova Scotia, went to England and assured government officials that he headed several hundred Loyalists who were eager to settle in Cape Breton. At about the same time, Major Joseph Frederick Wallet DesBarres, who had served with distinction at Louisbourg in 1758 and at Quebec in 1759, and who had secured from Samuel Holland plans of the surveys the last-named had made of the island, went to England to point out Cape Breton's possibilities for settlement. In 1784, as a result of these recommendations, Britain declared the island a separate colony open to immigration and sent as its first lieutenant-governor DesBarres, who arrived with settlers directly from the British Isles. Also in the fall of 1784, Cuyler arrived with three ships from Quebec bearing about 130 Loyalists.

15 Registry of Deeds, Shelburne County, Vol. 1, pp. 451-52.

16 *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 118-120.

Although all these immigrants who founded Sydney as the capital in the spring of 1785 received town lots, many who wanted more land began laying claims to tracts around the harbour. The first settlers on the northern side of the North West Arm were Adam Moore[17] and his friend Duncan Campbell, who died unmarried a few years later. Beginning just above Munro Park, North Sydney, and travelling westward,crown lands were settled by Jeremiah Allen, a major in the British forces during the Revolutionary War, Bartholomew Musgrave, James Ray of the 76th regiment, James Moffatt, John Ross, Adam Moore, Duncan Campbell, and William and Samuel Jackson.[18] Philip Sparling's crown grant was in the town of North Sydney --98 acres stretching from the harbour on the east side of Smelt Brook to about the Legion Chapel opposite the cemeteries.[19]

Moving to Upper North Sydney gave these first settlers great advantages. They had well-drained agricultural lands with plenty of good spring water. They had the sea at their doors, and with practically no roads on the island for many years, they soon took to the ocean instead -- fishing or carrying goods in their own vessels. They also had coal at nearby Sydney Mines, and a ready market for the product at Halifax. In 1791, when the mines were leased to Messrs. Tremaine and Stout, Sydney merchants, mining production was stepped up. This was just after the arrival of the Musgraves, Sparlings, Moffatts and others, who soon became engaged in carrying coal. Thus, the future development of North Sydney -- and the fortunes of its Loyalist founders -- were firmly tied to the sea.

In 1791, shipbuilding began in a small way with the 28-ton shallops of Bartholomew Musgrave and Jeremiah Allen, the *Success* and *Prosperity* commanded by Phillip Sparling and John Ross, respectively. By 1809, James Moffatt owned the 32-ton shallop *Vigilant*, and John Ross and his step-brother, John Moffatt, owned the *Mary*, with George Sparling in

17 It has been claimed by some that Adam Moore settled at Upper North Sydney in 1780. His son, Alexander, in a newspaper interview just before his death in 1902, stated that his father came to Cape Breton at the founding of Sydney in 1785. Born in 1765 (from the Moore Bible, in the writer's possession), he was only 20 in 1785.

18 Index Sheet of Crown Grants, No. 131.

19 Smelt Brook was called Sparling's Brook for many years.

command.[20] These vessels, built for shore fisheries and coastal trading, were small in size, and it is said that they were so slow that a wag of the day claimed they were built in a single section of six or more, sawed off as required, ends boarded up, masts put in, and called vessels.

With the close of the Napoleonic Wars, a post-war boom gave Britain a greatly-increased demand for forest and other products, and for sailing ships whereby she might increase her trade with her expanding empire. Watching Britain and America monopolize the carrying trade, Nova Scotians began to realize that they had material and labour available for shipbuilding. So, in the days of sail, they built wooden ships which carried away our coal, fish and lumber, and which brought back sugar, molasses, rum and tobacco from the West Indies, plus manufactured goods from the United Kingdom and New England.

North Sydney's largest shipyard, owned by Archibald and Company, which dominated North Sydney's commercial life for more than half a century, had its beginnings in 1827 when Samuel Archibald came from England to act as agent for the sale and shipping of coal by the General Mining Association. Other Archibalds came from Halifax when they formed a company to build and buy vessels for coal movements. Prominent among them were Thomas Dickson Archibald (1813-1890), a member of the legislative council of Nova Scotia, 1856-1867, and a senator from 1867 to his death, and his cousin Sampson Salter Blowers Archibald. Their shipyard included a marine railway, wood-working mills, sail lofts and a forge, employing all sorts of tradesmen--ships' carpenters, blockmakers, caulkers, sailmakers and others. They had a ship chandlery, and they developed the Gowrie mines at Port Morien whence they shipped coal in their own vessels to Newfoundland, New England and the West Indies. Three Nisbet[21] brothers who came from Scotland to Cape Breton about 1828, and who married the three daughters of Loyalist John Ross, worked for the Archibalds. William Nisbet was the chief builder and foreman of the Archibald yards for thirty-five years.His nephew,Andrew Nisbet, who

20 Shipping Registers, Sydney, 1787-1900, here and for other vessels mentioned, RG12, AL, Vol. 72, PAC. Also, John P. Parker, *Cape Breton Ships and Men* (Aylesbury, England, 1967), *passim*.

21 The Nisbet family, on marriage registers, grave-markers, and in family Bibles, one of which is in the writer's possession, spelled their name as *Nisbet*, a spelling of ancient Scots origin, and the most common spelling in Scotland today. Everyone outside the family spelled the name *Nesbitt*.

worked there for twenty-five years, was foreman for eighteen years after the retirement of his uncle.

Other important local builders were the Moffatts, Musgraves, Moores and Lawleys, all of whose yards were along the harbour's shore from near the foot of View Street to Upper North Sydney. The larger number of ships were built for sale, and the captains who sailed away with a load of Cape Breton's primary products were often empowered to sell the vessels abroad for not less than a designated price.

These Loyalist pioneers also fathered a long line of sea captains and sailors. By 1840, Captain Charles Musgrave, affectionately known as "Captain Charlie," a son of Captain Peter and grandson of the pioneer Bartholomew, had become the best-known of the many local mariners. He commanded various ships between 1831 and 1844, and made several trans-Atlantic crossings. Among the Archibald ships he delivered to new owners, usually in Newfoundland, were the 140-ton brig *Tyro*, the 144-ton brig *Emma*, and the brigantines *Breton* and *Jane Isabella*. In 1843, James Lawley built the brig *Alert* for the Archibalds, who sold her to Captain Azariah Maunder of Brigus, Newfoundland. In December, when Captain Musgrave was spending a few days at home with his wife and young children, the Archibalds, promising to send a ship to bring him back, persuaded him to deliver the *Alert* to her new owner. Though no one wanted to leave home so near Christmas, Captain George Munn of Leitches Creek, to oblige friends and neighbours, agreed to set out in the 48-ton *Greyhound*. After a safe crossing, he picked up the crew of the *Alert* and left for home on 3 January 1844 from St. John's, and five days later from St. Pierre. Nothing was ever heard of them again. Besides Captains Musgrave and Munn, on board were, among others, Benjamin Munn, the captain's son, and a Mr. Beatty, a grandson of the pioneer Jeremiah Allen.

A little over five years before this, two brothers of Captain Charles Musgrave had sailed on the brig *Elizabeth*, with Captain Peter Musgrave Jr. in command, and his brother Bartholomew C. Musgrave as the first mate. Sailing from Quebec to Jamaica they stopped over in Sydney Harbour for a few days so that they might visit their families before turning south. They never came back. An Arichat ship, sailing with them, reported that in a terrible gale in the Bay of Fundy, 28 August 1838, the lights of the *Elizabeth* disappeared and there never was another sign of her.[22]

22 From a scrapbook clipping of about 80 years ago.

Besides the seamen already mentioned, many other North Sydney men went to sea as masters of local ships. Captain Philip Sparling Ross, son of the Loyalist John Ross, was master of several vessels -- the 134-ton schooner *Garland*, the schooner *Adamant*, and the 110-ton schooner *Herald* owned by his brother, Andrew Ross, a Sydney merchant. In the 1840s, Captain William Sparling was in charge of the schooner *Powell* and the brigantine *Ranger*.

Another well-known captain was William Leslie, born in Dundee, Scotland, and married to Elinor, daughter of the Loyalist Bartholomew Musgrave. Among many other vessels, he was master of the 167-ton *Tweed* and the 144-ton brigantine *Active*.

Captain Peter Moore, a son of Adam Moore, and a grandson of Peter Sparling, was married to Jane, a daughter of the Loyalist Bartholomew Musgrave. He was a master of ships owned by William Gammell, John Christie, and himself -- merchants at Little Bras d'Or. In addition to trading with the New England states, he made several trans-Atlantic voyages on the brigantine *Trio*, named for its three owners. His brother Benjamin Moore succeeded him on this vessel.

John Adam Moore, another son of Adam the pioneer, was one of a later generation of local shipbuilders. In front of his own property at Upper North Sydney, and beginning with the little 20-ton *Dart* in 1863, and the ill-fated schooner *Harriet* in 1864, in which his son George was one of those lost, Moore went on to build larger and larger ships. Vessels used in the mercantile business of his son William Henry Moore were the schooners *Edwin*, *G.W. Moore*, and the 185-ton *Barbara Latimer*.

John Mumford Moffatt, grandson of the Loyalist James Moffatt, in 1831 launched the 101-ton *Sibella*, owned equally by his father, John Moffatt, his brother, William Moffatt,[23] Captain Charles Musgrave, and himself. Stephen Moffat, another brother, in 1854 built the 166-ton *Star of the East*. James Lawley,[24] in 1842, in partnership with John M. Moffatt, built the 154-ton *Jane Isabella* for the Archibalds; and, in 1848, John M. Moffatt built the 163-ton brig *Anna* for Laughlin Robertson.[25] In 1853, James Lawley built for

23 William Moffatt married Catherine Moore, a grand-daughter of the pioneer Adam Moore.

24 James Lawley married Isabella Kelly, a grand-daughter of the Loyalist Bartholomew Musgrave.

25 Laughlin Robertson married Mary Moffatt, a grand-daughter of the Loyalist James Moffatt. Their daughter Isabelle Robertson married William H. Moore, a grandson of Adam Moore.

himself the 125-ton brigantine *Isabella Lawley*, a vessel unfortunately lost at Sydney the following year.

With the 238-ton *Rockland*, built in 1871 by Andrew Nisbet, a grandson of the Loyalist John Ross, shipbuilding by the Archibalds of North Sydney ended. The day of wooden sailing vessels was also nearing an end. Nisbet, however, in his own shipyard carried on an extensive ship-repair business after the disastrous August gale of 1873.

Also connected with our Loyalist families were the Hacketts. William Hackett (1822-1897) came to North Sydney in 1840 from Leith, Scotland, to operate his own business as a block and pump maker for local shipbuilders, and subsequently married Clara Rudderham of a Loyalist seafaring family of Point Edward. Their son, Captain Thomas Hackett (1845-1882), married Matilda Moffatt, daughter of George and grand-daughter of the Loyalist James Moffatt. While on a sailing trip to the West Indies, Thomas Hackett died of yellow fever. His brother, Captain Charles Hackett (1849-1936), married Annie Musgrave, daughter of George C. and grand-daughter of the Loyalist Bartholomew Musgrave. Captain Charles Hackett in his early years had engaged in pelagic sealing in the Pacific and before his retirement was master of the C.G.S. *Quadra* out of Victoria, B.C.

Carrying the Loyalist heritage into more recent times, Captain John J. Moffatt (1856-1927), son of James and great-grandson of the pioneer James Moffatt, for many years was master of the paddle-wheeler SS *Marion*, which ran from Sydney through the Bras d'Or Lakes to Whycocomagh and back, carrying passengers and freight. Captain Louis A. Moore (1859-1925), son of John Belcher Moore and great-grandson of the pioneer Adam Moore, was the first mate of the *Marion* for years, and was master after Captain Moffatt's retirement.

Besides succeeding generations of Moores, Musgraves and Moffatts who were prominent in North Sydney's commercial and sea-faring life, two great-grandsons of the Loyalist Bartholomew Musgrave were mayors of the town. These were Fenwick L. Kelly (1863-1944), also a member of Parliament for a term, who served intermittently between 1908 and 1944, and Robert Musgrave (ca. 1848-1932), who was mayor between 1919 and 1923. From 1944 to 1954, A. Charles Thompson (1878-1954), married to a daughter of the last-named, was mayor.

Today, listed in the North Sydney-Sydney Mines section of the Cape Breton telephone directory, there are 24 households of the Musgrave name, but only one of Moffatt and none of the Sparling or Loyalist Ross family.

Diluted as it well may be through eight or more generations, many persons of other names nevertheless still carry the blood of those hardy Loyalist pioneers.[26]

Peter Sparling, b. ca. 1732, Killiheen, Limerick Co., Ireland, son of George and Dora (Shier) Sparling, of German Palatine descent; d. 4 Feb. 1821, North Sydney, N.S.; marr., 1754, Killiheen, Margaret **Fissell**.
Issue of Peter and Margaret Sparling (possibly incomplete, order uncertain):

1. Ann, b. 13 Nov. 1760, New York City; d. before 1837, Upper North Sydney; marr. 27 Sept. 1778, New York City, Bartholomew **Musgrave**. Issue.
2. Philip, b. U.S.A.; d. 1848, North Sydney; marr. **Crawford**. Issue.
3. Peter, b. U.S.A.; d. C.B.; marr. 30 Oct. 1791, Sydney, Eleanor **Leaver**. Issue.
4. Margaret, b. 1 Nov. 1776, New York City; d. 29 Aug. 1838, Upper North Sydney; marr. 14 Nov. 1793, Sydney, Adam **Moore**. Issue.
5. Jacob, b. 27 Sept. 1779, New York City; marr. 29 Apr. 1803, Sydney, Margaret **Kelly**. Issue.
6. George, b. 1782, New York City; d. 1817, North West Arm; marr. 30 July 1811, Sydney, Ann **Jefferson**, daughter of Loyalist Joseph and Elizabeth (Fowler) Jefferson. Issue.

Bartholomew Musgrave, b. 25 Dec. 1757, possibly at Penrith, Westmorland, England; d. 1837, Upper North Sydney; marr. 27 Sept. 1778, New York City, Ann **Sparling**, daughter of Peter and Margaret (Fissell) Sparling.
Issue of Bartholomew and Ann Musgrave:

1. John, b. 20 July 1779, New York City; d. 1843, Upper North Sydney; marr. ca. April 1801, Cape Breton, Elizabeth **Roberts**.
   Issue of John and Elizabeth Musgrave (possibly incomplete):
   (1) Ann, b. ca. 1802; marr. 9 Nov. 1820, Alexander **Grant**, son of Loyalist Charles and Nancy (Gordon) Grant. Issue.
   (2) Henry B., b. 1803; d. 1868; marr. Jane **Lawley**, sister of the pioneer James Lawley; farmer at Little Bras d'Or West. Issue.

26 The writer is descended through the Sparling, Musgrave and Ross Loyalists and the Moore and Nisbet settlers.

(3) George C., b. 2 May 1805; d. 1865; marr. 25 Dec. 1843, Ann Margaret **Meloney**, daughter of John D. and Ann (Peters) Meloney; farmer at Little Bras d'Or West. Issue.
(4) Samuel, b. 1810; marr. Margaret Ann **Sparling**, daughter of George and Ann (Jefferson) Sparling; farmer at Leitches Creek. Issue.
(5) Edward, b. ca. 1811; d. 16 Sept. 1896; marr. Jessie **Matheson**, b. Isle of Uist, Scotland; farmer and trader at George's River. Issue.
(6) Maria, b. 6 Sept. 1820; marr. 12 Jan. 1838, Thomas Francis **Moore**, son of Adam and Margaret (Sparling) Moore. Issue.
(7) John S., b. ca. 1820; d. 25 Oct. 1905; marr. firstly, Agnes **Scott**, b. Scotland, d. 8 Jan. 1892, Upper North Sydney; marr. secondly, Eveline **Crowdis**, widow of John B. Musgrave; tanner and owner of lime-kiln, Upper North Sydney. Issue from first marriage.

2. Elizabeth, b. 22 Feb. 1781, New York City; bapt. 11 March 1781, Trinity Lutheran Church, New York; d. 15 Oct. 1865, North Sydney; marr. firstly, 25 Feb. 1796, Sydney, George **Green**; marr. secondly, as a widow, 4 May 1800, Michael **Kelly**. Issue from both marriages.
3. Peter, b. 15 March 1783, New York City; d. 1 Aug. 1866, Upper North Sydney; marr. 1 Oct. 1805, Sydney, Ann **Grant**, daughter of Charles and Nancy (Gordon) Grant. She was b. 16 Jan. 1786 and d. 12 May 1876; her newspaper obituary claimed she was "the second British subject born in Sydney."
Issue of Peter and Ann Musgrave:
(1) Charles, b. 3 Jan. 1807; lost at sea, 9 Jan. 1844; marr. 12 Nov. 1829, Anne **Leslie**, b. Dundee, Scotland. Issue.
(2) John Bartholomew, b. 1 Sept. 1808; d. 15 Sept. 1850; marr. 12 Nov. 1829, Mary Isabella **Watson**. Issue.
(3) Anne Alice, b. 25 July 1810; d. 19 Feb. 1895; marr. 20 April 1830, Thomas Francis **Moffatt**. Issue.
(4) Isabella Jane, b. 13 Sept. 1812; d. 7 April 1866; marr. 12 Nov. 1829, William **Moffatt**. Issue.
(5) Peter, b. 13 March 1815; lost at sea ca. 28 Aug. 1838; unm.
(6) Bartholomew Crawford, b. 2 June 1817; lost at sea ca. 28 Aug. 1838; marr. 16 April 1836, Catherine **Hawkins**, of Dublin, Ireland.

(7) Eliza Maria, b. 10 Feb. 1820; d. 4 Feb. 1896; marr. 1 March 1838, Alexander **Moore**. Issue.
(8) Susan, b. 10 Sept. 1822; d. 3 July 1857; marr. 6 Jan. 1843, Benjamin **Moore**. Issue.
(9) Alexander Grant, b. 9 Feb. 1825; d. 20 June 1918; marr. firstly, Jane **Munn**, d. 1885; marr. secondly, 1886, Catherine **Daley** (Munn). Issue from second marriage.
(10) Matilda, b. 1827; d. 1838.
(11) Mary, b. 1830; d. 1849, unm.

4. Anne, b. Shelburne, N.S., 16 Aug. 1785; d. Sydney Mines; marr. 22 Dec. 1800, Sydney, Thomas **Lockman**. Issue.

5. Bartholomew, b. 16 Feb. 1788, Shelburne; bapt. 13 Apr. 1788, Christ Church Anglican, Shelburne; d. 13 May 1860, Upper North Sydney; marr. firstly, 28 Dec. 1807, Sydney, Hannah May **Connell**, who d. 28 May 1820; marr. secondly, 10 April 1821, Hannah Maria Amelia **Allen**, daughter of the Loyalists Jeremiah and Mehitabel Allen.
Issue of Bartholomew and Hannah (Connell) Musgrave (possibly incomplete):
(1) Daniel Connell, bapt. 12 Nov. 1809 at 5 months; bought 50 acres at North West Arm from William Leslie, 10 July 1830. Nothing further known.
(2) Bartholomew Thomas, bapt. 29 Nov. 1811 at 2 years; marr. Charlotte **Weilhausen**, daughter of Frederic and Elizabeth (Roberts) Weilhausen. Issue.
(3) Thomas, b. ca. 1812; marr. ca. 1838, Isabel (?) **Cornwallis**; farmer at Upper North Sydney. Issue.
(4) Anne Isabella, b. 6 Feb. 1813. Nothing further known.
(5) Elizabeth Stewart, b. 27 April 1815, bapt. 15 Oct. 1815; marr. Charles **Roberts**, son of Peter and Bridget (Cann) Roberts. Issue.
(6) Sophia Helen, b. 27 April 1815, bapt. 15 Oct. 1815. Nothing further known.
Issue of Bartholomew and Hannah (Allen) Musgrave (possibly incomplete):
(7) John Bartholomew, b. ca. 1822; d. 5 Nov. 1876; marr. 1 Jan. 1840, Eveline **Crowdis**, daughter of Thomas and Ann (Murphy) Crowdis. Issue.
(8) Philip, b. ca. 1833; d. ca. 1885; marr. 15 Sept. 1862, Margaret **Moore**, daughter of John Adam and Harriet (Ball) Moore; farmer, upper North Sydney. Issue.

6. Margaret, b. May 1790, Upper North Sydney; d. 1851; marr. 28 Dec. 1807, Thomas **Andrews**. Issue.
7. Sarah, b. 31 July 1792, Upper North Sydney; d. 16 Nov. 1874, Point Edward; marr. 1 Nov. 1808, Peter **Grant**. Issue.
8. Mary, b. 12 Jan. 1795, Upper North Sydney; d. 20 Feb. 1803, unm.
9. Elinor, b. 12 Jan. 1797, Upper North Sydney; d. 11 Feb. 1861, North West Arm; marr. 5 Oct. 1815, William **Leslie**. Issue.
10. Isabella, b. 22 Sept. 1801, Upper North Sydney; d. infancy.
11. Jane, b. 24 March 1803, Upper North Sydney; d. 30 Jan. 1842; marr. Peter **Moore**, son of Adam and Margaret (Sparling) Moore. Issue.

James Moffatt, merchant at Newport, Rhode Island, moved to New York at the evacuation of Newport during the Revolutionary War; a Port Roseway Associate at Shelburne, 1783 to ca. 1789, when he settled at Upper North Sydney; marr. firstly, 19 Sept. 1776, Trinity Episcopal Church, Newport, Tabitha **Mumford**, who d. 19 April 1780, aged 25; marr. secondly, Mrs. Mary (Roach) **Ross**, widow.
Issue of James and Tabitha Moffatt:

1. John, b. 27 July 1777; marr. 23 Feb. 1800, Sydney, Mary **Molineux**, daughter of a Loyalist.
   Issue of John and Mary Moffatt:
   (1) James Ross, b. 4 Sept. 1801; d. infancy.
   (2) Robert, b. 3 Nov. 1802; d. infancy.
   (3) John Mumford, b. 12 Feb.1804; d. 25 July 1868; marr. 17 Oct. 1826, Sydney, Jane **MacLean**. Issue.
   (4) William, b. 7 Jan. 1806; d. 25 Aug. 1863; marr. Sydney, Isabella Jane **Musgrave**. Issue.
   (5) Thomas Francis, b. 30 Sept. 1807; d. 17 Sept. 1899; marr. Anne Alice **Musgrave**. Issue.
   (6) Tabitha Elizabeth, b. 10 Jan. 1809; marr. Kenneth **Bethune**. Issue.
   (7) Mary, b. 4 Aug. 1810; d. 1904; marr. Laughlin **Robertson**. Issue.
   (8) George, b. 13 Sept. 1812; d. 19 May 1867; marr. Emily **Rudderham**. Issue.
   (9) James, b. 12 Jan. 1814; d. 1904; marr. Agnes **Craig**. Issue.
   (10) Charles Dodd, b. 11 April 1816; drowned 1836 while skating on Jackson's Lake.
   (11) Stephen, b. 20 Nov. 1817; d. 1888; marr. 30 Oct. 1840, Sarah **Kelly**. Issue.

(12) Margaret, b. 11 Feb. 1820; d. 8 March 1905, unm.
(13) Hannah Maria, b. 12 Oct. 1821; d. infancy.
(14) Peter, b. 15 Aug. 1823; d. infancy.
(15) Sarah Ann, b. 25 Mar. 1826; marr. George **Cann**. Issue.
(16) Frederick D., b. 8 June 1829; d. 1892, Berkeley, California; marr. Mary Ann . Issue.

2. James, b. 28 Oct. 1778. Nothing further known.
3. William T.M., b. 19 Jan. 1780. Nothing further known.

John Ross, bapt. 25 Jan. 1772, Trinity Episcopal Church, Newport, Rhode Island, son of John and Mary (Roach) Ross, who had been married at that church, 1 Dec. 1770. Although not documented, family tradition holds that he married a daughter of Philip Sparling.
Issue of John Ross:

1. John James, bapt. 3 May 1807, St. George's, Sydney; marr. 1 Jan. 1827, Jane Susan **Moore**. They moved to Gentry County, Missouri, where he, an ordained minister, organized the first Methodist church in Missouri. Issue.
2. Mary Ann Eliza, bapt. 12 March 1809; d. 1834; marr. at Christmas, 1824, Captain John **Nisbet**, who was lost at sea, 1852. Issue.
3. Jane Susan, b. 1810; d. 1864; marr. William **Nisbet**. Issue.
4. Philip Sparling, bapt. 11 Sept. 1811; d. Sept. 1844; marr., wife's name unknown.
5. Maria Margaret, b. 26 July 1815; marr. Robert **Nisbet**. Issue.
6. Andrew, a merchant at Sydney.

Adam Moore, b. 29 Jan. 1765, Windmill Brae, Aberdeen, Scotland; d. 7 Jan. 1839, Upper North Sydney; marr. 14 Nov. 1793, Sydney, Margaret **Sparling**, daughter of Peter and Margaret (Fissell) Sparling.
Issue of Adam and Margaret Moore:

1. George, b. 20 Nov. 1794; d. 20 Jan. 1859; marr. 10 April 1827, Ann **English**. Moved to Cape Cod, Mass. Issue.
2. Peter, b. 10 Feb. 1797; d. 20 May 1852; marr. firstly, 10 Feb. 1822, Jane **Musgrave**, daughter of Loyalist Bartholomew Musgrave; marr. secondly, as a widower, Nov. 1843, Gardiner, Maine, Harriet E. **Gray**.
   Issue of Peter and Jane Moore:
   (1) John Belcher, b. 29 Dec. 1822; d. 28 April 1897; marr. Harriet Martha **Meloney**. Issue.

(2) James Henry, b. 1824; d. 1863; marr. Annie **Lewis**.
(3) Margaret, marr. John **MacLean**. Issue.
(4) Jane, marr. firstly, Alexander **Campbell**, St. Ann's and sailed, 1 Dec. 1859, with her husband and four children, on the barque *Ellen Lewis* to New Zealand, where they joined Rev. Norman McLeod and his followers; marr. secondly, as a widow in New Zealand, **Semadeni**. Issue.
(5) Catherine, b. 1829; marr. William **Moffatt**. Issue.
(6) Eliza, b. 1835; marr. William **Ross**, merchant, shipbuilder, M.L.A., M.P., cabinet minister and senator (no relation to Loyalist Ross family). Issue.

Issue of Peter and Harriet Moore:

(7) Charles, d. 19 Jan. 1843 at 28 days.
(8) Annie Christie, b. 1846; d. 1850 by her clothes catching fire at fireplace.
(9) Blanche, b. 1848; d. 1931, unm.
(10) Annie Forman Elmira, b. 1852; marr. Joseph **Peppett**. Issue.

3. James, b. 11 Jan. 1800; d. 14 July 1867; marr. 1 Jan. 1827, Eliza **Kelly**. Issue.
4. Susanna E., b. 13 Feb. 1802; d. 18 Apr. 1878; marr. 10 Dec. 1822, George **Munn**. Issue.
5. Margaret Ann, b. 18 Sept. 1804; d. 17 Apr. 1847; marr. 24 Sept. 1823, John **Grant**. Issue.
6. Jane Susan, b. 24 Aug. 1807; d. 25 Feb. 1888, Gentry County, Missouri; marr. 1 Jan. 1827, John **Ross**, Jr. Issue.
7. John Adam, b. 3 Dec. 1809; d. 17 June 1877; marr. 17 July 1834, Harriet **Ball**. Issue.
8. Alexander, b. 4 April 1812; d. 16 Feb. 1902; marr. 1 March 1838, Eliza Maria **Musgrave**. Issue.
9. Thomas F., b. 14 July 1814; d. 15 Aug. 1896; marr. 12 Dec. 1838, Maria **Musgrave**. Issue.
10. Benjamin M., b. 11 Dec. 1816; d. Oct. 1866; marr. firstly, 24 Jan. 1843, Susan **Musgrave**; marr. secondly, Susan **Moffatt**. Issue.
11. William Robert, b. 22 Feb. 1819; d. Aug. 1863, unm.

A Loyalist Crucible: Digby, Nova Scotia, 1783-1792

D. Peter MacLellan

The house is officially listed as One Water Street in Digby, its vacant interior looking through dusty windows across the town's main street and over the steep bank that lines the Annapolis Basin. For awhile during the summer of 1982 this charming white Cape Cod style dwelling, with its lush growth of summer foliage and flowers barely disguising its crumbling frame, was the source of a series of province-wide news stories. This is reputedly the oldest existing dwelling in the town of Digby;[1] built by one of the first Loyalist settlers in 1784, its now grimy windows have reflected the sum total of the town's unique history.

The house is known locally as Ganong Cottage, currently owned by Mr. William Ganong, the town mayor and a member of one of Digby's most prominent families. Mr. Ganong knows that the house is slowly decaying beyond repair but he cannot afford the necessary restoration and maintenance. He has offered the building to various governments, as well as to any reputable group able to preserve it, simply for the cost of restoration. A year later, there are still no proper parties eager to respond, and the sole remaining edifice directly connected to Digby's Loyalist beginnings may soon face the wrecker's ball. However, if the house is to be lost, its story and that of the town's first turbulent decade must not be.

This article is intended to present a perspective of Digby as a Loyalist settlement, in which it was both typical and atypical of similar communities formed after that great eighteenth-century migration to Nova Scotia. Specifically, Digby will be studied from the arrival of the refugees in the summer of 1783 to the end of the settlement and adjustment period, which more than coincidentally occurred around the time of the death of Governor John Parr at the close of 1791, and the subsequent appointment of Loyalist John Wentworth as Governor.

In an effort to further animate the inherent drama of this period, occasional allusion will be made to the experiences of one prominent Loyalist family of the time -- that of James Addington Holdsworth, who built the old house that today stands imperiled; both the family and the building were in the center of the issues and emotions that swept the young settlement from 1783 to 1791.

1 Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia, *Seasoned Timbers*, Vol. 1 (Halifax, 1972), p. 124.

James Addington Holdsworth, in common with most of the other passengers, must have experienced feelings of emotional as well as physical turbulence as his transport ship sailed through the gut into the Basin of Annapolis on that June day in 1783. He and his wife Elizabeth and their son Thomas had emigrated from London to the colony of New York shortly before the revolution broke out;[2] now the family, with the addition of young son John, was being deposited, with what belongings they could carry, on a shore which they viewed with limited knowledge and prospects.

As the ship sailed first for the town of Annapolis, the passengers could see from the starboard side the remnants of Conway, an earlier settlement on the western shores of the basin, which would be their new home. Close to the water's edge on that shore the passengers would most likely be able to see a deserted log cabin originally built by one of the previous settlers, William McDormand,[3] who had subsequently moved further down the shore. James Holdsworth would soon build his new home adjacent to that site.

During the month of June, the ships of the spring fleet disgorged their passengers at Annapolis, where they would have met many of the approximately five hundred Loyalists who had arrived there the previous October,[4] and whose situation was described by Annapolis' Anglican rector, the Reverend Jacob Bailey:

> In the Month of October nine transports convoyed by Men-of War entered the Basin--five hundred souls of them--many of good education. Hundreds had to be accommodated in the churches, but there was a larger number for whom no abiding place could be discovered.[5]

As the 1783 arrivals began to prepare the Digby township for habitation, another fleet was being readied in New York to bring a further 1,600 refugees to the Fundy settlements at Conway (Digby) and Saint John. This

2 Isaiah W. Wilson, *A Geography and History of the County of Digby, N.S.*, (Halifax, 1900, reprinted Belleville, Ont., 1975).

3 Rev. Allan Massie Hill, *Some Chapters in the History of Digby County and Its Earliest Settlers*, (Halifax, 1901), p. 6.

4 Neil John MacKinnon, "The Loyalist Experience in Nova Scotia, 1783-1791," Ph.D. Thesis, Queens University, 1975, p. 91.

5 Hill, p. 7.

final large group was to be divided into twelve "companies" of 125 settlers each.[6] The fact, however, that the earlier (spring fleet) Loyalists were already busy trying to establish a community on the western shores of the basin is evidenced from correspondence between the settlers and their agents, stating that "The business goes on here but slow occasioned by bad weather and the streets being filled with trees and brush being fallen therein."[7]

Unlike the Loyalist experience in other parts of Nova Scotia, the Digby pioneers did not face a totally untamed wilderness because, as previously mentioned, an abortive attempt had been made at an earlier settlement. In 1765 letters patent had been given to a group that included Alexander McNutt, James Clarke, Michael Clarke, Anthony Henderson, William Mitchell and Sebastian Zouberbuhler to establish a settlement on the western reaches of Annapolis Basin, and the upper reaches of St. Mary's Bay. The terms stated that fifty families, to be given allotments of five hundred acres each, were to be settled within a year. In 1766 a party of English settlers, who had earlier landed at Annapolis, formed a community which they named Conway, in honor of the Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Seymour Conway, a British general and secretary of state at the time.[8] Although early historians such as Hill and Wilson attribute the origins of these first colonists to Massachusetts, later accounts more properly place the Brandywine Valley as being in Pennsylvania.[9] Although the early settlement prospered for a short time, with William Barbancks even establishing a school in the area, the Conway settlers eventually moved away, motivated originally by wanderlust and then by privateering raids during the revolutionary campaign.[10]

Thus, when the Loyalists arrived in 1783 they saw an empty, but not totally undeveloped land. This factor, combined with the fact that there was an existing township at Annapolis nearby, and working farms upriver to provide at least some provisions, made their experience somewhat different

6 MacKinnon, "The Loyalist Experience," p. 114.

7 Thomas Milledge to Botsford, 20 November 1783. MG23, D4, Vol. 1, Public Archives of Canada (hereafter PAC).

8 Wilson, pp. 34-35; p. 296.

9 *Digby Courier*, Sept. 1949.

10 Wilson, pp. 39-40.

than that evidenced in other areas, most notably at Port Roseway (Shelburne). Evidently, there had been little early French settlement on the western side of the basin, the early seventeenth-century French colonists obviously prefering the marshlands and vales of the river mouth to the wooded slopes and highlands given firstly to the Brandywine settlers and subsequently to the Loyalists.

That this area was attractive to Loyalist agents was obvious in correspondence from the chief soliciting agent for a New York refugee group during the winter of 1782-1783. The chief agent was Amos Botsford, a native of Connecticut, who had formed an association with Lieutenant Colonel Benjamin Thompson, Lieutenant Colonel Edward Winslow, Major Joshua Upham, the Reverend Samuel Seabury, the Reverend John Sayre, James Peters and Frederick Hauser, to orchestrate the plantation of Loyalist settlements in the Fundy region. This association was based on Long Island and attracted the interest and support of Sir Guy Carleton as he fulfilled his duties overseeing the *dénouement* of the British presence in the rebellious colonies. Carleton instructed the group, through its agents, to obtain suitable tracts of land available for sale or escheatment. These agents accompanied the early Loyalists to Annapolis in the fall of 1782, and explored other areas of the Bay of Fundy, including Saint John and what is now Parrsboro.[11] About the same time, a rival association was being formed, known as the Port Roseway Associates, which would attempt to attract Loyalists to the south shore of Nova Scotia, and eventually a bitter rivalry would surface between the two groups.

Early in 1783 Botsford confirmed his regard for the Annapolis region in a letter to Samuel Cummings, but also stated his equal interest in the Saint John area. The inability of Botsford to make a firm decision as to which side of the Bay of Fundy to favour would eventually limit the size of Digby township, impede the development of the community, and finally cause such confusion and anger among the settlers that many would use it as an excuse for returning to the United States. In spite of the confusion caused by Botsford's indecision and the association's troubled feelings related to the competition offered by the Port Roseway group, plans were made to receive the refugees in Nova Scotia. Carleton pressured Governor Parr for co-

11 *Ibid.*, p. 325; MacKinnon, "The Loyalist Experience," p. 36; Wilson, p. 325.

operation and Parr involved the provincial secretary, Richard Bulkeley, and the provincial surveyor general, Charles Morris, in the preparations.[12]

Carleton had been assembling ships and gathering Loyalists from isolated areas of Long Island during March 1783, and by the middle of April all was ready. On 27 April the fleet, with about six thousand people on 44 ships, sailed for Nova Scotia from Sandy Hook, Long Island.[13] That many of them were destined for the new settlement in the Annapolis Basin is evidenced in correspondence to Botsford from his associate James Peters who, in describing the passengers, said: "...amongst which there is upwards of 2,000 who have put themselves under the direction and patronage of your Agency and who propose settling on the lands which you have chosen either at Conway or on this river (the Saint John)."[14]

In researching the components of the spring fleet, Neil MacKinnon has stated that 2,437 passengers were linked with the New York association while 3,127 were bound for Port Roseway.[15] The apparent preference for the latter indicated that the New York association's initial fears were well-founded and that a large number of refugees had made late decisions to change course for the south shore. Although the Port Roseway settlement seemed to have the better numbers, MacKinnon hints that the Conway settlers were considered more adaptable, quoting a letter from the New York agents to Botsford that stated "...the settlers [were] much more likely to promote the interests of the Province, they being mostly Farmers and Mechanics... ."[16] Nonetheless, the Rev. Roger Viets would later allude to a most identifiable "gentry" among the Digby colonists.[17]

12 MacKinnon, "The Loyalist Experience," p. 34; 134.

13 *Ibid.*, pp. 39-41.

14 James Peters to Amos Botsford and Frederick Hauser, 12 May 1783. MG23, D4-1, Vol. 1, PAC.

15 MacKinnon, "The Loyalist Experience," p. 42.

16 *Ibid.*

17 Roger Viets to Samuel Peters, 11 August 1789. Peters Papers, 4-30, Public Archives of Nova Scotia (hereafter PANS).

Wilson, in his history of Digby County, identified the refugees as being primarily from the area of New York at the mouth of the Hudson River, specifically the "Counties of New York, King's Suffolk, Dutchess, Queen's, Westchester, and Richmond," as well as parts of New Jersey and Connecticut,[18] and although he additionally made reference to some settlers from Philadelphia, Jacob Bailey does concur that the significant majority of the Digby Loyalists were originally residents of the state of New York.[19]

Of the many settlers choosing to emigrate to the Fundy region at the cessation of hostilities, the majority went to the Saint John area. Nonetheless, the Digby muster roll of 1784, taken only a year after the main body of refugees had arrived, showed almost thirteen hundred people in the new town, with many more having settled in nearby communities.[20]

The new colonists had reason to be proud of their size and showed optimism that summer of 1783. The winter had been mild, allowing for work on the townsite; they had experienced the personal attention and support of Carleton, who in turn had directed Parr to their care; they had the benefit of an established community (Annapolis) nearby, which allowed for initial shelter but into which they were not forced to integrate and thereby experience the resentment faced by Loyalists in other communities; and finally, farms and mills established during pre-Loyalist times in the Annapolis area provided at least some supplies to augment initial government provisions. When contrasted with the aggravations that faced their brethren at the Port Roseway settlement, they had reason to presume a happy future. In this frame of mind they successfully petitioned the government to change the name of their community to Digby, to honour the man they considered their protector and patron--the Honourable Robert Digby, Rear-Admiral of the Red and Commander-in-Chief of the North American fleet; he had personally convoyed the 1783 settlers to the town and had left ships to help provision and protect them through the winter.

As a rule, the Loyalists liked and trusted the navy, preferring that service to the remembered excesses and subsequent failures of the army. It was for the British government officials, however, that they saved their true disdain.

18 Wilson, p. 46.

19 Neil MacKinnon, "The Loyalist: A Different People," in *Banked Fires--The Ethnics of Nova Scotia*, ed. by Douglas Campbell (Port Credit, Ont., 1978), p. 75.

20 Muster Roll of Loyalists. RG1, Vol. 376, PANS.

The chief target of Loyalist bitterness was not really the rebel. He had been the enemy and was now a victorious enemy. No, the target was the one they believed had handed them over to the enemy, forgotten the promises made, and used them as a sacrificial pawn in the peace.[21]

They deeply resented the attitude of the British officials who concluded an armistice without first negotiating the rights of the Loyalists, an act that Jacob Bailey decried as "utter stupidity," but so predictable in a relationship which he described as one of "utter dependance and great distrust."[22] It was an attitude that they would unfortunately carry with them to their new home. If the attitude of the Loyalists to the colonial officials was occasionally based on resentment and loathing, their initial approach to the existing population and officials in their new homeland was often one "of contempt, sometimes patronizing, and always self-righteous." These attitudes would subsequently surface in Digby and make for highly excited feelings when the indecision and unpreparedness of the agents, combined with bureaucratic delays, increased the levels of frustration felt by the colonists.

Problems with the Digby settlement surfaced as early as May 1783, when the New York association criticized Botsford and the other agents for their apparent lack of preparation for the arrival of the refugees, and for slow progress with regard to the necessary land grants. As well, the number of Loyalists who seemed to prefer Port Roseway, and the progress and co-operation evidenced with regard to that development compared to their own project, concerned the New York group. In addition, a storm had scattered the first fleet and supplies had been handed out on board instead of upon landing as planned. As MacKinnon relates,

> ...the New York agency, its officials still in New York, its agent in Nova Scotia, many of its charges still in New York, others scattered in Nova Scotia between Saint John and Annapolis, its agents still undecided on what land to take where, seemed to lose control of the emigration.[24]

21 MacKinnon, "The Loyalist Experience," p. 150; 27.

22 MacKinnon, *Banked Fires*, p. 78.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 77.

24 MacKinnon, "The Loyalist Experience," pp. 114-115.

The indecision of the agents concerning land allotments led to tardy and sometimes confusing surveys. The grant for Digby was passed on 20 February 1784 for three hundred heads of families, although more than one-third of the grantees had not occupied their lands. Subsequently, groups other than refugees from the New York association moved into the area, challenging Botsford's efforts to retain a monopoly for his New York associates. The frustrations felt in the community due to the inadequate and late surveys and the concurrent conflict between Botsford and the newcomers would lead to serious disturbances that would require intervention from Halifax.[25]

In May 1784, a petition was dispatched to Governor Parr, signed by 577 residents of Digby, describing a "deplorable and alarming" situation with regard to the state of allotments and provisions and requesting his assistance.[26] Later that month, Major General John Campbell dispatched John Robinson to muster the settlers and examine the need for provisions. In July, Robinson reported through Campbell's secretary, Colonel John Winslow, that:

> I thought it my duty to observe, that the Loyalists settled at Digby are extremely industrious and having exerted themselves to the utmost of their abilities in improving the settlement, by which means it is already in a flourishing condition; and it is probable, from the goodness of the Harbour, and its advantageous situation, it will become a place of consequence.[27]

In spite of Robinson's positive report, presumably made possible by the arrival of additional supplies by sea in late spring, troubles continued during the summer of 1784. In fact, the Digby problem was indicative of the way the initial tensions of settlement could split some of the newly-established communities.

That summer a four-member board was appointed by the leading citizens of the town to divide the newly-arrived government provisions among the citizens. At the request of a number of the disgruntled Loyalists, the board also decided to investigate the accounts of Amos Botsford. They felt that

25 *Ibid.*, pp. 226-227.

26 Wilson, p. 77.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 70.

Botsford had financially and procedurally bungled the settlement program. In addition to their initial responsibility, instead of disbanding, they continued and assumed the powers of a permanent committee--apparently a mandate not supported by a large segment of the community.

What ultimately ensued was a contest for the political control of the community, waged between the supporters of the new board and those who backed the agents and the established New York association. The leader of the anti-Botsford faction was Major Robert Timpany, a native of Ireland who had fought with distinction during the revolution. Both Botsford and Timpany appealed to Halifax for support, and both achieved committed followings in the community. One Timpany supporter, Thomas Osburn, stated that "If Botsford has his way in Halifax he [Osborn] would lead a mob and parade the streets of Digby," whilst Issac Bonnel of that town said, "It is fully thought by the Better Kind of people here should Timpany return with any power the settlement must be Broke up. I shall for my own lot leave it notwithstanding the great Expence I have been at ."[28]

The resultant division in the community is reflected in a second report submitted by Robinson to Winslow in late September 1784, in which he relates the complaints of those supporting the Timpany faction:

> Many of the Loyalists in this part of the Province are unsettled, because of the negligent and dilatory conduct of those appointed to lay out lands for them. This has been a great disadvantage to the settlement of the Country; as many individual persons have thereby been prevented from doing anything this summer.[29]

Apparently Botsford felt that his faction had lost the struggle for political control of the community, and Wilson relates that he shortly departed for another tract of land he owned in Sackville, Westmorland County, "leaving completion of his Agency in Digby to other parties," and in November 1785 he became one of four members from that county to be elected to the first House of Assembly for the colony of New Brunswick.[30]

True to the intimation of Issac Bonnel uttered during the dispute of 1784, others joined Botsford in leaving the community, many of them for reasons

28 *Ibid.*, p. 349; MacKinnon, "The Loyalist Experience," pp. 308-309.

29 Wilson, p. 76.

30 *Ibid.*, pp. 325-326.

additional to the rift caused by the political wrangling. Governor Parr noted the departures in his comments on Digby in 1785, stating that many had left after receiving their grants and compensations; he expressed the hope that an exodus of these "idle and dissipated" might end the "quarrelsome conditions of some of the settlements." He also allowed, however, that although Digby had a great number of natural advantages, "...the Inhabitants at present have not property to avail themselves in any extent of the Benefits of Commerce; and it gives me a good deal of concern that I cannot find persons amongst them suitably qualified for magistrates, which has occasioned some irregularities."[31]

For James Holdsworth these were truly exciting times, in which he was a concerned spectator when not an active participant. Shortly after the completion of his house overlooking the basin, the building became a tavern and inn where, according to the notes of Dr. G.B. Oakes, "it was a center where many gathered to exchange news and conduct business transactions. Its owner, Mr. Holdsworth, became a person of much property in Digby."[32] In fact, it is reported that Holdsworth acquired much of his property as a result of transactions that took place within the tavern, especially with the early Loyalists,[33] and took an active part in the politics of the town, having signed, along with son Thomas, the petition to Governor Parr. Thus the tavern likely would have been a focal point for much of the debate at that time.

Isaiah Wilson makes a rather backhanded allusion to Holdsworth's prominence while recording the town's first murder, in July 1786. Daniel Purdy, a constable, was killed from a musket shot by Jacob Ott as he [Purdy] was trying to quiet what Wilson describes as a "drunken riot." Ott was apparently hanged in Annapolis for his crime while, says Wilson (a temperance advocate in his time), "...the tavern keeper who furnished the liquor, sitting as foreman of the jury that condemned him, posed as a leading gentleman of Digby."[34]

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31 MacKinnon, "The Loyalist Experience," p. 400.

32 Notes of Dr. G.B. Oakes, 1868, PANS.

33 *The Mail-Star* (Halifax), 20 June 1962.

34 Wilson, pp. 281-282.

It is quite unfair, however, for Wilson to imply that, but for the Holdsworth establishment, the town would have been a model of morality. The Reverend Roger Viets, spiritual leader of the community complained in a sermon at the time that the town's moral tone was low:

> 'Tis with the greatest grief and indignation that we perceive vice triumphant and virtue ridiculed. Drunkenness, idleness, tavern haunting, slandering, profane swearing, lying, defrauding, and stealing all call loudly for the exertions of the magistrate, to raise the sword of the law and justice, for the suppression and punishment of these vices.

Viets went on to suggest that disrespect for the Sabbath was the leading cause for this social degeneration, and attacked those who continued to work and travel on Sundays, as well as those "...unprincipled and irreligious persons... preventing their neighbours attending God's worship and disturbing those who do attend."[35] Viets was a native of Connecticut, appointed shortly after the arrival of the Loyalists to be the religious leader of a community that, for its first decade at any rate, was totally comprised of adherents to the established church. Earlier clerics had included the Reverend Edward Brudenell, chaplain aboard Digby's ship the *Atalanta*, and the Reverend Jacob Bailey from Annapolis, who initially ministered to the Digby Anglicans. Shortly after Viets' arrival a memorial was drafted to establish Trinity parish, called after the parish in New York to which a great number of the Digby settlers had belonged. Viets, a brother-in-law to Amos Botsford, quickly saw to the completion of a church, to which Admiral Digby contributed the sum of £100 as well as a bell.[36] The bell now hangs in the new Trinity Church, built to replace the original late in the nineteenth century.

Viets and his son, Roger Moore Viets, served as rectors of the Anglican church in Digby for over forty years. An interesting, and often controversial force in the early years of the township, Viets senior was active in secular affairs to an extent equalled by his spiritual obligations -- a fact that led to a great deal of ill-feeling between himself and the Reverend William Clark, an ordained Anglican cleric who resided in Digby for its first decade, but who eventually returned to the United States. An outspoken and inquisitive

35 Hill, pp. 19-20.

36 Wilson, p. 89.

individual, it is through Viets' correspondence during the late 1780s that we get a feeling for the extent of the Loyalist dissatisfaction and subsequent departures.

The disenchantment and eventual departure of many Loyalists from Digby, as in numerous other Loyalist locations, was partly the result of original disappointments and political strains. In the case of Digby, the split between factions was a particularly bitter one which led to great dissension and came close to armed violence.[37] Thus, there was the evidence of significant numbers of departing Loyalists as early as 1785, noted earlier in Parr's remarks. Within the year Viets was speaking of the population as "yearly decreasing and in Danger of a Total Dissolution."[38] By that time he estimated that Digby was in the process of losing upwards of two-thirds of its original population,[39] and in a note of bitterness attacked those original refugees who had "gone back to Egypt after being so long in Idleness on the King's Provisions."[40]

Although many of the departing settlers were genuinely homesick, dissillusioned with the Nova Scotian experience, or willing to give their former homeland another chance, many of the Loyalists who stayed considered the returnees ungrateful opportunists who had taken advantage of British compensation policies. There was also concern that many of the returning Loyalists were major figures in the community, taking advantage of the portable pensions offered by the Crown, returning to what they considered a more civilized life, and inspiring many of what Viets called "the labouring class" to follow them.[41]

By 1787, Viets' original sense of alarm was joined with a sense of outrage:

> Thus it is with the utmost Grief and Indignation that I mention to you the great Emigration from this Province to the States... . Ever since the King's Allowance ceased they have been running back to the States and more now

37 MacKinnon, *Banked Fires*, p. 81.

38 Roger Viets to Samuel Peters, 16 September 1786. Peters Papers, 2, 104A, PANS.

39 MacKinnon, "The Loyalist Experience," p. 501.

40 Roger Viets to Samuel Peters, 16 September 1786. Peters Papers, Vol. 3, PANS.

41 MacKinnon, "The Loyalist Experience," p. 501.

> [Oct. 1787] than ever. Some hundreds of families have left this Province within 18 months last past and some hundreds more seem to be preparing for removal. This greatly gratifies the Vanity and Ill-Nature of the American Whigs, especially as these Emigrants were those who were in the best way of Living comfortably here and now they have gone to the States... ."[42]

Historian Allan Hill seems to substantiate the theory that many of Digby's more prosperous settlers were in the vanguard of the returnees. The more wealthy of the Loyalists, began to tire of living in the infant settlement and began to remove, some to England, others to New Brunswick, and many back to the United States.[43]

By 1789, the community was giving expression to a sense of personal hurt at the nature and scope of the evacuation, a sense of wounded pride and personal insult best articulated by Viets:

> ...many, of not the greater part of these Stipend Gentry to conciliate their new Masters, insult, ridicule and vilify the British Government and Constitution beyond any other people in the United States... . To hear of the Taunts and Reproaches of a pensioned Loyalist who has now become an American is more mortifying than either the Persecutions we suffered from the Insurgents or the neglect of our own Rulers.[44]

The anger felt by the remaining Loyalists towards those who were leaving occasionally took tangible forms, as Hill relates with regard to the case of Francis Conihaine of Digby. Conihaine had pledged the sum of £20 towards the construction of Trinity church, and when the vestrymen discovered his plans to return to the United States, they dispatched two church wardens, Colonel Hatfield and James Wilmot, to demand the subscription he had promised. Conihaine stated that he planned to pay when the church was under construction, but the townsfolk were well aware that he would be in the United States by that time and that they would not be able to secure it from him. Conihaine then promised to leave the money behind with one of the agents, but the vestry still considered this a refusal to pay and his name was ordered written into the church books as follows:

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42 Roger Viets to Samuel Peters, 12 October 1787. Peters Papers, Vol. 3, PANS.

43 Hill, p. 17.

44 Roger Viets to Samuel Peters, 11 August 1789. Peters Papers, 4-30, PANS.

> Whereas Mr. Francis Conihaine refuses to pay his subscription to Trinity Church this is therefore to forbid all Masters of vessels or boats of any kind to carry off the said Francis Conihaine until he has paid the said twenty pounds or given satisfaction for the same.[45]

In a town where the one church had full control, and to which the masters of all the ships carrying the returning Loyalists were at least passing adherents, the proscription was a serious one. Subsequently a compromise was reached and Conihaine paid the vestry £10 on 24 July 1787.

By 1790 many of the original settlers had left and the Reverend Clark, Viets' clerical critic, observed just before he departed for Boston that "This place is really desolated by emigrations or more properly, re-emigrations."[46]

One of the leading figures in the trade of returning Loyalists was Thomas Holdsworth, James' son, who provided transportation on his sloop for quite a number of the Loyalist settlers who became disaffected with life in Digby and decided to return to the United States.[47]

Digby had indeed suffered setbacks due to circumstances common to the Loyalist experience in the 1780s and outlined by Loyalist scholars. The problem was one of too many too soon, in concert with the attendant accommodation, provisioning, and allotment difficulties, the difficulty of cultural assimilation and the planting of established urban colonists in a "pioneering" situation. These combined with the trauma experienced by a colonial economy unable to absorb the "economic indigestion" it suffered with the arrival of so many.[48]

These factors, together with the political factionalization of the mid-1780s, would have given many of the Digby Loyalists second thoughts. The payment late in the decade of refugee claims and the awarding of portable pensions doubtlessly permitted many to cure their disappointment, frustration and homesickness by abandoning the community. Nonetheless, as Wilson relates, "A large number, more patient and persevering, remained,

45 Hill, pp. 17-18.

46 MacKinnon, "The Loyalist Experience," p. 501.

47 *The Mail-Star*, 20 June 1967.

48 MacKinnon, *Banked Fires*, pp. 83-84.

intending to have the trouble amicably adjusted,"[49] --a statement that included many of the town's most prominent families, such as the Holdsworths. It should be noted that Digby was eminently able to stand the strains caused by the disaffections and departures. In 1786 it boasted between three and four hundred homes and was described by Jacob Bailey as a town peopled by artisans, merchants, farmers, disbanded soldiers, and "impoverished" gentlemen, "...a very handsome town...built by the Loyalists, the situation of it is exceedingly well chosen both for the fisheries and every other trade adopted for the Province."[50]

Bailey's comments were well founded. By the early 1790s the town had established both an economic and population stability, and the new community was shipping timber, fish, spruce beer and even dairy and farm produce to southern markets, with a lesser trade established with England.[51] The ships going out through the gut and into the Fundy were carrying something other than returning Loyalists, and the town's major skippers, such as Thomas Holdsworth, began to take advantage of the special opportunities offered to Nova Scotian shippers in the West Indies trade since the Revolutionary War.

New settlers, many from Scotland, began to arrive in the province to replace the departed Loyalists by the early 1790s and the remaining refugees were beginning to reach terms of mutual acceptance with the land and their fellow Nova Scotians, as evidenced by the appointment of Governor John Wentworth, a Loyalist, in 1792. The adjustment period for Digby was similarly over by that same year and the remaining Loyalists,bolstered by the addition of some of the newly-arriving Scots, could look positively towards the future, making numerous contributions to the advancement of the province's commercial, cultural, and political objectives.

James Holdsworth continued as an influential landowner and merchant, administering, for example, the estate of one James Atkins who died at sea in November 1798.[52] Unfortunately, he would later also be recorded as the

49 Wilson, p. 77.

50 MacKinnon, "The Loyalist Experience," pp. 228, 436.

51 *Ibid.*, p. 454.

52 *Royal St. John Gazette*, November 1798.

administrator of the estate of another seaman who had drowned that same month. His eldest son, Thomas, so active in the Loyalist and West Indies trades of the community's earliest days, was drowned sailing his brig *Digby* homeward on the Bay of Fundy. Subsequently the Saint John *Royal Gazette* of 21 January 1805, would record mention of Captain John Holdsworth, Thomas' younger brother, who had also become one of Digby's leading sailing masters, and who in this case was the administrator of the estate of James Addington Holdsworth.

John had married Mehitable Bourne, a *Mayflower* descendant whose parents returned to the United States the year after her marriage. The Holdsworths occupied the house on Water Street that had been James' tavern and inn, and became the progenitors of a family that would play a leading role in the town's history through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Subsequent generations would include tanners, sea captains, merchants, judges, politicians and professionals. Ironically, one of the grandsons of James the merchant and publican would become a leading force of the temperance movement that swept the town during the mid-nineteenth century.

The name Holdsworth has now almost disappeared from Digby County, but can be found on the listing tombstones in the little Loyalist cemetery not far from the old house. There, one can still make out the fading names of James, Thomas, John, Elizabeth and Mehitable Holdsworth and a few children--a matter of interest to only a few passersby and the occasional genealogist. Around the corner, at One Water Street, stands a more utilitarian reminder of their presence and contribution. Within and without the walls of that building raged the discussions concerned with those fractious but exciting early years in what now seems to be Nova Scotia's forgotten Loyalist settlement.

If you stand in the house at One Water Street, you can see straight down the basin towards the town of Annapolis Royal, where millions of dollars have been spent to recreate its admittedly significant historical contribution. It is unfortunate, however, that just a few of those dollars can't be transported to the western reaches of that same basin, to assist the concerned citizens of a community wishing to preserve one building capable of tangibly reminding, housing and preserving the vignettes of their own meaningful contributions to our heritage.

The Life of Loyalist Colonel James DeLancey

George DeLancey Hanger

James DeLancey, the fourth son of Peter DeLancey (1705-1770) and Elizabeth Colden (1720-1784), was born at DeLancey's Mills, West Farms, Westchester County, New York, on 6 September 1747. His father was a substantial landowner, operated the said flour mills, and served in the provincial assembly for many years.

Grandfather Etienne (Stephen) DeLancey (1663-1741), a Huguenot nobleman who on account of religious persecution had left Caen, France for Holland, later removed to England and then settled in New York in 1686. He, too, was active politically, serving in the assembly for twenty-six years. As a successful merchant he accumulated a large fortune, and at the time of his death was one of the wealthiest men in America. In 1700 he married Anne Van Cortlandt (1676-1743), a member of a prominent New York family of Dutch descent, and one of the inheritors of the Manor of Cortlandt, a property some twenty miles in length and ten miles in width, containing about 83,000 acres in northern Westchester County.

James's uncle, James DeLancey (1703-1760), was a member of the governor's council, as well as chief justice and later lieutenant governor of the province; James's maternal grandfather, Doctor Cadwallader Colden (1688-1776), a Scotsman who had come to America in 1708, also served as a member of council and was successor to DeLancey as lieutenant governor. Though of rival political factions, these two men had strong influence in the government of the province for almost half a century. Their families, as is the case with prominent people, had many friends, as well as many enemies.[1]

Young James DeLancey as a child, in spite of chronic illness, lived an outdoor life and developed into a superb horseman. A young sister, writing in 1768 to another sister visiting the related Izards in South Carolina reported, "James is just as you left him."[2] Following the death of their father in 1770, James and his brother Oliver purchased their boyhood home, mills, and other family property at West Farms, and after 1770, James served as high sheriff of Westchester County. His mother, writing on 6 November 1773 to another son, a lieutenant in the British navy, said in part, "Your brother, James, is very industrious in improving and working upon the farm, but the Mills only grind

1 Duncan A. Story, *The DeLanceys, a Romance of a Great Family* (Toronto, 1931), pp. 13, 17, 130.

2 "Cadwallader Colden Papers," *Collections* of the New-York Historical Society, IV (1920), p. 220. "Reminiscence," a notebook among the DeLancey Papers, Museum of the City of New York.

for the country. He cannot get into that method of business, the disadvantage of not being brought up in it is a loss."[3]

In the unsettled days preceeding the actual revolution, James DeLancey apparently followed the line advocated by local ministers of the Church of England and did not take part in the hostilities. American patriots under General Mifflin, retreating from New York City in September 1776, found civilian James DeLancey at home. His treatment, including the loss of a "Neat New Phaeton and two sets of Harness"[4] to an American officer was such that he determined to support the British. DeLancey "was first associated with his uncle, General Oliver DeLancey in recruiting soldiers from among the Loyalists on Long Island for DeLancey's Brigade."[5] Impressed by his ability, Governor William Tryon of New York reported on 3 October 1777 that

> By Sir Wm. Howe's permission and Sir Henry Clinton's approbation, I have raised a Troop of Light Horse from the Westchester Militia to consist of fifty private Men to serve during the Campaign. This troop is truly "Elite" of the Country, and their Capt'n Mr. James DeLancey, who is also Colonel of the Militia of Westchester County; I have much confidence in them for their spirited behavior....[6]

The troop, called the Westchester Chasseurs, was issued arms and equipment. A typical raid on an enemy supply depot was reported in the *New-York Gazette* of 16 October 1777:

> Last Sunday [12 October] Colonel James DeLancey, with 60 of his West-Chester Light Horse went from Kingsbridge to the White Plains, where they took from the rebels, 44 barrels of flour, and two ox teams, near 100 head of black cattle, and 300 fat sheep and hogs. On this service Mr. Purdy, a very respectable inhabitant of West-Chester County was killed. There were also five horses shot by the rebels.

The campaign over, the troop completed the return of their arms and

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3 Story, *The DeLanceys*, p. 50. DeLancey Papers, 49-48-76, Museum of the City of New York.

4 American Loyalist Transcripts, Vol. 41, pp. 253-58. New York Public Library.

5 Dr. Ronald S. Longley, "The DeLancey Brothers; Loyalists of Annapolis County," *Collections* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, XXXII (1959), p. 62.

6 E.B. O'Callaghan, *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, Vol. VIII (Albany, 1870), p. 692.

accoutrements on 6 November. Their casualties were: two killed, two wounded, six prisoners.[7]

On 28 November 1777, Colonel James DeLancey was taken prisoner while visiting a family friend, Robert Hunt, at West Farms. It was claimed that he had broken his parole given earlier to General Mifflin in September 1776. In a letter from Hartford, Connecticut, to his boyhood friend and distant cousin, John Jay, he explained that General Mifflin had told him not to "go from Home without a pass, to which I made no answer." Shortly thereafter he was released on parole to Hartford, visited New York, returned to Connecticut, and suffered a period of inactivity awaiting his exchange.[8]

Many attempts were made to capture Colonel DeLancey again. All failed, although during one raid, his imported British horse was captured from a meadow near his headquarters. The horse, "True Briton," a gift from his uncle, General Oliver DeLancey, in his subsequent nomadic career became the sire of "Figure," the progenitor of the Morgan line of horses.[9]

Many Loyalists, driven from their homes, had gathered in the vicinity of Morrisania, Westchester County, near the British lines. There, Major Mansfield Bearmore organized them into the Westchester Refugees and subsequently conducted many successful raids against the Americans. Colonel James DeLancey was appointed colonel of the Refugees in January 1780, and some writers have since written that "DeLancey's Coyboys" or the Westchester Refugees spent the remaining war years pillaging, plundering, robbing, and even murdering civilians.

To the contrary, a course of active participation in the war is clearly indicated in the "Certified List" of American prisoners taken by Colonel DeLancey's Refugees, a document signed by Joshua Loring, Esq., commissary of prisoners, New York, 6 June 1783. Of 27 captured American officers, nineteen were exchanged and eight were parolled. Of 448 captured non-commissioned officers and privates, 245 were exchanged, 175 were parolled, eight died, five were British deserters, seven were discharged, five escaped and three enlisted. As reported by the New York *Royal Gazette* during 1780-82, the

7 Andrew Eliot Papers, Box 4, Folder 16. New York State Library, Albany.

8 H.P. Johnston, *Letters and Public Letters of John Jay*, Vol. I (New York and London, 1890), pp. 171-73; and courtesy of Dr. Richard B. Morris, "Jay Papers," Columbia University, New York City.

9 E.F. DeLancey to Joseph Battell, 3 July 1899, cited in "The Great Justin Morgan Pedigree Controversy," *The Chronicle of the Horse*, XXX (1967), p. 20.

Refugees were in nineteen actions in 1780; twenty in 1781; and five in 1782 through May, when hostilities were halted. Colonel DeLancey received commendations for his valued service from Sir Henry Clinton, Sir Guy Carleton, Generals Kniphausen, Mathew, Tryon and others.[10]

One of the more publicized actions was recorded in General George Washington's report of 17 May 1781 to the president of Congress:

> Surprise near Croton River by 60 Horse and 200 Foot under Colonel James DeLancey. Col. Greene mortally wounded in his quarters; died on road while enemy carrying him off. Major Flagg was killed. 44 killed, wounded and missing. The enemy returning met Capt. Jeremiah Fogg, 2nd. New Hampshire Rgt., near White Plains, attempted to cut him off but he got away--lost 2 men.

The total surprise, coming at the end of a late afternoon and night march of some thirty miles, during which the troops knew nothing of their destination, was made possible by DeLancey's learning through his intelligence sources that Colonel Greene, though an experienced officer, withdrew his guards each morning at sunrise from the Croton River crossings.[11]

Peace and freedom for the states being assured, and there being no further need for his services--and indeed, no guarantee for his safety in the new United States--Colonel James DeLancey resigned his commission on 3 April 1783 and sailed for London, leaving New York on 8 June.[12] He remained in England for over a year before his claim for reimbursement of losses was heard. By late September 1784 he had sailed for Halifax, Nova Scotia. On 18 October 1784, a grant of 24,250 acres at Passamaquoddy, Sunbury County (later within the province of New Brunswick) was awarded to "James de Lancey" and others.[13] Apparently DeLancey did not personally claim any portion of it, preferring instead to remain in the closer-settled and more congenial surroundings of Annapolis Royal, some 150 miles from Halifax.

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10 A013/113, pp. 270-83, 285-90, Public Record Office, London; copy on microfilm B2216, Public Archives of Canada (hereafter PAC).

11 John C. Fitzpatrick, *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799*, Vol. 22 (Washington, 1939), p. 98. Otto Hufeland, *Westchester County During the American Revolution, 1775-1783* (White Plains, 1926), pp. 379-82.

12 British Headquarters Papers, 7302(1-4), New York Public Library. *Royal Gazette*, 11 June 1783.

13 Story, *The DeLanceys*, p. 50.

Upon his arrival at Annapolis, where DeLancey had many friends and relatives, he found that "every habitation is crowded and many are unable to procure any lodgings." Since 1782, the community, then a village of 120 people in eighteen families had mushroomed in growth, due to the arrival of some 2500 Loyalists. Soon after his arrival, DeLancey was appointed to two offices: justice of the peace and justice of the inferior court of common pleas.[14] He was generally known in the community as "Colonel DeLancey," from his Loyalist rank in the Westchester Militia and Westchester Refugees.

In the meantime, the Royal Commission on Losses, sitting on 22 December 1784, had continued DeLancey's "Allowance from the Treasury of £200 per Ann." which had commenced on 15 July 1783. It was also decided to award him £2300 for his physical losses in Westchester, but by 1788 only a small part of this settlement had been paid.[15]

Many Annapolis neighbours had received British army pay throughout the revolution. DeLancey had not. A number had retired on half pay. In fairness, it seemed to DeLancey that he should receive similar treatment, although the fact that he and his command, the Westchester Refugees, had served without pay for a good part of the struggle, worked against him. So on 31 March 1785 his agent, Charles Cooke of London, requested from the British authorities copies of the several letters and papers of recommendation and commendation written by Sir Henry Clinton, Generals Kniphausen, Mathew and others, and originally submitted by DeLancey with his memorial in November 1783. These were to be re-submitted to the Lord Secretary in support of DeLancey's claim for half pay.[16]

Paper work done, he set out to find land upon which he could establish a home for his family. There was his wife Martha, and son William, the latter born in New York on 9 April 1783. Also included in his household were Lieutenant James DeLancey of the first battalion, DeLancey's, as well as John and Mary DeLancey; these were three children of the oldest son of the late lieutenant governor of New York and a first cousin to the colonel.[17]

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14 W.A. Calnek, *History of the County of Annapolis* (Toronto, 1897), p. 313.

15 Harry B. Yoshpe, *Disposition of Loyalist Estates in Southern New York* (New York, 1939), p. 193.

16 A013/55, microfilm B2424, PAC.

17 Story, *The DeLanceys*, p. 161.

James found property that he liked--a large farm located on the south side of the Annapolis River, in the bend just opposite the Belleisle marsh. On the first day of April 1785, he purchased it from "David Bent of Annapolis, Gentleman, and Mary, his Wife" for £850. Roughly, it was bounded on the north by the river, on the south by the public road, and on the east and west by the lands of Peleg Little, Phineas Lovett, Abel Beals, Josiah Winchester and the heirs of Nathaniel Fisher and Daniel Felch. Across the public road, it ran south for some four and a quarter miles from the river, being a quarter mile wide. This southerly portion contained about 650 acres, bounded on the east and west by lands of Josiah Winchester and Peleg Little.[18] On the tract nearest the river and north of the road, "he built a large house with a wide verandah and here he resided for the rest of his life. This house may have been similar in appearance to the one in which he lived in Westchester. Here, also, nine of his ten children were born."[19]

Word of DeLancey's situation reached New York in a letter dated 10 September 1785, from John Watts in London: "Jamey seems pleased in Nova Scotia."[20] "Jamey" may have been "pleased in Nova Scotia," but neither he nor the other Loyalists were welcomed with open arms. Their projection into an economy that barely supported itself, upset for some fifty years the established patterns of life existing between the Acadians, many settled from the 1630s, and the pre-Loyalists or "old comers," while the needs of the many new arrivals, causing shortages of food and supplies, triggered exhorbitant prices, a situation greatly resented by the refugee Loyalists.

To further complicate the antagonism, many Loyalists had been prominent in their former communities, and it seemed natural to them that they should participate in the government of their new homeland. A number were quickly elected to the legislative assembly, sitting at Halifax. In one case, however, great rivalry developed between two candidates, one a pre-Loyalist or "old comer," the other a Loyalist or "new comer." The "old comer" was Alexander Howe, a native Nova Scotian of New England

18 Calnek, *Annapolis County*, p. 342; Registry of Deeds, Annapolis County, Vol. 5, p. 277. A simpler description is contained in an 1838 deed, the bounds being given as: " On the east by the farm of Asa Bent, on the south by ungranted land, on the west by the farm of Henry Simpson, and on the north by the River of Annapolis" (Vol. 32, p. 589).

19 Longley, "The DeLancey Brothers," p. 72.

20 John Watt Papers, 1778-89. Microfilm #47, New-York Historical Society.

extraction who, after many years of British army service, had retired and returned to Annapolis. His opponent was David Seabury, a Connecticut Loyalist, colleague of Thomas Barclay, and brother of Samuel Seabury, Loyalist, New York minister, and later first Protestant Episcopal bishop in the United States.

Generally overseeing the election was Annapolis County sheriff, Robert Tucker, M.D., a Loyalist from North Carolina. The election was held in November 1785 at different dates in Annapolis and Digby, for two days in each place. Rules required that an election be held for one day between 6 a.m. and 9 p.m., and that notice be posted of moving the poll from one locality to another. There were claims of favouritism to Loyalists, and obviously the sheriff had extended the election to afford voting opportunity. David Seabury won by 165 votes. While not disputing the vote count, Howe protested the procedures and appealed to the assembly, which ordered a new election for January. Again Seabury won. Again Howe protested the procedures, and this time the assembly reversed the decision, declaring Alexander Howe elected.

Thomas Barclay, who in 1775 had married James DeLancey's sister Susannah, worked hard for Seabury. After the November election was declared invalid, he sent on 8 December a widely-distributed letter to friends and Seabury supporters. In part, he asked Colonel James DeLancey to "again revisit Digby and every man that has an interest there," while deploring that "the Majority of Members [of the assembly] appeared to have come determined, right or wrong, to vacate the Election."[21] Regardless of any intervention by DeLancey, the assembly stood by its declaration, and Howe took his seat.

In the spring of 1787, James DeLancey received a letter indicating that Thomas Dundas and Jeremy Pemberton, the commissioners who in 1785 had travelled to Nova Scotia to investigate the losses and services of the Loyalists there, now "thought it necessary to suspend the payment of your allowance until they receive information of your present situation and circumstances." On 6 June he replied from Annapolis that he was

> settled on a Tract of Land in Annapolis County...which he is improving with the greatest industry, and upon which he has already laid out and expended considerably more than his first dividend of compensation [£920], that he holds no Office under Government, and that the suspending his allowance for

21 Discussion of Loyalist/pre-Loyalist antipathy and controverted election based on "Poll Book for the County of Annapolis, 1786," in *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1981, pp. 106-24, and Calnek, *Annapolis County*, pp. 356-57.

> Temporary support would subject him to the greatest Inconvenience and Distress.

He went on to note that he had left England with permission and assurances that the temporary allowance would be continued until his losses in New York were paid, and requested continuance of this "allowance for temporary support until he shall receive his full compensation." This allowance, or a portion thereof, may have been continued until he was paid £1356 after June 1788, this sum being the balance of his award.[22] The £2300 received from the British government for the loss of his New York holdings furnished capital for farm operations, as well as loans for his neighbours, these advances numbering at one time about 130, in amounts from £1 to over £1000 each.[23]

From time to time, DeLancey enlarged his home place. On 5 April 1787, he purchased ten acres of marsh land adjoining his property for £48 from Abel and Abigail Beals. Then, on 7 February 1791, he bought for £150, from Josiah and Hannah Winchester, two tracts, one of fifteen acres bordering the Annapolis River, the other of 250 acres on the south side of the public road; both adjoined his holdings.[24]

In time, DeLancey became a successful farmer at Round Hill. His livestock holdings increased to six horses, five colts, six oxen, nine cows, eleven yearlings, seventeen heifers, twenty-three steers, two bulls, twenty-three sheep, fourteen lambs and three hogs.[25] This accomplishment was generally contrary to the belief of DeLancey's brother-in-law, Thomas Barclay, who, while in Nova Scotia, wrote: "...money here is preferable to Lands; and ever will be in this frozen Zone."[26]

DeLancey also became more deeply involved in politics during the late 1780s. A first cousin, Lieutenant Colonel Stephen DeLancey, had been elected an assembly member for Annapolis township in 1784. Stephen's father,

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22 Beamish Murdoch, *History of Nova-Scotia, or Acadie*, Vol. III (Halifax, 1867), p. 45. ALt, Vol. II, pp. 128-29 and A013/55, p. 11, microfilm B2420, PAC.

23 Inventory of the Estate of the late Col. DeLancey, 11 June 1804. Estate papers, Probate Court, Annapolis County.

24 Registry of Deeds, Annapolis County, Vol. 7, p. 36; Vol. 12, p. 267.

25 Inventory of estate, 1804.

26 George L. Rives, *Selections from the Correspondence of Thomas Barclay* (New York, 1894), p. 32.

Brigadier General Oliver DeLancey Sr., of Loyalist fame, died 27 October 1785 at Beverly, Yorkshire, England, and since Stephen was necessarily in England for several years thereafter, he was unable to participate in the late actions of the sixth assembly. His seat was declared vacant on 6 April 1789, "as he had obtained an office in the Bahamas" and James DeLancey was duly elected to replace him, taking his seat on 26 February 1790.[27]

In addition to serving in the assembly and in county government, James DeLancey also participated in local public works. He was one of those appointed on 7 April 1790 by the grand jury to superintend repairs to the bridge over Saw Mill Creek, £70 being the amount eventually allowed for said construction. On 27 September 1791, he was one of the assessors appointed by the grand jury for Annapolis township.[28] As to the financial support of the government, the poll tax records for Annapolis County (partially preserved) show that DeLancey was assessed for a 10 shilling tax in 1793, and an unspecified amount in 1794.[29]

DeLancey soon became heavily involved in legislative concerns, including the so-called "judges' affair." Since 1787, the actions of judges Isaac Deschamps and James Brenton had been criticized in the assembly as being neither impartial nor consistent. The matter was referred to the council, of which Deschamps was a member, which body promptly dismissed the charges, but on 10 March 1780, the affair was revived when Major Thomas Barclay brought impeachment proceedings against the two. The house voted seventeen in favour (including Barclay and DeLancey) and ten against; a resolution was then passed requesting the governor to suspend the judges. Later, in 1792, articles of impeachment were heard, but were dismissed by the commissioners of His Majesty's Privy Council, with the approval of the King.[30]

On 22 March 1793, Governor John Wentworth recommended three people for the two vacant seats on His Majesty's Council: James DeLancey of Annapolis, John Butler of Halifax, and Thomas Barclay of Annapolis, all

27 Story, *The DeLanceys*, pp. 71-81, as corrected by Murdoch, *History of Nova-Scotia*, III, p. 81. C. Bruce Fergusson, ed., *Directory of the M.L.A.'s of Nova Scotia, 1758-1958* (Halifax, 1959), p. 395.

28 Grand Jury records, Annapolis Township Book, MG4, Vol. 5, Public Archives of Nova Scotia (hereafter PANS). MG14 B11 1 (1a), PAC.

29 Poll Tax records, Annapolis County, 1791-96. RG1, Vol. 444½, PANS.

30 Murdoch, *History of Nova-Scotia*, III, pp. 89-96, 100.

"properly qualified by their distinguished loyalty and attachment to his Majesty's Person and Government, by their experience and abilities, and by their independent property in this Province and in Great Britain." Of DeLancey, the governor also noted that he was "peculiarly happy in the respect and confidence of the County in which he resides; his influence therein may be of great use to His Majesty's Service..." A few days later, Wentworth wrote that DeLancey and Butler should be appointed to the council, and that Barclay had been elected speaker of the assembly, in which office he would also be very useful to the government. The respective appointments were shortly approved by the British home government.[31]

Meanwhile, on 1 February 1793, France had declared war on Great Britain. As a defence against possible French attack, a regiment and a company of artillery were being raised in Halifax, while throughout the province, militia units were formed for local protection.The militia of Annapolis County offered to build at their own expense a redoubt on the old works at Fort Anne, and Governor Wentworth observed that

> The Regiment forming under Colonel James DeLancey and Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Barclay of One Thousand chosen Men, most of whom have been in the Army and are commanded by Officers upon half pay, who upon this occasion with great loyalty and attachment to his Majesty's Service Voluntarily engage in this Regiment, and when armed from the Ordnance Office (there being none other in the Country) they engage to defend, to their utmost power, the Coasts on Saint Mary's, Annapolis, and the Bay of Fundy; and with the greatest possible speed to repair to any other part of the Province that may be invaded, or whenever they receive orders for that purpose. As most of them have horses, this Corps would in the course of five days be assembled in any part of the Province.[32]

In 1794 the whole province was overjoyed at the visit of Prince Edward, later to become King William IV. He decided to visit New Brunswick also, leaving Halifax on 12 June, reaching Annapolis on 15 or 16 June, and thence crossing to Saint John, returning to Halifax via Digby on 28 June. During his stay in Annapolis, he was entertained by the leading citizens, including the DeLanceys and the Barclays. Local tradition has it that at a reception for the prince at Colonel DeLancey's, a guest had brought "a pretty maid who was

31 Colonial Office records. MG11, Vol. 118, pp. 56-7, 60, 80, PAC.

32 Wentworth to Dundas, 4 June 1793, *Ibid.*, pp. 176-79.

to assist in the waiting--His Royal Highness was caught behind one of Colonel DeLancey's doors kissing the pretting waiting maid."[33]

Since childhood, James DeLancey had been accustomed to the services of blacks about his home. His father had had thirteen slaves back in Westchester County, New York. DeLancey brought six to Nova Scotia: three males, of whom the names of two are known, Jack and Sam; and three females, Peggy, Frances and Mary. People in Nova Scotia generally did not approve of slavery. Many resented Colonel James's action in holding his, and he in turn resented their attitude. A family story depicts DeLancey chaining his blacks on Sunday mornings to trees along the public road, with instructions for them to moan and cry piteously when neighbours passed on the way to church.

Apparently the services of the male slaves either were not entirely satisfactory or were unneeded, for on 1 September 1794, James sold to Francis Ryerson of Clements, Annapolis County, for £50, "One negro Man named Sam about twenty eight years old."[34] Another slave was parted with when Jack,

> the son of slaves in the possession of James DeLancey's father in New York--and that at the division of the estate at the death of the father--had fallen to the share of [James] in whose possession as 'slave and servant' had been in the revolted colonies and in Nova Scotia,

ran away. Commencing in 1801, DeLancey contested several court cases through his attorneys, Thomas Ritchie and Joseph Aplin, but failed to regain possession of Jack.[35]

Although active for many years in spite of his youthful chronic illness, James DeLancey was, by the late 1790s, in failing health and obliged to slow down. "James DeLancey, Esquire, resides at Annapolis, his health much impaired, which prevents his regular attendance or duty," reported Sir John Wentworth to the Duke of Portland, 2 November 1798, on the "State of H.M. Council." And again, on 29 May 1801: "James DeLancey Esq.: resides at Annapolis, his

33 Murdoch, *History of Nova-Scotia*, III, pp. 126-27. Story, *The DeLanceys*, p. 56. Charlotte Perkins, *The Romance of Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia* (1952), pp. 45-6.

34 Morse Family papers, MG1, Vol. 714, No. 71, 717 and 11, PANS. Ryerson had purchased on 12 April 1792 the large holdings of cousin Stephen DeLancey (then of Nassau) in the township of Clements on Newfoundland Creek, being on the south side of the Annapolis River. Some years later (10 July 1795), James made an agreement with Ryerson for part of this and other property in the vicinity (MG1, Vol. 714).

35 T. Watson Smith, "The Slave in Canada," *Collections* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, X (1876-78), pp. 105-10.

health impaired and still declining, which prevents his regular attendance in Council." Then, at the council meeting of 16 June 1801,

> His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor mentioned to the Council his having received a letter from Honourable James DeLancey that on account of the ill state of health he was obliged to resign his seat as a member of His Majesty's Council for this province, which letter being delivered to the Secretary was ordered to be filed.

Wentworth confirmed the resignation to the Duke of Portland on 20 June: "Jas Delancey [*sic*], esquire, has so little hopes of recovering from his declining health &c that he has resigned his seat."[36] His poor health having obliged him to leave the council, DeLancey remained home at Round Hill, but was able to get about quite frequently, as indicated by several later financial transactions he completed.

In later years, there is evidence that DeLancey also had an increasing family to provide for at Round Hill, especially as two more children--one after his death--were added to his and Martha's earlier flock of eight. In the local township records of Annapolis there is a DeLancey family record, all details entered in the same handwriting and obviously prepared after 1813 by the town clerk, one not closely connected with the family. The lead entry notes that "Col James Delancey [*sic*] & Martha Tippett were joined in Marriage by the Rev^{d} Jacob Bailey Octob^{r} 1796."[37] The late date of this marriage has caused many raised eyebrows, as has the statement, "He is a single man," noted in the 1784 evidence presented with Colonel DeLancey's claim for reimbursement of losses. On the other hand, there may have been an earlier marriage, such as was performed for his brother Oliver on 10 November 1782 by Moses Badger, artillery chaplain, and of which in those troubled times there was no official record.

At any rate, these vague discrepancies led family connection, James Fenimore Cooper, who was not trusted in money matters by his father-in-law, John Peter DeLancey, and who had no love for any of the Westchester DeLanceys, to write later on 10 March 1845, "This James did not marry the mother of his children, who were numerous, until all, or nearly all were born.

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36 Murdoch, *History of Nova-Scotia*, III, pp. 175, 206. Colonial Office records, RG1, Vol. 53, p. 220, PANS. Council Minutes, RG1, Vol. 214, PANS.

37 Annapolis Township Book. MG4, Vol. 5, PANS.

He said it made a woman proud to marry her. Who she was, I never heard, but of common extraction, no doubt."[38]

Martha was the great-great grand-daughter of George Tippett (1638-1675), an early settler in Westchester County, New York, who lived in Lower Yonkers, where a brook and a park today bear the family name.[39] She was the sweetheart who, according to tradition, during the revolution brought food to James DeLancey when, to escape capture, he took refuge in a towering pine tree near his home.

James DeLancey's health had indeed failed. He died at his home at Round Hill, Annapolis County, on 2 May 1804. It has been said that his death resulted "from poison administered to him by a female slave, whom he had foolishly told that he had provided in his will that she should be freed at his death, and who took this means of hurrying the longed-for event."[40] Dr. Ronald S. Longley does not agree with this conclusion, pointing out that for six years prior, James had been in poor health; Longley does state, however, that "the teapot from which the lethal beverage was allegedly poured" was later in the possession of DeLancey's grand-daughter, Elizabeth Bailey Bennett [Bonnett] of Annapolis.[41]

The teapot story can be reconciled with an action related in an early letter of James's mother to her father, Dr. Cadwallader Colden, dated 2 July 1750, and reading in part:

> We have all continued in health this Summer except poor Jammy. I can't say he is well yet, he has sometimes the fever & has again got a hard cake in the side of his belly. I should be very glad my Mother would please to send me some carduus for him. I can get none here. I would repeat what you prescribed for him formerly for that ailment.[42]

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38 James Fenimore Cooper to E.F. DeLancey, 10 March 1845, quoted in James Franklin Beard, *The Letters and Journals of James Fenimore Cooper*, Vol. V (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), p. 293.

39 "Tippett," Grenville Mackenzie Papers, Westchester County Historical Society.

40 Story, *The DeLanceys*, p. 51.

41 Longley, "The DeLancey Brothers," p. 73.

42 "Cadwallader Colden Papers," p. 220. Original handwriting indicates "Jammy" instead of "Sammy" and "carduus" instead of "cardnus" as printed.

It is suggested that since childhood James had been given doses of tea made from carduus (a thistle sage then believed to have healing qualities), perhaps from the same tea pot, and possibly even by the old servant who may have looked after him from childhood.

While there is no known existing copy of Colonel James DeLancey's will, it was dated 3 April 1803, and several references made to it by three executors--Thomas Barclay, his brother-in-law; William DeLancey, his eldest son; and Thomas Ritchie, his friend and family attorney--give an idea of the colonel's intent. There were eleven heirs, and the settlement expenses and division of liquid assets among them greatly diminished the wealth of the family, as a unit. A contemporary deed in part states:

> ...among other things therein contained did give devise and bequeath unto his Son, the said William DeLancey, all that Certain Farm & parcel of Land with the appurtenances where on he resided at the time of his [James DeLancey's] decease. To have and to hold unto him the said William DeLancey his Heirs and assigns...And did further will and aver that the said executors therein named should when and as Soon as his youngest Son [Peter] attained the age of twenty one years, bargain sell, and alienate in fee Simple for the best price that could be gotten for the same, All the rest, residue and [illegible] of his real estate where so ever situated... .[43]

Apparently James DeLancey required his son William to pay the other heirs a proportionate share of the value of the main farm left to him, as on 30 April 1838 the following settlement was noted in the Annapolis deed registry:

> Ann Bromley [youngest daughter of Colonel James] of Annapolis, Widow, for and in consideration of the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds of lawful money of Nova Scotia, paid by William DeLancey, sells unto the Said William the undivided eleventh part of all that certain farm or tract devised to William DeLancey by his father... .[44]

"An Inventory of the personal Estate of the Hon^{ble} James DeLancey" was made on 11 June 1804 by his brother Stephen and by Stephen Sneden. The personal property was valued at £785.5s.7d. Aside from personal items it included: "A Negro Woman called Nance at present disordered and infirm mind, of no value"; four Negro girls, Peg, Jane, Harriett and Virginia, valued at

43 Registry of Deeds, Annapolis County, Vol. 24, p. 293.

44 *Ibid.*, Vol. 32, p. 589.

£40, £30, £25 and £20 respectively; and a Negro boy, Charles, valued at £18; a total of £133 for the slaves. Notes, bonds and stocks, many of recent date, were inventoried by the executors living in Nova Scotia, William DeLancey and Thomas Ritchie, Thomas Barclay having removed to New York. They totalled £11,205. Of the entire group, only two, totalling £30, were declared "Bad Debts." The principal notes or bonds (i.e. those over £200), including interest, were from: John DeLancey (brother), bond for £1600 New York currency, equal to £1070; Hartshorne and Tremaine, £672; Phineas Lovett, £788; John Messenger, £281; Timothy Ruggles, £200; Francis Ryerson, £213. Also included was an investment "In the Consol'd 3 P cent Stock held in the names of Thomas Coutts & Sons [London bankers], £4281 worth about 56¾ P Cent, with £37 interest to May 1, 1804, £2406."[45]

A sale of personal property was held on 5 September 1804.[46] Apparently the slaves were set free in accordance with the reported provision of the will, as they were not sold. Most of the personal property, including livestock valued at £368, was purchased by the oldest son, William, who was to own, live at, and operate the family farm. He also purchased the only books listed: "1 Large Bible, £3; 2 Volume Journal of the Assembly of New-York, 2 shillings."[47] James's widow Martha purchased a "Riding Chase" for £30 and two bedsteads, plus chairs, tables, chests and other furnishings for £50, indicating that she planned to maintain a separate household.[48] Daughter Maria, eighteen years old, purchased a looking glass and a bedstead. Daughter Elizabeth, seventeen years old, purchased a complete tea set.[49] The latter two may have continued to live with William, who did not marry until 1808, as their own marriages occurred at about that same time. The other seven children, the oldest being

45 Estate Papers, Probate Court, Annapolis County.

46 Hon. James DeLancey, Account of Sale of Personal Estate, 5 September 1804. Vertical Manuscript File: DeLancey, PANS.

47 Printed 1738, contains signatures of Elizabeth DeLancey and records of William's family. Remnant now in writer's possession.

48 On the original property, just south of the main road, there remains a small dwelling known as "the DeLancey house"; information courtesy of John J. Johnson, president of the Historical Society of Annapolis Royal.

49 This may have included the tea pot from which the fatal dose was said to have been poured for Colonel James.

aged fifteen and the youngest three months, presumably continued to live with their mother.

A family story has it that executor Thomas Ritchie, in line with the wishes of Colonel DeLancey, endeavoured to have the young men attend college. Records of the University of King's College show that "J., O., S., & W." DeLancey attended the school at Windsor between 1788 and 1802.[50] Family members have said that Peter, born in 1802, also attended King's, and afterwards, Columbia University in New York City. Records from there show "Delaney [*sic*], Peter, entered 1821 P & S [School of Physicians and Surgeons]."[51]

Several children of Martha Tippett and Colonel James DeLancey have been mentioned in the preceding article. A short sketch of each follows:

William, b. New York, 9 April 1783; m. 8 October 1808, his first cousin, Elizabeth, daughter of Stephen DeLancey. Inherited the home place, d. 2 July 1869 at Round Hill. Had five children, none of whom had issue.
Maria, b. Annapolis, 23 January 1786; m. 1 February 1808, Henry Goldsmith, assistant commissary general and storekeeper general at Annapolis; d. prior to 1841. No issue.[52]
Elizabeth, b. Annapolis, 27 August 1787; m. 1809, William Gilbert Bailey, lawyer and collector of customs at Annapolis, son of the Rev. Jacob Bailey; d. 1836. One daughter, Maria Elizabeth, who married Peter Bonnett, high sheriff of Annapolis County, and who had no issue.
James, b. April 1789; d. Kingston, Ontario, 11 December 1813, War of 1812; lieutenant, 104th regiment.[53]
John, b. June 1791; d. "at Bridgetown at an advanced age, unmarried";[54]

50 F.W. Vroom, *King's College: A Chronicle, 1789-1939* (Halifax, 1941), p. 34, and letter, 7 February 1978, from Mrs. Iris Newman, executive secretary, Alumni Association.

51 Story, *The DeLanceys*, p. 57, and letter, 30 October 1978, from Paul R. Palmer, curator, Columbiana Collection, Columbia University, New York City. The writer's mother believed that Peter, against his wishes and at the direction of Judge Ritchie, studied medicine but did not practice.

52 Calnek, *Annapolis County*, p. 189.

53 Vol. 1203½K, p. 179, microfilm 3521, PAC.

54 Calnek, *Annapolis County*, p. 342.

captain (temporary rank), New Brunswick Fencible Regiment, disbanded 31 May 1816; listed in 1871 census as "major."
Oliver, b. 30 April 1793; d. ca. 1845; lieutenant, 17th. Dragoons, lieutenant, 10th Dragoons, wounded, half pay, 22 June 1820 to 1840. Married, wife unknown; son Oliver d. Nassau, Bahamas, 1880, without issue and was buried 4 September, aged 56 years.[55]
Susan, b. 3 April 1798; d. September 1813.
Stephen, b. 27 March 1800; died without issue.
Peter, b. 24 April 1802; m. ca. 1836, Elizabeth Starratt, daughter of John and Mary (Saunders) Starratt, and had two sons and three daughters, whose descendants represent the sole survivors of Colonel James DeLancey's line; d. 23 February 1889 at Cheverie, Hants County, Nova Scotia.
Anne, b. 10 June 1804; m. 30 November 1825 at Annapolis, by Rev. J. Milledge, Stephen Bromley, an author and founder of the Acadian School, Halifax, who died prior to 1838. There were two sons, who left no issue; one of them, Walter Henry Bromley, adopted by his uncle by marriage, Henry Goldsmith, had a brilliant military career as captain in the 42nd Highlanders, transferred and served through the Crimean War, then wounded and killed in India at the Relief of Lucknow.[56]

On 3 August 1925 the Historical Association of Annapolis Royal took formal possession of the DeLancey family burial plot, and a pathway leading to it, on the old farm of Colonel James DeLancey at Round Hill, near Tupperville, Annapolis County. In it were stones marking the graves of William and Elizabeth DeLancey, but the principal marker is the monument to Colonel James and his wife Martha. It is of white marble, a rectangular block surmounted by an ellipsoid standing on end. On one face is the following inscription:

In memory of the Honourable
Colonel James DeLancey Ob^{t} 2nd May, 1804,
an^{o} Aetatis 58.

55 Story, *The DeLanceys*, pp. 55, 57; letter, Peter Bonnett, 28 May 1883; and burial register, Christ Church, Nassau.

56 Story, *The DeLanceys*, pp. 54-6. *Acadian Recorder* (Halifax), 10 December 1825.

He lived respected and died
Universally regretted.
Tho here in dust low lies the mortal part
That once contained a brave and honest heart,
To all engagements true, the soul must rise
Where faith and virtue triumph in the skies.

On a side face appears: "Martha Tippett / Wife of / Colonel James DeLancey / Died 1837. Aged 73." To another face was added: "The old family burial / Plot of the DeLanceys / and its memorials, were / formally taken over by / The Historical Association / of Annapolis Royal, / A.D. 1925 / for perpetual care."

At the ceremony for restoration and perpetual care, Mrs. J.M. Owen, president of the Association, placed the Union Flag of George III, under whom DeLancey had served, over the inscription. A "Memoir of Colonel the Honourable James DeLancey," written by General E.A. Cruikshank, was read by the Association's vice-president, F.W. Harris. A motivating factor in the restoration was the support of L.M. Fortier, the founder and president of the Association, and a moving force in the Fort Anne Historic Park.

Among the guests present were descendants of the three sons of Stephen (Etienne) DeLancey, founder of the family in America: J.B. Uniacke DeLancey of North Williamston, N.S., son of Peter DeLancey and a grandson of the colonel; DeLancey Harris, George DeLancey Harris, his wife Anna Harris, and Charles E. Harris, all of New York and Annapolis Royal, descendants of New York colonial lieutenant governor James DeLancey; and Mrs. J. Nelson Gibson of Halifax and Mrs. Sidney Crawford White of Westmount, Quebec, daughters of D.A. Story of Halifax and descendants of Brigadier General Oliver DeLancey.[57]

The Historical Association of Annapolis Royal has continued the care of the DeLancey family burial plot, and on Canada Day, 1 July 1982, its committee of Mr. John C. Johnson, president of the Association, Mr. Harold McCormick and Doctor John Corston, visited the site to ensure its proper maintenance.[58]

57 *Saturday Night*, Vol. 40, No. 44, 19 Sept. 1925.

58 Letter, 6 July 1982, from Mr. John Johnson, president, Historical Association of Annapolis Royal.

Some Valley Loyalists

Leone Banks Cousins

The Reverend John Wiswall

The flood of Loyalists to Nova Scotia following the Revolutionary War brought many changes, not the least of which was the growth of the Church of England. Previously there had been only eight missionaries of this denomination in the whole province. Among the fugitives were 31 clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church, who had been sponsored and partially supported in the American colonies by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Later, a few returned to the United States and some went to England, but eighteen remained in the province.

In the new township of Wilmot, settled following the peace, there was neither a church nor a resident clergyman, and on occasion people had buried their dead without benefit of clergy. The first ordained minister to serve the township was the Reverend John Wiswall, S.P.G. missionary to Cornwallis-Horton, in which parish Wilmot was initially included. The community soon became a separate mission, however, and in 1790 Wiswall resigned Cornwallis to become the first resident clergyman of any denomination in the new township. Here he settled and served his people with dedication and devotion until his death in 1821.

John Wiswall had dreamed of a career in the Royal Navy after his graduation from Harvard in 1749; just at that point, however, Britain had demobilized the navy after making peace with France, temporarily ending the on-going war for empire. Wiswall's father Peleg, also a Harvard graduate, now master of a grammar school in Boston, suggested a teaching career for his son. For the next five years, Wiswall was thus engaged in teaching in and around Boston, his home town. He then changed his course, with his father's approval, and located with the Independent (Congregational) Church in Falmouth, now Portland, Maine, on 3 November 1754; he was 23 years of age. Before the year was out, Indians attacked the settlement and some of his parishioners were massacred; in future he would be very watchful of the Indian foe with the tomahawk.

About this time, the Reverend Jacob Bailey, later a well-known frontier missionary in Nova Scotia's Annapolis Valley, visited Wiswall while en route, with his bride, to a parish on the nearby Kennebec River. They would meet again in Cornwallis after the upheaval and tragedies of the revolution, which neither foresaw at this time; they remained lifelong friends.

In April 1759, Wiswall was ordained pastor of the Independent Church at Falmouth. He married in December 1761, Mercy, daughter of Judge Minot of Boston. Three years later, Wiswall united with the Church of England and established an Episcopal congregation, St. Paul's, at Falmouth. He proceeded to London to be ordained, there being no bishop in the colonies, and arrived back in May 1765.

The Reverend Wiswall was a prolific writer, providing detailed accounts of his parish work and the state of the church to the S.P.G. for a great many years. He wrote lengthy letters to friends, and after the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, he provided a detailed account of the progress of hostilities to the Society. On 30 May 1775, he wrote to Vice-Admiral Samuel Graves, commander of the British ships in Boston harbour, explaining the circumstances of his capture by an armed mob on 9 May, while walking with two officers from a British vessel anchored in Casco Bay. The Church of England clergy had supported Great Britain from the beginning of the American hostilities, and Wiswall was no exception; his loyalty was now to alter the course of his career. After his arrest, he was permitted to move about Falmouth under parole, and managed to escape on board a King's ship, "where he conducted a service on Sunday." They put to sea and he arrived in Boston "without money and without clothing, my family at more than a hundred miles distant from me, a wife and three children destitute of bread, among enemies who bear the greatest malice to the Church of England,my little flock persecuted... ."

On 5 July his wife and their three children were permitted to leave Falmouth and arrived in Boston in a vessel under British escort. Mrs. Wiswall brought news of recent disasters in Falmouth. The mob had taken his property, his library and all his possessions. She had been allowed to take her clothing and bedding, and two days' provisions for her little family. The ordeal was too much for the poor woman, and sad to relate, Mrs. Wiswall and their ten-year-old daughter, Elizabeth, fell ill and died soon after their arrival in Boston. Only the two elder sons, Peleg and John, now remained of five children, two small sons having died earlier in Falmouth. After this personal tragedy, Wiswall wrote sadly to the Society, "I have nothing of what I possessed left to me, only two sons whom I wish to bring over to England in the spring, where they can be properly educated."

The twenty happy, useful years in Falmouth were but a memory. On orders of Admiral Graves, ships were sent in October to destroy Falmouth and it was left in ashes. Wiswall wrote again to the Society:

> On the 18th of November the orders of Admiral Graves were executed and the town of Falmouth burned. The church did not escape the dreadful conflagration. All my real and personal estate shared the same fate... and indeed the sufferings and persecutions I have endured, together with the rebellious spirit of the people, have entirely weaned my affections from my native country. The further I go from it the better!

There were multitudes of Loyalists in the colonies who harboured the same bitter feelings as Mr. Wiswall. His home city of Boston was unbelievably changed. The tents of the army were everywhere and redcoats walked the streets. The fleet was in the harbour, flying the British flag, while Washington's army partially surrounded the outskirts. There was also little harmony between English and American Loyalists, particularly since the latter were apt to change loyalties as the fortunes of the conflict altered.

While in Boston, Wiswall served as chaplain to a regiment, then sailed for England, 29 January 1776, as chaplain on the *Preston*, Admiral Graves' flagship. They reached England on 27 February and Admiral Graves then found a berth for his friend as chaplain aboard the *Rainbow*, which sailed for America in May, arriving in Halifax on 27 September after a call in New York. Both the boys, who were still with Wiswall, were very sick during the voyage.

In Halifax there was the same turmoil, unrest and questionable loyalties. General Sir William Howe had evacuated Boston in the spring and had arrived, followed by 47 transports loaded with 1500 Loyalists and their families. The city was a scene of utter confusion, unable to cope with the influx. Wiswall found a place to board, met many old friends and acquaintances among the newcomers, and for the first three months taught a school of mathematics.

In 1777, Wiswall sailed with his boys for England to receive a chaplaincy on the *Boyne*, about to sail as convoy for seventy merchant vessels bound for the West Indies. There Wiswall spent the next two years chasing privateers at first, then the fleets of France, Spain and Holland after these nations joined the rebels. Wiswall wrote detailed accounts of naval engagements and disasters in his journal during this period. Finally, after nearly five years in His Majesty's Navy, he arrived in "dear England," from where he wrote:

> I have put off the harness... having bequeathed to my two boys my weapons, my quiver and my bow, who continue in the Navy serving their country against the united force of Yankee, French, Spanish, and Dutch malice. May they live to see their injured country triumph over this combined force.

Peleg was nineteen and John seventeen at this point. Wiswall himself intended to stay in England until he could return to Falmouth, fully expecting the British to triumph. Likewise, Jacob Bailey wrote that he had accepted a mission at Cornwallis, in Nova Scotia, "till I can return to Kennebec in safety." Like many others, neither expected the triumph of the rebels and the loss of Britain's American colonies.

Wiswall's health was poor at this point, in 1781, and he applied to the S.P.G. for an annuity; he was allowed £30 a year, and moved to Oxford. The months there were a great pleasure to Wiswall and a welcome contrast to the vicissitudes of his life during the past six years. He remained until the summer of 1783, when he received an appointment from the Society as successor to Jacob Bailey at Cornwallis, where he duly arrived on 24 August, just at the end of the war. Gone was any expectation of returning to a British New England. The rebels had won, with the help of all Europe. It was bitter news to all Loyalists, and to none more so than to the Reverend Wiswall. He accepted with an uncomplaining spirit, and began again at 52, a new life in a virtual wilderness.

He was happy to be again in a parish. His field extended from the east end of Cornwallis Township, forty miles west and twelve broad, with all the land in between. In this immense parish there were about seven hundred families, but only a small minority were of the Anglican church. At Horton, "an Ana-Baptist meeting-house and an illiterate shoemaker--the Rev. Nicholas Pierson--supplied the place of a pastor." Wiswall was permitted the use of the pulpit in the Baptist meeting-house there for his services. There was no friendly spirit between the dissenting preachers and the clergy of the Church of England. Indeed, at Horton there was general opposition to the Anglican church from the Planter descendants of the Puritan fathers, and Wiswall reported to the Society his opinion that the church would never grow in the area; little progress was made at Horton after the few Loyalists there moved to Parrsboro.

Dissension also built between Wiswall and the Presbyterian minister at Horton. The latter claimed the glebe lands, but his claim was disproved by Wiswall, who successfully asserted that "by law Church lands belonged to the first Episcopal clergy who settled among the people."

One should recall that civilian life was disorganized at this time by the great influx of Loyalists into the province, arriving without homes or prospects. In the west end of Wiswall's field, old settlers in Granville sold and moved into the new township of Wilmot, joining Loyalists already

there. At the same time, the area was being travelled by the revivalist preachers, such as William Black, a pioneer of Methodism, who had begun his mission in 1780, and the New Light evangelist, Henry Alline, another who had begun in 1776 to preach new ideas with great enthusiasm. The settlers travelled many miles on horseback to hear these preachers; classes were organized and met in cabins and houses at first, with great increases in conversions and revivals.

Wiswall was a devout and dedicated man, with a great adherence to duty. The Loyalists settling in Aylesford and Wilmot desired an Episcopal clergyman, and he thus travelled great distances on horseback over mere trails to hold services. On one occasion, soon after his arrival in the field, Wiswall travelled 45 miles on foot, the snow being too deep for his horse, from Cornwallis to Handley Mountain to serve the people who had settled there. This was the first service held by an ordained clergyman at Mount Handley; Henry Alline, the New Light preacher, had preceded him by ten years, but was not of an established church. In 1784, Wiswall made a visit to Digby and reported four hundred houses, but no resident minister of any denomination.

Settling in Cornwallis, Wiswall went to board in the home of a Mrs. Hutchinson, a refugee from Carolina. This was a pleasant arrangement for the clergyman, and the move led to a change in his personal life, when that same winter he married the widow. Jacob Bailey, then serving at Annapolis, wrote to a friend, in his humourous fashion, "You have I presume, heard a rumour of my ramble to Cornwallis to unite Brother Wiswall in the holy bonds of matrimony to a rib of his own choice"; he then referred to the new Mrs. Wiswall as "a very clever woman, is sociable, and prudent in the management of family affairs."

Wiswall continued his labours in the huge parish. The first school in Wilmot Township was built at Handley Mountain, of logs 20 feet by 22 feet, and it also served as a chapel. William Cropley, Loyalist, was the first schoolmaster and catechist. Meantime, Lieutenant John Wiswall returned from London after several years in the British navy and settled in Wilmot among other Loyalists, disbanded soldiers and sailors. With his slave Tan, and a friend, John Outhit, Wiswall built a log cabin on a rise of land on his father's grant north of the old Post Road. The Reverend Wiswall had received for himself five hundred acres in the township. West of his grant, six hundred acres were granted to the Church of England and beyond, four hundred acres for a glebe in support of schools. These lots lay north of the Annapolis River, and east of the Wilmot railway station of later years.

In 1788 Wilmot parish was separated from Cornwallis and Wiswall moved to his new field on 10 October 1790. Directly opposite the church grants, south of the river, Major Samuel V. Bayard had settled on his grant with his family and slaves. A Colonel Eager settled west of Bayard, on the same side. Further west still, Alden Bass with his family became the first settlers in Nictaux. A further one thousand acres had been granted to General Timothy Ruggles and his two sons, a tract which stretched from the river north over the mountain. All these men were staunch supporters of the Church of England.

Wiswall had hoped for a church in Wilmot Township as early as 1785, as he had four stations, which he described as "the East End" (Cornwallis), "the Plains" (Aylesford), "the Mountain" and "the Centre" (Wilmot). The 1787 arrival of Bishop Charles Inglis in Nova Scotia was a great boon to the parish, since he at once began the construction of churches. The first was St. Mary's at Aylesford, and at the same time, with the support of Ruggles and Bayard, plans were laid for a structure at Wilmot. Land was secured from Benjamin Chesley and the work began at once. St. Mary's was consecrated on 16 October 1790, while the first service in Holy Trinity, Pine Grove, was held on 14 August 1791, although the structure was not yet completed. The two churches were built entirely by the people, although the Society gave each a grant, for the bishop would not consecrate a church unless it was free of debt.

The Aylesford-Wilmot parish was now 25 miles in length. The Reverend Wiswall settled on his land in Wilmot, seven miles east of his new chapel, Holy Trinity, and reported on the progress of the building: "his parishioners were in general very poor, having none of the conveniences and few of the necessities of life." At this point, the settlers had become impoverished by a drought, followed by floods, and work on the church had stalled. In 1792 the building was still without plastering, pews and underpinning. In due time the fine little edifice was completed; it still stands and is today open to visitors during the summer months. In 1801 St. Mary's became a separate parish and John Inglis, the bishop's son, took charge of that congregation.

About 1794, several military families left Wilmot, being unable to adjust to the isolation and drudgery. There were in the township 104 families, of whom one-third were Anglican and the remainder two-thirds Baptist, Methodist and New Light. There were forty to fifty pupils in the Mount Handley, Aylesford and Wilmot schools adminstered by the S.P.G. Some students were too far from the respective school, and often a disbanded soldier went from house to house, teaching the barest rudiments.

Meanwhile, the itinerant preachers had been for some years very active all through the valley townships. What they may have lacked in learning and experience, they made up for by enthusiasm, as they rode over the countryside and led revivals which swept through the valley and over the mountains. The Methodist classes were followed by organized congregations and the Baptists were also baptizing converts and building churches. As time passed, Wiswall, the devoted and dedicated missionary, was disappointed and his hopes were not realized; his congregation was diminished, and in winter his parishioners could be accommodated in his dwelling.

Looking back, one can see how his service and devotion enriched the lives of his parishioners. He improved the glebe lands, giving the people useful lessons and examples in agriculture, and he farmed and gardened his own lands, planting and grafting fruit trees. Nor did he neglect the cultural and intellectual lives of his flock; he supervised the schoolmasters and catechists, supplying books, lessons and tracts from the S.P.G., and he also achieved much from his personal influence. His sons became honourable and worthy citizens; both married and Peleg became a lawyer and judge in Digby, prominent in public affairs.

John Wiswall built a house after his log cabin, married in 1796 and raised three sons and four daughters. He inherited his father's estate and lived the remainder of his life in Wilmot, as did two sons, who never married. They worked the Wiswall acres, while their two also unmarried sisters, Mercy and Miriam, opened a boarding school for young ladies at Wilmot in 1843, the first in Annapolis County. This was a fine example and several followed suit, such as the Baptist Young Ladies' Boarding School at Nictaux, under Miss Mary Bill, which opened in 1845. So it may be seen that early culture and education among the women of the parish may be traced to the initiative of the Reverend Wiswall's grand-daughters. Descendants still live on the Wiswall acres at the present time, and the family members have all been worthy of their Loyalist ancestor, the first S.P.G. missionary in the wilderness of old Wilmot Township.

There is a new church in Middleton, but the original "Old Holy Trinity" still stands, kept in repair by the faithful parishioners. The tablet on the wall pays tribute to the faithful servant of the church, the Rev. John Wiswall, who died on 2 December 1821, aged 90. He was buried in Holy Trinity churchyard, and other members of his family lie nearby.

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Henry Magee

The story of Henry Magee, ancestor of the Kings County Magees, is that of the persevering and courageous Loyalist, overcoming all obstacles to survive and prosper. At age 32, in 1771, Henry Magee, with his wife and small son John, landed at Philadelphia from Northern Ireland. He purchased a tract of land west of Philadelphia, but later moved to Perth Valley, where he set up a grist mill at a cost of £150. Magee was industrious and did a good business.

When hostilities developed, he was ordered by the rebels to grind wheat for the poor of Boston, *gratis;* this Magee refused to do. He was then asked to take up arms against the King; again he refused, but offered to remain neutral and to grind the grain. This was satisfactory at the time, but later a different faction charged him, and Magee was "on the spot." He had no choice but to flee for his life, and leaving his little family behind, he escaped to the mountains, where he joined a group of Loyalists in similar circumstances. Soon there were more than four hundred refugees, and they made plans to join Colonel John Butler and his Loyal Rangers. Alas, at this point the group

was betrayed by one of their own men. At once they scattered, and a reward was placed upon the head of Henry Magee: wanted for treason.

Magee fled to Philadelphia and joined the British Engineers at five shillings per day. Then he had a stroke of luck; according to family tradition, in June 1778, Lord Cornwallis, the British commander, gave him five guineas and advised him to try to reach safety in British Nova Scotia.

What of his wife and family back in Philadelphia? When the rebels failed to capture Magee as a traitor, they promptly transferred the charge to his wife; Mrs. Magee was outlawed and ordered to leave the country with her two boys, aged eight and two, taking only what they could carry. It was a cruel situation. How much could they carry? The two-year-old would have to be carried himself, most of the way. As Mrs. Magee stretched out her hand for her children's shoes, a soldier's bayonet was thrust between. She was compelled to leave her land, her mill, and most of her personal belongings, and was escorted off her property by the soldier with the bayonet.

She was now an outlaw and had no protection whatever. Being an enemy, she was frequently searched for British despatches or papers. What to do? She had little choice but to turn her face toward New York and the British fleet, one hundred miles away. There Britain had made a stand; Manhattan was the refuge of hundreds of Loyalists, hangers-on, followers of the army, and men, women and children.

It was a long, hard road for Mrs. Magee and her little boys. The three were totally dependant upon the charity of strangers, particularly the Quakers, who were kind and helpful. After weeks of hardship, she and her family reached New York and safety. Mrs. Magee found work sewing for the wives of the British officers. The city was overcrowded and their accommodations were uncomfortable; John slept on a plank, but at least they were safe. There was no word of Henry Magee.

Finally the end came. Opposed by the rebels, with French forces at his back and the French fleet before him, Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown. The war was over and the United States of America was an actuality. New York was to be evacuated and Nova Scotia, being the nearest British possession, was a prime goal. Everything that floated was called into service, beginning in November 1782. Ships loaded with the penniless and helpless arrived daily at overcrowded Halifax and Annapolis Royal. Mrs. Magee reached Halifax aboard a British man-o'-war. But where was Henry? It was now five years since he had set out for Nova Scotia.

Henry Magee was a businessman first and last. He had no sooner reached Halifax than he had written a complete description of himself and his family, all that had befallen them, and his whereabouts, leaving the paper with the Halifax authorities. Indeed, he was in Nova Scotia only by the merest chance; the vessel on which he was sailing had been bound for Quebec, but was driven into Halifax harbour by a storm. Magee then took a job at Martock, Hants County, on the Butler estate, as a miller--what else?!

The Magee family was now joyfully reunited and Henry at once made plans for their future. When the Loyalist claims were settled by the British, he was awarded £136.12s.9d. for losses, a sum sufficient to re-establish himself in a new homeland. On 20 September 1786, Magee was granted five hundred acres, seven miles east of the county line between Kings and Annapolis, and lying east of James Morden's property in Wilmot Township. In 1799, Magee bought six hundred acres from the Morden estate, which gave him land on both sides of the old Post Road in what is now Aylesford.

The Magees chose to settle at Horton Corners, now Kentville, where they built a home on Main Street, on the highway just east of Magee Brook and the New Ross road; the brook has its origin in tiny Magee Lake at South Alton. Later, the Colonial House was built on the site of Magee's original 1788 homestead. Henry Magee was a great worker, honest and dependable. Initially he built a grist mill, the first at Horton Corners, on Magee Brook; then he opened a general store, also the first in the community. There were at that time only fourteen houses at the Corners, but people were constantly on the move and Magee prospered.

Looking back on those days, one must keep in mind that there were no planes, trains, cars, buses and snowmobiles, few roads or carriages, and the very first stagecoach service from Windsor to Kentville began only in 1816. Nevertheless, Magee's business covered a wide area. Customers came from the townships of Wilmot, Cornwallis, Aylesford, Horton (Wolfville), Falmouth and Windsor. His account books, preserved today in the Public Archives at Halifax, show that between 1788 and 1806, he did a business of £2000 and more per year. It was a general store, carrying everything from a needle to a wooden plough, wheat to gaspereaux, snuff and rum to a New Testament. Magee was a merchant, miller, trader, banker, pawnbroker, friend of the whole district--and a man of great integrity. Among his customers were Bishop Charles Inglis, who had a summer residence in Auburn; his son, the Reverend John Inglis, S.P.G. missionary of St. Mary's, Auburn; and Brigadier-General James Morden of Halifax, also with a summer residence at Auburn.

There was little that Henry Magee failed to record in his day book. He made his notes in a beautiful hand by a goose quill pen dipped in ink scraped from a cake and diluted with water, the whole sanded in lieu of blotting paper, as yet unheard of in Nova Scotia. He recorded interviews with patrons; costs of construction and maintenance of a dyke; descriptions of cattle grazing on the common; fees for drawing up contracts and leases; costs of children's schooling--and just where he had stored his gold and silver coins.

The first bank notes or paper money appeared in Nova Scotia in 1827. Until then, people carried coins of gold and silver. One would not carry all one's coins, nor would they be left just lying anywhere. Instead, they were safely hidden--and Henry Magee recorded every penny. Everyone has heard of "salting away money," but few realize that the expression is an actual fact. The Portuguese, trading in the West Indies, stored their coins in the pickle brine, along with the salt pork, aboard their vessels. When the triangular trade patterns of that time brought the coins to Nova Scotia, the Union Bank of Halifax had to clean them before putting them in their vault. The clerks simply dropped the coins, with a dash of soda, into boiling water to melt the grease. Traders must have been delighted when paper money made its appearance on the market.

Henry Magee had his own methods. He "salted" his gold coins in the salt, the silver ones went into the wheat, and so as not to have "all his eggs in one basket," some wheat was stored in a box in the cellar, while another box was in the loft. During one sixteen-month period, Magee had 29 entries of money, "salted away." Three-fifths were in gold, and the total value was £2,928.

Magee's business records are full of interesting details. The quantities of rum required for a barn-raising party were entered on one occasion; it cost £3.7s.5d. for 7½ gallons of cider and 5½ gallons of rum consumed by the helpers. On another occasion, Magee noted three yards of hair ribbon priced at 8d., but noted "I aim to cut the price to 7½d. on account of the mice." On 8 November 1800, schooling for Hannah and Margaret Magee from 1 May to 1 November was credited to the schoolmaster's account at £1.2s.6d. The scarcity of money meant that trade was largely a matter of credit. On several occasions the local doctor attended Mrs. Magee, all services duly recorded as contra-credit items against the physician's account: to bleeding, to vomit and to drawing teeth, all one shilling each. People--often slaves--who ran errands were noted in the records as "Black Robin," "Pompey," or "a man with one

eye." People of wealth and rank were accorded the title "Gentleman" or "Esquire"; the Anglican clergy were referred to as "Reverend," the Methodist as "Preacher," and the Baptist as "Parson."

Clothing was mostly imported from Britain. For the man, fine beaver hats--though these were also made in Nova Scotia--sold at £1 each. There were knee buckles, gallises (braces), red waistcoats, corduroy breeches, silk stockings and buckled shoes, or maybe high boots. Men's hunting shirts were of grey homespun flannel. Spectacles cost 3s.6d. Old Mr. West tried a pair, and since little money was in circulation, the amount owing was entered against his account.

Ladies wore bonnets, or hats of chipped straw, with a shawl of camel's hair or black shalloon, or maybe of silk. One can't imagine a woman's petticoat today resembling a man's shirt, but two hundred years ago, both were made of linen-woolsey--half-wool and half-linen--woven by the women of the household. On my lady's feet were slippers of leather, sometimes morocco. To get about, my lady rode postilion, or if alone, side saddle. Later, she could use a sedan chair, available locally from Mrs. Morden.

A child's tea set, four dozen cups and saucers, sold for 9d. per dozen, and was obtained from Stephen Oxley in Halifax. According to Magee's ledgers, cheaper tea sold for 4s.6d. per pound, but Souchong went for 8s. or 9s. and was only served on festive occasions, with the sugar loaf; the latter weighed from five to eleven pounds, and a few grains would be scraped away with a knife. Coffee was a shilling a pound, and likely came at this date from a privateer operating off the coast, and selling booty at auctions in Halifax.

Candles were used for lighting. Sometimes a lighted rag or wick floated in a saucer of dig-fish oil, but only once did Magee mention a lamp in his account book. A lantern with a candle was carried by travellers, and about the stables.

The bed was a four-poster, hung with chintz curtains, drawn to keep out the cold. There were no springs, just cording across the slats, and the mattress was a tick filled with straw, or for luxury, topped by another tick filled with goosefeathers. A warming-pan reduced the chill.

The records of Henry Magee and Sons at Horton Corners cover an eighteen-year period from 1788 to 1806, and are comprised of three small ledgers and four larger day books, totaling some 1100 pages in all. During the entire eighteen-year period, the store opened only once on Sunday. Henry Magee died in 1806. When his will was probated, it included 2000 acres of

timberland at Magee Lake, South Alton, worth £1520; fifty acres of unimproved intervale, worth £3622; and movable estate worth £4142.

Mrs. Magee moved to Auburn to live with her son John and his family, and was buried in the Magee-Fitch plot, St. Mary's churchyard, in July 1813, aged 74. John Magee built a house in Auburn on the Post Road, and about 1935, when a new roof was put on the dwelling, there in the attic, as good as the day they were written, were the day books and ledgers of Henry Magee and Sons of Horton Corners.

The story of Henry Magee and his wife during the revolution was handed down through the family and was recorded in 1876 by Mrs. Eliza Smith Orpin, a great-grandchild. The manuscript is available today at the Public Archives of Halifax.

Henry Magee was buried in Oak Grove Cemetery, Kentville. His monument stands about fifty paces from the highway, old route one, or the Great West Road, the first highway in Nova Scotia. The quaint inscription is well worth recording:

In Memory of
Henry Magee, a native
of Ireland, an Emigrant from
a' Merica during the
time of the unhappy Rebel
Lion in which he was a sufferer
and finally closed his life
August 2, 1806 aged 67 years
firmly attached to his King and Country.

Man that is born of a women
Hath but a short time to live.

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Loyalist Squire, Loyalist Church

Susan Burgess Shenstone

"To promote as far as in me lies the Establishment of the Church of England in said place"[1]

The man making this moving commitment, was Lieutenant James Moody, a famous and daring Loyalist partisan from Sussex County, New Jersey. The "said place" was Sissiboo, today's Weymouth, Nova Scotia.

What follows is the story of Moody's twenty-year attempt to meet his commitment in the face of problems typical of the time. The account is based largely on a rich collection of family papers generously made available by Mr. John Wentworth Moody of Ottawa, Ontario, direct descendant of James Moody.

James Moody was a giant of a man. When he came to Nova Scotia in 1786 he measured 6 foot 2 inches, without shoes, and weighed 263 pounds.[2] By then in his early forties, he was a lengendary hero among his Loyalist contemporaries and a "villain" to American patriots. In London, the *Narrative of his Exertions and Sufferings in the Cause of Government since 1776* had gone through two quick printings shortly after his arrival there in 1782. A popular English print of 1785 was an engraving of the scene of his freeing a condemned Loyalist soldier from the Sussex County jail in 1780.

His portrait,[3] probably painted in the 1780s (and stolen from his church in 1981), shows him in the brilliant red dress uniform of the Second Battalion of the New Jersey Volunteers --he actually served in the fifth and first battalions--with the gold epaulette of the lieutenant thrust forward. We see a man of strong features, clean shaven, with a large English nose, a wide generous mouth, and a fearless solid jaw. Under his thick black eyebrows, his pale green gaze reflects an almost truculent intelligence. He is more aware

1 Deed for conveyance of land from James Moody for the sole purpose of erecting a church thereon, 15 June 1790. Vestry Records, St. Peter's Church, Weymouth (hereafter Vestry), made available through the kindness of Mrs. John MacNeil and the vestry clerk.

2 Margaret Budd Moody, undated. Moody Family Papers in the private collection of Mr. John Wentworth Moody of Ottawa, Ontario (hereafter Moody).

3 The portrait, artist unknown, oil on canvas, was in the possession of the Moody family until donated to St. Peter's Church in 1975 by the late Philip D. Moody. Negative, William D. Moody, Burlington, Ontario.

than you think, but not very convinced by your argument. In the fashion of the day, his tight curly hair is powdered and cut to bunch just above the ear lobes. One senses in this man a physical energy not to be confined to the drawing room or the park, that marks him as an American, rather than an English, gentleman. We are not surprised that he kept a canoe hidden in the bushes beside the Hackensack River, two days from New York, nor that he could survive for many days and nights in the dismal swamps and rattlesnake-infested woods of frontier Sussex County. Yet the humour and quick wit that so often saved his life during the revolution plays around the edges of the mouth and eyes; and again, we are not surprised that he made so many friends while in exile in London, nor that they found his company hilarious as well as fascinating.[4]

When he landed in Nova Scotia in the spring of 1786, at the age of 41, he was about to begin the third and final stage of his life. He would now be an elder in the community and what he set in motion would help to determine the future course of his new country. LIke so many of his fellow Loyalists, he was determined to lay a sound foundation for this part of British North America. One of the first priorities was a spiritual one, the establishment of an Anglican church in the community.

Although all Loyalists were by no means Anglican, the Church of England had offered, in the standardized English prayer book with the archaic beauty of its Elizabethan English, and its compromise between what were seen as the extremes of the Church of Rome and the Protestant Dissenters, a traditional structure that nevertheless allowed a certain diversity of skepticism, a discreet agnosticism within its orthodoxy.

Moreover, in the middle colonies, the scholarliness and generally model conduct of its clergymen, with their attachment to what was best in England, had made the Church a bastion of Loyalism. To many Loyalists, the Church of England represented a haven of civilized behaviour and learning in the wilderness of the frontier. It stood for a reasoned submission to law and order, a law and order that in the end best guaranteed those individual liberties so cherished by Englishmen on both sides of the Atlantic. These had been dearly fought for during a succession of civil wars, of which the American Revolution had seemed but the latest.

4 Letters from England refer to Moody's adventures and to the fun the writers had had in his company. Moody.

For James Moody, as for so many others, Loyalism was a moral issue, a spiritual decision. He stated his position at the beginning of his *Narrative*:

> Of the points in debate between the parent state and his native country, he pretended not to be a competent judge: they were studiously so puzzled and perplexed, that he could come to no other conclusion, than that, however real or great the grievances of the Americans might be, rebellion was not the way to redress them. It required moreover but little skill to know, that rebellion is the foulest of all crimes; and that what was begun in wickedness must end in ruin.[5]

For such men, the Anglican Church was seen as an important institution for nurturing loyalty to both King and Constitution.

James Moody arrived in Halifax in the spring of 1786. During his four years in London he had been fretting over his growing children left in America in the care of his aging father, now destitute and deranged with grief over the loss of his younger son, hanged by the patriots. Like so many fellow Loyalists in exile in London, Moody had had enough of expensive cold lodgings and the humiliation of begging for a livelihood from the British government. He wanted to get to Nova Scotia in order to "speedily establish" himself and "by industry" and "the knowledge of Agriculture which Experience had taught him, [to] make a comfortable provision for his family."[6]

Like most other Loyalist officers who naturally became leaders in the new settlements, Moody was also anxious to contribute to those around him. Getting a church established must have seemed of first importance. The ground was already laid for him. Only six months before his arrival in Nova Scotia, the first Loyalists at Sissiboo and St. Mary's Bay had petitioned for a "missionary" to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), that powerful body of the Anglican Church that determined its organization in the colonies. The newly arrived Anglicans requested an exemplary clergyman, plus some Bibles and prayer books to properly meet

5 Lieut. James Moody, *Narrative of his Exertions and Sufferings in the Cause of Government Since the Year 1776* (London, 1783, reprinted Arno Press, New York, 1968), p. 3.

6 James Moody to Mr. Foster, London, undated but probably May 1784. Moody. See also Moody to Foster, 19 May 1784, A0 13, 110, Public Records Office, London.

their needs--a cry repeated in every newly founded Loyalist settlement.[7]

It was Governor Parr who demurred. The Loyalists, he wrote, were "impaired by forming their settlements and few are able to contribute to support a minister." They were "truly to be pitied both in a temporal and spiritual view, many of them having never had divine service since they came into the province,"[8] nor often during the war either. "Sissiboo is a small place," with "no roads to any other new settlement, the only communication being by water which is always expensive and sometimes impracticable."[9]

Fortunately for Sissiboo, the Rev. Roger Viets, a Loyalist clergyman from Connecticut, happy to be once more employed, had arrived in July 1786 to take up the newly formed parish of Digby, twenty miles away. To add Sissiboo to his religious circuit seemed in no way to inconvenience him. By August he had visited the settlement and baptized children both there and across St. Mary's Bay at Sandy Cove.[10]

By the summer of 1788, James Moody had become well established in his new situation at Sissiboo. His father was now dead, and he had retrieved his two nearly grown children from New Jersey. Already he was described as a "public benefactor to the settlement," every Sunday reading "prayers and a sermon in his own house to a number of his neighbours who attend."[11]

Moody was a close associate of many eminent Church of England divines on both sides of the Atlantic. He had known the Rev. Dr. Charles Inglis, now first Bishop of Nova Scotia, in London and New York.[12] Moody was quick to

7 Inhabitants of Sissiboo and St. Mary's Bay to Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (hereafter SPG), 10 January 1786. SPG Journal, MG17 B1, Vol. 24, p. 285, reel A-156, Public Archives of Canada (hereafter PAC).

8 Gov. Parr to SPG, 27 April 1787. SPG Journal, MG17 B1, Vol. 24, p. 413, reel A-156, PAC.

9 Parr to SPG, 13 September 1787. SPG Journal, MG17 B1, Vol. 25, p. 20, reel A-157, PAC.

10 Rev. Roger Viets, *Notitia Parochialis* of Trinity Church, Digby, Nova Scotia (beginning 12 July 1786), Baptisms, 13-16 August 1786. In keeping of Judge Victor Cardoza, Digby, N.S.

11 Charles Inglis to Dr. Morice, 7 April 1788. Inglis Family Papers, MG23 C6, Series 1, Vol. 1, p. 56, PAC.

12 Inglis to Thomas Chandler, 11 May 1782, quoted in Moody, *Narrative of Exertions and Sufferings*, Appendix No. VIII. Inglis letter accompanying memorial of Mrs. Jane Moody, 1810, quoted in W.A. Calnek, *History of the County of Annapolis* (Toronto, 1897, Mika reprint, Belleville, Ont., 1980), p. 292.

plead for the Sissiboo community, and his social standing and obvious prominence in the settlement got him a ready hearing from the Bishop.

"The inhabitants at Sissiboo and St. Mary's Bay have applied to me for a clergyman," the new Bishop wrote to the SPG in the spring of 1788,

> and I have informed them of the Society's good will, and actual appointment of a Missionary for them... . They have begun a subscription for the support of a missionary, and they will set about building a Church next summer. Capt. Moody, a worthy Loyalist, has engaged to furnish a house for the Missionary till a parsonage is built; and in the meantime, I shall apply to the Governor for a Glebe... . The new inhabitants of this settlement are Loyalists, very respectable, and worthy of the Society's attention.[13]

Already the tone had changed since Governor Parr's earlier hesitation. The SPG promptly voted "that the Society are ready to erect a Mission at Sissiboo, when a proper person can be found."[14]

Moody understood the needs of a frontier society. As a young man he had settled in Sussex County on the north-west frontier of New Jersey, where almost no clergyman of any denomination had yet ventured. Then in 1769, the religious life of the county had been transformed by the visit of the Rev. Dr. Thomas Chandler, then missionary in Elizabeth Town, and subsequently foremost among the Loyalist churchmen. He had helped the people of Knowlton, on the Delaware where Moody lived, to organize themselves into a parish. The vigorous Dr. Chandler, whom Moody later came to know well in London, had then persuaded the SPG to send them the young Uzal Ogden to preach and minister to them.[15] In the melting pot of New Jersey, devout individuals, not only Anglicans, had donated land for the establishment of the church and lay members of the congregation had taken the service when the minister was required to attend elsewhere.[16] That community organization had set an example which had been perhaps responsible for the steadfast loyalty of so many parts of Sussex County, not

13 Inglis to Dr. Morice, 7 April 1788. Inglis Family Papers, MG23, C6, Series 1, Vol. 1, pp. 55-6, PAC.

14 General Meeting, SPG, 23 May 1788. SPG Journal, MG17 B1, Vol. 25, p. 80, reel A-157, PAC.

15 Thomas Chandler to SPG, 5 January 1770. SPG Original Letters, Vol. 24, reel 24, Library of Congress. Uzal Ogden to SPG, 5 July 1770. *Ibid.*

16 Nelson R. Burr, *The Anglican Church in New Jersey*, (Philadelphia, no date), pp. 554-557.

only among Anglicans but also among Presbyterians and Quakers. What Moody set about to do in Sissiboo was clearly patterned on this common New Jersey experience.

That summer of 1788, the Bishop made a tour of his new diocese. With several free days between confirmations at Digby and Annapolis, he decided to visit Sissiboo to take stock of the new settlement. He wrote in his journal that he set out for the community on Tuesday, 26 August in the company of Rev. Roger Viets, as well as Major Thomas Millidge and Isaac Bonnell, also of Digby.[17] These latter two were prominent Loyalists who had known Moody in New Jersey and who would be closely linked to him in Nova Scotia.

Bishop Inglis noted that a very heavy rain made the "jaunt disagreeable and dangerous." He complained vehemently about the road: it was "very indifferent" for the six miles to the head of St. Mary's Bay, "still worse afterwards along the shore, and in the woods where the road is newly cut," and in his opinion it was the worst road he had ever travelled. Fortunately the party reached Mr. Reed's, five miles from Sissiboo, and were taken into the warmth and cheer of his house, until the rain abated. They then were carried by boat for the remainder of the journey. It must have been low tide as they came into the mouth of the river, for Bishop Inglis wrote in his diary

> The river Sissaboo [*sic*] is small and runs into St. Mary's Bay. On the south side stands the village of Edinburgh consisting of 4 or 5 farm houses. On the north side lives Capt. Moody and five or six other Loyalists. The number of loyalists settled on the north or Sissaboo side, and within 5 miles of it, is 38 families. About 17 families are settled on the Edinburgh side. Near Edinburgh are several French families, who have a Priest. The Sissaboo side is most proper for a Church, and the numerous settlers on the west side of St. Mary's Bay may conveniently attend it, the bay being 5 miles wide. The Bay is upwards of 40 miles long.[18]

In this description of the parish we get an inkling of the worries that would defeat its formation for so long.

No doubt the three men stayed in Moody's "hospitable mansion"[19] down by the water, as the Duke of Kent was to do six years later. The foundations

17 Inglis, Journal, 26 August 1788. Inglis Family Papers, MG23, C6, Series 1, Vol. 5, p. 11, PAC.

18 *Ibid.*

19 Elvia Inglis to Mrs. Jane Moody, 31 August 1803, describes the Moody house in these terms. Moody.

still exist and the site is a lovely one, looking through the narrow strait at the mouth of the river, across St. Mary's Bay, to Sandy Cove. At high tide the swollen river opens into a wide waterway between the raised sandy bank on the Sissiboo side where the Moody house stood and the high stony bluff on the New Edinburgh side. At low tide the seascape changes completely: long red mud flats reach forth on either shore shrinking the river, and enlarging the sheltered cove just inside its mouth, where Cosman's Creek trickles in. James Moody had bought several lots along the shore so that he had a fertile stretch of fields behind him. Here he had planted an extensive orchard and grazed his sheep. In front on the shore were his shipyard and his warehouse. No doubt the company was treated to one of Mrs. Jane Moody's famous currant pies.[20]

There was a moving service for the baptism of eight babies and two adults, including the infant son and the wife of the Loyalist blacksmith Samuel Doty. In a special ceremony the Bishop baptized a son of Captain Jesse Hoyt, another Loyalist he must have known in New York, and christened the infant James Moody Hoyt in honour of the baby's father's friend.[21] The congregation took the opportunity to speak to the Bishop about the kind of missionary they wanted: "They most earnestly entreated me to send them a good man, or send them none," he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury.[22] The Bishop was also taken for a tour around the settlements on both sides of the river. He wrote that what he saw was "beautiful,... the soil good and the inhabitants very industrious."[23]

Next year, with £200 allotted for the building of the church, Moody began to organize for its construction. On 15 June 1790, a deed was drawn up giving 1⅜ acres of land "for the sole purpose of erecting a Church thereon." James Moody, with the consent of his wife Jane, had given this land "in consideration of my good will towards the Inhabitants of Sissiboo

20 Mrs. Jane Moody to Rev. Dr. Thomas Chandler, London, undated, rough draft of note, begs him to accept a currant pie. Moody.

21 Viets, *Notitia*, Baptisms, 27 August 1786. See also: Inglis to Archbishop of Canterbury, 13 September 1788, Inglis Family Papers, MG23, C6, Series 1, Vol. 1, p. 69, PAC; Inglis Journal, 27 August 1788, *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, p. 11, PAC.

22 Inglis to Archbishop of Canterbury, 18 December 1788. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 126, PAC.

23 Inglis, Journal, 27 August 1788. *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 11, PAC.

River, and to promote as far as in me lies the Establishment of the Church of England, in said place."[24] At a public meeting a committee consisting of James Moody, Stephen Jones and John Taylor, all former Loyalist officers, had been appointed to supervise the building of the church. Fifteen members of the congregation stepped forward to help in "so laudable and Christian like [an] undertaking." Moody led off with £15, to be followed by John Taylor giving £7 and Stephen Jones £5. Some contributed cash and others committed labour, as much as twelve days in the case of Reuben Hankinson, though the six that Benjamin McConnell pledged was more usual. Cereno Upham Jones also committed himself to five days of oxwork.[25] The next year saw vigorous construction, and on 29 August 1791, James Moody and his friend Thomas Millidge rode up from Granville to tell the Bishop that the church in Sissiboo was raised and partly covered in.[26]

But despite such enterprise, the community at Weymouth would have many obstacles to overcome before a parish could be formed and before the Bishop would send them a minister. Not only was the road to Digby execrable, but the alternative sea route, around Digby Neck, was long and dangerous. The same treacherous seas and highly tidal river added to the difficulty of communication between the scattered inhabitants. Westward expansion along the south shore of the Bay was cut off by the returning Acadians, French-speaking and Catholic. Perhaps even the gaiety and self-sufficiency of the Moody household left "his lordship"[27] apprehensive about a missionary establishing himself there. Although he encouraged the people of Sissiboo and St. Mary's Bay to organize themselves into a parish, behind their backs Inglis was undermining their position in his letters to church dignitaries in London. There was always another mission that should have a

24 Deed for conveyance of land from James Moody. Vestry.

25 Vestry.

26 Inglis, Journal, 29 August 1791. Inglis Family Papers, MG23, C6, Series 1, Vol. 1, no. 6, p. 12, PAC. *Ibid.*, 28 May 1790, no. 2, p. 16. *Ibid.*, 21 March 1793, no. 2, p. 20.

27 See Judith Fingard, *The Anglican Design in Loyalist Nova Scotia 1783 - 1816* (London, 1972), p. 19 and following for a discussion of Bishop Inglis' character. Also E.G. to Mrs. Moody, 28 October 1787: "*Apropos* have you seen the Bishop. I hear he is to be quite brilliant. I hope by this time you are comfortably settled and can entertain his *lordship* with due dignity if he should deign to visit your cottage." Moody.

minister before Sissiboo, or a minister that should have a better place than Sissiboo.[28]

Throughout these years, the Bishop obviously considered that the occasional care of the "very worthy and diligent" Rev. Viets and the lay readings in Moody's house were sufficient for the congregation of Sissiboo. "Every attention that is practicable, is paid to the spiritual wants of the people; the interests of the Church do not suffer, and the place will be better prepared to receive a Missionary some time hence than it is at present," he insisted in a letter to the SPG secretary in November 1792.[29] Indeed the efforts of the two men extended as far as Yarmouth and we find Mr. Viets offering the communion wine there in 1796 from an elegant silver flagon brought from London by Captain Moody.[30] Again, Moody had launched the parish. A minister could come later.

Meanwhile, other concerns suddenly monopolized the energies of leading men in the colony. England declared war against France in February 1793. Europe and British North America watched in horror the bloody killings of the French Revolution, and when Napoleon led the republican troops outside his frontiers it seemed as if the forces of anti-Christ had been unleashed upon the whole civilized world. Nova Scotians felt particularly threatened. The Americans, taking advantage of Britain's vulnerability, were sure to help the former ally whose military support had been decisive in their own revolution. The French also might attack the province, hoping for support from French immigrants or Acadians subverted to "democracy."[31]

Like Loyalist officers in other communities, Moody carried both civil and military responsibilities. From 1793 he sat in the House of Assembly for Annapolis County, and commanded both regular military and local militia units. But he had not abandoned his church. Perhaps as a further bulwark

28 Inglis to Archbishop of Canterbury, 13 September 1788. Inglis Family Papers, MG23 C6, Series 1, Vol. 1, p. 89, PAC. Inglis to Dr. Morice, 25 November 1792, *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 39.

29 Inglis to Dr. Morice, 25 November 1792. Inglis Family Papers, MG23 C6, Series 1, Vol. 2, p. 37, PAC.

30 Robert B. Blauveldt, *Holy Trinity Anglican Church, Yarmouth, N.S.* (Yarmouth, 1972), illustration, p. 21.

31 Beamish Murdoch, *A History of Nova-Scotia or Acadie* (Halifax, 1867), Vol. III, p. 118. In fact, although Governor Wentworth kept a wary eye on his French-speaking communities, he found the Acadians as loyal and as eager to serve in the defence of Nova Scotia as their English-speaking compatriots. *Ibid.*, pp. 117, 118, 128, etc.

against revolution, it now seemed all the more important. Expressing this widely-held view, Bishop Inglis had written in 1792 to the SPG:

> Could we avail ourselves of the present disposition in favour of the Church it would be of much consequence in a political as well as religious view, and in an age distinguished by extraordinary revolutions like the present, this point seems to demand peculiar regard.[32]

By February 1797 Inglis was assuring Moody that the SPG would soon establish the long sought-after mission at Sissiboo, while continuing to harp on the financial and practical prerequisites.[33] But two summers were to pass before anything more definite developed. Then in September of 1798, Inglis wrote to Moody, rather unctuously,

> It is with much pleasure I inform you that there is a prospect of my being able to accomplish what has long been the object of my wish, as it probably was Yours - viz the settlement of a Clergyman at Weymouth, formerly Sissiboo... . They have at last authorized me to appoint if I judge it right, Mr. Charles Weeks, to be their Missionary at Weymouth, when he is admitted into Holy Orders. Mr. Weeks (youngest son of the Rev. Mr. Weeks) is a young man of irreproachable moral character, studious and of good abilities; and of whom I have great expectations. If the Inhabitants of Weymouth will comply with the Society's requisitions, he may be fixed there this Fall, as I hold an Ordination the 21st of October, when Mr. Weeks can be admitted to Holy Orders.[34]

Moody answered almost immediately, confirming that the church was now fit for use, that there was a good tract of reserved glebe land and that the people of Weymouth had raised a subscription of £30 a year for the missionary. All seemed hopeful.

On 12 November Charles William Weeks was the bearer of a letter of introduction from Bishop Inglis to James Moody and the parish of Weymouth, confirming his licence for that mission and also the arrangements made on his behalf. "I flatter myself," Inglis wrote, perhaps sensing future trouble,

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32 Inglis to Dr. Morice, 25 November 1792. MG23 C6, Series 1, Vol. 2, p. 40, PAC.

33 Inglis to James Moody, 28 February 1797. Moody.

34 *Ibid.*, 19 September 1798.

> that you and the other inhabitants will see the expediency of erecting a Parsonage, as soon as circumstances will admit, upon the Glebe, which I hope is conveniently situated, as well as good in quality. It is needless to point out the advantage of this to a Missionary; and I cannot consider any Mission as finally established until this is done.

He continued with heavy didacticism: "The Glebe is probably in a State of nature; and the best method to accomplish Your design will be for the Inhabitants to unite and clear a certain number of acres; and when about 40 acres are cleared, then to set about building a house."[35]

Moody took prompt action. On 10 February 1800, he confirmed and registered the deed that donated the land on which the church was now almost completed.[36] Named St. Peter's, it was the typical colonial wooden structure of the period, rectangular and painted white, with a sloping roof and a steeple, capable of holding between two hundred and three hundred parishioners. Moody and another old friend from New Jersey, Captain John Grigg, were chosen as churchwardens and authorized to collect the subscription money. Moody's son John was the vestry clerk.[37]

The new missionary seemed to be settling in. He married Susanna Jenkins at Digby, on 12 February 1801, and bought a plot of land the following June.[38] By September the frame of the parsonage house was up, and the roof would be on shortly. In another summer the missionary and his family, which would then be three, could hope to move into it.[39]

Yet trouble lay ahead. In 1802 James Moody sent a memorial to Bishop Inglis to have Weymouth erected into a parish, the petition to be forwarded to Governor Wentworth with the Bishop's endorsement. But Inglis stalled,

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35 *Ibid.*, 12 November 1798.

36 Vestry.

37 *Ibid.*

38 Viets, *Notitia*, Marriages, 12 February 1801. Isaiah W. Wilson, *A Geography and History of the County of Digby* (Halifax, 1900, reprinted by Mika Studio, Belleville, Ont., 1972), (hereafter *HDC*), p. 118.

39 Charles William Weeks to SPG, 8 September 1801. SPG Journal, MG17 B1, Vol. 28, pp. 202-203, reel A-158, PAC. *Ibid.*, 10 May 1802, Vol. 28, p. 280, reel A-158, PAC. *Ibid.*, 19 November 1802, Vol. 28, p. 346, reel A-158, PAC.

worrying about the new parish's glebe, which he saw as essential for its support. Delicately, he insisted:

> If my Memorial concerning the Glebe is thus delayed, the Governor will naturally think, either that the friends of the Church at Weymouth are lukewarm and indolent in the business, or that nothing of any weight can be offered to prevent an alienation of the Glebe, neither of which, I trust is the case.[40]

The Bishop was perhaps all too close to the mark, in both suggestions. The new clergyman found ministering to his scattered flock difficult--perhaps he suffered from sea-sickness. Nor was he a match against the Baptist enthusiasm that was "infecting" the county in the person of the fiery preacher Enoch Towner, an erstwhile Anglican who was marrying many of Week's former parishioners.[41]

Worse still, Weeks was having disagreements within his own congregation, and had tangled unpleasantly with the large Jones clan. Moody was writing soothing letters to the Bishop, being "clearly of the opinion that the matter would drop and all differences be amicably adjusted."[42] But subscriptions were falling off, with a reluctance either to pay Weeks his salary or to get on with the building of his house. The strong support for the Church of England evident when the Loyalists first arrived had by now weakened. Weeks' appointment had come too late.

Equally important, the quarrel over the titles to the glebe land, all of which lay across the river in the district of Clare, brought the new church into direct confrontation with the Catholic, French-speaking Acadians, who soon felt compelled to petition the governor against the erection of any Anglican parish in Clare, "or the taking any part of it into the new Parish because we are of the Religion of Rome."[43]

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40 Inglis to James Moody, 28 July 1802. Moody.

41 Weeks to SPG, 8 September 1801. SPG Journal, MG17 B1, Vol. 28, p. 203, reel A-158, PAC. *Ibid.*, 31 May 1803, Vol. 28, p. 381, reel A-158, PAC. *Ibid.*, 19 November 1802, Vol. 28, p. 346, reel A-158, PAC. *Ibid*, 15 February 1804, Vol. 29, p. 9, reel A-158, PAC. *HDC*, pp. 90-91, 112, 312-315.

42 Inglis to James Moody, 28 July 1802. Moody.

43 *HDC*, p. 134. Inglis to Archbishop of Canterbury, 16 February 1804, Inglis Family Papers, MG23 C6, Series 1, Vol. 3, p. 131, PAC.

Glebe lands were a continual problem in the British colonies, where the surveying seems to have been slipshod, deliberately or otherwise. After the American Revolution, the British government had been prevailed upon to set aside in British North America a number of acres in each new settlement as church and school land, in the hope of providing a source of revenue for the church as land values escalated with the arrival of new settlers.

However, as the settlers themselves were equally hopeful of land value appreciations, and often highly skilled in land speculation, the best tracts in the settlement quickly tended to become the property of resident individuals rather than institutions. Leasing land was unprofitable, as well, because in the New World almost anyone could own his own land. Besides, much of the land was, and still is, infertile, rocky or covered with dense forest.

In New Jersey, where the multiplicity of religious and national groups made any public support of one church unthinkable, lands for church use had been donated by private individuals. No doubt it was following this practice that James Moody gave his own land for the church at Sissiboo. However, everywhere in Nova Scotia the official glebe and school lands were coveted by lay inhabitants--especially if they gave promise of producing revenue. Reverend Jacob Bailey in Annapolis had fought hard and expensively to hold his glebe.[44] Even in Digby, with its large Loyalist congregation, the original glebe allotment had had to be redesignated.

In Weymouth the church--and the Bishop--were pitted against a much more complex opposition than that generated by mere covetousness. The land reserved for the glebe lay to the west of the Sissiboo River, though the church and most parishioners were situated on the east side. Title to part of this glebe land was contested by Acadian settlers who maintained that they were legally established on the land before 1770, although with licences and certificates rather than registered deeds.[45]

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44 Jacob Bailey to SPG, 29 May 1788. SPG Journal, MG17 B1, Vol. 25, p. 94, reel A-157, PAC. For a broader treatment of the glebes and other issues see Judith Fingard, *The Anglican Design in Loyalist Nova Scotia*.

45 *HDC*, p. 134. The Sissiboo River formed a natural limit to this "French Settlement," now called the French Shore, where returning Acadians had begun to settle after the close of the Seven Years' War. They had preferred to regroup as a larger Acadian community along the south shore of St. Mary's Bay, rather than live scattered among the Protestant English-speaking communities.

The Acadians had cleared the land, built houses and begun to farm. Arguing that their ownership predated the Loyalist survey, they made representations to the new surveyor general, Charles Morris, representations described by their opponents as "artful methods" taken "to impose upon him in this business in which he was not well acquainted."[46] Backing the Acadians against much of the rest of the parish were some prominent Anglican Loyalists who owned land on the New Edinburgh, or western, side of the river--members of the Jones family from Massachusetts, and Colonel John Taylor from New Jersey, who had commanded the Acadian militia in 1793.

The situation was further complicated by the war with France and the latent fear that the Acadians might sympathize with their mother country. James Moody, now a militia colonel, and Governor Sir John Wentworth were obviously working together to avert such a threat. In correspondence conducted between the two during the autumn of 1803, Sir John gave politic praise to "the wise and loyal conduct of the Rev. Mr. Sogogne [*sic*] and his Acadian parishioners," which he said gave him "sincere pleasure and does them great honour." He went on to discuss a recent sermon by the Catholic priest:

> I esteem his sermon highly, as a sensible pious and excellently well timed discourse, and a good example to all Denominations of Protestants who are unfeignedly attached to their Religion, which they enjoy in Safety thro' the protection of the British Government, of which we are the happiest part. Christians therefore, of all Men on Earth, have the most serious cause of loyalty and zealous fidelity to our most excellent King and Constitution, ... I beg you to present my regards and best thanks to Mr. Sogogne, and assure him and his people of my friendship and protection.

He then enclosed several copies of the Alien Act to be locally distributed and enforced, "as we have reason to believe french Emissaries are every where employed to corrupt and destroy.[47]

The Bishop, meanwhile, insisted that the case revolved around whether the Acadians had been warned that they were occupying lands already granted. He considered the whole attempt to "alienate" church property as

46 Inglis to James Moody, 28 July 1802. Moody.

47 Sir John Wentworth to James Moody, 17 November 1803. Moody.

"sacriligeous," "dictated by malevolence or low self-interest."[48] Although the governor approved the parish that summer of 1802 and passed Moody's memorial on to the surveyor general, the SPG had already resolved otherwise: "...as there appears to be so little probability of the people fulfilling their engagements after so many years vain expectation of it, the Society cannot... establish the mission of Weymouth.[49]

In August, the Bishop, after his visitation in Annapolis, brought his son and new daughter-in-law to stay with the Moodys in Weymouth.[50] Soon afterwards, it became official that the Weeks would leave Weymouth to take up the mission of Charles Weeks' dead father in Guysborough.[51]

The clergyman's departure was tempestuous. As he presided over this last meeting of the vestry, things got completely out of hand. There was a tie over the election of the church wardens and rowdy members tried to seize control of the proceedings. In an angry hand, Weeks recorded that,

> a difference arising as to the appointment and the Persons who met being equally divided I found it necessary, aggreable to what I understand to be the practice in such cases, to appoint one of the Wardens myself, and I do hereby appoint James Moody Esq. to act in that Capacity.

And equally angrily, with seven big fat ink splotches, Simeon Jones recorded his side of the story:

> At the Meeting above mentioned, Mr. Weeks took Upon himself the office of Clerk, and After [Nominating] James Moody Esq. and Capt. Grigg as Church Wardens - not being able to carry his plan into Execution, took upon himself furthermore the privilege of appointing James Moody Esq. as Warden in direct opposition to the Members - Afterwards Mr. John Cosman says, as we cannot agree in the choice of Mr. Grigg, let us appoint Mr. Simeon Jones as Church Warden and Mr. James Cosman says yea.[52]

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48 Inglis to James Moody, 11 August 1802. Moody. *Ibid.*, 4 January 1809.

49 General Meeting, SPG, 18 March 1803. SPG Journal, MG17 B1, Vol. 28, p. 346, reel A-158, PAC.

50 Elvia Inglis to Mrs. Jane Moody, 31 August 1803. Moody.

51 Inglis to Dr. Morice, 28 March 1803, Inglis Family Papers, MG23 C6, Series 1, Vol. 3, p. 104, PAC. Weeks to SPG, 31 May 1803, SPG Journal. MG17 B1, Vol. 28, pp. 381-382, reel A-158, PAC.

52 Vestry.

Reverend Weeks was soon away and there is no further mention of Simeon Jones or James Moody as churchwardens. Nevertheless the Bishop continued to enlist Moody's support.

By the end of 1805 the glebe grant was finally and officially confirmed. The Bishop was determined to get it producing revenue as speedily as possible, and urged "improvements--so that the land could be divided up into farm lots and leased out."[53]

Alas, the Bishop was too late. "Improvements" were already taking place, illegally. "Trespassers"--probably Acadians who felt they owned the land--had been removing timber, no doubt with the connivance and to the profit, of some of their vociferous English-speaking supporters. The alarmed Bishop ordered the immediate posting of "advertisements, forbidding all such trespass... in several places, the most frequented and public, at Weymouth" including "the cutting down all Timber on the Glebe, and declaring that All persons who shall so offend, and are legally convicted of such Trespass shall be prosecuted according to law." By 22 March the notices were posted. That faithful adherent of the church, Samuel Doty, was expressly allowed "to remain in peaceable possession of the lot he now lives on."[54]

By now the community was in an uproar, truly split by more than the river. Shockingly, the no trespassing notices "were treated with indecency, torn down and scattered in the Highway and some of them interlined with scurrilous words not fit to be mentioned."[55]

But worse was soon to follow. If the Bishop could get tough, so could others. With the more moderate weather of June, the churchwardens -- who no longer included Moody -- called upon a commissioned surveyor, Major Robert Timpany, to run out the lines and partition off the glebe and school lands. Word of their purpose had evidently preceded them, for when they arrived on the New Edinburgh commons they found an angry group of Acadians already assembled there, with Colonel John Taylor and several members of the Jones family, all forcibly set to prevent their carrying out the survey. Joshua Jones "told us in the face of the public that he was going to fence in that Land tomorrow and we should find him there, " the

53 Inglis to Churchwardens, 21 January 1806. Vestry.

54 John Grigg and John Cosman, 1 May 1806; Inglis to Churchwardens, 21 January 1806. Vestry.

55 John Grigg and John Cosman to Charles Inglis, 23 June 1806. Vestry.

churchwardens later reported. Before actual bodily harm was effected, Colonel John Taylor produced the clincher -- "a grant with the Seal of the Province to 18 people of 10 Acres to each which Lands are within the lines of the Glebe but in the grant sent to us there is no mention or description made." The opposition carried the day, declaring sternly, "that they would not allow any entry to be made on those lands until the matter was decided by a regular course of Law which they were ready to submit to."[56]

The Bishop had lost the battle, though he was not ready to concede defeat:

> I must in charity suppose that the people concerned conceive themselves entitled to the land, [but]... . The matter is of considerable moment in the Estimation of all who have any regard to Religion or Learning; for if claims founded on frivolous patents should be deemed valid there is scarcely a Glebe or School lot in the province which may not be wrested from the Church and alienated from the design for which they were intended by the King.[57]

Throughout the summer, Moody was dangerously ill and deeply in debt, which perhaps explains how matters were allowed to deteriorate so dramatically. It was not till August 1808 that he was feeling well enough to take the matter up again, sending the necessary documents to Halifax with Colonel Taylor. Yet there was still no resolution of the dispute. The Bishop threatened to sue the "intruders" in a trial that would bring forth "many things not much to the credit of the claimants," but the Acadians kept their lands, and Inglis would not accept a substitute glebe.[58]

By January 1809, when Moody received a last letter on the subject, he was dying, and after his death three months later the issue of the glebe, and with it the possibility of a permanent clergyman for Weymouth, was dropped for another decade; a minister was assigned only in 1826.

Why was success in Moody's enterprise so incomplete and long delayed? No doubt it was basically because the proposed parish at Weymouth was

56 *Ibid.*

57 Inglis to Churchwardens, 5 August 1805. Vestry.

58 Inglis to James Moody, 2 September 1806. Moody. Indenture of James and Jane Moody to Foreman, Grassie, Goodall and Turner, 7 October 1806, Registry of Deeds, Weymouth, Book A1, pp. 222-226. Inglis to James Moody, 27 September 1808, Moody. Inglis to Col. John Taylor, 30 December 1808, Inglis Family Papers, MG23 C6, Series 1, Vol. 4, pp. 5-6, PAC. Inglis to James Moody, 4 January 1809, Moody.

too remote and too scattered in population, on the outer fringe of Digby, and cut off from Yarmouth by the Acadian settlements. Neither the Bishop nor the governor would back it whole-heartedly and the Bishop's rigidity over the glebe promoted division. Once New England Loyalists, like the Jones family, were at odds with New Jersey Loyalists, like Moody and Grigg, this tiny community had no hope of supporting an Anglican mission in the face of competition from vigorous Dissenters. By contrast, the Anglican community at more prosperous Digby had largely transplanted itself whole from Charles Inglis' congregation of Trinity Church, New York. Moody had the vision and the will. He had laid the foundation. Later generations would complete the task.

On 6 April 1809, Moody was buried in the churchyard of St. Peter's, the church he had struggled so hard to see built and functioning. Its steeple had never been closed in and, like the colonel's fences, was falling into decay. Rev. Roger Viets came from Digby to read the burial service and one wonders what aspect the building presented on that chilly April Monday. Loyal hearts tried to give it warmth in a grand military funeral, with detachments of the Digby and Clare regiments of militia doing the honours, and friends and comrades from Digby and the surrounding county present to pay their last respects to this man of only 65, who had given so much during his life.[59]

> Here lies the Man who once of tranquil mind
> Felt friendly sympathy to all Mankind
> His Country valued and his Sovereign loved
> While honest zeal his patient valor moved
> His Soul has fled above on Angels wings
> And lives triumphant with the King of Kings.[60]

59 *Nova Scotia Royal Gazette* (Halifax), 16 May 1809.

60 Inscription on Moody's tombstone in the churchyard of St. Peter's Church, Weymouth, N.S.

The Moody Families of Weymouth and Yarmouth

John Wentworth Moody

New Year's Day of 1745 had special significance for John Moody of Little Egg Harbour, New Jersey, for his first child, James, was born that day. At that date he had no inkling of the momentous events which would occur thirty years hence or of their drastic effects on his family. He could not foresee the day when the baby's name would be honored by his British and Loyalist comrades-in-arms and would strike fear into the hearts of the rebellious American colonists. What would his thoughts have been had he known that James, with his younger brother, John, and a companion, would be betrayed while on a mission to capture the Congressional records at Philadelphia, that only James would escape capture and that, on 13 November 1781, John would be executed for his part in the raid, at the age of 23? The grief-stricken father would not live to celebrate the marriage of his only other child, Lydia, to Samuel Rose in Mount Holly, New Jersey, in 1788.

James Moody had relocated to the Knowlton area in northern New Jersey by 1768 and was settled on a large farm owned by his father. He had married Elizabeth Brittain, by whom he had three children: John born in 1768, Maria in 1775, and one who did not reach maturity. When the revolution began, he made it clear that his loyalties remained with the British Crown and that he considered the uprising to be the work of a minority group of malcontents. However, by early 1777, the pressures from the so-called Patriots, including shots being fired past his head, spurred him to take action. Gathering a group of fellow sympathizers he entered the British enclave at New York and was subsequently commissioned in the First Battalion of the New Jersey Volunteers.

During the following five years, James Moody participated in a number of daring raids, recruiting drives in rebel territory and spying missions; he was captured and escaped. His exploits have been recounted by several writers. His wife and children did not accompany him and some information indicates that she and some members of her family were not in agreement with his political views. One item passed down through his family says that she died as a result of a fall from a horse during his absence and thereafter the children were in the care of his father. James remarried, a widow, Mrs. Jane Robinson Lynson (or Lynston), in New York, March 1782, but there was no issue of this marriage.

In May 1782, James Moody went to England as a member of the party of Sir Henry Clinton, partly for his health and partly to promote the Loyalist

cause. In November of that year he published a small book, *Lieut. James Moody's Narrative of his Exertions and Sufferings in the Cause of Government Since the Year 1776*, giving highlights of his major exploits as support for his claim for compensation and those of other Loyalists; the second and later editions contain many verifying certificates by persons who were prominent in the campaigns in America. In addition to details of actions and events, this booklet expresses some interesting points of his personal philosophy, such as that of his penultimate paragraph wherein he states that if his Sovereign should be graciously pleased to confer on him the highest military honours, he would most gladly forgo them all to be once more re-instated on his own farm, with his wife and children around him as he had been seven years before. That, of course, was not to be and after numerous memorials and requests for settlement of his claim so that he could reunite with his children and settle in Nova Scotia, he finally was able to leave England in early 1786. Just how he effected the reunion with his two living children or when he finally settled on his property at Sissiboo (Weymouth) is not clear, but by 1790 he was well established there with a ship-building industry, mills and other interests.

James was a pillar of the church, donated the property for St. Peter's of Weymouth, was its first warden and is buried in its churchyard. He was a justice of the peace for the county of Annapolis and was the M.L.A. for that county from 1793 to 1799. He continued his military career as a captain of the Nova Scotia Regiment and later as a lieutenant colonel of the Clare militia. He owned numerous pieces of property, by both grant and purchase, in the Annapolis County area, but in his later days suffered some financial reverses and at the time of his death on 6 April 1809 was in somewhat strained circumstances. As correspondence still in the possession of descendants shows, he was a friend of many leading personalities in the province, such as Governor Sir John Wentworth and Bishop Charles Inglis; he also had a close relationship with Edward, Duke of Kent. His portrait, painted in oils by an unidentified artist, was donated to St. Peter's Church by his descendants in the early 1970s. It was stolen in 1981 and has not yet been recovered; a photo reproduction has recently been presented to the Weymouth Historical Society.

Issue of James and Elizabeth Moody:

1. John, b. 1768, Sussex County, New Jersey; reported to have drowned when a ferryboat overturned and sank in the North River (New York) after a collision. He was visiting friends in Elizabeth, New Jersey, at the

time and this accident would have occurred in the 1802-1809 period, but details have not yet been traced; merchant and landowner in Sissiboo; marr. 11 May 1789, Margaret **Budd**, dau. James and Elizabeth Budd, b. 6 Oct. 1767, d. 30 Nov. 1857 at Yarmouth.
Issue of John and Margaret Moody:

(1) James Budd, b. 20 May 1790, Sissiboo; d. 22 Oct. 1829, Yarmouth; merchant and shipowner; M.P.P. for Shelburne, 1826 to his death; marr. 23 Apr. 1821, Abigail **Harding**, dau. Israel and Rachel Harding, d. 5 Mar. 1894.
Issue of James Budd and Abigail Moody:
(1a) James, b. ca. 1822; went to Australia on Brigt. *Brilliant* in 1852; no further details yet discovered.
(2a) Margaret Jane, b. ca. 1823; marr. 2 May 1844, Thomas Van Buskirk **Bingay**, son of John Bingay.
Issue of Thomas V.B. and Margaret Jane Bingay:
(1b) James Budd, b. 6 Aug. 1845; d. 29 Apr. 1846.
(2b) James Wentworth, b. 1 May 1847; marr. Maria Rowland **Bingay**, dau. John G. Bingay.
(3b) Elisha Moody, b. 9 Mar. 1849; d. 11 Oct. 1849.
(4b) George, b. 27 Oct. 1850; marr. Susan Cornelia **Stryker**.
(5b) Thomas V.B., b. 5 Nov. 1856; marr. 17 Oct. 1885, Georgina **Tooker**, dau. Capt. George W.B. Tooker.
Issue of Thomas and Georgina Bingay:
(1c) Hilda, marr. Arnott **Craik**.
Issue of Arnott and Hilda Craik:
(1d) a daughter.
(6b) Henry, b. 17 Dec. 1857.
(7b) John.
(8b) Jacob.
(9b) Maria, d. in childhood.
(3a) Sarah, b. ca. 1825; marr. 16 Aug. 1852, Archibald J. **Campbell**, son of Colin Campbell.
Issue of Archibald and Sarah Campbell:
(1b) Colin.
(2b) George S.
(3b) Elizabeth M., marr. James **Condon**.
(4b) Maria, marr. J.G. **Pyke** of Liverpool.

(5b) Margaret V.B., marr. W.E. **Marshall** of Bridgewater.
(6b) Annie.

(4a) Elizabeth, b. 1826; d. 18 Jun. 1854; marr. 1 Jan. 1854, Joshua A. **Freeman** of Liverpool. No issue.

(5a) Maria Taylor, b. 1828; d. 5 Nov. 1846. Spinster.

(2) Elizabeth Jane, b. 1794, Sissiboo; d. 1796; bur. St. Peter's churchyard, Weymouth.

(3) John Wentworth, b. 1796, Sissiboo; d. 16 Apr. 1817, Yarmouth; bur. Old Churchyard, Yarmouth. Bachelor.

(4) Elisha William Budd, b. 28 Nov. 1799, Sissiboo; d. 5 Mar. 1863, Yarmouth; bur. Mountain Cemetery, Yarmouth; marr. 1st, ca. 1825, Sarah Rachel **Harding**, dau. Israel and Rachel Harding; marr. 2nd, 27 Jun. 1852, Mary Anne **Stewart**, dau. Henry Stewart of Digby. Sarah Rachel Moody d. 1848, age 43. E.W.B. Moody was a merchant and shipowner and resided at Buena Vista in Yarmouth, which still stands as an apartment building. He owned considerable real estate in Yarmouth and for 35 years was Lloyds' agent for Digby, Shelburne and Yarmouth Counties. He was a justice of the peace and custos of the county of Yarmouth for a long period up to the time of his death.
Issue of Elisha William Budd and Sarah Rachel Moody:

(1a) John Wentworth, b. 19 Nov. 1826, Yarmouth; d. 16 Jun. 1894, Yarmouth; bur. Mountain Cemetery, Yarmouth; shared mercantile and shipping interests with his father and on the latter's death carried on as Lloyds' agent for the counties of Cumberland, Colchester, Hants, Kings, Annapolis, Digby, Yarmouth and Shelburne; he also represented the Liverpool Underwriters' Association, was vice-consul for Sweden and Norway at Yarmouth and Spanish consular agent, a director of the Bank of Yarmouth, president of the Yarmouth Marine Association and a magistrate for the county; marr. 17 Nov. 1857, New York, Janette **Braine**, dau. James and Elizabeth Braine, d. 9 Oct. 1890, age 55, Boston, Mass. and is bur. with her husband.
Issue of John Wentworth and Janette Moody:

(1b) Helen Musgrove, b. 11 Dec. 1859, Saint John, N.B.; d. 14 July 1939; bur. Mountain Cemetery, Yar-

mouth; marr. 20 Nov. 1883, Yarmouth, Charles Tooker **Grantham**, senior official of Cosmos Imperial Mills at Yarmouth and Hamilton, Ont., son of Alfred Grantham; Helen and Charles were divorced and he raised a second family from a second marriage.

Issue of Charles and Helen Grantham:

(1c) Helen Musgrove, b. 13 Sept. 1884, Yarmouth; d. 3 Dec. 1952, Hamilton, Ont.; bur. Hamilton Cemetery; marr. 19 Oct. 1911, Hamilton, Edwin Marwin **Dalley**, b. 13 Jan. 1881, Hamilton, d. 20 Dec. 1864, Hamilton, bur. Hamilton Cemetery. No issue.

(2c) Jeanette Aubrey, b. 27 May 1886, Yarmouth; marr. 23 Sept. 1913, Hamilton, Ont., Reginald William **Millard**, Lt. Cdr. R.C.N.V.R. World War II, d. 1974/75, North Vancouver, B.C., bur. North Vancouver.

Issue of Reginald and Jeanette Millard:

(1d) James William, b. 2 Nov. 1915, Meriden, Connecticut; retail philatelist, 1945-1975, then semi-retired; amateur hiker and climber; marr. 1 May 1945, Vancouver, B.C., Marie Eileen **Francis**, b. 24 Oct. 1915, Brisbane, Australia.

Issue of James and Marie Millard:

(1e) Patricia Francis, b. 21 Sept. 1946, Vancouver, B.C.; accounting officer, Toronto Dominion Bank; marr. 25 Nov. 1966, North Vancouver, Roger Jonas **Haagstrom**, stationary engineer Lions Gate Hospital, b. 22 July 1945, Vancouver.

Issue of Roger and Patricia Haagstrom:

(1f) Tamara Marie, b. 2 June 1970, Powell River, B.C.

(2f) Robbie Dean, b. 24 Feb. 1973, Powell River, B.C.

(2e) Geraldine Vera, b. 14 May 1949, Vancouver, B.C.; marr. 4 Nov. 1972, North Vancouver, Robert George Leo **Whyte**, b. 10 Mar. 1949, Toronto, Ont.

(2d) Christine Helen, b. 22 Aug. 1923, Hamilton, Ont.; artist; marr. Ronald James **Thom**, div.

Issue of Ronald and Christine Thom:

(1e) Robin Eric, b. 5 Apr. 1949, Vancouver, B.C.; marr. 1 Feb. 1969, Vancouver, Patricia Lynn **Murdoch**, b. 1 July 1952, Edmonton, Alta.; sep.

Issue of Robin and Patricia Thom:

(1f) Steele Murdoch.

(2f) Clayton Caldwell.

(2e) Sidney Elena, b. 26 June 1951, Vancouver, B.C.; marr. Oct. 1977, Hornby Island, B.C., Timothy James **Biggins**, b. 22 Sept. 1947, San Francisco, CA.

Issue of Timothy and Sidney Biggins:

(1f) Simone Losier.

(2f) Latigo Biggins.

(3f) Hawkins Biggins.

(4f) Corky Biggins.

(3e) Aaron Leslie, b. 11 Apr. 1954, Vancouver, B.C.; marr. 15 May 1972, Courtenay, B.C., Donna Sue **Strachan**, b. 7 Feb. 1955, Comox, B.C. Sep.

Issue of Aaron and Donna Thom:

(1f) Ace Hirst.

(2f) Jessica Lynn.

(4e) Bronwen Allisa, b. 2 Apr. 1958, Vancouver, B.C.; marr. Aug. 1975, James William **McLeod**, b. 24 Nov. 1947, Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.
Issue of James and Bronwen McLeod:
(1f) Billy James Emile McLeod.
(2f) Graden Angus McLeod.

(3c) Geraldine Morgan, b. 17 Oct. 1887, Yarmouth; d. 19 Oct. 1935, Hamilton, Ont.; bur. Chatham Cemetery, Chatham, Ont.; marr. 10 Oct. 1922, Hamilton, Edwin MacLean **Pilkey**. No issue.

(4c) Charles Victor, b. 24 May 1890, Yarmouth; d. 22 Nov. 1971, Toronto, Ont.; bur. Hamilton, Ont.; lieut. col. Canadian Army, World War I, awarded Military Cross; marr. 13 Dec. 1917, London, England, Antonia **Hawkins** (neé Christie), d. 1956, Hamilton and bur. there.
Issue of Victor and Antonia Grantham:
(1d) Cynthia Margaret, b. 1 Jan. 1920, Hamilton, Ont.; marr. Ted Healy **Shadbolt**, b. 1924, Victoria, B.C.
Issue of Ted and Cynthia Shadbolt:
(1e) Paul Victor, b. 14 Apr. 1952, Toronto, Ont.; marr. 1982, Toronto, Deborah **Vandeloo**, b. ca. 1956, Oshawa, Ont.
(2e) Richard Edmund, twin of Paul Victor.

(5c) Ethel Everett, b. 4 Dec. 1891, Yarmouth; d. 10 Nov. 1973, Hamilton, Ont.; bur. Hamilton Cemetery (Dalley plot); marr. 24 Oct. 1917, Hamilton, John Cecil **Sutherland** who disappeared 26 Apr. 1922.
Issue of John Cecil and Ethel Sutherland:
(1d) Helen Anne, b. 4 Jan. 1919, Hamilton, Ont.; marr. 15 Sept. 1956, Hamilton,

Ont., Murray Archibald **McLachlin**, b. 23 July 1908, Hamilton, d. 4 Dec. 1981, Oakville, Ont., bur. Woodland Cemetery, Hamilton. Murray McLachlin had two daughters by previous marriage.
Issue of Murray and Helen Anne McLachlin:
(1e) Douglas Murray, b. 19 Nov. 1958.

(2b) John Wentworth, b. 26 Oct. 1861, Saint John, N.B.; d. 6 May 1868, Yarmouth; bur. Mountain Cemetery, Yarmouth.

(3b) Elisha William Budd, b. 18 May 1863, Saint John, N.B.; d. 26 Feb. 1942, Hamilton, Ont.; bur. Woodland Cemetery, Hamilton; educated at Yarmouth and King's College, Windsor; employed by Central Argentine Railroad at Buenos Aires for five years during which period he was marr. in Yarmouth and his bride returned to Argentina with him; returned to Yarmouth as employee of Bank of Yarmouth but also carried on father's duties as Lloyds' agent, vice-consul of Argentina, and consular agent of Spain, as well as the insurance business; moved to Hamilton in 1901 as treasurer of Cosmos Imperial mill there; amateur artist and some fine pen and ink sketches are still in descendant's possession; marr. 11 Sept. 1889, Yarmouth, Esther Louise **Doane**, dau. George Barlow and Elizabeth Doane, d. 26 Apr. 1957 and bur. beside her husband.
Issue of Elisha William Budd and Esther Moody:
(1c) Philip Doane, b. 20 July 1890, Buenos Aires, Argentina; d. 21 May 1975, Hamilton, Ont.; bur. Woodland Cemetery, Hamilton; salesman, company manager, proprietor of fuel business; served in R.C.H.A., World War I; sports fan, participated in boxing, baseball and Canadian football (Hamilton Alerts) in younger days and managed championship softball team in 1930s; marr. 6 Mar. 1918, Hamil-

ton, Lillian Ruth Nellis **Mothersill**, dau. Dr. Lionel John and Lillian Mothersill, b. 1 July 1895, Port Stanley, Ont., d. June 1975, Hamilton, and bur. with her husband.

Issue of Philip and Lillian Ruth Moody:

(1d) Robert Nellis, b. 3 May 1919, Ont.; owns and manages electronics business in Hamilton; marr. 7 Apr. 1964, Hamilton, Harriet Ruby **Ellis**, b. 25 Sept. 1929.

Issue of Robert and Harriet Moody:

(1e) Sara Lee, b. 1 Oct. 1966, Hamilton; student and accomplished musician with several awards to her credit.

(1d) William Doane, b. 5 Feb. 1921, Hamilton, Ont.; owner and manager of fuel business in Hamilton; served in R.C.A.F., World War II (Canada, England, North-West Europe), retired as flt. lieut.; first class amateur photographer with several awards to his credit; marr. 1 June 1945, Weijer, Belguim, Clemence Ghislaine **Bamps**, b. 31 July 1927, dau. Modeste and Marie Bamps-Daems.

Issue of William and Clemence Moody:

(1e) Robert John, b. 19 Feb. 1947, Hamilton, Ont.; B.A. (McMaster); estimator for heavy civil construction contractor.

(2e) Elaine Ruth, b. 19 Nov. 1948, Hamilton, Ont.; registered nurse specializing in psychiatric nursing; marr. 11 July 1969, Hamilton, Daniel Arthur **Jackson**; div.

Issue of Daniel and Elaine Jackson:

(1f) Amber Larissa, b. 27 Apr. 1973.

(3d) John Wentworth, b. 15 Jan. 1923, Hamilton, Ont.; professional engineer; B.A.Sc. (Toronto), P.T.S.C., (R.M.C. of S., Shrivenham, England); served R.C. Signals, World War II (Canada, England, N.W. Europe) and Cdn. Army Regular R.C.E.M.E. to 1960; postal engineering and director, Coding and Mechanization, Canada Post, to retirement, 1978; marr. 26 Apr. 1944, Windsor, N.S., Beatrice Amy **Johnson**, R.N., B.A. (Carleton), b. 17 Oct. 1920, dau. Isaac and Amy Johnson.

Issue of John and Beatrice Moody:

(1e) Dorothy Anne, b. 3 Nov. 1946, Hamilton Ont.; B.A. (Carleton); technical editor then housewife; marr. 24 Aug. 1968, Ottawa, Ont., Frank Nelson **Strang**, B.A., D.P.A. (Carleton), b. 4 Jan. 1944, Toronto, Ont.; son of Frank and Phyllis Strang.

Issue of Nelson and Anne Strang:

(1f) Krista Anne, b. 15 Nov. 1970, Ottawa.

(2f) Cheryl Leigh, b. 28 Apr. 1973, Ottawa.

(3f) Frank Todd Nelson, b. 11 July 1975, Ottawa.

(4f) Jonathan Ryan, b. 13 June 1977, Ottawa.

(2e) Richard Philip, b. 8 Aug. 1950, Toronto, Ont.; Hons. B.Sc. (Carleton & Guelph), M.Sc. and Ph.D. (Ottawa); environmental toxicologist; marr. 9 Sept. 1978, Ottawa, Beverly Mary **McDowell**, b. 29

July 1957, Ottawa, dau. Pearl McDowell. Sep.

(3e) Linda Jean, b. 6 June 1952, Whitehorse, Y.T.; Hons. B.J. (Carleton); researcher, announcer, producer, C.B.C. Radio.

(4d) Patricia Ruth, b. 9 June 1932, Hamilton, Ont.; artist; marr. 26 Oct. 1957, Hamilton, Ont., Maurice Henry **Green**, A.R.P.S., b. 21 Aug. 1927, England.

(2c) Olive Janette, b. 19 Apr. 1894, Yarmouth; d. 24 Feb. 1951, Hamilton, Ont.; bur. Woodland Cemetery, Hamilton; spinster.

(4b) Elizabeth Braine, b. 7 July 1866, Yarmouth; d. 25 May 1946, Hamilton, Ont.; bur. Woodland Cemetery, Hamilton; spinster.

(5b) Julia Matthews, b. 7 Jan. 1869, Yarmouth; d. 14 June 1945, Saint John, N.B.; bur. Fernhill Cemetery, Saint John; marr. 12 June 1895, Yarmouth, Charles William Hope **Grant**, insurance agent Saint John, b. 2 Sept. 1869, Halifax, d. 6 May 1928, Saint John, bur. Fernhill Cemetery.

Issue of Charles and Julia Grant:

(1c) Lesley Elizabeth Hope, b. 6 June 1899, Saint John, N.B.; marr. 6 June 1923, Saint John, Cecil Franklin **West**, b. 7 Jan. 1893, Halifax, d. 11 May 1961, Saint John, bur. Fernhill Cemetery.

Issue of Cecil and Lesley West:

(1d) Elizabeth Gordon, b. 11 Jan. 1925, Saint John, N.B.; registrar, Atlantic Region Office, Parks Canada.

(2d) John Gordon, b. 2 July 1927, Saint John, N.B.; retired from Air Canada; amateur yachtsman; marr. 12 Oct. 1953, Saint John, Joan Pringle **Guy**, b. 25 Sept. 1929, Sydney.

Issue of John and Joan West:

(1e) David Guy, b. 18 June 1956, Halifax; marr. 27 June 1981, Sackville, Melanie Anne **Woodhouse**, b. 5 Feb. 1956.
Issue of David and Melanie West:
(1f) Victoria Leigh, b. 13 June 1982, Halifax.

(2e) Carol Elizabeth, b. 6 Feb. 1968, Halifax.

(2c) James Macgregor Hope, b. 14 July 1901, Saint John, N.B.; insurance agent; marr. 6 Oct. 1927, Boston, Mass., Laura Tremaine **Burchill**, b. 9 Nov. 1902, South Nelson.
Issue of James Macgregor and Laura Grant:
(1d) James Macgregor (Rory), b. 20 June 1929, Saint John, N.B.; insurance agent; amateur sportsman (yachting and hockey); marr. 11 June 1955, Saint John, Norah Maureen Olga **Bate**, b. 23 May 1933, Fredericton.
Issue of Rory and Olga Grant:
(1e) James Richard Macgregor, b. 10 July 1956.
(2e) Andrew Stuart, b. 5 July 1958.
(3e) Michael Warburton, b. 17 Oct. 1959.
(4e) Norah Tremaine, b. 15 Apr. 1964.

(2d) Richard Hope, b. 10 July 1931, Saint John, N.B.; marr. 16 May 1964, Fredericton, Brigid Elizabeth **Toole**, b. 8 Sept. 1938, Montreal, P.Q.
Issue of Richard and Brigid Grant:
(1e) Hannah Cathleen, b. 18 June 1969.

(3d) Margaret Tremaine, b. 28 Dec. 1933, Saint John, N.B.; marr. 3 Sept. 1955, Rothesay, N.B., William Francis **Brace**, b. 26 Aug. 1926, Littleton, N.H.

Issue of William and Margaret Brace:
(1e) Colin William, b. 12 Dec. 1958.
(2e) Nathaniel Charles, b. 7 July 1960.
(3e) Sarah Tremaine, b. 3 Apr. 1963.

(4d) Charles David, b. 14 Nov. 1940, Saint John, N.B.

(2a) James Budd, b. 5 July 1828; d. 20 Dec. 1897; bur. Mountain Cemetery, Yarmouth; marr. Oct. 1850, Mary **Foreman**, dau. John and Mary (Tooker) Foreman, d. 21 Feb. 1913, bur. with her husband.

Issue of James and Mary Moody:

(1b) Sarah Margaret, b. 9 Apr. 1852; d. 10 Aug. 1939; bur. Mountain Cemetery, Yarmouth.

(2b) Mary Elizabeth Foreman Blakely, b. 30 June 1854; marr. Rev. Allan **Barrett**.

Issue of Allen and Mary Barrett:
(1c) Arnold.
(2c) Howard.
(3c) Aileen.

(3b) Charles, b. 5 or 25 Aug. 1856, Yarmouth; marr. Jessie **Lent**, dau. James M. Lent.

Issue of Charles and Jessie Moody:
(1c) Louise.
(2c) Kenneth.
(3c) Ronald.
(4c) James Budd.

(4b) Louisa Hall, b. 29 Apr. 1858, Yarmouth; d. 18 June 1880 of consumption at Yarmouth; spinster; bur. Mountain Cemetery, Yarmouth.

(5b) Annie Jean Patton, b. 22 Sept. 1861, Yarmouth; d. 19 Apr. 1902; bur. Mountain Cemetery, Yarmouth.

(6b) Maria Bond, b. Jan. 1866, Yarmouth; d. 14 Aug. 1956; marr. J. Bond **Gray**; no issue.

(7b) John Foreman, b. 1867, Yarmouth; d. 30 July 1951; marr. 1st Sarah **Boyle**; 2nd Anna Alice **Bingay**, dau. Dr. John M. Bingay; no issue.

(8b) Evan Gregor, b. 5 Mar. 1869, Yarmouth; d. 12 Nov. 1906; bur. Mountain Cemetery, Yarmouth.

(3a) Charles William, b. 11 June 1830, Yarmouth; d. Aug. 1852 of "brain fever"; bur. 30 Aug. 1852, Old Churchyard, Yarmouth; bachelor.

(4a) Jane, b. 9 May 1835, Yarmouth; d. 6 Sept. 1912, Yarmouth; marr. 9 May 1854, Yarmouth, Norman James **Bond**, son of Hon. James Bond, b. 18 Aug. 1822, d. 14 July 1882.

Issue of Norman J. and Jane Bond:

(1b) Sara Moody, b. 20 Feb. 1855; d. 14 Aug. 1935; avid amateur genealogist who researched many of the facts in this article; marr. 4 Oct. 1883, William S. **Ryan** of Roxbury, Mass.

Issue of William and Sara Ryan:

(1c) Norman William, b. 1884; d. 15 Sept. 1964; marr. Annie **Laing**. No issue.

(2c) Eliza Marston, b. 1886; d. 30 June 1973; marr. George M. **Post**.

Issue of George and Eliza Post:

(1d) Hanford, b. 1908; d. ca. 1935.

(2d) Georgiana Jane, b. 2 Jan. 1926; marr. 24 Mar. 1948, Robert S. **McClenaghan**.

Issue of Robert and Georgiana McClenaghan:

(1e) Tom, b. 17 Apr. 1949.

(2e) Chris, b. 5 Jan. 1953.

(3e) Eliza, b. 15 July 1954.

(4e) Sara Ann, b. 11 Dec. 1955.

(3c) Elizabeth Bond, b. 1 Aug. 1888; oldest living descendant of James Moody in 1983; marr. 1916, William H. **Vogel**.

Issue of William and Elizabeth Vogel:

(1d) Sara Elizabeth, b. 29 Nov. 1917; marr. Charles Nelson **Earl**, M.D., b. 24 Sept. 1908, d. 16 May 1977.

Issue of Charles and Sara Elizabeth Earl:

(1e) Barbara Elizabeth, b. 15 Sept. 1944; marr. J. Bradford **Vaughan**.

Issue of Bradford and Barbara Vaughan:

(1f) Mathew Bradford, b. 11 Sept. 1968.

(2f) Jason Charles, b. 8 Aug. 1971.

(2e) Charles Nelson Jr., b. 24 July 1947; marr. Sharon **Jordan**.

Issue of Charles and Sharon Earl:

(1f) Travis Nelson, b. 2 July 1971.

(2f) Shelby Ann, b. 29 Feb. 1976.

(1c) Esther Bradbury, b. 1890; d. 18 Feb. 1981; spinster.

(2b) James, b. 28 Nov. 1856; d. 5 Feb. 1925; marr. 25 Dec. 1886, Elizabeth **Gorton** of Gilead, Connecticut, b. 1 May 1860, d. 1 June 1951.

Issue of James and Elizabeth Bond:

(1c) Norman James, b. 1888; d. 1960; marr. 1916, Florence **Brown**.

Issue of Norman and Florence Bond:

(1d) Margaret Elizabeth; marr. Dewitt Clinton **Smith** Jr.

Issue of Dewitt and Margaret Smith:

(1e) Dewitt Clinton III, b. 3 Dec. 1946.

(2e) Dana Florence, b. 3 Nov. 1950; marr. _____ **Wimert**.

(3e) Sheley Bond, b. 10 Mar. 1952; marr. _____ **Kundson**.

(4e) Keven Murray, b. 1 Aug. 1954.

(5e) Betsy Lynn, b. 12 Dec. 1955; marr. _____ **Brousseau**.

(6e) Barbara Helen, b. 9 Feb. 1958.

(2c) William Gorton, b. 1892; d. 18 Jan. 1979; marr. E. Alexandra **Bradley**.

Issue of William and Alexandra Bond:

(1d) Rosannah, b. 12 Aug. 1920; marr. _____ **Farley**.

Issue of _____ and Rosannah Farley:
(1e) William Brooks, b. 25 Mar. 1950.

(3b) Harrison Ward, b. 17 Dec. 1858; d. 1 Apr. 1941; marr. Mary Louise **Seyme** of Hebron,Connecticut, b. 26 Apr. ____, d. 12 Feb. 1929.
Issue of Harrison and Mary Bond:
(1c) Henry William, b. 1 June 1885; d. 3 Mar. 1979; marr. 1st, 1 Jan. 1918, Florence Louise **Hamilton**, div.; marr. 2nd, 1921, Mary **Rohrer**.
Issue of Henry and Florence Bond:
(1d) William Norman, b. 20 Feb. 1919; marr. 25 Mar. 1940, Hazel Ruth **Clevaenger**.
Issue of William and Hazel Bond:
(1e) Judy Elaine, b. 9 June 1942; marr. _____**Mabry**.
Issue of _____ and Judy Mabry:
(1f) William Eugene, b. 11 Jan. 1961.
(2f) Robert Jeffrey, b. 18 Nov. 1962.
(2e) Claudia Jane, b. 1 Dec. 1946; marr. _____ **Ryerson**.
Issue of _____ and Claudia Ryerson:
(1f) Daniel Chad, b. 9 Dec. 1968.
(2f) Brian Scott, b. 25 Jan. 1970.
Issue of Henry and Mary Bond:
(2d) John Rohrer, b. 1923.
(3d) James Norman, b. 1926.
(2c) Stephen Harrison, b. 1 Apr. 1890; d. 17 Feb. 1969; marr. 1917, Laura **Schmitt**.
Issue of Stephen and Laura Bond:
(1d) Virginia Louise, b. 24 Mar. 1919.
(3c) Maria Elizabeth, b. 7 Sept. 1899; spinster.
(4c) Frederick Dart, b. 5 May 1901; painter in Niantic, Connecticut, before retirement; source of considerable data for this article on

the Bond line; marr. 1st, 10 Apr. 1923, Edith **Woods**, d. 14 Aug. 1968; marr. 2nd, 1974, Lila May **Thomas**, d. Feb. 1982; marr. 3rd, Aug. 1982, Elizabeth _____

Issue of Frederick and Edith Bond:

(1d) Frederick Dart Jr., b. 29 Aug. 1925, Niantic, Connecticut, d. 26 Jan. 1981, Florida; marr. 3 July 1948, Lila Malyn **Thomas**.

Issue of Frederick Jr. and Lila Bond:

(1e) Frederick Dart III, b. 22 May 1949; marr. 1st, 1972 and div.; marr. 2nd, 19 May 1979, Ruth **Booth**.

Issue of Frederick III and Ruth Bond:

(1f) Farrelin D., b. 14 Nov. 1979.

(2f) Frederick Dart IV, b. 4 Oct. 1981, Waterbury, Connecticut.

(2e) Elizabeth Anne Gladys, b. 11 Nov. 1950.

(3e) Leola May, b. 11 Sept. 1951; marr. 1st, 1970, Joseph **Malgeri**, div.; marr. 2nd, Benny **Holeman**.

Issue of Joseph and Leola Malgeri:

(1f) Christian Joseph, b. 6 May 1973.

(2f) Aaron Frederick, b. 26 Mar. 1975.

Issue of Benny and Leola Holeman:

(3f) Jennifer Lee, b. 17 July 1980.

(4e) Raymond Edwin, b. 2 Feb. 1954.

(5e) Johnathan Thomas , b. 26 Mar. 1958.

(6e) Joan Virginia, b. 18 Oct. 1959.

(7e) Rebecca Lynn, b. 4 Nov. 1961.

(8e) Jane Moody, b. 20 Nov. 1964.

(5c) Francis Barnard, b. 21 Mar. 1903; d. 24 Jan. 1974; marr. 1st, 1925, Arline **Champion**, d. in childbirth; marr. 2nd, 1947, Catherine **Nobel**, d. 30 Jan. 1980.

(4b) Stephen Norman, b. 9 Apr. 1861; d. 1940. No issue, adopted a 9-year-old boy.

(5b) Maria Elizabeth, b. 1 June 1865; d. 1918; marr. Frederick H. **Dart**, M.D., b. 11 Feb. 1866, d. Dec. 1936.

Issue of Frederick and Maria Dart:

(1c) Frederick Bond, M.D., b. 1892; d. 1949; marr. Helen _____, b. 1901, d. 1967. No issue.

(6b) Anne Murray, b. 31 Aug. 1867; d. 1957; spinster.

(7b) Ada Stahl, b. 5 July 1872; d. 1956; spinster.

(8b) Alice Maud, b. Mar. 1876; d. 1967; spinster.

(5a) Ralph Foster, b. 17 July 1836, Yarmouth; marr. 1st, 27 Apr. 1865, Wealthie **Brown**, dau. Robert, d. Oct. 1873; marr. 2nd, May 1875, Nettie Grace **Allison** of Boston; marr. 3rd, Louise Minnie **Truscott** of Michigan.

Issue of Ralph and Wealthie Moody:

(1b) Harry R., b. 25 Aug. 1866; marr. 24 Aug. 1892, Ellen H. **Perry**, dau. Thomas Perry.

Issue of Harry and Ellen Moody:

(1c) Victor D., b. 21 Aug. 1900.

Issue of Ralph and Louise Moody:

(2b) Ralph.

(3b) Arthur.

(4b) Minnie, died in infancy.

(6a) Annie, b. 9 May 1839; d. 29 Apr. 1891; bur. with husband; marr. Thomas Crowell **Moody**, son William H., b. 14 Jan. 1841; d. 28 Jan. 1908; bur. Mountain Cemetery, Yarmouth.

Issue of Thomas and Annie Moody:

(1b) Katherine Jane, b. Yarmouth; d. Oct. 1952, Yarmouth; bur. Mountain Cemetery, Yarmouth; marr. Henry Brandt **Annable**.

Issue of Henry and Katharine Annable:

(1c) Frederick, b. 1900; killed World War I (Bethune, France), 1917.

(2b) William Thomas, marr. Nell _____; 2 step-daughters.

(3b) Margaret Anne, b. 28 Sept. 1873, Yarmouth; d. 11 July 1954, Halifax; bur. Camp Hill Cemetery, Halifax; marr. 14 Aug. 1907, Yarmouth, Thomas W.R. **Ellis**, b. 11 Feb. 1876, Saint John, N.B., d. 11 Sept. 1954, Halifax, bur. Halifax.

Issue of Thomas and Margaret Ellis:

(1c) Katharine Moody, b. 10 May 1908, Saint John, N.B.; marr. 24 May 1940, Halifax, Harry **Worsley**, b. 1 June 1902, Bury, England, d. 14 Dec. 1964, Halifax, bur. Halifax.

Issue of Harry and Katharine Worsley:

(1d) Heather Katharine, b. 24 Oct. 1941, Halifax; marr. 13 July 1965, Halifax, William Gilbert **Dinwoodie**, b. 21 Dec. 1941, Ontario.

Issue of William and Katharine Dinwoodie:

(1e) Gavin William Worsley, b. 9 Apr. 1968.

(2e) Christian Gilbert, b. 9 July 1969.

(3e) Shannon Rae, b. 27 July 1974.

(4b) George John, d. Aug. 1958.

(5b) Mary Elizabeth, d. Dec. 1960, Toronto; bur. Toronto; marr. after World War I, Toronto, Alexander Griswold **Viets**, b. Digby, d. 23 Apr. 1949, Toronto, bur. Toronto. It is understood that while serving with the P.P.C.L.I. he was the first Canadian soldier blinded during World War I and met his wife when she was working at the school for the blind. He was an accomplished musician and amazingly self-sufficient. No issue.

(6b) Agnes, d. and bur. Toronto, Ont.; b. Yarmouth; marr. _____ **Curtis**.

(7b) John Parkinson, b. Yarmouth; d. Winnipeg, Man.; marr., Winnipeg, Etta _____, d. Winnipeg. No issue.

(8b) Elisha James Wentworth, d. 9 Feb. 1973, Texas; marr. Donna C. _____. He did not like his given names so changed them to Leslie Wentworth.
Issue of Leslie and Donna Moody:

(1c) Robert Phelps, b. 30 Sept. ____; marr. Darlene _____
Issue of Robert and Darlene Moody:

(1d) Robert Phelps II, marr. Vikki _____
Issue of Robert and Vikki Moody:

(1e) Robert Phelps III.

(2e) Tiffin.

(2d) Bruce Randloph, marr. _____

(2c) Son, probably Leslie Jr.

(3c) Son.

(7a) Margaret Budd, marr. 18 Jan. 1866, Stephen Blackburn **Bond**, son Joseph B. Bond, M.D., b. 3 Sept. 1841, d. 2 Oct. 1922.
Issue of Stephen and Margaret Bond:

(1b) Eliza Moody, b. 2 Sept. 1867; marr. 5 Sept. 1900, Frank **Barrow** of Chicago.
Issue of Frank and Eliza Barrow:

(1c) Margaret, marr. Andreas **Louw** and they reside Capetown, South Africa.

(2b) Joseph Blackburn, b. 8 July 1868; died infant.

(3b) Elizabeth Bell, b. 21 Dec. 1869; died young.

(4b) Bertha Isabella, artist, spinster, died at early age.

(5b) Alice Maud, b. 24 Feb. 1873; marr. Harry **Bonham**.
Issue of Harry and Alice Bonham:

(1c) Katharine, marr. Jacob W. **Oswald**.
Issue of Jacob and Katharine Oswald:

(1d) David, marr. Janet **Buescher**.
Issue of David and Janet Oswald:

(1e) Scott.

(2e) Eric.

(2d) Stephen Craig, marr. Susie **David**.

(6b) George Stephen, b. 10 Sept. 1878.

(8a) Robert Robinson, b. 13 Mar. 1843; marr. 22 Oct. 1868, Sarah F. **Harrison**, dau. Charles of Clinton, Iowa.
Issue of Robert and Sarah Moody:
(1b) Minetta Jane, b. 12 Oct. 1869; marr. 20 Sept. 1892, Albert E. **Bachman** of Clinton, Iowa.
(1c) Harry Moody, b. 31 Dec. 1895.
(2b) Estelle Budd, b. 27 June 1871; marr. 25 Dec. 1894, Arthur H. **Kelley**.
Issue of Arthur and Estelle Kelley:
(1c) Robert John, b. 7 Nov. 1897.
(3b) Robert Harrison, b. 9 May 1874; d. 1 Nov. 1878.
(4b) Mary Frances, b. 1 Nov. 1878.
(5b) Sarah Elizabeth, b. 18 July 1887.
(6b) Alice Hobart, b. 6 Feb. 1891.

(9a) Lewis M. Wilkins, bap. 27 Aug. 1844, Holy Trinity Church, Yarmouth; d. 2 May 1845(?), Yarmouth (Holy Trinity record shows bur. 1 Sept. 1845).

(10a) Edward Nichols, b. 22 June 1846; Yarmouth; d. Apr. 1889; marr. Charlotte **Hatfield**, dau. Capt. J.V.N. Hatfield.

(11a) George Fletcher, b. 21 July 1847, Yarmouth; marr. Sophia **Burton**, dau. Capt. James Burton.
Issue of George and Sophia Burton:
(1b) George F.

Issue of Elisha William Budd and Mary Anne Moody:

(12a) Grace, b. 20 Nov. 1853, Yarmouth; marr. A.C. **Hutchinson**, M.D.

(13a) William Stewart, b. 8 Apr. 1855, Yarmouth; d. May 1898; marr. 8 May 1882, Minna Caroline **Killam**, b. 18 Jan. 1859, dau. Capt. George Killam.
Issue of William and Minna Moody:
(1b) Marion Stewart, b. 10 Mar. 1883.
(2b) Minna Killam, b. 23 May 1885.
(3b) Winnifred, b. 5 June 1887.
(4b) Hubert Valentine, b. 22 Oct. 1892.
(5b) Sydney Budd, b. 22 Oct. 1892.

(14a) Catharine Grantham, b. ___ Oct. ___; bap. 26 June 1859, Holy Trinity Church, Yarmouth.

(15a) Henry Stewart, d. age 17; bur. Mountain Cemetery, Yarmouth.

(5) Charles Colbourne, b. 9 Jan. 1802, Sissiboo; d. 14 Oct. 1851, Weymouth; bur. St. Peter's churchyard, Weymouth; marr. Mary Eliza **Lovett**, dau. Phineas Lovett of Annapolis.
Issue of Charles and Mary Moody:

(1a) Henry, d. 20 Nov. 1897; bur. St. Peter's churchyard, Weymouth; reported to have marr. a Mrs. **Durant** (widow) who had a son James W. (sometimes called Jimmy Moody) who is bur. St. Peter's churchyard, Weymouth, under name James W. Durant and gravestone shows d. 25 June 1926, age 62.

2. Unidentified child, mentioned in writings of James Moody (quotes three children); a note by Margaret Budd Moody (dau.-in-law of James) says that only two of James' children lived to mature years. Claims by some authors to have traced the child as William who went to Ohio and produced a family there are not considered to be valid, or not proven. These claims are based on two rather confusing letters held by James' descendants.

3. Maria (possibly Maria Jane), b. 28 Feb. 1775, Sussex County, New Jersey; d. 1848, Boulogne, France; marr. 6 Nov. 1794, Sissiboo, Capt. James **Taylor**, b. ca. 1766, a master mariner connected with Lloyds of London. The Taylors moved to London, England, in 1800 and later Maria and at least one child moved to Boulogne.
Issue of James and Maria Taylor:

(1) James Moody, bap. 27 Feb. 1796, Sissiboo; attorney, London England; marr. _____.
Issue of James and _____ Taylor:

(1a) Charlotte(?), marr. George _____, an engraver. They had at least four children.

(2a) a source suggested nine or more other children.

(2) Jane Maria, b. 1800, London, England; lived with mother in Boulogne, France; visited sister or sister's family in America; believed to have remained a spinster.

(3) Mary Anne, marr. 8 Apr. 1835, _____ Brown, writer for the *Signet*, Edinburgh, Scotland; emigrated to Liberty, Miss., where she died of "brain fever," ca. 1838, shortly after her young son died of dysentery.

Any comments, queries, corrections or additions should be referred to:

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Book Reviews

The Electric City: The Stehelins of New France, by Paul H. Stehelin. ISBN 0-88999-186-3. Lancelot Press, Hantsport, N.S., 1983. 276 pages, illustrated, softcover, $10.00.

In *The Electric City*, Paul Stehelin has created an engaging portrait of the most unlikely group of pioneers ever to arrive on Nova Scotia's "French Shore." He captures the almost naïve excitement of Emile Stehelin and his family as they discover their wilderness kingdom in the backwoods of Weymouth. The story of New France appears at first to be highly romanticized and a bit fantastic, but few things could appear more fantastic than the notion of transplanting a middle-class European family into the wilds of the Nova Scotian forest.

The book, the product of over thirty years of intermittent work, owes equal debts to family reminiscences and careful historical research; Mr. Stehelin has obviously done his homework. In fact, the only criticism that can be made is that Stehelin cites his sources only in his preface.

The story takes us from Emile's birth in Alsace, through young Jean Jacques' discovery of the New World, to the establishment of the Stehelin family in their little empire during the closing years of the nineteenth century. Paul Stehelin has a good sense of his period, and has captured the feel of everyday life in New France; we can easily imagine him, as a young boy, listening to the endless discussions of relatives and neighbours.

The book includes 32 pages of carefully chosen illustrations, which are arranged chronologically and are an attractive supplement to the text. All in all, *The Electric City* is an enjoyable blend of family and community history.

Mary Ellen Wright

King's Bounty: A History of Early Shelburne Nova Scotia, by Marion Robertson. ISBN 0-919680-24-0. Nova Scotia Museum, Halifax, 1983. 334 pages, illustrated. $25.00 hardcover, $16.00 paperback.

The long-awaited publication of Marion Robertson's *magnum opus* on early Shelburne is a significant contribution to the Loyalist bicentenary. Intensively researched, extensively annotated and elegantly written, *King's Bounty* is indeed a very good book; destined eventually to take its place among such classics of Nova Scotia historiography as Winthrop Bell's *The "Foreign Protestants" and the Settlement of Nvoa Scotia.*

Despite the crucial role played by the Loyalists, the history of Shelburne (*alias* Port Roseway) begins not with them, but with the aboriginal Micmacs and the Europeans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who came to fish and to explore. Later on followed three successive groups of pre-Loyalist settlers: French, Ulstermen (here the controversial figure of Colonel Alexander McNutt looms large) and New Englanders. These matters are dealt with in a "Prologue to 1783," which effectively sets the stage.

The founding of Shelburne was very much the story of the Port Roseway Associates, an organization of New York Loyalists whose *ad hoc* purpose is implied in its name. The determination of the Associates not only that Loyalists other than themselves should be excluded from the new town, but also "that all should share alike in the distribution of the land" (page 127) was a cause of acrimony right from the start. For reasons not dissimilar, rebellion broke out at Shelburne in July 1784 just as it had at Lunenburg in December 1753. Shelburne was, so to speak, a boom town which by the end of the decade had become almost a ghost town. But after its inevitable decline Shelburne began to rise again, on a firmer foundation, if more gradually. Thus it is around the turn of the nineteenth century that Mrs. Robertson brings her history of early Shelburne to a close.

King's Bounty is a comprehensive work which unites economic, judicial (in a broad sense), military, religious and social history. The view is panoramic but rarely out of focus. There is a wealth, almost a surfeit, of detail. If the book has any failing at all, it is that there are just too many enumerations of names, dates and figures. For the most part, however, the facts are carefully considered and integrated into the narrative. (The hackles of the present reviewer were raised slightly by the mention, on page 182, of seventeen boys at a grammar school in Shelburne struggling with the principles of Greek and Latin. Greek and Latin being logical languages, unlike English, it is not their principles but the application of them which is hard to master.)

The text is complemented with twenty-four reproductions of paintings, sketches and maps. Frequent but appropriate use is also made of quotation and anecdote. The appendix provides an alphabetical list of the original grantees. There is a fine index and a good bibliography, devoted mainly (for obvious reasons) to manuscript sources. The bibliography of printed works ought to have included Anne Borden Harding's important article, "The Port Roseway Debacle: Some American Loyalists in Nova Scotia," *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (January 1963), pp. 3-18; like-

wise, T.W. Smith's paper, "The Loyalists at Shelburne," *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, Vol. vi, pp. 53-89.

King's Bounty was meant primarily for scholars; it might not attract the general reader as more "popular" local and family histories undoubtedly would. It could, nevertheless, be read for both pleasure and profit by anyone seriously interested in the history of early Shelburne. Marion Robertson put twenty years of work into this book, which she has dedicated to the memory of her late husband, Donald. That the research and writing was a labour of love is evident from every page. Few communities in Nova Scotia have hitherto been so well served by an historian. Barry Cahill

A *History of Early Nova Scotia*, by Peter L. McCreath and John Leefe. ISBN 0-9690041-4-1. Four East Publications, Tantallon, N.S., 1982. 320 pages, illustrated, index, softcover, $14.95.

There has long been wanting a readable history of Nova Scotia from its sixteenth century beginnings until the arrival of the Loyalists. In good measure, McCreath and Leefe have succeeded in writing a history suitable for senior high school students and the general reader alike.

The Acadian period up to the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, always difficult to untangle as wars and boundary disputes abound, is well handled. The Acadian deportation is dealt with fairly and factually.

It is, however, when the authors discuss the role and sieges of Louisbourg, that an organizational problem arises. The story of Louisbourg, as told in Chapters 10, 11 and 12, is not integrated into the text, but instead has been inserted between chapters on the fall of Acadia, 1701-1710, and the refusal of the Acadians to take an unqualified oath of allegiance. When the authors come to describe the clash of empires during the Seven Years War, they are forced to discuss Louisbourg again. Even the index reflects this problem, since there are no page references there for the nearly fifty pages about Louisbourg in Chapters 10 to 12.

The remaining chapters, taking the reader up to the arrival of the Loyalists, are perhaps the best in the book. There is more sureness in their style and handling of sources than in the earlier parts. All in all, the book should become the accepted text in Nova Scotian schools for the early history of the province. B.C. Cuthbertson

The Micmac: How Their Ancestors Lived Five Hundred Years Ago, by Ruth Holmes Whitehead and Harold McGee. Illustrations by Kathy Kaulbach. ISBN 0-920852-21-1. Nimbus Publishing Limited, Halifax, 1983. 60 pages, $8.50 hardcover, $5.95 paperback.

The presentation of historical material to young readers is a deceptively difficult task. Through a direct and simple account of the ways and spirit of the early Micmac, Ruth Holmes Whitehead and Harold McGee successfully inform and interest the grade six student. The chapters treat the pre-Columbian geography of Eastern Canada, the community life of the Micmac, their remarkable fishing and hunting skills and the "impressive technology" of their handicrafts.

Kathy Kaulbach's illustrations are plentiful and wonderfully apt. Precise and accurate, they are almost always presented against a background of weaving and quillwork. Such forms, and the dominance throughout of horizontal patterns, makes marvelously visible the humility, humanity and respect for nature which the text attributes to "The People."

Micmac promises to be of great value to teachers and students studying the culture of the aboriginal people of North America. For too long, schools have been without such a thorough and sympathetic treatment. Whitehead, McGee and Kaulbach, as well as Nimbus Publishing, should be congratulated for this fine addition to the classroom. Sandra Haycock

The South Shore Phrase Book, by Lewis J. Poteet. ISBN 0-88999-192-8. Lancelot Press, Hantsport, N.S., 1983. 72 pages, illustrated, softcover, $3.50. Available from the publisher, P.O. Box 425, Hantsport, N.S., B0P 1P0.

This intriguing little volume is the result of ten years' keen observation of conversational English along Nova Scotia's south shore. The compiler is an associate professor of English at Concordia University in Montreal, but although he may "come from away," his academic standing is enhanced by his summer residency in Upper Port Latour.

Poteet's thesis is interesting: language is a means of culture preservation and therefore, given that Nova Scotia's south shore is rural, still isolated, and home to various ethnic traditions, the resultant spoken word should remain pure and special. His alphabetical listing of words and phrases is ample testimony to the truth of his premise.

The reader is introduced to such examples as: *airin up* (Shelburne expression for "the wind has started to blow"); *chowdered it* (Woods Harbour term for "messed it up"); *mother soul alone* (Lunenburg emphatic for "alone,"

from the German *mutterseelenallein*, "all alone"); *pleasance* (Liverpool term for a small rose garden, dating from an English word of 1585); and *he's so tight, he'd skin a louse and tan the hide, and save the grease for tallow* (a Barrington expression for a miserly person).

Poteet places many of these words and phrases within the language tradition of Renaissance England, derived via the dialects of both northern England and New England. He also acknowledges the strong influence of German in the Lunenburg area. While he notes that not all his findings are uniquely south shore Nova Scotian in origin, Poteet is nevertheless impressed with the variety of colourful and imaginative expressions which do seem indigenous to that area, and which in many cases are occupation-oriented (fishing, sea-faring, logging, weather conditions, etc.).

Poteet has included a brief note on his sources for those interested in further reading, although it is clear that his book has been tailored for a general interest audience. A minor criticism is that the selection of illustrations has little to do with the subject matter, and could just as easily have been eliminated. Publications like this, nevertheless, are always popular, not only for tourists and linguists, but also for "locals" and for those interested in what makes us what we are. *The South Shore Phrase Book* is no exception to this rule, and should find a home on the bookshelves of everyone interested in Novascotiana.

L.K. Kernaghan

Thy Dwellings Fair: Churches of Nova Scotia, 1750-1830, by Allan Duffus, Edward MacFarlane, Elizabeth Pacey and George Rogers. ISBN 0-88999-166-9. Lancelot Press Ltd., Hantsport, N.S., 1982. 175 pages, illustrated, softcover, $10.00.

According to the authors, "the roots of Nova Scotian architecture originated in the American Colonies and Britain." This is the message at the heart of a most attractive book seeking to present evidence of a distinctive regional style in the Maritime Provinces as recognizable as, for example, that in Quebec. An examination of early Nova Scotian churches certainly makes the case, for they, more than any other buildings, embodied and expressed architecturally the traditions of the communities which built them, using the local resources of stone and timber and the human skill of the mason, joiner and carpenter. The resultant harmony reflects the basic consensus of those whose lot is cast with a group of neighbours from a similar background who have decided to share their lives together in a new land.

The concept of the mediaeval parish church as the centre of English life both religious and secular was transposed into the meeting house and town meeting of New England, was brought to Nova Scotia and was effectively blended with the classicism of Anglican church architecture stemming from Inigo Jones and Christopher Wren, not forgetting also the emerging Gothic revival.

The success of this marriage is evident again and again in the excellent photographs of elevations and detail, in particular those from the Anglican churches at Auburn, Cornwallis and Middleton. At the same time the churches of other denominations were not to be outdone when it came to elegant simplicity, as witness the Covenanters' Church at Grand Pré. Planters, Loyalists and Scots sought architectural solutions appropriate to the functions the churches were required to perform. Their success was remarkable given their diversity.

The predominant building material was, of course, wood and an excellent chapter has been given over to explaining in lay persons' terms the tools and techniques employed, indicating, as at Old Holy Trinity Church, Middleton, and the Goat Island Baptist Church, where the framework behind the finish may still be seen. Although there is evidence of boat-building techniques, this is not as prevalent as was perhaps once thought. Successive waves of immigrants brought with them the necessary craftsmen familiar with both domestic and public architecture.

Following the introductory chapters, the churches are described in detail, in date order of their initial completion, even though there may have been long-drawn-out preparations and an earlier structure long since demolished. This approach is interesting and appropriate from an architectural standpoint, underlining the ever-changing nature and requirements of church life.

The authors, while meticulous in their description of the buildings, have not neglected the people connected with them and the problems they faced: the Rev. John Wiswall, so engrossed in aiding the construction of Old Holy Trinity, Middleton, that his other parish duties were neglected; the Master Builder William Matthews' contribution to St. Mary's, Auburn, "a masterpiece of classical elegance" and the delight of Bishop Charles Inglis, despite the difficulties which included hand-forged nails "made up in 10 or 15 pound packages and transported by a company of soldiers," who marched the one hundred miles from Halifax along the old military road; old St. Edward's, Clementsport, barely saved from destruction long before the heritage movement was heard of; St. George's, Halifax, reflecting class

station and privilege, whereby slaves and servants were provided with "crude hard benches" under the roof; and the tower of St. John's, Cornwallis, raised with the help of sailors from ships in the West India trade moored nearby.

One quite minor cavil is that a chapter might have been added on the relationship (or its absence) among architecture, church order and liturgy, as form follows function in chancel, nave, pulpit and altar.

Now that "small is beautiful" has become a cliché of our times, more and more people have come to appreciate the simple delights of our local churches. The selection featured in this book invites the personal visit and further study, which surely is its aim. Hugh A. Taylor

Pursuit of Profit and Preferment in Colonial North America: John Bradstreet's Quest, by William G. Godfrey. ISBN 0-88920-108-0. Wilfred Laurier University, Waterloo, Ontario, 1982. 296 pages, index, hardcover, $17.00, in U.S.A. $19.75. Available from Humanities Press Inc., Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey, U.S.A. 07716.

John Bradstreet was baptised in 1716 as "Jean Baptiste Bradstreet," son of Edward Bradstreet of the Annapolis Royal garrison, and Agathe de St. Etienne de la Tour, grand-daughter of the famous governor of Acadia, Charles La Tour. Bradstreet was the first Nova Scotian born under English rule to achieve at least a modicum of fame and fortune; he ended his life as a major general in the British Army and with ample means. As a subaltern in the 40th. Regiment during the first siege of Louisbourg, he first emerged from his Nova Scotian obscurity and gained for his conduct the approbation of Governor William Shirley of Massachusetts.

An intensely ambitious man, Bradstreet seemed always to be on the brink of gaining the fame and high office he so ardently sought, only to have his aspirations dashed by circumstance, loss of patronage at a critical moment, or by his obstinacy and belligerency. An impressive military record on the New York frontier during the Seven Years War did not lead to a colonial governorship. Bradstreet, however, made a small fortune when deputy quartermaster general (that he was any more dishonest than others in similar positions in colonial America is doubtful).

Godfrey's story of Bradstreet's career is not easy reading and is too long. Too often the story becomes submerged in repetitive speculations about his motives, as though he were on trial for some unnamed offence. The biography, however, is excellent in demonstrating not only the importance

of patronage for the aspiring in the First British Empire, but also how it was sought and won or lost. B.C. Cuthbertson

The Loyalist Governor: Biography of Sir John Wentworth, by Brian Cuthbertson. ISBN 0-919380-43-3. Petheric Press, Halifax, 1983. 174 pages, illustrated, index, softcover, $11.95.

"Unshaken attachment": these words taken from the memorial to Sir John Wentworth in St. Paul's Church gave the recent Loyalist exhibition at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia its title. A new scholarly life of Governor Wentworth, which made use of all the available manuscript sources, was a desideratum. Little or no work had recently been done on this man--twice a popular and effective royal governor--whose involvement in Nova Scotian affairs was long and whose influence profound.

John Wentworth's life was full of drama: revolution, exile, intrigue, financial ineptitude, political controversy and personal vendetta, marriage to a *femme fatale* who cuckholded him for a dissolute prince twenty years her junior, and (for himself in later years) an exotic Maroon mistress. This is the stuff of which novels are made, and indeed one has been: *The Governor's Lady* by Thomas H. Raddall, a work which, in Dr. Cuthbertson's opinion, shows a "rather romanticised picture" of Lady Wentworth. Of course it is hard to see how a "romance" (in the literary sense) could do otherwise.

In his preface the author also draws attention to the fact that too few Nova Scotians are aware that Government House in Halifax owes its existence to Wentworth. The building project is discussed on pages 108 to 111. Something ought to have been said there about the commission which the governor appointed in 1797 to spend the £600 voted by the Assembly for buying lumber and obtaining plans and estimates. The commissioners' names read like a "who's who" of serving and would-be councillors and of the mercantile establishment generally. Indeed, more ought to have been said about the Council as such under Wentworth. Alexander Brymer, for example, a pre-1783 Loyalist who was perhaps the wealthiest merchant in Halifax and who had served on the Council for all of the previous administration, comes to mind. Brymer would continue to serve for the first, and more productive, half of Wentworth's governorship; he retired to England in 1801. (Brymer is mentioned on page 90 in connection with Andrew Belcher, his business partner; his name does not appear in the index.) The composition of the Council suggests that Wentworth tried to pack it with wealthy merchants, Loyalist and otherwise, either to whom he

owed money or from whom he could borrow it. (This is apparently the view taken by Professor David Sutherland in his doctoral dissertation, *The Merchants of Halifax 1815-1850* (University of Toronto, 1975), cf. page 31.) Among Wentworth's appointees to the Council were John Butler, Michael Wallace, Lawrence Hartshorne, William Forsyth and Charles Hill (whose name is mentioned on page 61 but also does not appear in the index)--all prominent merchants, both pre-Loyalist and Loyalist. A fuller treatment of the role and membership of the Council, to complement that given to the Assembly, would in any case have been welcome.

It is a little ironic that (to paraphrase the conclusion of the book) Wentworth's greatest achievement was to impart to Nova Scotians the very quality with which he was obsessed: loyalty. Like most obsessions, it proved to be his downfall. His character and experience prevented him from learning the difference between disloyalty and dissent. The public virtue had become the private vice.

Dr. Cuthbertson writes in a lucid and vigorous style, which makes for compulsive reading. He tends, however, to be over-concise. While in Marion Robertson's recently published history of early Shelburne, *King's Bounty*, there is often too much detail, in *The Loyalist Governor* there is sometimes not enough. A few literary lapses went undetected by the editor: the Latinism "obdurant" (page 38) for "obdurate"; the conflation "merchantocracy" (page 63) for "emporocracy"; and the term "adultery" (page 92) used with reference to courting or engaged couples rather than to married ones. There is a serious misprint in the third paragraph of page 169, where an entire sentence from the second paragraph has been transposed. But these unfortunate errors do not by any means detract from the overall merit and importance of the book.

The year 1983 has seen the publication of the second and final volume of Professor J.M. Beck's definitive biography of Joseph Howe, arguably the greatest Nova Scotian of them all. We have been given a likewise definite biography of the man who towered above his Loyalist contemporaries. Sir John Wentworth was an heroic figure, if also perhaps a brilliant failure, and there is something of the epic to his story. Brian Cuthbertson has already made a notable contribution to political biography in Nova Scotia through his life of Richard John Uniacke, *The Old Attorney General* (published 1980). His latest book was both a pleasure to read and an honour to review; it will stand as a fitting tribute to Wentworth's memory. "The Loyalist Governor" has been faithfully served by his biographer. Barry Cahill

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