

A LOYALIST PLANTATION IN NOVA SCOTIA, 1784-1800

by

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For my brother

Marc Andrew Kenneth Cottreau

1967-1980

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Abstract

At the close of the American Revolution thousands of American Loyalists were forced into exile and made their way to British colonies beyond the United States. Most of the Loyalists landed in British North America, particularly the Maritimes. Along with the trauma and losses of the conflict, the Loyalists brought with them a way of doing things, an intense political history, and ideas concerning the imperial structure that framed their everyday lives.

This dissertation is a study of the Loyalists. Specifically, it explores a prominent Loyalist and his journey from Massachusetts to Nova Scotia along with family members, servants, and labourers, including enslaved persons. A central objective of the dissertation is to illuminate the story of the enslaved and magnify their place in Nova Scotia's eighteenth century colonial history narrative. The objective is addressed by adapting a holistic perspective that considers a single geography – the plantation. The holistic perspective, developed through an interdisciplinary methodology, explores the people, places and culture that formed the Loyalist plantation and were informed by it. The picture that emerges is one that puts into place the structure and organization of a Loyalist plantation in the late eighteenth century.

This dissertation argues that an interdisciplinary approach is fundamental when exploring the subject of the plantation and its inhabitants in Nova Scotia. Through study of the slaveholder and the comparison of his plantation spaces, the dissertation argues for Loyalist continuity. Such continuity confirmed a slaveholding culture during the mass migration. Finally, this dissertation argues that the Loyalist period can be described as Nova Scotia's Age of Slavery. The Loyalist migration represents an unprecedented arrival of enslaved persons to the province. Furthermore, the Loyalist migration represents the unprecedented arrival of a political and ideological framework that carried within it perceptions of race and seeds of discrimination that took root.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Now, whether a Negro is or can be the property of any Man in this Province, will emphatically depend upon another question – Whether a Negro can or cannot be a Slave in this Province? For if he can be a Slave here, I think when we come coolly to consider the legal dominion which the master has over him, he cannot be taken to be anything less than his Master’s property.¹

An estimated 2500 enslaved African Americans arrived in British North America with their Loyalist masters at the end of the American Revolution.² The quotation above is drawn from a published legal debate about slavery in Nova Scotia in the post-Revolutionary Loyalist period. It illustrates the impact of the arrival of thousands of slaves to a sparsely populated British colony and the desire for those with enslaved labourers to understand their legal, financial and political position. Discovering such a

¹ Excerpt from *Opinions of Several Gentlemen of the Law on the Subject of Negro Servitude in the Province of Nova Scotia* (Saint John: John Ryan, 1802), 6-12. MFM 3934, Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management, Halifax. It is interesting to note that the “Gentlemen” concur with the opinions of the main contributor Mr. Aplin. Principally that “as several Acts of the British Parliament do make Slaves of Negroes; and as all His Majesty’s subjects (whether British or Colonial) are made equal sharers in the profits of the African or Negro traffic, the Colonial Traders might carry their Slaves, either to the West-Indies, or to any other of His Majesty’s Colonies on the Continent. Consequently, if Negroes, so imported into the West-Indies, were legally held as Slaves *there*, they cannot, when imported into any of the Continental Colonies, be in a better state than they would have been, had they been imported into the *West-Indies*.” Regarding whether “Negroes, so made Slaves, can be the property of their Masters”, Aplin reasons “that whatever is made an article of traffic, must necessarily have an owner, and consequently become an article of sale. And whatever may be legally sold, must have been the property of the seller.” In the matter, Aplin quotes the Act (of Parliament) 5. Geo. 2. C. 7. that makes Negroes property in the hands of their Masters. The Act “expressly makes personal Estates of them, and subjects them to be sold under Execution to satisfy the demands of English creditors.” Aplin later adds that Negroes, “even in this Province, have always been allowed to pass by Will, as personal Estate.”

² By 1784, over 3000 free Black Loyalists had arrived in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and approximately 2500 enslaved black Loyalists had arrived in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. The Black Loyalists came north mainly from the Lowland South, Chesapeake and New England colonies. For a basic summary of the arrival and settlement of the Black Loyalists see the Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management *African Nova Scotians: In the Age of Slavery and Abolition* web site. <http://www.gov.ns.ca/nsarm/virtual/africanns/results.asp?Search=&SearchList1=2&Language=English>

document in the Provincial Archives, while immersed in records of the free Black Loyalists, initiated a pause and ultimately a new path of historical inquiry. What about the Loyalist slaves? This dissertation explores the history of the Loyalists and the Black Loyalist slaves who travelled with them from New England to the Maritimes.³ A particular case study is investigated in an effort to compile historical evidence concerning the founding of a Loyalist plantation in the Annapolis Valley of Nova Scotia.

Since James Walker's ground-breaking study of the Black Loyalists, scholarship has focused almost exclusively on those Black Loyalists who were free. Researchers such as Ellen Gibson Wilson, Graham Russell Hodges, Ruth Holmes Whitehead, Carmelita Robertson, Carole W. Troxler, Laird Niven and Heather Macleod Leslie have all

³ An important forum debating the definition of Black Loyalist was published in *Acadiensis* journal in 1999. In the forum, archivist Barry Cahill and historian James Walker present their opposing arguments concerning the Black refugees, fugitive and newly-freed, who arrived in the Maritimes with the Loyalists. Cahill aggressively contends that the fugitive slaves that arrived in Atlantic Canada were a "subcategory of Blacks, not Loyalists" and that a Black Loyalist myth has been invented by academic scholars in an effort to bring Black people into the mainstream of historical scholarship. He further argues that the "determining factor at this moment in Black history was not whether one was a loyal subject – slaves were subject only to their masters – but whether the master was Patriot or Tory." In his arguments, Cahill removes decision-making power or agency from the refugee slaves. He purports to know what the Black refugees thought, stated and understood including that they were definitely not Loyalists. He also argues that if there is to be a credible Loyalist perspective on Black history, then it must be that of the free born or free Black, not the fugitive slave. I would argue that study of the enslaved – fugitive or in bondage - adds depth and credibility to the larger Black history narrative regionally and nationally. The study of the enslaved Black Loyalist informs several aspects of the Loyalist period – political, ideological and economic. The historical approach must be inclusive. Walker breaks down Cahill's arguments through a presentation of historical evidence which supports that Black refugees were regarded as Loyalists by White Loyalists, the British, American Patriots, and themselves and that the fugitive and newly-freed Black Loyalists expected the same "respect and rewards granted to all other Loyalists." I agree that Walker's substantive work on the Black Loyalists in 1976 standardized the term which has come into common usage. It is further used in this dissertation to represent the enslaved refugees that arrived with their Loyalist masters to the Maritimes. On page 98, Walker quotes a definition of Loyalists published in *The Canadian Encyclopedia* and it is applicable to this research. Loyalists are "American colonists of varied ethnic backgrounds who supported the British cause during the American Revolution...for highly diverse reasons." A point that Walker notes he and Cahill may agree, is the neglect of the Black Loyalists in Atlantic Canada historiography and the absence of wide spread public awareness about the Loyalist origins of many Black communities. This has improved since the publication of the forum in 1999. This dissertation research contributes to the developing awareness. Both authors also agree that loyalty to the Crown did not take priority over the commitment to freedom over slavery. See Barry Cahill, "The Black Loyalist Myth in Atlantic Canada," *Acadiensis* XXIX, no. 1 (Autumn 1999): 76-87. Also, James W. St. G. Walker, "Myth, History and Revisionism: The Black Loyalists Revisited," *Acadiensis* XXIX, no. 1 (Autumn 1999): 88-105.

investigated the journey of slaves who escaped to the British lines, obtained certificates of freedom for allegiance to the Crown during the War for Independence, and sought refuge in the British colonies to the north. Recently, the lives and culture of the Black Loyalists who arrived in the Maritimes as enslaved individuals has gained attention. Simon Schama, Harvey Amani Whitfield, Jeffrey A. Fortin, Barry Cahill and W. Bryan Rommel-Ruiz have all addressed this aspect of the Maritime black past in recent scholarship contributing to what has become a dynamic field of historical investigation.⁴

This dissertation builds on this scholarship by focusing on the enslaved rather than the free Black Loyalists of Nova Scotia and the white Loyalist context that structured their lives. It explores a series of questions unanswered by recent scholarship by approaching a remaining frontier of Atlantic Black studies of the Loyalist era. The dissertation moves beyond a strict historical approach and applies an interdisciplinary framework with comparative analysis in history, archaeology and cultural geography. Research questions posed include: What can be determined about the daily life of slaves in Nova Scotia following the wave of Loyalist migration? How does the master-slave relationship inform the Nova Scotia slavery narrative? Can investigation of the slave

⁴ Among the massive body of research grounded in the historiography of slavery in the Atlantic world, the subject of slavery in Nova Scotia has received relatively little scholarly attention. Currently, ethnologist Ruth Homes Whitehead continues her investigation of the journey of the Black Loyalists to Nova Scotia by compiling historical data on each Black Loyalist to arrive from the Southern Provinces and settle in free Black communities. Historians over the past fifteen years have made a variety of contributions. Ken Donovan has written extensively about slavery at the French-occupied Fortress of Louisbourg in Cape Breton Island. W. Bryan Rommel-Ruiz has researched the development of anti-slavery discourse among blacks in Revolutionary era Newport, Rhode Island and Halifax, Nova Scotia. Barry Cahill and James Walker have debated the definition of Black Loyalist and Harvey Amani Whitfield has published a volume on black refugees in early nineteenth century Nova Scotia. Maya Jasanoff has explored the consequences of the Loyalist refugee diaspora. Archaeologists Laird Niven, Stephen Powell and Heather Macleod-Leslie have focused their investigations on the free black settlements of Birchtown, Tracadie, Rear Monastery and Delaps Cove, Nova Scotia. Archaeologist and cultural geographer Robert Fitts has published an extensive study concerning the master-slave relationship and the eighteenth-century landscape of northern bondage in Rhode Island.

owner and his Anglo-American or colonial elite ideology provide insights concerning a Loyalist slave framework that also migrated north?

An Interdisciplinary Approach to Historical Inquiry

The dissertation argues that an interdisciplinary approach to research inquiries such as the daily life of slaves, the master-slave relationship, and the Loyalist slave system is fundamental. In terms of the basic need to acquire data, an interdisciplinary methodology is the most effective. When considering the dissertation research questions, there is simply not enough relevant historical information available about the enslaved and the practice of slavery in Nova Scotia or the Maritimes from a single discipline alone. An interdisciplinary framework provides a process, research model and opportunities for collaborations, connections and the integration of knowledge.⁵

There are numerous interdisciplinary research models. All facilitate the movement between the fields of study and the integration of elements and perspectives from each. Each discipline informs and affects the other. Allen Repko defines interdisciplinarity as research involving two or more knowledge areas with a decision-making process that is heuristic, iterative and reflexive. It is a “process of answering a question, solving a problem, or addressing a topic that is too broad or complex to be dealt with adequately by

⁵ For some an interdisciplinary framework is an adjustment in thinking and an adjustment in how to go about conducting research. Though a fast growing academic field, (programs can be found in Canada at York University, University of Alberta, University of British Columbia as well as Dalhousie), there is opposition to the approach stemming from existing institutional siloes, a general resistance to change, and a lack of knowing what interdisciplinary research is about. Interdisciplinarity has successfully taken hold in the workplace. Viewed as more inclusive and a method to strengthen project outcomes, working in an interdisciplinary environment promotes collaboration, innovation, partnerships and community engagement.

a single discipline and draws on disciplinary perspectives and integrates their insights to produce a more comprehensive understanding or cognitive advancement.”⁶ This approach was most appropriate for the dissertation project. For such a complex research topic it makes sense to combine resources. Structure is essential when applying an interdisciplinary research process. Structure facilitates movement from the research problem(s) to developing insights to the integration of knowledge and finally to understanding.⁷ The interdisciplinary research model engaged for the dissertation is one developed by Repko (Table 1).⁸ It consists of two main components that capture several steps starting with defining the research problem(s) and ending with an outcome of new understanding.

⁶ Allen F. Repko, *Interdisciplinary Research: Process and Theory* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2008), 344. Interdisciplinary scholars J.T. Klein and W. H. Newell concur with Repko. See J. T. Klein and W.H. Newell, “Advancing Interdisciplinary Studies” in *Handbook of the Undergraduate Curriculum*, ed. J. Gaff and J. Ratcliff. (San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 1997) 393-415. Interdisciplinary research should not be confused with multidisciplinary or transdisciplinary research. According to Repko, multidisciplinary is the aligning side by side of insights from two or more disciplines without attempting integration. Transdisciplinarity is the application of theories, concepts or methods across disciplines and sectors of society by including stakeholders in the public and private domains with the intent of developing an overarching synthesis. See pages 346 and 352.

⁷ Repko, *Interdisciplinary Research*, 140-145. Rick Szostak, Keynote address, “Case Studies in Interdisciplinary Research,” Interdisciplinary Student Conference, Dalhousie University, May 27, 2011.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

Table 1: An Integrated Model of the Interdisciplinary Research Process

A. Drawing on disciplinary insights*

1. Define the problem or state the focus question
2. Justify using an interdisciplinary approach
3. Identify relevant disciplines
4. Conduct a literature review
5. Develop adequacy in each relevant discipline
6. Analyze the problem and evaluate each insight into it

B. Integrating insights and producing an interdisciplinary understanding

7. Identify conflicts between insights and their sources
8. Create or discover common ground
9. Integrate insights
10. Produce an interdisciplinary understanding of the problem and test it

* The term “disciplinary insights” includes insights from disciplines, subdisciplines, interdisciplines, and schools of thought.

Table 1 essentially maps the dissertation project. It is a guide to an authentic interdisciplinary approach to research. As the dissertation text advances through the chapters, each step becomes apparent.⁹

⁹ Number 5 in the table was particularly important. Interdisciplinary research cannot take place if a core understanding of each discipline, including methods and theories, is not achieved. To this end, field courses were developed in Atlantic World history and cultural geography. Field papers were written and comprehensive exams, written and oral, were successfully completed. The same also took place for the discipline of historical archaeology and more specifically the sub-discipline of African-American archaeology. As a professional archaeologist there was a background in this field prior to the dissertation project. A field course with paper and exams was also successfully completed in material culture studies.

Three Streams of Research

Three disciplines were selected as the most appropriate to address questions surrounding the enslaved in Nova Scotia in the Loyalist era: Atlantic world history, historical archaeology, and cultural geography. Each discipline has a chapter in order to detail specific research contributions and insights as well as emphasize relevancy in the interdisciplinary framework. The Atlantic world history research stream is the underlying foundation of the dissertation. It represents the review and analysis of primary and secondary archival and documentary sources that offer the historical context and the historical case study for the dissertation.¹⁰ Numerous historical sources were compiled to explain the movements of people, black and white, from the American colonies and the circumstances of their settlement in the Maritimes. Historical research was undertaken in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Massachusetts and London. Focus was placed on primary materials directly related to Timothy Ruggles, his family and estates, the Black Loyalists in Nova Scotia, the historiography of slavery in New England and the Maritimes, and the historiography of the American Revolution with particular emphasis on the Loyalists.¹¹

¹⁰ Nancy L. Rhoden claims that modern Atlantic history, also known as Atlantic world history, is prevalent because it “offers a powerful framework for historical understanding” especially given the strong influences of the imperial school and the new social history. See *English Atlantics Revised: Essays Honouring Ian K. Steele*, ed. Nancy L. Rhoden (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2007), xix. Atlantic world history also provides an agenda that views the Atlantic Ocean as a great trans-Atlantic highway recognizing the movement of people, cultures, ideas, politics and economies back and forth across the Atlantic Ocean since the 1500s. Cis-Atlantic, an associated concept developed by historian David Armitage, denotes national or regional history within an Atlantic context and seeks to study particular places but within a wider Atlantic context. Such context is a fit for the dissertation. In the Loyalist period there are thousands of people moving up and around the northeast Atlantic seaboard and they are continually influenced by imperial, political, and social ideals from across the Atlantic. David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, “Introduction,” in *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, eds. David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002), 1-7.

¹¹ Ruggles was selected after a detailed review of Loyalists noted as bringing slaves to Nova Scotia in 1783-1784. In addition, primary documentary sources were fruitful in Massachusetts where details of Ruggles agricultural, military, political and legislative pursuits are on file in the collections of the Hardwick Historical Society, the American Antiquarian Society, the Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts State

The historical archaeology research stream represents the main fieldwork component of the dissertation project. Historical archaeology was introduced as a hands-on method to collect and record evidence of a Loyalist plantation with enslaved labourers, servants, or hired hands. The historical archaeology component offers a line of evidence needed to address the challenges of a documentary record with gaps. Archaeological excavation and research produces physical evidence of the past, in the form of material culture or artifacts, architectural remains and landscape features. In relation to this research it has been used as an investigative tool to learn more about the settlement of North Mountain, Annapolis County, Nova Scotia and those who built and formed it. Particular planning and effort was assigned to the search for evidence of a slave presence on the Ruggles plantation on North Mountain. The archaeological record works in tandem with the documentary record to widen the narrative of the case study, Timothy Ruggles, in Massachusetts and later in Nova Scotia, his settlement approach, and his relationship with others.¹² The archaeological research resulted in a sizable collection of original historical evidence and therefore represents the largest chapter in the dissertation.

The cultural geography stream emphasizes the study of two eighteenth-century plantation landscapes: Timothy Ruggles' estate in Hardwick, Worcester County,

Archives, Massachusetts Historical Society, and the New England Historic Genealogical Society. Other significant documents linked to Ruggles were also found at the Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management, Halifax, the MacDonald Museum, Middleton, The National Archives, Kew and online in the Loyalist Collection of the University of New Brunswick, the Loyalist Research Network and the On-Line Institute for Advanced Loyalist Studies. A descendant of Timothy Ruggles was also interviewed. African-Nova Scotian Ruggles continue to live in Annapolis County, Nova Scotia.

¹² Not unlike Lewis R. Binford's Middle-Range Theory approach where two groups of evidence – documentary and archaeological – are developed independently then, through a precise system of description, are brought together to facilitate comparisons creating a dynamic relationship between the two. For a historical archaeology adaptation of Binford's method see Mark P. Leone and Parker B. Potter, Jr., ed., *The Recovery of Meaning: Historical Archaeology and the Eastern United States* (Washington, 1988).

Massachusetts and his farmstead on North Mountain, Annapolis County, Nova Scotia.¹³

This third research stream connects the historical and archaeological information with the geographical places shaped by Ruggles and those who lived on his plantations.

Analyzing the two landscapes takes the individual sites and finds recorded on North Mountain and Hardwick, and the documentary record associated with Ruggles and his labourers, and joins them together in a wider geographical context. Linking the other research streams (archaeology and Loyalist period historiography) to Ruggles' primary physical places enriches the overall narrative while at the same time strengthening each individual discipline contribution. In one sense the landscapes can be considered the largest historical artifact of Timothy Ruggles, Loyalist and slave owner. Everything else falls under this overarching canopy.

The Enslaved in Nova Scotia: An Elusive Image

This dissertation focuses on the enslaved rather than the free Black Loyalists of Nova Scotia and the Loyalist context that structured daily life on a plantation. The dissertation studies slavery and indentured servitude as it was a facet of the Ruggles' plantations. The thesis explores the structure and organization of the entire plantation in order to reconstruct the social worlds of both the slaves and their masters. Each research stream has contributed historical information to that end and new insights about the enslaved on a Loyalist plantation have been generated. While a complete image of daily life remains elusive, the story of the enslaved Black Loyalists has been illuminated and

¹³ In the dissertation plantation is defined as an estate or farm containing an area(s) of land used for agricultural development or production.

their place on the landscape confirmed. We now have an informed foundation as the scholarship continues and we explore in the future additional Loyalist landscapes where slaves and labourers lived and worked.¹⁴

There are historical documents that provide descriptions of the Black Loyalists in Nova Scotia and their journey northward. Three powerful journals by preachers Boston King, John Marrant and David George unfold incredible narratives as slaves in the American colonies and as free men.¹⁵ As part of the Loyalist migration they spent time in Nova Scotia and travelled among the refugees. There are several runaway-slave or slave-for-sale advertisements from period newspapers on file with the Provincial Archives of Nova Scotia.

¹⁴ Through the course of this research information of another prominent Loyalist, who settled on the Avon River in Nova Scotia with his family and enslaved labourers, has come to light and holds promise for historical, archaeological and landscape investigation. Preliminary research has begun and archaeological investigations are planned. See Captain John Grant, his family and nine slaves (reported to have their own quarter and buried on the western slope of the Grant private burial ground), of “Loyal Hill” in Edith Mosher and Nellie Fox, *Land of A Loyalist* (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1988). Also of interest, and at the other end of the Loyalist period, is the story of the Honorable Josiah Webbe Maynard of the Island of Nevis, West Indies and Port Greville, Cumberland County, Nova Scotia. Maynard ran a mill in Port Greville in the late 1820s and provisioned his family’s plantation in Nevis with Nova Scotia timber. He is reported to have transported slaves back and forth between Nevis and Nova Scotia to help harvest and/or load his vessels with timber to take back to the West Indies. The house he built in Port Greville remains a private residence. Researching Maynard and his slave-related activities in Nova Scotia is a collaborative project with fellow Nova Scotia Museum staff David Christianson and Roger Lewis. For details about Maynard in Nova Scotia see Julian Gwyn, “The Parrsboro Shore-West Indies Trade in the 1820s: The Early Career and Diary of Joseph Norman Bond Kerr,” *Nova Scotia Historical Review* 13, no. 1 (1993): 1-42.

¹⁵ John Marrant, *Journal of the Reverend John Marrant from August the 18th, 1785 to 16th of March, 1790* (London: Printed for the Author, 1790); Boston King, “Memoirs of the Life of Boston King, A Black Preacher,” *Methodist Magazine* Spring, (1798); David George, “An Account of the Life of David George, From Sierra Leone in Africa,” in *From Slavery to Freedom: The Life of David George, Pioneer Black Baptist Minister*, ed. Grant Gordon (Hantsport: Lancelot Press, 1992), Appendix A.

RUN away on the 27th Inst. a Negro Man, named, DICK, (belonging to Mr. BENJAMIN DOUGLASS, late Ensign in the Kings Carolina Rangers) about five feet eight inches high Stout Made, had on when he went away a red Coat torn'd up with blue, white Waikeat and Breeches, Aged about Twenty seven Years. Whoever will apprehended said Negro and bring him to Mr. ASA W. THOMSON, of Halifax, Merchant shall be handsomely rewarded.
Nov. 29th, 1783.

1.1 Runaway-slave advertisement in the Nova Scotia Gazette describing Dick, a Negro Man, “belonging to” Mr. Benjamin Douglass, late Ensign in the Kings Carolina Rangers. (Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle, Nov. 1783, NSARM, Halifax)

Such short excerpts capture physical descriptions and skill sets. There are court documents, particularly from Shelburne, a short-lived bustling Loyalist town near Birchtown in Shelburne County, that detail the cruelty often endured by the Black Loyalists at the hands of the white colonialists. Also, there are two pieces of artwork that have survived and provide physical depictions of Black Loyalists, in the Shelburne and possibly the Annapolis Royal area. Rose Fortune, a free woman (see Figure 1.2) and an unknown woodcutter (see Figure 3.6) are important historical records. Like the “Book of Negroes”, they provide insights and clues and set a historical environment though primarily for the free Black Loyalists. This dissertation aims to inform the enslaved Black Loyalist experience where there remains scant documentary records and potential for material evidence from the ground within the context of the plantation landscape.



1.2 A watercolor painting of Rose Fortune (c. 1774-1867), a trucker in Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia. The artist, date, and location of the artwork is unknown. Rose was the daughter of “Fortune – a free Negro”, who came to Nova Scotia after the American Revolution. (Documentary Art Collection, Acc .no. 1979-147/56, NSARM, Halifax)

Historian Ira Berlin has divided the complex experience and settlement of African Americans along the Atlantic seaboard into three major regions: the Chesapeake (Virginia, Maryland and Delaware), the Lowcountry or coastal Southeast (South Carolina, Georgia, northern Florida) and the Northeast (New England and New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania). The dissertation stretches the African diaspora further north than Berlin’s New England designation to include Nova Scotia and what will be

referred to as the Maritime Atlantic region.¹⁶ Historian John Reid provides a local (Atlantic Canada) and inclusive context for the study of colonialism that can be extended to the Maritime Atlantic region during the Loyalist era. He proposes that focus be placed on colonial habitation, imperial exchange and aboriginal engagement. He states,

The term [colonial habitation] can be used to capture a wide variety of situations in which western Europeans resided for short or long periods of time in northeastern North America, and also Africans in limited though locally significant numbers. The range would extend from the relatively dense and partly urbanized populations that were emerging by the early eighteenth century in Canada, Ile Royale, southern New England, and New York, to the rural and resource-harvesting clusters that existed elsewhere.....¹⁷

For the dissertation, which is a study of colonialism during a specific period, Reid's proposal is slightly modified to include colonial habitation, imperial exchange and African-Nova Scotian or Black Loyalist engagement.

The Case Study Approach

The dissertation adopts a case study approach. Such an approach was deemed essential in order to research and reflect on the master-slave relationship that is significant to informing slave life on a plantation. A search was undertaken to find a Loyalist with enslaved labourers who immigrated to Nova Scotia and established a homestead or plantation. Several factors had to be considered. Were there sufficient extant

¹⁶ Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).

¹⁷ John G. Reid with contributions by Emerson W. Baker, *Essays on Northeastern North America: Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 15-16. Reid also adds, "Yet the usefulness of the term 'colonial habitation,' I would argue lies in its offering a counterweight to two common but flawed notions of colonization: the idea of the colony as an essential institutional phenomenon, the creature of the imperial state; and the Whiggish belief that small-scale colonial communities must necessarily, unless they should fail, be the prelude to the growth of larger ones and thus form part of the ineluctable process by which North America became a colonized space."

documentary records of the Loyalist that could meet the requirements of an in-depth historical review? It had to be determined through historical research that the Loyalist had experience with the enslaved. Specific records of slaves directly connected to the Loyalist would inform the research. Determining the geographical location and archaeological potential of the Loyalist settlement in Nova Scotia was important. Also decisive was the landscape analysis potential of the land parcel(s). Finally, cooperation of the current landowners regarding access and fieldwork was imperative.

Timothy Ruggles of Hardwick and Wilmot

The “Book of Negroes” at the Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management was the guide to finding the Loyalist case study.¹⁸ Following a review of every Black Loyalist noted as part of a group and described as “the property of” rather than “General Birch Certificate,” indicating the possession of a certificate of freedom, Brigadier General Timothy Ruggles was selected.¹⁹ Ruggles was a prominent Loyalist and member of the colonial elite from Massachusetts. He moved with family members and slaves to Annapolis County, Nova Scotia. By 1784 he was issued a 1000 acre lot of land and soon

¹⁸ “Book of Negroes,” Bound Manuscript, Rg1, 423, dated after July 31, 1783. Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management, Halifax. The “Book of Negroes” is the most important historical document related to the immigration of African-Americans to Nova Scotia at the close of the American Revolution. The “Book of Negroes” contains 3000 names and descriptions of black refugees, enslaved and free, registered and boarded on sailing vessels travelling from New York to Nova Scotia between April 23 and November 30, 1783.

¹⁹ Ruggles was not the first case study candidate selected. The “Book of Negroes” notes the arrival on September 22, 1783, aboard the *William and Mary* bound for Halifax, ten slaves (men, women and children ranging from 6 months to 60), who were the property of Doctor Bullen of the Carolinas. Like many prominent Loyalists, Bullen was granted a significant portion of land. His parcel was in Port Greville, Cumberland County. Following the land grant, Bullen and his group of labourers fade from the historical record. Though he arrived with many more slaves than Ruggles, the documentary trail was insufficient for in-depth study. There was no evidence locally that the Port Greville land grant was used by Bullen. Most recently, he has been mentioned in connection to Wolfville, Kings County.

set to work carving out a substantial plantation concern in the timberland of North Mountain. Evidence of Ruggles' time on North Mountain remains on his original land grant and permission to access the various properties was generously provided by the current land owners. Similar access was available for landscape review of Ruggles' principal estate in Hardwick, Massachusetts where he lived before being forced to Boston by a Patriot mob in 1774. As the Historical Research chapter will demonstrate, historical records for Ruggles were sufficient stateside and in Nova Scotia to move the research forward.

Dissertation Format

The dissertation studies the Loyalist era in Massachusetts and Nova Scotia, and the role of a prominent white slave owner as he worked to re-establish a place that was lost. It also attempts to determine how the enslaved were situated in this unprecedented time of transition in the colony. Each chapter presents disciplinary-based historical evidence that will inform the dissertation narrative and research questions. Chapter 2 details the documentary and archival research about Ruggles in Massachusetts and Nova Scotia. This includes a wider discussion of the Loyalists, with Atlantic World history as the framework. Chapter 3 explores the archaeological research including a review of methodologies, archaeological context and a summary of the fieldwork completed in Nova Scotia. Chapter 4 presents the research findings following a comparative analysis of plantation landscapes in Hardwick and North Mountain. Landscape as an ideological and symbolic construct is also discussed. Finally, Chapter 5 presents the dissertation

conclusions following the interdisciplinary analysis and integration. Final insights are presented regarding the interdisciplinary approach as an effective research methodology, the argument for Loyalist continuity and subsequent confirmation of slavery, and the argument describing the Loyalist period as Nova Scotia's Age of Slavery. The picture that emerges is one that puts into place the structure and organization of a Loyalist plantation in the late eighteenth century. It is a holistic view that develops through the interplay and integration of levels of historical evidence and insights from the planter, the labourers, and the creation of physical spaces that are representative of a particular time and place, ideology and value system. The holistic view of the Loyalist plantation, the insights it provides regarding those who inhabited it, and the methodological approach to getting there, are significant contributions to Atlantic historiography.

Chapter 2

Historical Research

This interdisciplinary dissertation consists of three research streams coming together to create an understanding about the impact of forced migration, settlement, and ideology on a family and labourers in the wilderness landscape of North Mountain, Annapolis County, Nova Scotia.²⁰ From that understanding emerges a story about a period in Maritime Atlantic regional history when several forms of labour, including slavery and indentured servitude, were conventional in colonial society. The history research stream represents the review and collection of primary and secondary documentary sources that provide a historical context and form the historical case study for the dissertation. Numerous historical sources were compiled that explain the movements of people, black and white, from the American colonies and the circumstances of their settlement in Nova Scotia. Historical research was undertaken in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Massachusetts and London. Focus was placed on primary materials directly related to Timothy Ruggles, his family, servants and slaves, estates, the historiography of slavery in New England and the Maritimes, and the historiography of the American Revolution with particular emphasis on the Loyalists.²¹

²⁰ Wilderness is used in the colonial context meaning forested, un-colonized lands or lands not yet cleared or impacted by settlement, agricultural or commercial operations.

²¹ Primary documentary sources that were especially fruitful in Massachusetts and include details of Ruggles agricultural, military, political and legislative pursuits are on file in the collections of the Hardwick Historical Society, the American Antiquarian Society, the Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts State Archives, Massachusetts Historical Society, and the New England Historic Genealogical Society. Other significant documents were found at the Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management, Halifax, the MacDonald Museum, Middleton, The National Archives, Kew and online in the Loyalist Collection of the University of New Brunswick, the Loyalist Research Network and the On-Line Institute for Advanced Loyalist Studies. A descendant of Timothy Ruggles was also interviewed.

Theory and Method

As more was learned of Loyalists and the Revolutionary War period, historical theory began to frame and add layers to the actions of the central figure in the thesis narrative. Along the perimeter of the thesis is the Atlantic world history framework. Developed by David Armitage and Michael Braddick, the framework positions the historical research in the context of the Atlantic world.²² This approach facilitates analysis and comparisons within a regional system identified as the Atlantic Basin, consisting of the Atlantic Ocean and the four continents at its borders – Europe, Africa and the Americas.

Exploring Atlantic history within the Atlantic Basin started with an understanding that the Atlantic Ocean represents a great transatlantic highway that has been active since the late fifteenth century.²³ Recognition of the interplay between the continents and their associated islands sparked transnational comparisons and analyses inside and outside the Atlantic Basin. The Atlantic world structure can accommodate a wide range of methodological and theoretical approaches. As a result, the scholarship has generated an inclusive narrative of the diverse cultures and peoples of these regions. The Black Atlantic, analyzing Atlantic slavery and the experience of the African diaspora, the Criminal Atlantic, the Green Atlantic, the Red Atlantic, and the White Atlantic have all come to exemplify this body of historical research oriented towards the Atlantic Ocean.²⁴

²² David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, “Introduction” in *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, ed. David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002), 1-7. The Atlantic world history framework is about ten years old and has generated a varied and dynamic range of historical scholarship.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid. The Criminal Atlantic represents scholarship linked to the eighteenth-century transportation of over 50,000 criminals from Britain to America and the associated impacts. The Green Atlantic refers to Irish

Within the Atlantic world perimeter is the concept of the British Atlantic world. The framework of the British Atlantic world examines the capacities and the limitations of British state power overseas.²⁵ This framework is an ideal fit for a Loyalist-based case study.

The Atlantic history framework provides opportunities to reconceptualise Loyalist history. It moves Nova Scotia from the periphery of Atlantic history to its position as the lead in a major migration event that impacted every aspect of colonial society in the north Atlantic and beyond. The Loyalist period is a time of imagining and re-imagining of the region.²⁶ There is room for new historical scholarship that reflects the diversity of groups and the scope of change and ideas. The dissertation aims to contribute to the expanding list of historical works that have captured the diverse peoples, traditions and experiences of the Atlantic Rim.²⁷

In his review of Planter studies and Atlantic scholarship, historian Jerry Bannister offers four principal ways the Atlantic world history framework has influenced how we

political and demographic movements in the Atlantic basin. The Red Atlantic positions Native American or First Nation peoples as central figures in the historic Atlantic experience. Its basis recognizes the movement of Native ideas, resources, technology and people around the Atlantic Basin. The White Atlantic represents the movements, exchanges and ideas of almost all others (white) within the Atlantic basin.

²⁵ Bernard Bailyn, "Preface" in *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, ed. David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002), xvi-xvii. Recent historical research fitting this framework include *The Loyal Atlantic: Remaking the British Atlantic in the Revolutionary Era*. ed. Jerry Bannister and Liam Riordan (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012); *Britain's Oceanic Empire: Atlantic and Indian Ocean Worlds, 1550-1850*. ed. H.V. Bowen, Elizabeth Mancke and John G. Reid. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) and *The Nova Scotia Planters in the Atlantic World, 1759-1830*. ed. Stephen Henderson and Wendy Robicheau (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 2012).

²⁶ Jerry Bannister, "Planter Studies and Atlantic Scholarship: The New History of 18th Century Nova Scotia" in *The Nova Scotia Planters in the Atlantic World, 1759-1830*, p. 22.

²⁷ Bannister, "Planter Studies," p. 24. In particular see Maya Jasanoff, *Liberty's Exiles: American Loyalists in the Revolutionary World* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011); *Ibid.*, *The Loyal Atlantic* and Jim Piecuch, *Three Peoples, One King: Loyalists, Indians, and Slaves in the Revolutionary South, 1775-1782* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2008).

view early modern history. His emphasis has the important implications for Planter studies. The four points can easily be applied to Loyalist studies:

- A) The Atlantic approach is inherently and explicitly comparative: it is neither framed by national boundaries nor guided by nationalist historiographies.
- B) It adopts a decentered approach that rejects privileging Euro-centric narratives or perspectives.
- C) It emphasizes the agency of non-European peoples, particularly Aboriginals and Africans, who play a much larger and more powerful role in shaping imperial history than they did in previous accounts.
- D) It places more emphasis on the highly contested and contingent nature of imperial history.²⁸

For this Loyalist project, developing a comparative perspective is critical to the research especially in relation to the two plantation landscapes. A decentered framework that does not privilege the English narrative is built in as the research unravels the journey of the Loyalists from New England to the Maritimes Atlantic region. Finally, the emphasis on the Black Loyalists puts the non-European presence out front. The point is the dissertation works to place the plantation, its people, and its practices in a broader Atlantic context that considers comparative frameworks.

An additional historical component to this research is the context of the Enlightenment. The Enlightenment, which valued rational thought, the scientific method and the use of one's own intellect when questioning traditional institutions, was prevalent throughout the crisis of the American Revolution and warranted exploration in the thesis

²⁸ Ibid., p. 26.

narrative principally in regards to Timothy Ruggles, his values and ideals, and slave-holding practices.²⁹

Other layers in the history-based theoretical context of the dissertation are concepts of the public sphere and governmentality. Jürgen Habermas described the rise of the public sphere during the Enlightenment as creating an environment for the wide-range circulation and exchange of ideas.³⁰ The explosive rise of print culture in eighteenth-century New England played a critical role when Ruggles added leverage to his ability to communicate his actions and decision-making to the people of Massachusetts via newspaper publications. Michel Foucault described the role of governance in an eighteenth-century context that aligns with Ruggles ideas of the guiding hand of King and Parliament not only in the legislature and court room but on the plantation.³¹ Foucault's wide definition of governmentality, or "the art of government" has explanatory power when considering the Loyalists in the Revolutionary Era and the pressures of an authoritative imperial government on individuals, families and the emerging American state. Ruggles for example, a New Englander whose ancestors had been in Massachusetts since the early seventeenth century, was the quintessential Anglo-American. America was his home but for him continued peace and prosperity was dependent on the imperial government of Great Britain which contained for the English-American population the rules of conduct, experience, processes and security needed to

²⁹ See Roy Porter, *The Creation of the Modern World: The Untold Story of the British Enlightenment* (New York, W.W. Norton, 2000).

³⁰ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989).

³¹ *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, ed. Colin Gordon and Peter Miller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993). Foucault focus on governmentality was strongly developed in the last quarter of the twentieth century. He used a phrase "the art of government" when describing governmentality. He was referring to the how, the means, the ideas, and the conduct of government. Government is defined in basic terms, as a multi-layered structure of power and control with practices and strategies to achieve specific outcomes including behavior and actions.

keep the American colonies moving forward. Within his scholarship of governmentality, Foucault conferred how government produces citizens ideally suited to fulfill government goals and policies. It is arguable that Ruggles was one such citizen; a colonial American, but essentially an imperial voice or Royalist with key tools to support and promote the imperial authority.³²

Loyalist Historiography

During the American Revolution, thousands of American Loyalists left New England to seek refuge in other British colonies in North America, the Caribbean Islands and Europe. Most arrived by ship to start over in the British colonies to the north. Nova Scotia received the bulk of the Loyalist immigrants with the most significant migrations occurring in the spring, summer, and fall of 1783 during the British evacuation of New York.³³

The Loyalists represented all social and economic groups. They ranged from enslaved and free African-Americans, to skilled labourers for hire, to military leaders with their regiments, to wealthy businessmen or government representatives and their extended families. In Nova Scotia more than 30,000 Loyalist refugees arrived effectively

³² Such key tools would be Ruggles' colonial authority, wealth, status, education, legal skills, legislative and court background, imperial government connections, commitment to service of the King, and successes in the British military arena.

³³ Nova Scotia was much larger geographically during the American Revolution period. New Brunswick and Upper Canada were created after the conflict (1784, 1791 respectively) to accommodate the influx of the Loyalists. *Historical Atlas of Canada* Vol. I, ed. R. Cole Harris (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), Plate 32. Approximately 32,000 Loyalist refugees immigrated to Nova Scotia following the American Revolution. See Bannister and Riordan, *The Loyal Atlantic*.

doubling the population of the province and severely taxing the British colony.³⁴ Where to settle the people and how to parcel available land that was for the most part forested, was an immediate crisis left to a few government officials and His



2.1 “A New and Accurate Map of the Province of Nova Scotia in North America from the latest Observations”, 1783. The map details Nova Scotia prior to the establishment of the Province of New Brunswick in 1784. (NSARM Map Collection: 200-1783 Nova Scotia: 3.5.7)

³⁴ Neil MacKinnon, *This Unfriendly Soil: The Loyalist Experience in Nova Scotia 1783-1791* (Montreal, 1988).

Majesty's Surveyors of the Woods. An additional challenge was the provisioning of the refugees.³⁵ The shortage of supplies - or the complete lack of promised provisions - left many desperate for food and shelter as the first winter approached in their new northern home. In *This Unfriendly Soil*, Neil MacKinnon describes the distribution of provisions as the dominant concern in the initial years of Loyalist settlement. Muster rolls were taken in 1784 and 1785 to help determine the bounty needed in the refugee settlement areas throughout the colony. Regular petitions for increases in provisions persisted as the number of arriving Loyalists surpassed all expectations. Many lacked the pioneering skills to transform forested tracts into villages and towns.³⁶

The Loyalists have been the subject of intensive historical inquiry since the late nineteenth century. Surrounding the bi-centennial of the American Revolution in 1983, a wave of historical scholarship, particular to the Maritime Atlantic region, was published.³⁷ More recently, with the development of the wider Atlantic world history

³⁵ The shortage of provisions and supplies was hard felt among the white Loyalists and the Black Loyalists including the newly-freed slaves arriving in towns such as Shelburne and Digby, Nova Scotia. Historian James Walker in his ground-breaking work *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone 1783-1870*, describes the "bondage of dependence" experienced by Black Loyalists waiting for the distribution of authorized government provisions such as flour and pork. At times waiting for up to eight months for provisions, government agents often distributed supplies to Black Loyalists only after work on local roads was completed. Work in exchange for supplies was not a condition of settlement in the province but many had no other means of support. In general, provisions were available for a few months only rather than the promised three years. Government agents were often criticized for inefficiency and favouritism. In 1784 in Digby, a petition records that whites received no provisions at all and in Halifax wounded and disabled veterans died in the streets due to lack of clothing and government provisions. See James Walker, *The Black Loyalists*, p. 40-45.

³⁶ MacKinnon, *This Unfriendly Soil*, p. 28-29.

³⁷ See David G. Bell, *Early Loyalist Saint John: the Origin of New Brunswick Politics, 1783-1786* (Fredericton: New Ireland Press, 1983); J.M. Bumsted, *Understanding the Loyalists* (Sackville, NB: Mount Allison University Press, 1986); Ann Gorman Condon, *The Envy of the American States: The Loyalist Dream for New Brunswick* (Fredericton: New Ireland Press, 1984); *Ibid.*, MacKinnon, *This Unfriendly Soil: Loyalists in Nova Scotia*, ed. Donald Wetmore and Lester B. Sellick (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1983).

framework, another wave of Loyalist scholarship has emerged.³⁸ There remains however, at the Maritime regional level, a limited number of historical works focused on the Black Loyalists. In the late 1990s, long term research taken on by the Nova Scotia Museum saw the publication of curatorial reports that brought together ethnographic, historical and archaeological data in an effort to develop and compile an inventory of Black Loyalist-related historical resources that could be used by researchers, descendant communities, museum staff, the interested public, etc. An extensive collection resulted and is under the stewardship of the Nova Scotia Museum.³⁹ Of particular interest regarding the dissertation work, are the publications of Ruth Holmes Whitehead and Carmelita Robertson.⁴⁰ Both researchers scoured primary documents in Nova Scotia, South Carolina, and London related to the Black Loyalist immigrations to Nova Scotia and associated settlements. They compiled inventories, place names, transport ship data, newspaper advertisements, court records and muster roles and have provided a starting point for many researchers. Their work also resulted in the rediscovery of the diary of Boston King, former slave and Black Loyalist preacher, at the Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management.⁴¹

³⁸ See Maya Jasanoff, *Liberty's Exiles; The Other Loyalists: Ordinary People, Royalism, and the Revolution in the Middle Colonies, 1763-1787*, ed. Joseph S. Tiedemann, et al (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2009); Bannister and Riordan, *The Loyal Atlantic*; Simon Schama, *Rough Crossings: Britain, the Slaves and the American Revolution* (Toronto: Viking Canada, 2005); Piecuch, *Three Peoples, One King*.

³⁹ The collections are helping to inform the design and development of a new heritage centre and museum in Birchtown, Nova Scotia that will present to the public the story of the Black Loyalists. The museum will become a member of the Nova Scotia Museum's family of museums. Ground-breaking for the new building took place on June 27, 2012. Archaeological collections will play a key role in the interpretation of the settlement.

⁴⁰ See Ruth Whitehead, *The Shelburne Black Loyalists* (Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum, 2000); Carmelita Robertson, *Black Loyalists of Nova Scotia: Tracing the History of the Tracadie Loyalists, 1776-1787* (Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum, 2000).

⁴¹ See *The Life of Boston King: Black Loyalist, Minister and Master Carpenter*, ed. Ruth Whitehead and Carmelita Robertson (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing and the Nova Scotia Museum, 2003). Also forthcoming

A ground-breaking publication was James Walker's *The Black Loyalists*. Initially published in 1976, it remains an important reference volume for the journey of the Black Loyalist to the British lines in America, to Nova Scotia, and eventually Sierra Leone, Africa in 1792. Walker separates his work from other Black Loyalist historians of the late 1970s, such as Robin Winks and George Rawlyk, by conducting a highly-detailed study of the Black Loyalists and treating them as an "historical entity" rather than exploring only certain parts of their experience.⁴² Walker's goal was "to examine the Black Loyalists as an identifiable community, to assess the experiences, motivations and beliefs that moulded that community, and to describe the unique expressions of the Black Loyalist identity in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone."⁴³ A comprehensive history, Walker presents information on the range of free Black Loyalist settlements in the province, their tremendous challenges, and the eventual re-colonization efforts across the Atlantic in northern Africa. Walker's in-depth volume clarifies and defines the Black Loyalists in the historical context of the American Revolution and the larger Loyalist era, however not without debate. Archivist Barry Cahill, in his article "The Black Loyalist Myth in Canada," intensely challenges Walker's definition of the Black Loyalists and his contribution to the development of a Black Loyalist myth that has been used to further the dialogue of historians rather than present the Black Loyalists as they actually were - "a subcategory of Blacks, not Loyalists".⁴⁴ Despite such challenges, *The Black Loyalists* remains the source one has on hand if investigating the subject matter.

in 2013 by Whitehead, *Founding Families: A History of Black Loyalists from the Southern Provinces Settling in the First Free Black Communities of Nova Scotia, 1775-1785* (Nimbus Publishing).

⁴² James Walker, *The Black Loyalists*, p. x-xi.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Cahill, "The Black Loyalist Myth."

Cahill has published since the 1990s, articles addressing the legalities surrounding the Black Loyalists and “Negro slaves in Nova Scotia.”⁴⁵ He argues, after an extensive review of legal documents and cases involving Black Loyalists before the Nova Scotia courts, for “the judicial war of attrition” against slavery in Nova Scotia and its eventual destruction by 1810 despite challenges from white Loyalists to maintain “the status-quo *ante-bellum* of civil disability or slavery on demand.”⁴⁶ Legal references aside, it is interesting to note records of slaveholding practices still active in Nova Scotia up to the 1830s.⁴⁷ Also of interest is Cahill’s theme of the Black slave – white Loyalist slaveholder dynamic vanishing under Walker’s characterization of the Black refugees as Black Loyalists and the attention on free black settlements detracting scholarly attention from slavery and Loyalist slaveholding.⁴⁸

Historian Carole Watterson Troxler has focused her research on individual Black Loyalist slaves with compelling stories of attempts to claim their liberty, particularly in Shelburne, Nova Scotia (Port Roseway). The journey of Mary Postell and her two daughters from South Carolina, to East Florida and finally Nova Scotia captures the agency among enslaved Black Loyalists to gain independence within the challenging and biased court system of Loyalist Nova Scotia. Postell loses her case against Jesse Gray and is eventually separated from her children. Her efforts sparked movement by other

⁴⁵ See Barry Cahill, “Habeas Corpus and Slavery in Nova Scotia: R v. Hecht Ex parte Rachel, 1798,” *University of New Brunswick Law Journal* 44, (1995): 179-209; “Slavery and the Judges of Loyalists Nova Scotia,” *University of New Brunswick Law Journal* 43, (1994): 73-135; “Stephen Blucke: The Perils of Being a White Negro in Loyalist Nova Scotia,” *Nova Scotia Historical Review* 11, no. 1 (1991).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, “Habeas Corpus,” p. 181-182, 187.

⁴⁷ For example, see Josiah Webbe Maynard of Port Greville, Cumberland County and the Island of Nevis. Maynard used enslaved labour in the 1820s and 1830s to help with his timber operation in Port Greville. The timber helped provision his family’s plantation in the Caribbean. See Julien Gwyn, “The Parrsboro-West Indies Trade in the 1820s: The Early Career and the Diary of Joseph Norman Bond Kerr,” *Nova Scotia Historical Review* 13, no. 1 (1993): 1-42.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 184. It is important to consider that the slaveholding of Black Loyalists has been a subject that simply has taken time to evolve among historians as has the general field of Black Loyalist scholarship.

enslaved Black Loyalists to present their petitions before the court. Postell returned to court herself in 1791, in another attempt to gain her freedom. Troxler not only unravels the journey of Mary Postell and others fighting for liberty through the justice system, but demonstrates the richness of the court record archives in the Revolutionary period for historical information and recorded narratives of individuals not captured in traditional historical records.⁴⁹

Harvey Amani Whitfield also explored the experience of those who remained enslaved in Nova Scotia during the Loyalist period.⁵⁰ He recognized a gap in the historiography and attempted to address the varied experiences of those who did not arrive to the British colony with certificates of freedom. He asked why the focus of historical scholarship has been on the free rather than the enslaved given the persistence of bondage in the Loyalist period and contends that in order to gain a full understanding of the Black Loyalists in the Maritimes historians “ must recover the lives of still enslaved African Americans.”⁵¹ Whitfield also differentiated between Black Loyalists and black slaves while others, such as Walker, used a more inclusive definition.⁵² Similar to Troxler, Whitfield’s approach was to illuminate the stories of individual Black Loyalists by compiling and investigating fragmentary insights on the lives of slaves that “creep” in to the historical record.⁵³ This dissertation research picks up on the challenge to illuminate the story of the enslaved Black Loyalist. The methodological approach is

⁴⁹ See Carole Watterson Troxler, “Re-enslavement of Black Loyalists: May Postell in South Carolina, East Florida and Nova Scotia,” *Acadiensis* 37, no. 2 (2008): 70-85.

⁵⁰ See Harvey Amani Whitfield, “Black Loyalists and Black Slaves in Maritime Canada,” *History Compass* 5/6 (2007): 1980-1997.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 1981.

⁵³ *Ibid.* Harvey Amani Whitfield, “The American Background of Loyalist Slaves,” *Left History* (Autumn 2009): 58-87.

different. Slavery in Nova Scotia is explored not in isolation among individuals but as a social and plantation system.

At the Nova Scotia level, the slavery scholarship of historian Kenneth Donovan must be mentioned. Though Donovan's long term focus (over 35 years) has been the enslaved of Ile Royale (Cape Breton Island) in the French colonial period, his painstaking review of records has provided a longer context of slavery as practiced in the Maritime Atlantic region in the eighteenth century. When compared to the Loyalist period, his scholarship unfolds particular cultural differences between the French, the Anglo-Americans and the British. The motivations and methods of the slaveholders however and the everyday experiences of those in bondage carry similarities across time periods.⁵⁴

Historian Neil MacKinnon published a volume on the Loyalist experience in Nova Scotia in 1986. At that time, *This Unfriendly Soil* was ground-breaking being the first detailed account of the wave of immigrants to the British colony. As the title implies, MacKinnon presents the disappointment of many Loyalists as their vision for a prosperous life in the province failed to become a reality. Several factors contributed including lack of promised aid from the British government, the doubling of the provincial population overnight severely taxing supply and demand of goods and re-settlement services, and increasing opposition and lack of encouragement among the existing settlers in Nova Scotia as the Loyalists began to complain and argue over land grants, provisions, and the general under appreciation of their ordeal.⁵⁵ MacKinnon also

⁵⁴ Ken Donovan, *Beyond the Shadows: Slaves in Cape Breton, 1713-1815*, forthcoming University of Nebraska Press; "Slaves in Ile Royale, 1713-1758," *French Colonial History* 5 (2004): 25-42.

⁵⁵ MacKinnon, *This Unfriendly Soil*.

clarified a longstanding historical myth that the majority of Loyalists to arrive in Nova Scotia were the elite of the American colonies and the very best of society. He states,

...the great majority of the loyalists in British North America were neither rich persons, Harvard graduates, professionals nor commercial giants. The elite of pre-revolutionary American society did not take up residence en masse in Nova Scotia, though there were certainly people of stature among the refugees.⁵⁶

Ruggles, being a Harvard graduate, successful business man, landowner, and of the colonial elite was among the small group of refugees of stature. He differs from the cases MacKinnon presents in that he moved forward from the initial grumbling over land grants and began shaping his new home.⁵⁷ He was not among the many exiles who returned to the United States disappointed and embittered once provisions from the British government ceased and post-war inflammations in America calmed. MacKinnon's review of the Black Loyalist experience in Nova Scotia is short. He summarizes by stating the free Blacks saw themselves as Loyalists and expected the same considerations including land and provisions. The sheer crush and overload of refugees however severely hampered the granting of plots and the delivery of provisions. The Black Loyalists were consistently the last group of refugees to receive support if they received any support at all.⁵⁸

The work of historian Ann Gorman Condon is opposite from the above in that she focused keenly upon the Loyalist elite in neighboring New Brunswick.⁵⁹ The province of New Brunswick was a part of Nova Scotia until the arrival of the Loyalists. The doubling

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 62.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 87.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 50-52.

⁵⁹ Ann Gorman Condon, *The Loyalist Dream for New Brunswick* (Fredericton: New Ireland Press, 1984).

of the population of Nova Scotia saw the formation of a new province to the north of the Isthmus of Chignecto (see Figure 2.1). Gorman Condon states in her preface that the Loyalist province of New Brunswick “was a laboratory in which Loyalist versions of North American development and Loyalist versions of self-government were acted out.”⁶⁰ The individuals responsible for the lab work were Loyalist exiles of the governing class made up of senior leaders in politics, commerce and the military and they took on the tasks of developing foundational institutions (educational, religious, commercial, legal and social). The Loyalist leadership in New Brunswick had something to prove to the Americans south of the border. By combining all the empire had to offer with an aristocratic, local self- government, all their dreams of prosperity and strength would be realized and an amazing Anglo-American empire would be born.⁶¹ According to Gorman Condon, the desired framework would include a propertied class which would represent the political power, cultural institutions linked to the Anglican Church to solidify loyalty and respect for the established order, and an over-arching supportive empire to assist the newly-formed province.⁶² Such a top-down approach suited the Loyalist elite and retained for them a certain pre-Revolutionary familiarity. It resulted in a variety of tensions with the bulk of the Loyalist refugees, such as Black Loyalists, who were not of the privileged class.

Gorman Condon’s Loyalist history is an interesting contrast to Timothy Ruggles. Ruggles was indeed a member of the colonial elite with connections, resources, and pedigree. Like his fellow Loyalist leaders he survived the Seven Years War and emerged

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. ix.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. x-xi.

⁶² Ibid., *The Loyalist Dream*. Leaders Gorman Condon highlights in her book include such names as Winslow, Chipman, Bliss, Putman, Sewell, Blowers, Saunders, Botsford, Paine, Allen, Hazen, Coffin, Robinson, Odell, Willard, Sampson, and Upham.

from that conflict (1763) with the basis of a Loyalist ideology that joined him in exile following the American Revolution. Gorman Condon summarized as follows:

Loyalists believed that liberty was man's most precious possession and that under the British form of institutional government they, the King's grateful subjects, enjoyed the purest form of liberty ever known to the history of mankind.⁶³

Also similar to the Loyalist elite in New Brunswick, the passion for liberty Ruggles held did not apply to the enslaved persons he continued to hold under his hegemony. Unlike the New Brunswick leadership, participation in the establishment of a ruling elite class in Nova Scotia was not his pursuit or focus.

From the wider Loyal Atlantic, there is recent scholarship that puts the Loyalist period and the Loyalist experience in the far-reaching context of a global diaspora. In a melding of imperial and Atlantic world history, Maya Jasanoff looked at the mass migration of over 60,000 Loyalists, including 15,000 enslaved persons, from the newly-formed American republic and the impact they had on the places they landed.⁶⁴ In *Liberty's Exiles* she noted, as do all Loyalist scholars, the intense challenges of resettlement and the shortfall in fulfilled promises of support, supplies and land grants that enticed many Loyalists to board ships to parts unknown and she joins others in clarifying the myth of the Loyalists as the Tory elite of American society. Different from other historians, like MacKinnon, Jasanoff highlighted some positive elements of the Loyalist refugee experience. For many, after years of harassment, trauma and losses, this

⁶³ Ibid., p. ix.

⁶⁴ The Loyalist diaspora essentially touched every part of the British Empire. More than half of the refugees landed in the Maritimes.

was a chance for opportunity and a fresh start that included free passage and land.⁶⁵ From the Loyalist diaspora, she defined the “spirit of 1783”.⁶⁶ At that time, there emerged the Liberal constitutional empire model that Jasanoff described as “an enduring territorial, administrative and ideological framework for the British Empire going forward.”⁶⁷

For Jasanoff this was a joining of liberal principles with authoritative rule. An “empire of liberty” with a global reach. Connecting with the dissertation and the case study of Ruggles, Jasanoff’s conclusions regarding what the Loyalists brought with them as they moved to parts of the Empire were interesting. Not only did they bring an array of materials goods, but “a discourse of grievance” against British authority that had developed from revolutionary encounters the Loyalists had juggled for almost a decade. Jasanoff concluded that the Loyalists exported cultural and political ideas and cited as an example the spread of the Baptist faith. With Ruggles, there was indeed a fresh beginning and he was a fortunate recipient of land and compensation. Of more interest for the dissertation, are his cultural ideas of slavery and how they impacted, together with his fellow Loyalist slaveholders, the new Loyalist world of post-revolutionary Nova Scotia.

In a collection of essays edited by historians Jerry Bannister and Liam Riordan, the Loyal Atlantic is viewed from a variety of perspectives and confirms that loyalism included not only those Tories associated with the American Revolution, such as Ruggles, but a “wide range of diverse peoples across the Atlantic world.”⁶⁸ Themes of identity

⁶⁵ Jasanoff, *Liberty’s Exiles*. Also, by Jasanoff “An Imperial Disaster? The Loyalist Diaspora after the American Revolution,” Irving K. Barber Learning Centre Lecture, University of British Columbia History Department, 2010.

⁶⁶ Ibid. As opposed to the “spirit of 1776” which represents a defining moment for the American republic.

⁶⁷ Ibid. Jasanoff, “An Imperial Disaster?” As opposed to the “Spirit of 1776” which America continues to hold as a defining moment in the formation of the republic.

⁶⁸ Bannister and Riordan, *The Loyal Atlantic*. p. xi.

formation, print culture, slavery in the Caribbean, and religious politics come together to illustrate how loyalism shaped the British Empire following the conflict and up to the mid nineteenth century.⁶⁹ Bannister and Riordan argue that loyalism should be,

understood not as a literal description of a particular group or party but rather as an amalgam of values, practices, laws, and politics that distinguished between who was loyal (and deserved the full rights and privileges of Britons) and who was disloyal (and subject to varied prohibitions and punishments). Loyalty was a highly contested and contingent process rather than a passive status.⁷⁰

The quotation could be a description of Ruggles. It was a blend of his values and beliefs – his loyalism - along with the British legal and political framework within the Anglo-American colony of Massachusetts that shaped his everyday life and the decisions he made as the Revolution escalated. In his Loyalist memorial papers in particular, statements and descriptions of his loyalty are made which his family and colleagues confirm. Without question he considers himself deserving of full compensation under the law.⁷¹

Of particular interest in the volume was the chapter on identity.⁷² In “The American Loyalist Problem of Identity in the Revolutionary Atlantic World,” historian Keith Mason explored the Loyalists as “His Majesty’s Americans.” There was commitment to the King, and a history, often multi-generational, and the cultural context of living in America. How did this identity change as the Loyalists moved around the British Atlantic? Mason summarized that the War “hardened” their sense of identity as

⁶⁹ Ibid.,

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. ix and x.

⁷¹ See “Memorial of Brigadier General Timothy Ruggles, October 16, 1783.” A.O 13/75, 403-408, The National Archives, Kew.

⁷² Bannister and Riordan, *The Loyal Atlantic*. See Chapter 2, Keith Mason, “The American Loyalist Problem of Identity in the Revolutionary Atlantic World,” p. 39-74.

Loyalists. It was the following experience of exile that dismantled it.⁷³ This is interesting to contemplate in relation to Ruggles on North Mountain and the contrast in the level of his political intensity between revolutionary-era Massachusetts and post-exile Nova Scotia. Mason also discussed Black Loyalists as “black Britons.” Described as a war time slave rebellion carried out individually rather than as a group, the huge out-migration saw many demanding land and provisions, like the white Loyalists, for their allegiance and loyalty during the conflict. They were supporters who had performed their duty to the Crown and therefore also had status as Britons.⁷⁴

Finally within the Loyal Atlantic framework, there is the ambitious *Rough Crossings* by Simon Schama. An interdisciplinary approach to the story of the Black Loyalists, Schama synthesizes historical evidence, events, and a sense of landscape to create a moving story for a wide-ranging audience.⁷⁵ He does not take credit for originality but stated that it is time for the story to “come home” to America. Described as a classic piece of “Schamarama” told with “verve and eloquence,” *Rough Crossings* was large in scope and “filled with dramatic moments and intriguing personalities.”⁷⁶ The book read more like a novel than a presentation of historical scholarship. Perhaps introducing research in a story-telling format accessible to the masses is the right direction for historical scholarship often perceived as available to a select audience only.⁷⁷

⁷³ Ibid., Mason, p. 42.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 43.

⁷⁵ Schama, *Rough Crossings*.

⁷⁶ James W. St. G. Walker “Black Loyalists Railroaded,” *The Globe and Mail*. June 17, 2006, p. D13.

⁷⁷ Jill Lepore, “Goodbye Columbus,” *The New Yorker* (May 2006): 74-78.

Schama described *Rough Crossings* as “an encounter with the other” and “not a feel bad story but a think ahead story.”⁷⁸ He asked the question “is modern freedom only and forever to be defined by the 1776 moment?”⁷⁹ This question was picked up by Jasanoff as she defined the 1783 moment. A clear example of Atlantic world history, Schama took the reader back and forth across the transatlantic highway, as defined by Armitage and Braddick, with a constant interplay of characters and events.

Other characteristics that *Rough Crossings* shared with newer publications of Black history, is the recognition that an interdisciplinary approach to data collection has value. In addition to traditional methods of gathering historical and documentary evidence, Schama drew on his keen perception of physical and cultural landscapes. He consulted archaeological findings to supplement data on the daily life of the Black Loyalists.⁸⁰ The book shared a theme of slave agency illustrated in Schama’s portrayals of social and political actions undertaken by Black Loyalists in British North America and England.⁸¹ He concluded that, “The story of black loyalism is much more than a catalogue of “firsts”. The story also gives the lie to the stereotype of the Africans as passive, credulous pawns of American or British strategy.”⁸²

Stepping out beyond the Loyal Atlantic, there are historical works representing the Black Atlantic that provide insights to the dissertation research. “Race” by Joyce E. Chaplin, was an essay in *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*.⁸³ In the essay Chaplin’s main interest was the current conceptions of race. She investigated how we arrived at our

⁷⁸ Interview with Simon Schama. See “Rough Crossings – Simon Schama Speaks at Google,” <http://video.google.ca>.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid., *Rough Crossings*, p. 249.

⁸¹ Ibid., For examples of slave agency see Thomas Peters (p. 10, 66-69), Boston King (p. 106-110) and David George (p. 94-98, 361-362).

⁸² Ibid., p. 11.

⁸³ See Armitage and Braddick, *The British Atlantic World*.

current understanding of race and how race came to have such an impact on the modern world. She traced the history of ideas of race and explored its “Atlantic dimension” which she viewed as integral to the historical development of race and our current understanding of it. Furthermore, she identified our current idea of race as a “specific product of Atlantic history.” And tied the most distinctive elements of race to the Atlantic world where slavery impacted all populations.⁸⁴

Chaplin began before Europeans crossed the Atlantic, surveying ideas about race from the origin of the term in the middle ages when race was considered as “any group of people who shared some characteristics and did so rather neutrally,” to the eighteenth century when race took a “judgemental connotation, indicating differences among peoples meant to describe superiority and inferiority and implying an inheritance of status that was inescapable.”⁸⁵ Her point is that the term race has had multiple meanings over centuries and on both sides of the Atlantic. For example, in ancient and medieval times, civic and religious status, not skin colour, distinguished populations. From the fall of Rome and the eighteenth century, monogenesis was the generally accepted belief among Europeans though ideas of superiority and inferiority existed. Lineage and position based on one’s property, goods and power differentiated groups. Chaplin suggested that the establishment of the aristocracy, based on privileged position and “inherited qualities” and its notions of noble lineage is “possibly the remote ancestor of racial ideas.”⁸⁶

Sexual difference also linked ideas of subordination and dominance. Other ways of declaring human differences in Europe centered on language, culture, climate, civility

⁸⁴ Joyce E. Chaplin, “Race” in *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, ed. David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002), p. 154-172.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

and uncivilized behavior, and religion (Christianity or its absence). People were investigating why populations differed around the globe and generated “bundles of ideas.” With these roots in ideas about race in mind, Chaplin contended that ideas about race were not products of western culture. There was too much already on the subject in Europe, even regarding the more particular idea “in which inherited bodily differences justified exploitation of some by others.”⁸⁷

Chaplin’s breakdown is useful to the student of slavery. A question that invariably comes to mind when delving into the topic is where did this all start? Regarding settlement in the New World, why did colonists come to grasp so easily their ideas of racial superiority? With expansion to the Americas, explanations were needed regarding the Amerindians. How did they fit into the biblical texts or did they? The Spanish promoted the idea that the Native Indians were natural slaves with inferior intellect and moral capacities. The crown and church eventually declared this not so, but were not as anxious to move on the question of African slavery. The acceptance of Africans as natural slaves who were “insensibly durable” was a belief that found a foundation already existing in the Old World.

As attention turned to the Americas, the English argued that “unequal status in their colonies was based on natural differences.”⁸⁸ The assertion in America was that labor was needed by any means possible, whether it be Native Indians in the early settlements or enslaved Africans on the plantations. According to Chaplin, the English attitudes towards African enslavement mirrored established Iberian doctrine. Imperative to this structure was the belief that Africans were durable and capable of hard work in the

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 158.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 162.

extreme climates of tropical environments. This idea remained largely uncontested resulting in the unprecedented exploitation of Africans as the plantation agricultural complex flourished in the Chesapeake, Lowland South and Caribbean. At this point in seventeenth-century English colonization, Chaplin viewed the last piece of the puzzle concerning the articulation of the modern idea of race as being the description of a mechanism of inheritance. The doctrine, labeled preformation, was put forward by the natural philosopher William Harvey and was useful to those seeking “tangible reproductive material for those who wished to emphasize lineage over other causes of human characteristics.”⁸⁹

Chaplin emphasized that these ideas of race and many others she described, were important in the “heyday” of the Atlantic slave trade. Rationalizations for the exploitation of Native Indians and Africans were necessary if colonial expansion was to continue at the pace desired by immigrants, investors, merchants, planters and politicians. As expansion and the land grab continued, so did human prejudices become well entrenched in the political framework of colonial society. Chaplin asserted that,

Laws regulating slaves and prohibiting Amerindians and free blacks from equal access crossed the Atlantic eastward, making English law itself complicitous with colonial policy. Belief that some humans had bodies and belonged to lineages that made them naturally inferior and destined for subordinate roles in society was shaping the worlds that bordered the Atlantic Ocean in the eighteenth century. Racial rules, racial attitudes and racially defined captives were present throughout the English speaking world in the eighteenth century.⁹⁰

Chaplin stated that there was inconsistency and contradiction about the body and lineage with the English. They laced a racial ideology until the nineteenth century, but it did not really matter. It cost them nothing. It cost the Amerindians and Africans everything.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 164.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 165-166.

Chaplin also pointed out that no matter how much English-speaking people insisted that Africans and Amerindians were different from themselves, this did not curb their sexual predation or their inclination to create permanent relationships with members of “other” races despite strong social disapproval.

For the context of Black Atlantic history, Chaplin posed a final question: who was not racist? That is, “who lived along the shores of the Atlantic and confronted the fully modern definition of race – as heritable difference that was hierarchically meaningful – and declared it invalid, intellectually or morally? If race was Atlantic, was anti-racism the product of the same historical context?”⁹¹ Her project was to consider the ideas of race in the past and its legacy for our time. She asserted, “We do not yet have a post-racial comprehension of humanity. We continue to debate over race which shows its deep roots in the Atlantic world.”⁹² The Americas and Europe remain deeply racist. Chaplin sees this as a problem for historians studying the Atlantic world. Opportunities to misrepresent the racial politics of the past and present remain. She emphasized how important it is for historians to understand how theories of race managed to make Native Americans invisible in the United States and African-American peoples subordinate on both sides of the Atlantic. Such theories presented racism as a natural state of affairs. “We are too much a product of the Atlantic history of race to be a truly post-colonial nation.”⁹³

A more recent work within Black Atlantic scholarship is *Landon Carter’s Uneasy Kingdom* by Rhys Isaac. Landon Carter was a tremendously successful planter in

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 168.

⁹² Ibid., p. 171.

⁹³ Ibid.

eighteenth-century Virginia. He was of the same generation as Ruggles and struggled with the revolutionary changes impacting his province, house and home.⁹⁴ Carter, revealed through his diaries, was an interesting comparison with Ruggles. Both were plantation owners, slaveholders, colonial gentlemen, and successful business men who strongly supported Britain in the defeat of the French during the Seven Years War. Both held sway with local authorities but were challenged by rebellious family members. Both were noted as improving farmers and were fascinated with the practice of Enlightenment natural philosophy particularly in relation to agriculture. Differences were in scale. Carter was a much larger figure concerning land (Sabine Hall was the anchor), agricultural pursuits (tobacco rather than apples), slaves, privilege and money.⁹⁵ Most importantly, unlike Ruggles, his politics in the end leaned to the republic, and despite his resistance to change and the dismantling of a patriarchal monarchy system that connected to his values and had assured his place, Carter remained in his colony and contemplated adjustment. By 1778, he had written out the “terms of the broken contract between himself and his former king.”⁹⁶

Isaac’s primary goal with the book was to unfold Landon Carter through the long-kept diary and to put forward many stories and scientific observances that illustrated how Carter saw his world and the people in it. Isaac left it up to the reader to decide if the narrative evoked “an ancient order of estate lordship or an exotic American colonial plantation world.”⁹⁷ Secondly, Isaac designed to present the Revolution as personal

⁹⁴ Rhys Isaac, *Landon Carter’s Uneasy Kingdom: Revolution and Rebellion on a Virginia Plantation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xiii. Carter was ranked as one of the most wealthy and privileged members of the planter elite in Virginia. He was born into that status.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 326.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

experience from the numerous recorded stories of rebellion. One approach Isaac employed was to organize stories in the book by compiling information and observances of individual slaves. Moses, Manuel, Tom Pantico, Mulatto Peter, Joe and others are richly highlighted, thanks to Carter's detailed writing, particular in reference to "the Eight" – a group of runaways that would consume many diary pages and who confirmed to Carter that rebellion and revolution had entered the plantation and threatened his world.⁹⁸

The focus on "the Eight" in the diary provided a description of slave life on a plantation and the complicated relationship between slave and slaveholder. At times Carter is the steady patriarch with caring affection and concern. While on other occasions he wields harsh demands for increased labour and production. Carter's descriptions of his slaves also carried range from "honest and mild in temper" to "a rogue" to "ever...a Villain."⁹⁹ Such detail cannot be found in the papers surrounding Ruggles. A writer himself, perhaps any diaries were lost as a result of the Patriot mob attack on his home in Hardwick or in the course of exile.

The final historical work to review is from a forthcoming publication by historian Justin Roberts titled *Slavery and the Enlightenment in the British Atlantic, 1750-1807*.¹⁰⁰ Roberts work explored labour routines on plantations and how they were transformed in the late eighteenth century by new improving practices in plantation management. The

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 18-34.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 32-33.

¹⁰⁰ Forthcoming, Justin Roberts, *Slavery and the Enlightenment in the British Atlantic, 1750-1807* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012)

changes were intensely influenced by the Enlightenment confidence in science and progress, statistical thinking, and early humanitarian reform discourses.¹⁰¹

Chapter One connects with ideas of Ruggles as an improver focused on the land and the development of his plantations. Roberts pulled together insights from planters who regarded time as currency to be saved, exchanged, calculated and spent to guarantee the profits of the plantation and the health of its labourers including the enslaved.¹⁰² He argued that the systematic ordering of the work day enabled the Enlightenment-driven improvement project to transform plantations in the Americas throughout the eighteenth century. As the slave system expanded in the British Americas, competition created adaptation and innovation. The time-work factory discipline was part of the innovation process.¹⁰³

Order, science, mathematical precision and new ways of disciplining and compelling labour were at the heart of the plantation improvement project. Land, time and slave work were woven together in the minds of planters as elements of an intricate and interdependent plantation system – a machine.¹⁰⁴

The metaphor of the plantation system as a machine is potent when considering the Loyalist plantations under study. The research goal is the development of a holistic perspective of slavery in the Loyalist period by considering the geography of the plantation. The plantation machine perspective allows the researcher to explore the people, places, and cultures that formed the plantation and were informed by it. This perspective varies greatly from a study of slavery through the labourers only or the single plantation owner.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 36.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 32.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 33.

Roberts further added that The Enlightenment's conviction in the "practical and moral utility of progress" characterized the plantation improvement project as both benevolent and profitable.¹⁰⁵ His findings generated questions regarding the Loyalist plantation in Nova Scotia. How "reform-minded" was Ruggles? Did he balance work, time and discipline effectively in the management of his land grant and labourers? Or was increased agricultural production and profits the primary goal over improved conditions for his range of workers?

The Ruggles and the Loyalist Period

Among the wave of Loyalist immigrants to Nova Scotia was Brigadier General Timothy Ruggles of Massachusetts.¹⁰⁶ Ruggles was a significant military and political figure in Massachusetts before and during the Revolution. His life in Massachusetts and subsequent move to Nova Scotia in 1783 is the center of this case study. The historical context in which he lived provides the groundwork to build an understanding of Loyalist settlement and labour in late eighteenth-century Nova Scotia. Ruggles, his sons John and

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ See the entry for the brig *Ranger* bound for Annapolis Royal in April, 1783 in the "Book of Negroes" Bound Manuscript, RG1, Vol. 423, Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management; See in Savary, "Muster Rolls of Discharged Officers and Disbanded Soldiers and Loyalists taken in the County of Annapolis between the 18th and 29th days of June, 1784" for entries regarding Timothy, Esqr., and sons John and Richard. All three are listed as Loyalists living in Wilmot and Timothy is listed as having three servants above 10. A.W. Savary, *History of the County of Annapolis Supplement* (Belleville: Mika Studio, 1973), Appendix G, p.113-114. See "Memorial of Israel Mauduit of Clements Lane on behalf of Timothy Ruggles", AO 13/75, pg. 400, National Archives, Kew. Document, dated June 12, 1783, notes Ruggles banishment to Nova Scotia.

Richard, and three “servants” above the age of ten, are listed as living in Wilmot Township (North Mountain), Annapolis County in 1784.¹⁰⁷

Ruggles’ life and movements provided historical records, buried evidence, and two historic landscapes for comparative analysis. In general, there are scant documentary records about colonial settlement in North Mountain, but the historical documents associated with a prominent individual like Ruggles helped to narrow gaps in knowledge. Furthermore, a close review of the documents suggested that Ruggles, though of pedigree and advantage, countered the emblematic Loyalist perpetuated by historians as glorified heroes and aristocrats more interested in attending balls to toast the King, confirm positions of power and property, and lament loss of empire.¹⁰⁸ Rather, Ruggles’ tradition was to dig in, build (in Massachusetts) and rebuild (in Nova Scotia), improve and reform. He was opposite from what Stephen Kimber described in the new Loyalist settlement of Port Roseway (Shelburne , Nova Scotia) as aristocratic refugees seeking a “Loyalist dream” that secure a refined, royal and cosmopolitan lifestyle better than what had been left behind in the cities and towns of the American colonies.¹⁰⁹ Many of the Port Roseway settlers were not skilled in pioneering the timberland that surrounded them, but quite skilled at socializing and according to Kimber, put their money into fine houses

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ E. Alfred Jones, *The Loyalists of Massachusetts: Their Memorials, Petitions and Claims* (London: Saint Catherine Press, 1930). R.S. Longley, “An Annapolis County Loyalist,” *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society* 3 (1957): 73-95. Lorenzo Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalist of the American Revolution* (Boston: Little Brown, 1864). George Rawlyk and Gordon Stewart, *A People Highly Favoured by God: The Nova Scotia Yankees and the American Revolution* (Toronto: MacMillan, 1972). Ann Gorman Condon, “Marching to a Different Drummer – The Political Philosophy of the American Loyalists” in *Red, White and True Blue: The Loyalists in the Revolution*, ed. Esmond Wright (New York: AMS Press, 1976), 1-18. Ibid., Wetmore and Sellick, *Loyalists in Nova Scotia*.

¹⁰⁹ Stephen Kimber, *Loyalists and Layabouts: The Rapid Rise and Faster Fall of Shelburne, Nova Scotia, 1783-1792* (Toronto: Anchor Canada, 2008).

rather than industry.¹¹⁰ Expectations were placed on building “an ornament to the British Empire” and as a result, the town failed miserably.¹¹¹

Ruggles and the Black Loyalists

Historical documents linking Ruggles directly with Black Loyalists are few. The “Book of Negroes” holds evidence of slaves noted as “the General’s Property.” Specifically, an entry for April 23-27, 1783 listed the brig *Ranger* bound for Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia. The vessel had aboard Hester Ruggles, age 7, “fine wench”, the property of General Ruggles. Also, Jeffery Ruggles, age 6, “fine boy” and the property of General Ruggles. There was Prince, age 19, “stout B (Black)”, for the General’s son Richard Ruggles of Annapolis. Robert Williams, age 23, “stout, B (Black), was listed as with General Ruggles.¹¹² Williams was described as free born at Shrewsbury, New Jersey. John Coslin, age 25, “stout, M (Mullatto)”, was also noted as with General Ruggles.¹¹³ Coslin is described as free born at North Hampshire, Virginia and with free parents. Such entries demonstrate that along with George Stronach and Benjamin Fales, (indentured labourers who would work for Ruggles clearing land for three years in exchange for acreage on North Mountain), and Lavinia Outhit, (the widow of neighbor Thomas Outhit and Ruggles housekeeper), Ruggles utilized all forms of labour available to him as he developed his plantation in the forest of North Mountain, Wilmot Township.

¹¹⁰ See Bonnie Huskins and her scholarship concerning manners among the Loyalists of Shelburne. Also, Bonnie Huskins, “Masonic Lodges in 18th Century Shelburne: Sources of Sociability and Community Formation,” Paper delivered at the Atlantic Canada Studies Conference, University of New Brunswick, Saint John, NB, May 5, 2012.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 294.

¹¹² “B.” meaning black.

¹¹³ “M.” meaning mullatto.

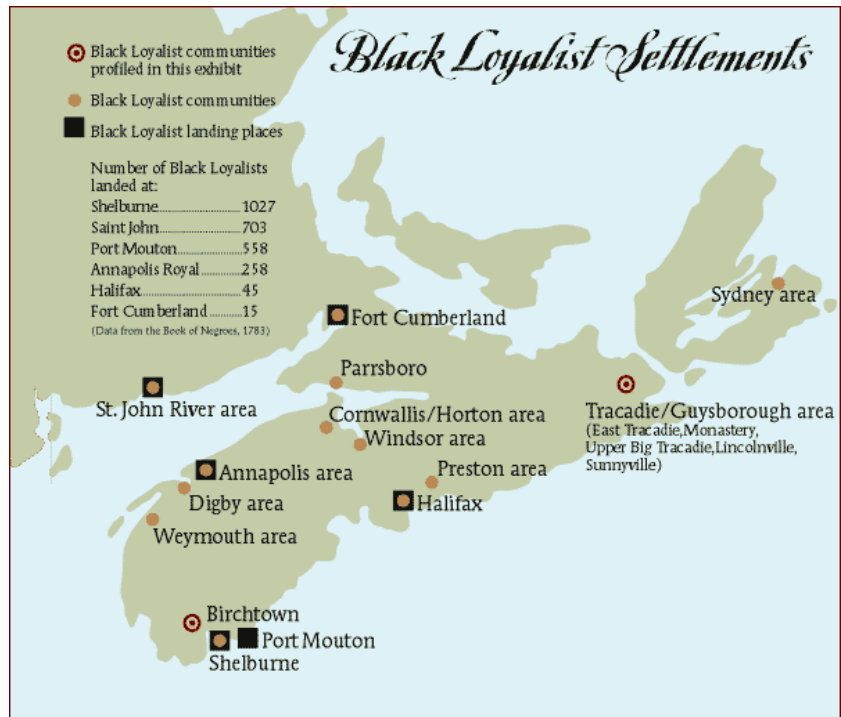
There are scant subsequent entries in the Wilmot township records excepting the baptism of slaves linked to Ruggles' son John.¹¹⁴

The Ruggles family engaged in enslaved and indentured labour practices. Enslaved and free Black Loyalists were part of the Ruggles labour pool. Beyond the listings in the "Book of Negroes" ledger, and slight clues from other historical records such as township records and local histories that provide unconfirmed notes (for example regarding the cemetery for Ruggles' slaves), the historical records are thin.¹¹⁵ This is not unusual given how enslaved or free persons of African descent in colonial North America were regarded as property. There was an active framework of race that enforced a hierarchy of prejudice and subjugation.¹¹⁶ They were essentially a people without historical records.

¹¹⁴ See Wilmot Township Records from 1783-1856 in Annapolis County, MG 4, vol. 5, Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management, Halifax.

¹¹⁵ Israel Maudit, in his statement of support attached to Ruggles' Loyalist memorial to the Crown, notes the presence of servants at Hardwick. It is interesting to note that in 2011, a meeting was arranged with Rob Ruggles, an African-Nova Scotian of Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia. Mr. Ruggles represents a link to the Black Loyalists of North Mountain. Regarding the local history of North Mountain, there is a narrative that describes how Ruggles' slaves had great affection for the General and while preparing for his funeral, stayed up all night to painting his coffin in a manner reflecting his position and qualities. On file at the MacDonald Museum archives, Middleton, Nova Scotia.

¹¹⁶ Chaplin, "Race." See the following by Harvey Amani Whitfield, *From American Slaves to Nova Scotia Subjects: The Case of the Black Refugees, 1813-1840* (Toronto: Pearson/Prentice Hall, 2005); *Blacks on the Border: the Black Refugees in British North America, 1815-1840* (Burlington: University of Vermont press, 2006); "African and New World African Immigration to Mainland Nova Scotia, 1749-1816," *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society* 7 (2004): 102-111; "Black Loyalists and Black Slaves in Maritime Canada," *History Compass* (October 2007): 29-49.



2.2 A map from the *Remembering Black Loyalists, Black Communities* travelling exhibit developed by the Nova Scotia Museum and indicating the Black Loyalist landing places and settlements in Nova Scotia. Based on the “Book of Negroes” data. (Nova Scotia Museum, Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage, 2000)

In Massachusetts, there were no archival lists of slaves or servants among the Ruggles documents reviewed for the dissertation with the exception of the worker Israel Conkie, a carpenter who worked for Ruggles in Hardwick and eventually resettled in Halifax.¹¹⁷ However, given Ruggles’ sizable and highly productive plantation in Hardwick, his status among the colonial elite, and his inclination to entertain and host, labourers were engaged. Equipment listed in his memorial supported the presence of a work force. Testimony in support of his memorial by Israel Mauduit indicated “servants” at Hardwick.¹¹⁸ Population records note a steady increase in African-Americans in

¹¹⁷ Conkie would later provide testimony from Halifax as part of Ruggles’ Loyalist memorial to the Crown.
¹¹⁸ The terms servant and slave were often synonymous in the slaveholding colonial period. The agricultural equipment listed in the Loyalist memorial is extensive and covers a wide range and large amount of gear and animals such as, thirty horses, forty cattle, four oxen, sixty sheep, casks, rakes, scythes, hoes, wooden

Worcester County from 1765 to well past the Revolutionary period. As Massachusetts' colonists settled further west and into the interior of the province throughout the eighteenth century, enslaved labourers joined them.¹¹⁹ How they fit within Ruggles' domain is not specifically defined in the archival documentary record.

It was not unusual to omit details of the enslaved or indentured from personal or estate records. For example, referring to the diary of Dr. Elihu Ashley of Deerfield, Massachusetts, it was recorded that his family owned at least two slaves throughout his upbringing. The slaves would have been part of his daily-life activities however there was no mention of Jenny, Cato or Titus or any of the slaves from Deerfield.¹²⁰ Also notable is the absence of evidence for Ruggles' participation or position concerning anti-slavery movements that were developing in Massachusetts during the Revolutionary period.

boxes, carpenters tools, meat tubs, sacks, carts, ploughs, a lathe, wheelbarrows, leashes for hounds and other useful dogs, beehives, shovels and "a number of kegs for workmen to carry in to the fields."

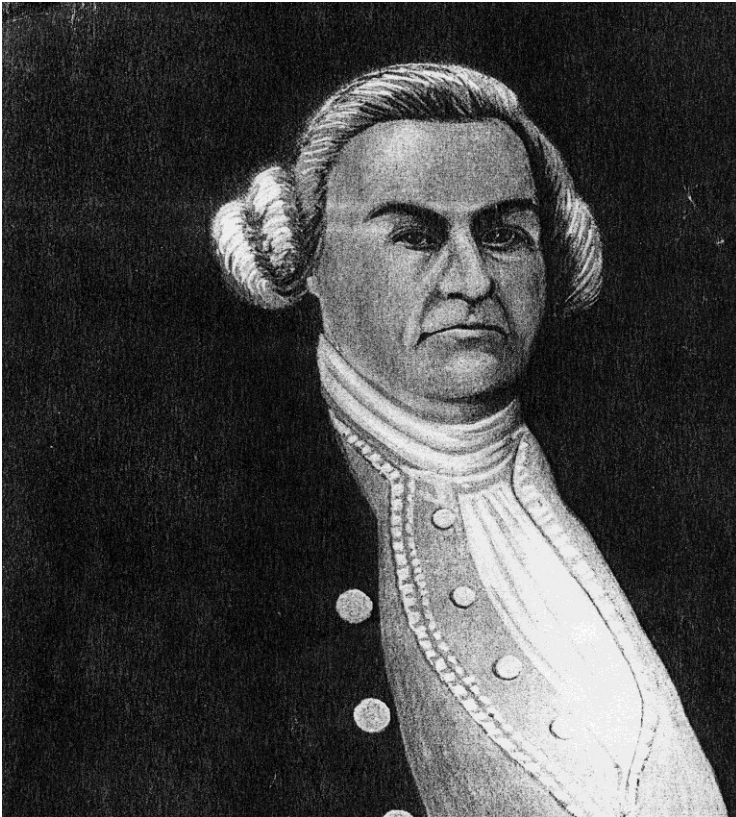
¹¹⁹ In Worcester County in 1765, when Ruggles would have been actively building up his plantation, 317 blacks are recorded (over 5200 in the province). By 1790, long after his departure from Hardwick there are over 400 (almost 5500 in the state) and by 1800 almost 500 (almost 6500 in the state). George A. Levesque, *Black Boston: African American Life and Culture in Urban America, 1750-1860* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994), Table I-12. Massachusetts was also the first American colony to legalize slavery. See "Body of Liberties" in 1641, with Article 91 devoted to "bond slaverie" in Robert H. Romer, *Slavery in the Connecticut Valley of Massachusetts* (Florence, Mass.: Levellers Press, 2009), 9-10.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 119. See *Romance, Remedies and Revolution: The Journal of Dr. Elihu Ashley of Deerfield, Massachusetts, 1773-1775* ed. Amelia F. Miller and A.R. Riggs (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007).

Timothy Ruggles of Hardwick and Wilmot

According to *General Timothy Ruggles, 1711 – 1795* by George Stoddard

Ruggles, Thomas Ruggle or Ruggles¹²¹ of Sudbury, Suffolk, England, whose will dates June 21, 1547, represents the lineal ancestor of the colonial American



2.3 Portrait of Brigadier General Timothy Ruggles, as Chief Justice of Worcester's Court of Common Pleas, 1762-1774. (Worcester County Law Library)

progenitor of the Ruggles family.¹²² Described as a family of distinction in England,

Stoddard Ruggles noted several Ruggles men distinguished in the old country.¹²³ For

¹²¹ There is a variation in the spelling of Ruggles recorded in genealogical records, particularly records originating in England where Timothy Ruggles' ancestors are recorded as Ruggle, deRuggele and deRuggeley. See Franklin L. Bailey, *The Genealogy of Thomas Ruggles of Roxbury, Massachusetts*, (1896). Rita Chipman, "History of Spa Springs, Annapolis County, Nova Scotia," Manuscript on File, MacDonald Museum, Middleton (1978).

example, Thomas Ruggles who emigrated from Nazing, Essex, to Roxbury, Massachusetts in 1637, was a man of means who bequeathed his oldest son John a substantial inheritance that included an established homestead in Roxbury.¹²⁴ John's younger brother, Captain Samuel Ruggles of Roxbury, was recorded as a selectman, General Court representative, and a lawyer by profession.¹²⁵ He married Hannah (Fowle) of Charlestown. Their eldest child was another Captain Samuel Ruggles of Roxbury, whose profession and work mirrored his father's. He married Martha, daughter of Reverend John and Mercy Woodbridge of Newbury. Ten children were born of this marriage and of the four sons, three became clergymen: Reverend Samuel Ruggles of Billerica, Reverend Timothy Ruggles of Rochester and Reverend Benjamin Ruggles of Middleborough and New Braintree.

Reverend Timothy Ruggles was the father of Brigadier General Timothy Ruggles, subject of the case study. Reverend Timothy Ruggles was Harvard educated and began his career teaching in Roxbury. He was ordained and married Mary White. They moved to Rochester, where Reverend Timothy ministered for fifty-eight years. Together they had twelve children. Timothy Ruggles, their first child, was born in Rochester in October 1711.¹²⁶

¹²² George Stoddard Ruggles, *General Timothy Ruggles 1711-1795* (Wakefield, 1897), 5. Ruggles family coat of arms is viewable at <http://www.houseofnames.com/xq/asp.fc/qx/ruggles-family-crest.htm>.

¹²³ Including George Ruggle of Lavenham, Suffolk, Fellow of Clare College (1598-1619) who was a co-founder of the Virginia Company.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7. Thomas had a brother John who emigrated in 1635 and likely there were other Ruggles settling in the Roxbury area during this period.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 9. W. A. Calnek, *History of the County of Annapolis* (Belleville: Mika Studio, 1972), 585. These two references provide differing dates of birth. Stoddard Ruggles notes October 20 and Calnek notes October 11. Other genealogy sources in Massachusetts such as Henry Stoddard Ruggles' *Ruggles Genealogy* (1892) indicate October 20.

Timothy was well educated by his father and attended college. He graduated from Harvard in 1732 at the age of twenty-one and practiced law. He started off in his hometown of Rochester and later moved to Sandwich, Massachusetts around 1740. While in Sandwich, he met and married Bathsheba Newcomb, an accomplished tavern owner and widow of William Newcomb.¹²⁷ He developed his skills and reputation for thirteen years in Sandwich and in 1753-1754 he moved to Hardwick, Massachusetts in present day Worcester County.¹²⁸

Hardwick contained lands with agricultural potential. Ruggles began developing his estate on lands originally purchased by his grandfather “from local Indians”.¹²⁹ His father, Reverend Ruggles, had already moved there along with several of his siblings. Stoddard Ruggles noted:

As a lawyer he was an impressive pleader, his eloquence enhanced by his majestic presence, being above six feet and magnificently proportioned, with a noble head grandly poised on stalwart shoulders; and such has been his success in the early years of his career, that his services had been continually in demand in the adjoining counties, where he had found his principal antagonist in cases of importance in Colonel James Otis, then at the height of his fame.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ Leone B. Cousins, “Brigadier General Timothy Dwight Ruggles, Loyalist, 1711-1795.” Essay on File, Middleton Museum, Middleton, NS, n.d. Cousins notes Bathsheba as an inn or tavern owner at the time of meeting Ruggles as well as running an inn when the couple moved to Sandwich. According to Cousins, Ruggles ran his law practice out of the inn.

¹²⁸ There is slight variation in some of the dates. Stoddard Ruggles differs at times with Calnek, Ivan Sandrof and Deborah Navas, all Ruggles researchers. For example, Navas has Timothy and Bathsheba wed in 1736 and by 1748 they have seven children: Martha, b. 1737; Timothy Jr. b. 1739; Mary, b. 1741; John, b. 1742; Richard, b. 1744; Bathsheba, b. 1746; and Elizabeth, b. 1748. It is interesting to note that Ruggles’ wife Bathsheba Newcomb Ruggles already had seven children by her first husband before meeting Ruggles. Deborah Navas, *Murdered By His Wife* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999).

¹²⁹ Hardwick was founded on January 10, 1739. Prior to that date, the area was known as Lambsdown Plantation. Timothy Ruggles’ great grandfather Samuel Ruggles of Roxbury purchased the land parcel in 1686 (12 miles by 8 miles for L20). See Henry Stoddard Ruggles, *Ruggles Homesteads*. (1912). See Kevin H. White, *Historical Data Relating to Counties, Cities and Towns in Massachusetts* (The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1966), 34.

¹³⁰ Ruggles, *Ruggles Homesteads*, p. 9.

Ruggles developed a successful law practice and by the time of his settlement in Hardwick, had accumulated a healthy fortune. With his wealth, he began to develop a county seat applicable to a gentleman of his social standing and legal influence. Over the years the estate became the most noteworthy in the area with extensive agricultural holdings, a large mansion house, riding park, thirty horse stables, and deer park complete with hounds. With slaves in the household and working the estate, he entertained frequently and in grand style.¹³¹

Experimental or scientific gardening, particularly with apples, and the breeding of thoroughbred horses and cattle were other noted pursuits of Ruggles in Hardwick.¹³² He was acquainted with the tradition of English market fairs. In 1763 Ruggles attempted to have Hardwick established as the seat of a new county that would be composed of the western part of Worcester County and the eastern part of Hampshire County. With his influence in the General Court of Assembly the regulated annual fair was established by an act of the Court passed on June 12, 1762 and published in *The Boston Evening Post* on June 21, 1762.¹³³

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 10. For the slavery reference see Cousins' essay, p.1. An entertaining reference can be found in the diary of Dr. Elihu Ashley of Deerfield, Massachusetts. He describes stopping at Brig. Ruggles Hardwick home on a few occasions. The entry dated July 6, 1774 describes a fine dinner, walking about with the "Old Gent" who was very sociable and the arrival of other guests. See Miller and Riggs, *Romance, Remedies, and Revolution*, p. 86-87.

¹³² Ivan Sandrof, "Forgotten Giant of the Revolution: The Story of Brigadier General Timothy Ruggles of Hardwick," *Worcester Historical Society* New Series 3, no. 6 (April 1952): 16-28. Sandrof notes Ruggles as having more than 30 choice horses in his stable including his favorite black "war horse" and states he spared no expense to obtain the best sires in the colonies and in England. The Journal of Dr. Ashley also describes horses and the General "getting the Nitts off of his horses." Dr. Ashley also has the opportunity to see the deer in Ruggles' deer park.

¹³³ Emily M. Bancroft, "The Hardwick Fair: A Community Experience Enacted in 1762". Manuscript on File, Hardwick Historical Society, Hardwick, Mass., pp. 2-6.; Personal communication with the author, April 2008.

He was appointed judge of the Court of Common Pleas in 1756, and from 1762 until the American Revolution he was chief justice of that court. Not long after moving to Hardwick, and as the Seven Years War encroached on the region



2.4 Town monument to Ruggles’ scientific agricultural pursuits standing today in Hardwick, Massachusetts. Year of resettlement in Nova Scotia and year of death are incorrect. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2008)

his focus turned to military matters.¹³⁴ He was commissioned as colonel in the forces raised by the Province of Massachusetts Bay. In the campaign at Crown Point (Lake Champlain, New York), in the autumn of 1755 he served under Sir William Johnson and was second in command at the victorious Battle of Lake George, where he distinguished himself for his courage and ability in the field.¹³⁵

¹³⁴Sandrof, “Forgotten Giant,” p. 18. It is at this time, with the onset of the Seven Years War that Sandrof states Ruggles left his profession as a lawyer and started “a remarkable military career” and worked under four successive British commanders-in-chief: Johnson, Loudon, Abercrombie and Amherst.

¹³⁵ Ruggles, *Ruggles Homesteads*, p.11.; For day to day journal entries of the military activities in this campaign including Col. Ruggles command see E. C. Dawes, *Journal of General Rufus Putnam Kept in Northern New York During Four Campaigns of the Old French and Indian War, 1757-1760* (Albany, 1886). Also, E. Alfred Jones, *The Loyalists of Massachusetts*, p. 251. Jones describes Ruggles as Colonel

As reward for his military service he was made Brigadier-General and Surveyor General of the Woods. In 1758 he commanded the third division of the provincial troops under Abercrombie in the disastrous attack on Fort Ticonderoga. The ineffectiveness of Abercrombie resulted in his replacement as commander by Lord Amherst, and in the campaigns of 1759 and 1760 Ruggles served with distinction and received “warmest approval” of the commanding general.¹³⁶ The Seven Years War was a demanding period for Ruggles, who was approaching fifty years of age. In 1762, while both armies were in winter quarters, Brigadier-General Ruggles’ leadership role in Massachusetts expanded as he was chosen Speaker of the House Representatives.¹³⁷

Ruggles’ lengthy leadership role in the Seven Years War informed his resolve as a Loyalist.¹³⁸ The level of obligation took a toll on his family life due to extensive absences, as illustrated in the following excerpt from a military order which instructs the organization of relief for six garrisons in Nova Scotia.

of the first Provincial regiment of two battalions and commander-in-chief of all the troops of Massachusetts throughout the French and Indian War, and as taking the French General Dieskau prisoner. As a reward for “Important services the grantee Rendered his Country Dureing the Late war” Ruggles was granted in 1764 approximately 1500 acres in Princeton, Mass. that he used as a potash farm. This land, along with other Ruggles property was confiscated at the end of the American Revolution. See Francis E. Blake, *History of the Town of Princeton*, Vol.1 (Princeton: Town of Princeton, 1915): 55-56.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p 11. Also see “Memorial of Israel Mauduit of Clements Lane in behalf of Timothy Ruggles, Esqr.” 19th June 1783, A.O 13/75, The National Archives, Kew, p. 393-400

¹³⁷ See public announcement in *The New Hampshire Gazette*, Issue 296, 2, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, June 4, 1762. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

¹³⁸ The ultimate success of British forces in the Seven Years War cemented for Ruggles his “uniform attachment” to Great Britain and influenced his vigorous declaration from Boston in April in 1775 “to contribute everything in my power to convince these rebellious wretches of their folly and wickedness in despising the best Government both in Theory and administration that ever yet bles’d the earth we inhabit and if it causes me as many wearisome days and sleepless nights, as five campaigns did in the last War, I pray God my constitution may endure it; and my Country will be happy if success extends his Majestys arms; if not many of us will lose our lives and be put out of our present miserable situation.” See C.O 5/154, National Archives, Kew.

Military Order by General Ruggles. Boston, 20th April, 1759.

It is the Captain-General's orders: That Major Indicott, with two captains and one ensign of Col. Frye's regiment, hold themselves in readiness at Castle William to join the detachment ordered to relieve the garrison at Fort Cumberland in Nova Scotia, commanded by Col. Frye; and that one captain, one first lieutenant and one ensign of Col. Frye's regiment hold themselves in readiness at Castle William to join the detachment ordered to relieve the garrison at St. Johns in Nova Scotia, commanded by Lieut.-Col. Arbuthnott; and that one ensign of Col. Frye's regiment hold himself in readiness at Castle William to join the detachment ordered to relieve the garrison at Pisquit, commanded by Capt. Gay;

*Tim Ruggles*¹³⁹

The Seven Years War period represented the social apogee of Ruggles' career: as a litigator, military man, judge, legislator, Speaker of the House, man of property and agriculturalist. In 1759, John Adams, then a colleague, contrasted Ruggles with attorney-general Jeremy Gridley,

Ruggles's grandeur consists in the quickness of his apprehension, the steadiness of his attention, the boldness and strength of his thoughts and expressions, his strict honor, conscious superiority and contempt of meanness. People approach him with dread and terror. Gridley's grandeur consists on his great learning, his great parts and his majestic manner, but it is diminished by stiffness and affectation. Ruggles is as proud, as lordly as Gridley, but he is more popular, he conceals it more, he times it better, and it is easy and natural in him, but is stiff and affected in Gridley. It is an advantage to Ruggles's character, but a disadvantage to Gridley's.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 27. Stoddard Ruggles takes this from an original document in the collection of Mr. William A. Thomas, of Kingston, Mass. Castle William was a fort on Castle Island in Boston Harbour. Destroyed at the end of the American Revolution, President John Adams in 1799 would order the construction of Fort Independence in its place.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p.19. *John Adams Diary* 2, 5 October 1758 – 9 April 1759, p. 39. Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass. See document on line at http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/aea/cfm/doc.cfm?id=D2&mode=popupsm&pop=D2_39

The passage is interesting, given that Adams considered Gridley a leading attorney of the day. Adams observed Gridley intently in court, was interviewed by him for admission to the bar, and took seriously his suggestions in the practice of law and the writing of political works.¹⁴¹

Ruggles as a Loyalist in Revolutionary Massachusetts

Over the next few years, Ruggles continued in his various positions and worked to develop his estate however, political tensions leading to the Revolutionary War were never far removed and often clashed with his Loyalist views.¹⁴² A critical episode occurred in 1765 during the Stamp Act Crisis, which affirmed Ruggles' loyalty to the King and Parliament nearly a decade before the Revolution officially began.

Delegates were chosen by the legislatures of the various colonies to represent grievances¹⁴³ to King and Parliament regarding the Stamp Act, a newly imposed taxation law passed by Parliament to defer the cost of the French and Indian War and to finance a colonial militia force to prevent Indian attacks.¹⁴⁴ General Ruggles was chosen as a delegate from Massachusetts, and when the Stamp Act Congress (also known as the First Colonial Congress) met in New York in October 1765, he was elected President. After twelve days of debate, an address to the King reporting the rights and privileges of the

¹⁴¹ David McCullough, *John Adams* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001), 40-65.

¹⁴² Cousins, "Brigadier General Timothy Dwight Ruggles," p. 2. Eventually a vast estate consisting of seven farms, numerous outbuildings, tenant farmers, orchards, tanneries, a meeting house, etc. Sons John and Richard lived on two of the farms. Ruggles also managed a potash farm in Princeton.

¹⁴³ Such as lack of representation in Parliament, use of admiralty courts without juries to try offenders, and the establishment of a standing army in the Colonies supported by the colonists. See published notice of Ruggles "assisting at the general Congress of the Colonies, at New York" in *The Boston News-Letter and New-England Chronicle*. Issue 3237, 2, October 17, 1765. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

¹⁴⁴ Stark, *The Loyalists of Massachusetts*, p.226. McCullough, *John Adams*, p. 59.

British American colonists and claiming an exemption from taxes (except those imposed by local assemblies), was finalized and supported. Ruggles saw disloyalty to the Mother Country in the petition and refused to sign the declaration. This was a very public stand during a Colonial Congress that had the ear of the colonies, government officials and a public against further taxation, especially taxation without parliamentary representation. He was censured by the Congress and reprimanded on his return by the House of Representatives.¹⁴⁵

Ruggles defined several reasons why “I could not bring myself to sign” the resolutions of the Congress and asked that the paper describing his reasons be printed in the Journal of the House. When his request was denied, Ruggles published the paper himself in the *Boston Post Boy and Advertiser* on May 5, 1766.¹⁴⁶ Two themes were clear in his article. First he claimed that the petitions expressed disloyalty to King and Parliament. He considered the petitions of the Congress contrary to the expectation of a most “loyal and dutiful address to His Majesty and his Parliament”, that he was bound to support as Representative of the House.

The petition agreed upon by the congress to be presented to his majesty not being conceived in terms clearly enough expressive of that duty and loyalty which are due to the best of sovereigns, and consequently not agreeable to my above instructions from this house, left as a mere matter

¹⁴⁵ Sandrof, “Forgotten Giant,” p.23. Edmund S. Morgan and Helen M. Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953),105. Morgan states that Ruggles’ election as chair was engineered by Governor Bernard and as chairman of the meetings Ruggles was positioned to carry out what Bernard had instructed – to get the Congress to recommend submission of the Stamp Act until Parliament could be persuaded to repeal it. Bernard did not foresee that the question Congress argued was not the inexpediency of the Stamp Act but that it was “unconstitutional and contrary to their Rights, Supporting the Independency of the Provinces, and not subject to the Legislative Power of Great Britain.” Like Ruggles, Robert Ogden of New Jersey also refused to sign and was reprimanded by his assembly. According to Morgan, both refused to sign the declaration “because of the omission of any precise acknowledgement of Parliament’s authority.” Morgan,109.

¹⁴⁶ Lucius R. Paige, *History of Hardwick, Massachusetts* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1883), 62.

of judgment and discretion, if I had signed it I must have acted in direct opposition to those instructions, and thereby have exposed myself not only to the censures of this house, but to the reproaches of my own conscience, a tribunal more awful to me than this (however great) by which I have been condemned.¹⁴⁷

To Ruggles the expectation of the house was that a most loyal and dutiful address be prepared by the congress *including* “the removal of the grievances the colonies labor under at present”.¹⁴⁸

Second, the address (though signed by the committees of several colonies) could by no means be considered a general address from the colonies. As he explained,

... as the committees from the colonies of South Carolina, Connecticut and New York were not empowered, and therefore could not sign, and the colonies of Nova Scotia, New Hampshire, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia, did not send committees to the congress and some had no regular appointment, so that in this respect it was but a very partial signing.¹⁴⁹

Ruggles further emphasized the partial signing by noting his own missing signature as the appointed Speaker of the House/President of the Congress. The addresses he felt would have carried greater weight and would have been more favorably received had they been authenticated by the Houses of Representatives and Burgesses throughout the continent. In explaining his actions at the Congress, Ruggles confirmed his “love to my country and its liberties.” This declaration of patriotism, joined with a confirmed resolve for King and Parliament, positioned Ruggles early on among Loyalists who envisioned an Anglo-

¹⁴⁷ Paige, p. 62-64. “Brigadier Ruggles’s Reasons for his dissent from the Resolutions of the Congress at New York, as given into the House, February 19, 1766.”

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

American empire in which the mother country and her colonies would work together to improve economically, politically and culturally.¹⁵⁰

Ruggles remained highly active in the affairs of his colony in the Revolutionary period. He was aware of the potential of America. His family had increasingly come to benefit from population growth and expansion of settlement in Massachusetts. He must have also realized the challenges to cohesion and stability as discontent and dissatisfaction kindled among the citizens with tightening of the imperial grip. Great Britain with its traditions, experience, resources, and military strength, confirmed for Ruggles all the empire could offer in future partnership. Gorman Condon summed up Ruggles' position well in her study of the Loyalists in pre-Revolutionary America. Why enter into conflict with Great Britain when "a quality of life that was safer, richer, more stable – and even freer – than any they could hope to provide for themselves in the foreseeable future" was at hand.¹⁵¹

As the Revolutionary War approached, Ruggles' life in Hardwick became more and more stressful. His Loyalist convictions remained unequivocal, but as time progressed, his opinions and beliefs became the minority throughout the countryside. Though he agreed that the colonies were treated unjustly by unfair representation in Parliament, his experiences in the previous Seven Years War solidified his aversion to rebellion and bloodshed. He understood through active participation in conflict the significance of a rebellious or hostile movement. Before long he was estranged from friends and family. He believed in the

¹⁵⁰ Gorman Condon, *The Loyalist Dream*, p. 4-6.

¹⁵¹ Ibid. Regarding freedom, Gorman Condon adds that the Loyalists on the eve of the Revolution recognized the British government as a less likely threat to American liberty than the tendencies toward mob rule, enforced conformity, and brutalization which were so persistent within the colonies.

supremacy of British Parliament in colonial affairs and the repercussions trickled through all aspects of his life. His younger brother Benjamin was for the Patriot cause as were Ruggles' wife Bathsheba and many of their children.

Another occasion that saw Ruggles publishing explanations for his actions can be found in *The Boston News-Letter and New-England Chronicle* on March 7, 1768. The Sons of Liberty resolved and the House of Representatives adopted measures to prevent the consumption of foreign goods and to encourage the manufactures of the province. This was done to prevent the British government from collecting revenue from duties and to relieve “the great decay of the trade in the province, the scarcity of money, the heavy debt contracted in the late war which still remains on the people, and the great difficulties to which they are by these means reduced.”¹⁵² It was also thought that manufacturers in England would object and therefore pressure Parliament to cease their “oppressive acts.”¹⁵³ Ruggles was the only representative to vote “nay” to the resolutions and requested once more to enter his reasons in the Journal of the House. He was refused and therefore employed a Boston newspaper to print his explanations.

His statement explained that he had no objections to the resolution of endeavoring to suppress extravagance, idleness, and vice, and promoting industry, economy, good morals and encouraging manufactures which do not interfere with the mother country.

¹⁵² Paige, p. 67.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

But as it is generally supposed that the true interest of this province consists in the cultivation of a good harmony with their mother country, the improvement of the land, and the encouragement of a legal trade, it is humbly apprehended it cannot be for the interest of this people to encourage manufactures in general for the following reasons:¹⁵⁴

Ruggles continued to detail his reasons, including the expense to husbandry or other general employment of the people, the resulting “mischief” if people take their hands off husbandry and fishery, and the need to avoid setting up business that may be detrimental to the Mother Country - “as a preservation of a good understanding between Great Britain and her colonies.”¹⁵⁵ He summed up by stating, “at a time when we are petitioning for redress, to give encouragement to manufactures will look like a threat against and a defiance of

Next page:

2.5 Paul Revere’s engraving titled “A Warm Place – Hell” depicting Brigadier General Timothy Ruggles leading the Rescinders into the maw of Hell. The seventeen members of the Massachusetts Legislature dubbed “Rescinders” voted against the proposed boycott of British manufactured goods on June 30, 1768. (With permission of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA)

¹⁵⁴ *The Boston News-letter and New-England Chronicle*, Issue 3363, March 17, 1768, Boston. On file, American Antiquarian Society, Historic Newspaper Collections, Worcester, Mass.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*



Great Britain and will bring resentment against the province.”¹⁵⁶ His support of steadiness between Britain and her colonies was unwavering and he feared a breach between the two, “whoever gets the victory, we are undone.”¹⁵⁷ With this episode we again see Ruggles declaring loyalty and standing firm in his value of Britain as Mother Country with advantages to offer her colonies.

In 1774, the Governor, recognizing Ruggles’ support, appointed him Mandamus Councilor, which he accepted with hesitation given that the position was associated with unequivocal supporters of the Crown in a volatile climate of anti-British sentiment.¹⁵⁸ It was soon after that he was forced from his home in

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ For a list of appointed councilors see “List of the Gentlemen Appointed by His Majesty, Counsellor of This Province,” *Essex Journal*, Aug. 10, 1774, Vol. 1, 34, p. 3. Ruggles did not want this position that gave him authority as a member of the Kings Council however not accepting would have marked him a rebel.

Hardwick.¹⁵⁹ A combination of historical evidence and folklore from 1775 describe an angry mob forcing Ruggles out with his brother, Captain Benjamin, demanding he give up his determination to take the oath as Mandamus Councilor. Ruggles' home was entered and all weapons and gunpowder seized. One of his best stallions was poisoned. Benjamin further warned his brother that he would not be permitted to return alive if he continued in his support of the Crown. Ruggles resolve among the turmoil was only strengthened.¹⁶⁰ He prepared to leave Hardwick for Boston with his two sons John and Richard and several servants.¹⁶¹ Local tradition in Hardwick holds that Ruggles rode out on his familiar black stallion and a large group of townsfolk gathered at the local bridge to challenge him while leaving. All witnessed a heated exchange between brothers. It was the last he saw of his family in Hardwick. Joining Benjamin in the Sons of Liberty

2.6 *Homestead of General Timothy Ruggles*. A landscape painting by Winthrop Chandler (1747-1790) completed before 1775. Chandler was an American colonial painter "working wherever customers demanded their simple and forthright painterly statements of fact."¹⁶² (Collection of the Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, MA)

Instead, the rebel party marked him for persecution as a traitor of the Cause. A Mandamus Councilor was one of a group of thirty-six of the Governor's appointed council of advisors.

¹⁵⁹ See "Extract of a letter from Taunton, August 25," in the *Essex Journal*. Vol. 1, Issue 37, p. 3, Newburyport, Massachusetts, August 31, 1774. "We hear that Brigadier Ruggles one of the new counsellors being at Dartmouth, the people assembled and desired him to depart forthwith, he promised them he would go the next morning, by the sun at an hour high, in the mean time they decorated his horse by trimming his tail and mane, and painting his body in such a manner as new-fangled counsellors horses ought to be." Paige, *History of Hardwick*, p. 92.

¹⁶⁰ See future events in Boston and New York.

¹⁶¹ Sandrof, "Forgotten Giant," p. 24-25.

¹⁶² See Abbott Lowell Cummings, "The Beginnings of American Landscape Painting," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* New Series, 11, no. 3 (November 1952): 93-99. Chandler studied portrait painting in Boston and resided in Worcester in later life. The painting depicts two houses and appears to be a before and after depiction: the well-tended house full of people including Ruggles on his black stallion on the right and the house after being vandalized by a patriot mob when Ruggles left Hardwick in 1774 on the left. Note broken windows. A "statement of fact" is questionable with this particular landscape painting. For example, the Ruggles estate was not positioned down between hills but on a high point of land. There are



also several structural differences between the two buildings. Chandler painted as a means of income. It would be interesting to determine who commissioned the work and their relationship to Ruggles. This is a huge landscape painting that extends the gallery wall in Worcester where it is exhibited. It would have taken considerable time to complete. Given the period Chandler composed the work, and the fact that Ruggles would have been well known in Worcester County, is the painting a political statement regarding the consequences one can expect if committed to the Loyalist or Tory cause? It would be interesting to determine where the painting was displayed upon completion. Chandler knew Ruggles. Did this influence the final outcome of the painting?

were Ruggles' brother Edward, cousin Thomas Robinson, brother-in-law Paul Mandell and five nephews including his namesake Lieut. Timothy Ruggles.¹⁶³

Like other Loyalists fleeing rural townships and villages, Ruggles escaped to Boston in 1774 before war officially broke out. Though he was joined by his sons John and Richard, his estate in Hardwick was confiscated and his life as a country gentleman with political, legal and social power and prestige was changed forever.¹⁶⁴ His wife never joined him in exile. His eldest son Timothy did not join him until well after the War.¹⁶⁵

While in Boston, his daughter Bathsheba (Ruggles-Spooner) was tried and convicted of murdering her husband (executed July 2, 1778). When publicly hanged with her three accomplices, the controversy was great given that she was pregnant at the time. Bathsheba was desperate to escape an abusive marriage and enlisted the help of a Continental soldier boarding in her home (also father to the child she carried) and two British Army deserters. According to historian Deborah Navas, political, cultural and gender biases prevented the state from staying her execution until her child was born. The four month imprisonment and trial was covered extensively in newspapers.¹⁶⁶ Bathsheba is noted anecdotally as being the favourite daughter of Ruggles. He was behind enemy lines on Staten Island and

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ For published notices of selling of Ruggles holdings/property/stock see *The Massachusetts Spy or American Oracle of Liberty*, January 12, 1776 and May 13, 1779.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 16. Cousins, "Brigadier General Timothy Dwight Ruggles," p. 2. Bathsheba Newcomb Ruggles remained in Hardwick and kept one third of the estate – part of the homestead and part of another farm. The eldest son Timothy was a Continental soldier and perhaps kept his Loyalist sympathies low profile. He stayed with his mother in Hardwick until her death in 1787 and then followed his father, two brothers and cousin Joseph to Wilmot, Nova Scotia.

¹⁶⁶ Navas, *Murdered by his Wife*. Navas also summarizes that twentieth-century analysis of the case places blame on General Ruggles for Bathsheba's terrible end. It is likely he arranged the loveless marriage which would have been considered a good match given the wealth and position of the Spooner family.

unaware of her imprisonment. Folklore suggests she wrote to her father for help but her pleas were unanswered, as his colleagues kept from him news of circumstances he was unable to affect.

As Mandamus Councilor in Boston, Ruggles raised one of the first corps of Loyalist troops.¹⁶⁷ Known as the Loyal American Association, or “The Gentlemen Volunteers”, the group was formed in 1775 mainly of local merchants and numbered three companies totaling a militia of about two hundred soldiers.¹⁶⁸ The officers and men helped to patrol the streets and performed guard duty during the long siege of Boston. Ruggles was their commander and maintained an active

¹⁶⁷ See Ruggles call to “The Association” published in *The Boston News-Letter*, Issue 3718, December 29, 1774, p.2. The Loyalist subscribers “associate and mutually covenant, and engage to...stand by and assist in the defense of Life, Liberty and Property, whenever the same shall be attacked...not acknowledge, or submit to the pretended authority, of any Congress, Committees of Correspondence or other unconstitutional Assemblies of Men...we will...enforce obedience to the rightful Authority of our most Gracious King George, the third, and of his laws...” The Association article contains other clauses more particular to person and property. The announcement reinforces Ruggles’ commitment to the Loyalist cause and the unwavering value he places on Parliamentary rule and the authority of the King in the New England colonies. This public call speaks directly to his Loyalist ideology. It is a statement of rules and actions to preform “our indispensable duty” and uphold “the good and wholesome Laws of Government.”

¹⁶⁸ John Adams comments in a paper dated 1775, on the formation of the Loyalist Association by Ruggles among Loyalists in Boston as a counter to the Continental Association. “They associate to stand by the king’s laws, and this every whig will subscribe. But after all, what a wretched fortune has this association made in the world, the numbers now have signed it, would appear so inconsiderable, that I dare say the Brigadier [Ruggles] will never publish to the world their numbers or names.” See John Adams, “To The Inhabitants of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay,” February 6, 1775. Massachusetts Historical Society Digital File, Adams Papers.



2.7 Marker in Brookfield, Massachusetts noting Spooner house site and well where Bathsheba Ruggles and her accomplices murdered Joshua Spooner. The late Leon Thresher, local Hardwick historian, is in the background. (C.Cottreau-Robins, 2008)

roll during the siege and the Battle of Bunker Hill.¹⁶⁹ Nineteenth-century historian Richard Frothingham conveys the following anecdote in his description of that momentous attack:

A royalist in Boston at this time used to relate that knowing the British officers were in consultation at the Province House, on the morning of this day, he called there to learn their intentions. Immediately after the arrangements had been made for the attack, he met in the front yard an officer who was inveighed against the decisions of the other officers. “It

¹⁶⁹ See The Online Institute for Advanced Loyalist Studies <http://www.royalprovincial.com/Military/musters/loyamassoc/mrlaamain.htm> or University of Michigan, William L. Clements Library, Thomas Gage Papers, Vol. 131. Also, Public Record Office, A.O. 13/45, Folio 476 for orders issued by Ruggles in Boston as “Commandant of ye Associated Companies in Boston. For example, to Francis Green Esqr. on Nov. 15, 1775, Ruggles states “Sir, I have it in command to acquaint you, that the General expects (for the present) you take charge of the District about Liberty Tree & the Lanes, Alleys & Wharves adjacent, & that by a constant patrolling party from sunset, to sunrise you prevent all disorders within the district by either Signals, Fires, Thieves, Robbers, house breakers or Rioters...’ Also, see a letter by Ruggles dated Boston, April 18, 1775, discussing his desire to form the corps. C.O 5/154, pgs. 131-132.

would cost many lives to attack in front; but the English officers would not believe the Americans would fight.” In the morning General Gage said to General Timothy Ruggles, “It is impossible for the rebels to withstand our arms a moment.” Ruggles replied, “Sir, you do not know with whom you have to contend. These are the very men who conquered Canada. I fought with them side by side. I know them well; they will fight bravely. My God! Sir, your folly has ruined your cause.” General Gage opposed the attack in the rear as unmilitary and hazardous.¹⁷⁰

The Association, distinguished by a white sash round the left arm, was disbanded on the evacuation of Boston in March 1776.

While in Boston, hatred against Ruggles grew significantly as did the battle lines between Loyalists and Patriots.¹⁷¹ Patriots in Massachusetts were well aware of his role in government and had read Ruggles’ own addresses in the local papers following his “negative” actions at the Stamp Act Congress and his later statement discouraging the production of manufactures in the Province.¹⁷² In August 1775, *The New Hampshire Gazette and Historical Chronicle* printed an article by “A. Freeman” discounting the actions of Thomas Gage in Boston and

¹⁷⁰ Richard Frothingham, *The Centennial: Battle of Bunker Hill* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1875), 28.

¹⁷¹ By 1778, Ruggles was listed (fourth after Gov. Hutchinson, Gov. Bernard, and Lt. Gov. Oliver) in the *Massachusetts Spy* as among those listed in “An Act to prevent the return to this State of certain persons therein named, and others who have left this State, or either of this United States, and joined the enemies thereof”. Issue 391, p. 1, Worcester, Massachusetts, October 29, 1778. Ruggles’ sons Richard and John, nephews Joseph and Nathaniel, and brother-in-law Gardiner Chandler are also listed.

¹⁷² Ruggles’ article was published in the *Boston Post Boy and Advertiser*, May 6, 1766, explaining his actions at the Stamp Act Congress. “Brigadier Ruggles’s Reasons for his dissent from the Resolutions of the Congress at New York, as given into the House, February 19, 1766,” in *Boston Post Boy and Advertiser*. May 5, 1766. See *The Boston News-Letter and New-England Chronicle*. Issue 3363, p. 1, March 17, 1768 for his statement detailing why he voted against the resolution to discontinue the “use of Foreign Superfluities and to encourage the Manufactures of this Province”. “The Reasons of the Honorable Brigadier General Ruggles for voting against the establishment of manufactures in general in this province, Province of Massachusetts Bay, Feb. 29, 1768.” This statement was also published in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle and Universal Advertiser* between March 21- March 28, 1768.

providing for the readers “accurate and legal Definitions of Proclamation, Martial Law, Allegiance and Rebellion”. The pamphlet concluded:

.....From these Definitions, which are strictly legal, it clearly follows that Thomas Gage, from his Actions, is a Robber, a Murderer, a Traitor and a Tyrant, and that he and all his Adherents ought to be apprehended and bro’t to condign Punishment; tho’if they forthwith desist from such atrocious Crimes, and become good Subjects, I would yet intercede for Mercy to be extended to any of them, except the said THOMAS GAGE, and a certain TIMOTHY RUGGLES, being Proto-Rebels and the most wicked Parricides.¹⁷³

Ruggles and his two sons landed in Halifax, Nova Scotia as part of the evacuation of Boston that took place on March 17, 1776¹⁷⁴. Their stay was for a few months only and their activities are not noted in relevant documents of the day. However, Ruggles may have visited the farm in Belleisle, Annapolis County he purchased from Christopher Prince after 1774 and willed to his son Timothy in 1795. They returned to New England and set up residence on Staten Island, then Long Island, where Ruggles submitted a proposal in 1780 to raise a Regiment of Light Dragoons to be called the Kings American Dragoons. A reflection of Ruggles lifelong enthusiasm for horses¹⁷⁵ and extensive military service, the regiment was to be commanded by “Timothy Ruggles Esqr. Brigadier General of

¹⁷³ For full article see *The New-Hampshire Gazette and Historical Chronicle*. Vol. XIX, Issue 984, Pg. 2, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, August 29, 1775. For other anti Ruggles print see the *Connecticut Courant*. Issue 525, Pg. 2, January 16, 1775.

¹⁷⁴ For muster roll of head of families evacuees to Halifax see *The Memorial History of Boston*, Vol. III ed. Justin Winsor (Boston: 1880), 175-180. Ruggles and his two sons are listed there. Noting to date is known of Ruggles activities while in Halifax. No doubt he was attached to the colonial elite in the town but what of his activities with the military? A known horseman, did he visit the countryside, such as Michael Franklin’s estate/horse farm in Windsor, and get his initial insights on the Annapolis Valley region of the province?

¹⁷⁵ Ruggles schedule and memorial submitted to the Crown details his extensive activity with horses which included a riding park, the importing of horses and equipment and stabling references. PRO A.O.13/75, The National Archives, Kew, 403-408.

Provincial Forces in America during the last war, Deputy Surveyor General of the Woods, & late of His Majesty's Council in the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England".¹⁷⁶ The regiment was to be composed of six troops made "entirely of Gentlemen of the first Families of Connections in America, who have served as Volunteers under the Command of the Subscriber since the year 1777".¹⁷⁷ The King approved the raising of the cavalry unit, but the command went to Benjamin Thompson¹⁷⁸. Ruggles was deemed too old to command the unit.



2.8 Kings American Dragoons Colors, as received from Prince William Henry, from the Collections of the New Brunswick Museum. See Online Institute for Advanced Loyalist Studies. <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhisst/kad/kadcol/htm>.

¹⁷⁶ Online Institute for Advanced Loyalist Studies, Kings American Dragoons Proposal, Recruiting Notice, Muster Rolls and Colors, <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/kad/kadplan1.htm>

¹⁷⁷ Ibid. See full detailed proposal. National Archives, Kew reference is PRO 30/55/2812 British Army in America. Each troop consisted of 65 men of various positions.

¹⁷⁸ See <http://www.robinsonlibrary.com/science/science/biography/b-thompson.htm> for details on Sir Benjamin Thompson and his connections to the colonial and military elite.

The following images depict some of Ruggles material culture left behind after he was forced out of Hardwick. They illustrate a lifestyle equal to what is detailed in his memorial documents.¹⁷⁹ These items are in the collection of the Hardwick Historical Society.



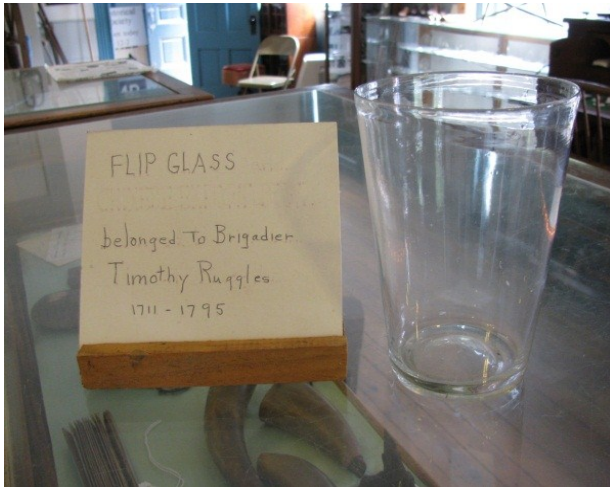
2.9 The two French “fuzzies” (muskets) as listed in Ruggles’ Loyalist memorial? (E. Bancroft and the HHS, 2011)



2.10 Col. Timothy Ruggles’ wooden campaign trunk (c.1757). Likely made in New England, the trunk was part of Ruggles’ Seven Years War camp equipment. It would have contained personal effects such as clothing, sundry items, books, bedding and perhaps writing materials.¹⁸⁰ (E. Bancroft and the HHS, 2011)

¹⁷⁹ Ruggles’ wife, Bathsheba Newcomb, and his son Timothy remained in the house in Hardwick. Upon the death of Mrs. Ruggles, Timothy, Jr. moved to Nova Scotia where his father and brothers Richard and John settled.

¹⁸⁰ See Harold L. Peterson, *The Book of the Continental Soldier*. (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1968), 158-159. Peterson states that in the Seven Years War period, almost all of the personal effects of officers were carried in baggage wagons. A variety of trunks were “pressed into service” including portmanteaus, valises and packing cases to hold clothing, toilet items, telescopes and other personal gear. There was no special military pattern for these containers. The standard wood, leather and hair boxes of the day were all used.



**2.11 Flip glass of Timothy Ruggles.¹⁸¹
(E. Bancroft and the HHS, 2011)**



**2.12 English tin-glazed punch bowl from the Ruggles estate. Inscription states "Success to British Arms." Also from the Seven Years War period.
(E. Bancroft and the HHS, 2011)**

¹⁸¹ The flip glass came into use in the late seventeenth century. A large glass tumbler, the glass was used to serve flip or mixed drinks that may include beer, sugar, water, rum, spices and raw eggs. For Ruggles, perhaps it held cider.

Ruggles Relocation to Nova Scotia

The precise time of Ruggles final departure to Nova Scotia at the war's end has not been determined.¹⁸² A notice published in the *Massachusetts Spy* or *American Oracle of Liberty* dated October 29, 1778 lists Ruggles and his sons as enemies of the State and therefore part of an Act to prevent their return.¹⁸³ Not until 1783 are there records indicating he was in Annapolis County, Nova Scotia.¹⁸⁴ Now in his early seventies, he was then at Annapolis Royal and/or Granville with sons and servants/slaves (approximately eight individuals). He made application for a land grant, submitted his memorial for compensation and began settling in.¹⁸⁵ Ruggles' thoughts can be best

¹⁸² According to Helen Bourne J. Lee, while living in Newtown Creek, Long Island, New York, Ruggles was officially relieved of his active duty on September 21, 1780. Helen Bourne J. Lee, *The Bourne Genealogy* (Chester, Conn.: Pequot Press, 1972), 33. The National Archives, Kew also has a receipt given to Ruggles in Newtown, Province of New York and dated April 8, 1783, detailing the sum he paid for his own board and for the board of his son Richard from Nov. 5, 1776 to April 9, 1783. It is likely that Ruggles evacuated New York for Nova Scotia in April, 1783. A.O. 13/75.

¹⁸³ See *Massachusetts Spy* or *American Oracle of Liberty*, October 29, 1778, Issue 391, p.1. Historic Newspaper Collections of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

¹⁸⁴ Personal Communication from Mrs. Betty Denise of Columbia Falls, Maine, 2008, she notes that Ruggles brought two indentured servants from Taunton, Mass. to Nova Scotia. Are these individuals noted in the Book of Negroes as free born but "with the General"? See "Book of Negroes", Bound Manuscript, RG1, 423, dated after July 31, 1783, Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management, Halifax. Taunton connection is actually Ebenezer and Benjamin Fales. Ruggles did not bring them to Nova Scotia. They had been in Wilmot since 1760. See Calnek, *History of Annapolis County*. Benjamin worked for Ruggles clearing land for three years in exchange for 500 acres on North Mountain.

¹⁸⁵ A question contemplated by historians concerning this time of transition following the War was did it matter whether the Loyalists stayed in the American colonies or left? Was there impact from their departure en mass? Wallace Brown in his volume *The King's Friends* asks the question in regards to Massachusetts. He concludes that for western Massachusetts few were Loyalist so the effect was negligible; however, as one moves eastward, through central Worcester County, more were the subject of patriot aggression. Thirty-five estates were confiscated and 250 Tories impacted, including Ruggles and the Tory supporters in his family. The numbers are low out of approximately 30,000 people. The most notable impact was in the caliber of people exiled, often the most educated, best positioned in government and the system of law and order. The most severe impact according to Brown was along the eastern seaboard where Massachusetts "lost a tremendous amount of talent whatever the effects of the loss might be". See Wallace Brown, *The King's Friends: The Composition and Motives of American Loyalist Claimants* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1965).

imagined, while waiting in Annapolis for word of his grant, through a letter he sent to his friend Edward Winslow, Sr. in New York:

Annapolis 17th July, 1783

Dear Sir –

.....Your fruit trees when compared with those here, I mean apples, are hardly worth noticing. About ten days ago, I had a present of well toward a bushel of as fine, fair, sound high flavored apples as you ever saw at new York in the month of January. Colo. Allen of [New] Jersey told me he had drank the best cider here, he ever drank in his life... Vegetables of all kinds of the very best quality, but not so early as at New York. Fin, scale & shell fish of all kinds except oysters, the want of which is richly compensated by scallops in plenty about the bigness of a common tea saucer & and of excellent flavor. The land, very natural of grass of all kinds, with some of our New England husbandry often produces forty bushels of Indian corn per acre..... Upon the whole I think the climate good & the soil capable of becoming the granary of any part of the continent to the eastward of New York....¹⁸⁶

Ruggles invested in organizing his memorial, or statement of compensation for losses due to the war, that was signed and submitted to the Crown. In his memorial portfolio of papers, Ruggles detailed with precision his real and personal property loss in New England and supports his extensive claim with letters from government and military officials, colleagues, friends, and family. These documents contribute to the understanding of Ruggles not only as a long-standing member of the New England elite,

¹⁸⁶ W.O. Raymond, *Winslow Papers, 1776-1826* (Saint John: Sun Printing Co. Ltd, 1901), 106-109.

but as an aged British colonial man organizing resources in order to start over in the Nova Scotia wilderness.¹⁸⁷

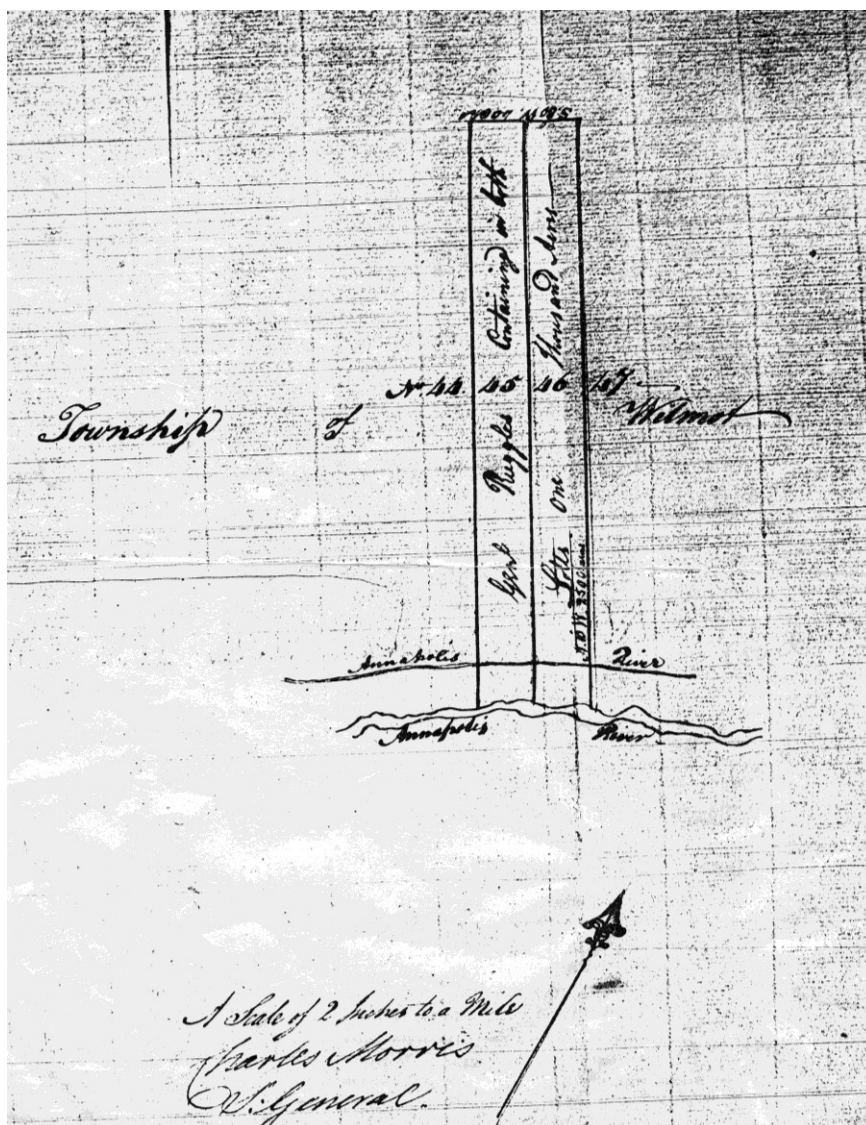
There continues to be debate over whether Ruggles was granted 1000 acres or 10,000 acres in Annapolis County. The “Plan of Wilmot Township” on file at the Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management shows the 1000 acre grant only whereas Crown Land Index Sheets No. 35 and 28 indicate Ruggles having two parcels – a 1000 acre piece and a 9000 acre piece.¹⁸⁸ His sons Richard and John have lots directly north and adjacent to their father.

Ruggles worked the 1000 acre lot with his sons, hired hands, slaves, house servants and possibly indentured servants.¹⁸⁹ North Mountain in Wilmot Township, the

¹⁸⁷ Ruggles memorial documents are on file at the National Archives, Kew. These documents provide more detail than what is available through archives in Massachusetts. For example, the Massachusetts Historical Society has on file the “Massachusetts Tax Valuation List of 1771.” This list provides a picture of Ruggles estate in Hardwick in 1771 and details buildings, stock, pasture land, grains but in comparison to other documents it is incomplete. For example, the column for horses is blank, the column for swine is blank, and the column for servants for life is blank. Comprehensive census material does not come into the record until the post- revolutionary period, c.1790. There is one early census for the province in the 1730s however Hardwick has not become a village/town yet. *Massachusetts Tax Valuation List of 1771*, ed. Bettye Hobbs Pruitt (Boston: G.K. Hall and Co., 1978).

¹⁸⁸ See Old Book 14, Pg. 19, Reel 13041 at the Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management in Halifax for the original land grant dated 24, April, 1784. “Being Lotts number 45 & 46...containing together 1000 acres.....being all wilderness lands.” “Plan of Wilmot Township”, MG1 Vol 1299, no. 19, Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management, Halifax. The Crown Land Index Sheets provided by the Department of Lands and Forest for Nova Scotia provide the original grant book numbers and page references. According to these sheets Ruggles was granted the 1000 acres which is under investigation for this project and farther north on North Mountain 9000 acres more which I do not believe was ever developed by Ruggles. The Index Sheets also show the 800 acre parcels to each of Ruggles’ sons, John and Richard, bordering his 1000 parcel; a 454 acre parcel to Joseph Ruggles to the west; a 1000 acres to his friend Edward Winslow nearby and several parcels to Rev., John Wiswall directly to the east. Wiswall’s name is associated with the parcels for a church, glebe and school house and well as a home lot. His home lot is not to be confused with that of his son Lieut. John Wiswall which is nearby and he shares with a friend Thomas Outhis (Outhit), who plays a role with Ruggles’ housekeeper mentioned in his will, and a slave Tan. See Calnek, p. 588-89 and Cousins, 1983, p. 61. Also, see Old Book 17, p. 25, Reel 13042, Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management, Halifax for 9000 acres to Ruggles.

¹⁸⁹ “Book of Negroes”, Manuscript on File, Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management. The entry for 23-27 April 1783, Brig *Ranger* bound for Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia which lists Hester Ruggles, 7, fine wench, (General Ruggles), The General’s property; Jeffery Ruggles, 6, fine boy (General Ruggles), General’s property; Prince, 19, stout B. Richard Ruggles of Annapolis, claimant. (Richard Ruggles),



2.13 “Plan of Township of Wilmot” showing General Ruggles Lotts surveyed by Charles Morris, c. 1784. (NSARM, Halifax)

Property of Richard Ruggles; Robert Williams, 23, stout, B, (General Ruggles). Free born at Shrewsbury, New Jersey; John Coslin, 25, stout, M, (General Ruggles). Free born at North Hampshire, Virginia; parents free. Also, see the essay by Cousins, p. 3; Calnek, p. 507, 590 and 609-610. States that Ruggles met George Stronach of Glasgow, Scotland, in Halifax and Ruggles brought him to Annapolis County. There Stronach with Benjamin Fales, whose family came from Taunton, Mass. and had been in Wilmot since the 1760s, worked for three years clearing land for Ruggles in exchange for 500 acres each on North Mountain. The Stronach family remains on the land today.



2.14 North Mountain viewscape overlooking the Annapolis Valley, Nova Scotia. The Annapolis River is in the far distance. (C.Cottreau-Robins, 2008)

According to historian Leone Cousins, Ruggles' new home soon became the model farm of the district. He explains,

The youths (Fales and Stronach) were at once instructed to clear an acre on the southern slope, three feet deep, throwing out all the stumps and stones. Here the General set out the first apple orchard in the Township, importing the young trees from Massachusetts. The youths excavated a cellar nine feet deep faced with fieldstone, over which the general had his mansion constructed. Dressed quincy granite was brought from Massachusetts for the foundations and doorsteps....Other dwellings on the property sheltered his slaves and their families.....A natural ravine on the mountain side... he selected for the location of a special garden where he planted a variety of plants, such as grape vines, quince, peaches and walnut saplings¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁴ Cousins, "Brigadier General Timothy Dwight Ruggles," p. 3. Regarding the Quincy granite, there is or was an "old Ruggles house" in Quincy Massachusetts. Did Ruggles have a connection there to help import the cut granite? Did it come from family property there? Ruggles, *Ruggles Homesteads*, p. 7.

His wife Bathsheba died in 1787 at their home in Hardwick.¹⁹⁵ His eldest son Timothy had remained with her when Ruggles was banished from the township. Timothy Junior came to Nova Scotia after his mother's death. Ruggles' remaining daughters married Patriot men and remained in the United States.

Ruggles' public life was uneventful during his remaining days. He was involved in the building of Trinity Anglican Church and a school, but his focus remained building a new home and developing his plantation. He died at Wilmot in 1795 at the age of eighty-four years. The cause, listed in the parish register as "rupture", is linked to a local story that while climbing out of his vaulted garden Ruggles aggravated an old hernia. He died four days later. The following obituary was printed in the *Royal Gazette* and was written by Rev. John Wiswall, the first rector of Wilmot Parish, friend and North Mountain neighbor to Ruggles:

Died August 4, eighty-four years old, the Honorable Brigadier-General Timothy Ruggles. He was a native of and for nearly seventy years lived in Massachusetts Bay, in which province he sustained under His Majesty the first offices of government, with distinguished ability and reputation. An uncommon share of probity and discrimination first recommended him to the choice of the people as member of the Assembly, of which he was for sometime speaker. Soon after the commencement of the war in 1755, he was appointed to the command of the troops raised in that province for the purpose of co-operating with His Majesty's regular army against the French, ...¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ See death notice recorded in the *Salem Mercury*, Issue 26, p. 3, Salem, Massachusetts, April 7, 1787.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 22-23. Also in *The Royal Gazette and Nova Scotia Advertiser* VII, no. 335, MFM 8167, August 11, 1795. Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management, Halifax. Reverend Wiswall also notes in his personal journal Death of General Ruggles, Wilmot, 12 October 1795, "There is now no gentleman of property left in Wilmot." See "Journal of Reverend John Wiswall, 1771-1812", Call No. 1900.008, Manuscript on File, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville.

From his full obituary a portrait of a man emerges. Ruggles' most active and prominent years were that of the Seven Years War, though his zealous efforts to improve and reform did not cease with its conclusion. He was active in the Massachusetts legislature and was rewarded for his service. His losses of the Revolutionary War are glossed over but his "liberal exertions" to develop the agriculture of the region in his new home recognized. He did not drink any spirits and did not eat meat. Ruggles framed himself a student of the Enlightenment, an agricultural innovator, and an improver comparable to Landon Carter or even Thomas Jefferson of Virginia.¹⁹⁷ All three were dedicated to agricultural improvement, all three were students of reason, all three were active legislators, all three had position, influence and wealth, and all three had slaves. The fundamental difference is Ruggles' fealty to the Crown.¹⁹⁸ This reflects the impact of the Seven Years War on his life and the weight of that conflict upon his personal ideology for a prosperous society at peace. Ruggles was not a typical Loyalist. He counters the emblematic Loyalist perpetuated by historians as glorified founding heroes, "reified and deified," and suffering the blow of failed expectations. Or as stated earlier, aristocrats more interested in attending balls to toast the King and lament loss of empire than engaging in the work of industry.¹⁹⁹

Ruggles was buried at the Pine Grove Church, now Old Holy Trinity Church, in Lower Middleton, Nova Scotia. The church was established in 1786, consecrated in 1791

¹⁹⁷ Isaac, *Landon Carter's Uneasy Kingdom*.

¹⁹⁸ See for example, Ruggles' published articles: "The Association" in the Boston News-Letter, December 29, 1774, "Brigadier Ruggles' Reasons for his dissent from the resolution of the Congress at New York," Boston Post Boy and Advertiser, May 6, 1776 and "The reasons of the Honorable Brigadier General Ruggles for voting against the establishment of manufactures," Boston News-Letter and New England Chronicle, March 17, 1768.

¹⁹⁹ See J.M. Bumsted, *Understanding the Loyalists*; Kimber, *Loyalists and Layabouts* and Marion Robertson, *Kings' s Bounty: A History of Early Shelburne, Nova Scotia* (Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum, 1983).

by Bishop Charles Inglis, first Anglican bishop of Canada, and is now a registered heritage property.²⁰⁰ Although his grave is unmarked, a monument emphasizing his prominence was erected sometime later. Ruggles' last will and testament reveals that he was progressing well in establishing a new country seat. He left his remaining property in Worcester County and the Hampshires to his daughters in New England. To his son Timothy he left his two farms in Granville, Nova Scotia including all the stock, farming utensils and his furniture in Wilmot, excepting what he left to his housekeeper Mrs. Outhit, which included mahogany chairs, a table, a brass kettle, silver spoons and to her son John a pair of oxen, a colt and tools to settle a new farm. To his son John, Ruggles bequeathed all his real estate in Wilmot. Also to the Widow Outhit, Ruggles bequeathed £50 to be paid by Timothy and John six months after his death "in Consideration of her Faithful, Diligent and Discrete management and services for years past."²⁰¹ Curiously, to his son Richard, he left one dollar. Also to Ebenezer Fails (Fales), most likely the father of Benjamin Fales the hired hand, Ruggles bequeathed a few animals, tools and household items. The name Ruggles remains in Nova Scotia with the current and eighth generation Timothy Ruggles working at Dalhousie University in Halifax.²⁰² African-Nova Scotian Ruggles also live in the Annapolis Valley and Yarmouth County.²⁰³

²⁰⁰ Historical records state Ruggles was buried at Pine Grove. Is this the Trinity Church yard in Lower Middleton? Diocesan records are unclear. Furthermore, the burial/death record for Ruggles is titled "Burials at Wilmot and Aylesford".

²⁰¹ "Timothy Ruggles Will, 1795," Annapolis County Probate, R-9 (MFM 19049), Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management, Halifax.

²⁰² See Kellogg Library staff, Dalhousie University.

²⁰³ Personal communication with Mr. Rob Ruggles of Annapolis Royal, Fall 2011.



2.15 Monument to Brig. General Timothy Ruggles at Trinity Church in Lower Middleton, Nova Scotia. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2008)

Role of Religion

In Massachusetts prior to and during the Revolutionary period, relatively few people belonged to the Church of England. Most were Congregationalists, especially the Patriots. There were exceptions and Ruggles, a Loyalist as well as a self-declared Congregationalist, was one of them.²⁰⁴ Congregationalists were independent Protestant churches and a common movement in New England. Perhaps Ruggles' move to the Church of England was a result of the relationship with Anglican Reverend Wiswall that formed in the refugee camps of Boston and Halifax.²⁰⁵ Likely, the move to the

²⁰⁴ Brown, p. 29.

²⁰⁵ Wiswall and Ruggles may have known each other well before becoming neighbors in Wilmot. During "the troubles" of 1775-1776, Wiswall fled Falmouth (now Portland), with his family, where he had ministered for twenty years. He went to Boston and ministered to the army Ruggles was helping to command. After a brief stay in England, Wiswall ended up in Halifax where the refugees from Boston,

Anglicanism was an easy transition, given the shared Protestant roots. As Ruggles' Loyalist convictions, values and ideology became cemented in the Revolutionary period, a change to the predominant faith of the British colonial elite of Nova Scotia may also have been a strategic move to align with the ruling class who would potentially affected decision-making in land grants, provisions and support during resettlement.

After the war Wiswall was given a large parish to administer from Cornwallis Township to Wilmot Township in the Annapolis Valley. He had hoped for a church in Wilmot and with the arrival of Bishop Inglis in 1787 work began. With the support of Ruggles, his son John,²⁰⁶ and fellow Loyalist Samuel Bayard, plans were made for a church in the Wilmot Parish. The first service at Holy Trinity, Pine Grove (now Lower Middleton, Nova Scotia), was August 14, 1791. The church was built by its parishioners and consecrated by Inglis.²⁰⁷

Historical Conclusions

If Ruggles had been on the Patriot side of the conflict, he could have been the first president of the United States.²⁰⁸ He surpassed George Washington in military skill and campaign success, he had the legal training, the connections in Council and Congress, the social position, long-standing colonial family lineage, and by accounts he was a natural orator and impressive debater. Historian Tom Baughn suggested that if we based a

including Ruggles, had arrived in the spring of 1776. Leone Banks Cousins, "Some Valley Loyalists," *Nova Scotia Historical Review* 3, no. 2 (1983): 59.

²⁰⁶ There are references to the building of the church in Wilmot in the diary of Bishop Charles Inglis, the first Anglican Bishop of Canada. Bishop Inglis talks of John Ruggles as commissioner for the development of the church in Wilmot, and Wiswall as the pastor. See Inglis, "Journal of occurrences."

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

²⁰⁸ Stated by Stoddard Ruggles, Cousins and Sandrof.

decision about who was the first American president “solely on historical dates we also have to consider Timothy Ruggles given he was the president of the first colonial congress – the Stamp Act Congress - which was arguably the first proto-American trans-colony political body.”²⁰⁹ This is an interesting question to contemplate, though leading the Patriot cause was a prospect that Ruggles himself never considered an option.

The historical record demonstrates that Ruggles differed from other prominent Loyalists heading to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in 1783. In the Annapolis Valley he no longer invested time and energy into the political affairs of the day and re-establishing position and authority like many of his Loyalist peers.²¹⁰ Perhaps this was due to his age. He focused on the key elements that defined who he was: the plantation and the improving and growing of things. The creation and command of a landscape that marked a place was important to Ruggles.²¹¹ He invested heavily in such efforts in Hardwick and continued the same on North Mountain. Within a decade, the North Mountain plantation was noted for its “very fine” and “most extensive prospect”.²¹² He was orcharding again and the scientific gardening was underway in the vaulted greenhouse. Ruggles had the connections, skills and finances to pursue other things. However, he harnessed his energy and resources - human and otherwise - and engaged in the land. The extent of his engagement and the development of his plantation “machine” are informed by the archaeological and landscape records.

²⁰⁹ See *Faculty Forum* “Who was the First President of the United States?”, online essay by Tom Braughn, University of Maryland University College, 2004. www.umuc.edu/fyionline/february_04/fyionline6.html

²¹⁰ Such as the Winslows in New Brunswick.

²¹¹ Command in both the elevated viewplane over his domain and the experimenting and growing of things.

²¹² *Ibid.*, “Journal of occurrences noted by Charles Inglis.”

Chapter 3

Historical Archaeology and the Loyalist Period

This interdisciplinary dissertation comprises three research streams coming together to create understanding about Loyalists and a framework of slavery that unfolded within the plantation context of late eighteenth-century Nova Scotia. Exploring the relationships between the thesis case study, Timothy Ruggles, and his family and workers, can shed light on the story of the Black Loyalists and the ancestry of race relations in Nova Scotia. As emphasized earlier, historical records concerning African Nova Scotians in the post-Revolutionary era are thin. A methodological search for archaeological evidence contributes another layer of insights and data.

Theory and Method

Detailed documentary records concerning slaves, servants or general labourers connected to households and estates in the Loyalist and Revolutionary War period are hard to find. Often slaves, servants and labourers are recorded briefly as notations in estate ledgers or probate inventories, bequests in wills, or as numbers in the columns of tax valuation and census records. Occasionally, a personal journal or collection of letters will hold more descriptive detail as in the entries of the plantation owners Landon Carter (Sabine Hall), Thomas Jefferson (Monticello) of Virginia, or slave merchant Isaac Royall

and son Isaac Royall, Jr. of Antigua and Massachusetts (Royall House).²¹³ The search for historical documents linked to the slaves, servants and labourers on North Mountain was equally as challenging. There were sparse notations, for example in the columns of the Book of Negroes, but no specific journal or letter entries from the planter Timothy Ruggles.

This dissertation used archaeology as an avenue of inquiry to explore the settlement of North Mountain.²¹⁴ The archaeological record worked in tandem with the documentary record to widen the narrative of Ruggles particularly in Nova Scotia, his settlement approach and his relationship with the pioneers shaping a home and plantation for him.²¹⁵ A case study methodology was applied for the archaeological component in order to add a specific human layer to the research questions and objectives. When looking for a Loyalist case study with archaeological potential, preliminary analysis indicated that there were two possible historic Timothy Ruggles landscapes to explore and compare - Hardwick and North Mountain - as well as survey and excavation opportunities. There was potential to contribute physical evidence that would inform the past.

²¹³ Isaac, *Landon Carter's Uneasy Kingdom*; Alexandra A. Chan, *Slavery in the Age of Reason: Archaeology at a New England Farm* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2007).

²¹⁴For noted archaeologist Charles E. Orser, Jr., “Only archaeology has the power to resurrect the daily lives and cultural patterns of the invisible men and women of the past. By piecing together the often scant evidence left behind by a people in their artifacts and building remains, archaeologists can construct pictures of the past that are unique, insightful and intimately human.” See *Images of the Recent Past: Readings in Historical Archaeology*, ed. Charles E. Orser, Jr. (Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, 1996).

²¹⁵ Similar to Lewis R. Binford's Middle-Range Theory approach where two groups of evidence – documentary and archaeological – are developed independently then, through a precise system of description, are brought together to facilitate comparisons thus creating a dynamic relationship between the two. For a historical archaeology adaptation of Binford's method see *The Recovery of Meaning: Historical Archaeology and the Eastern United States*, ed. Mark P. Leone and Parker B. Potter, Jr. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988).

The Archaeological Context

Archaeology is the study of past peoples based on the objects they left behind and the ways they left their imprint on the world.²¹⁶ For this project the archaeological framework was historical archaeology, which is the study of cultural remains of literate societies that were capable of recording their own history. Historical archaeologists work with the physical remains from the ground and the documentary record. In North America, historical archaeologists are primarily concerned with the development of culture since the seventeenth century, the way it compares and contrasts with Old World antecedents and its impact on Native peoples' cultural traditions.²¹⁷ Charles Orser expanded on the final point in 1996 by adding,

The theoretical basis of this perspective is the idea that the world became a different place when colonizing Europeans began to travel across the globe, meeting and interacting with diverse indigenous peoples as they went. The hybrid cultures that were subsequently created in the Americas, Asia, Africa, the South Seas, and even in Europe are the outcomes of these dramatic cultural exchanges.²¹⁸

²¹⁶ From James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life* (New York: Anchor Press, 1977), 4.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 5. Deetz adds that a popular definition of historical archaeology is “the archaeology of the spread of European culture throughout the world since the fifteenth century and its impact on indigenous peoples”. Historical archaeology contrasts with prehistoric archaeology which treats all of cultural history before the advent of writing – millions of years in duration. During the processual period of the 1970s, historical archaeology in America was also referred to by particular scholars as an “auxiliary science to American history”. See *Historical Archaeology: A Guide to Substantive and Theoretical Contributions*, ed. Robert L. Schuyler (Farmingdale: Baywood Publishing, 1978). To a degree defining the discipline of historical archaeology is still an open debate. Some see archaeology as a source of hard data while others see archaeology as a partner to traditional history in creating more complete cultural histories or reconstructions of the past. For an effective argument for the use of documents in historical archaeology, see Mary C. Beaudry, Lauren J. Cook and Stephen A. Mrozowski, “Artifacts and Active Voices: Material Culture as Social Discourse” in *Images of the Recent Past*, 280-285; *Documentary Archaeology in the New World*, ed. Mary C. Beaudry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

²¹⁸ Charles E. Orser, Jr., “Introduction: Images of the Recent Past” in *Images of the Recent Past*, 11.

In North America historical archaeologists have suggested that capitalism be the primary focus of the discipline. Orser added that a focus on capitalism and the development of the current dominant ideology of the modern Western world solved the problematic issue of historical archaeology as varied and lacking a theoretical foundation.²¹⁹ Barbara Little acknowledged that in the United States historical archaeology was almost “always centered on time periods and people embedded in or buffeted by the complex context of capitalism.”²²⁰ For Mark Leone and Parker Potter, such a focus was a given:

Whether or not historical archaeology is to be an archaeology of the emergence and development of capitalism has been settled in the affirmative. There has never been a choice even for those who were indifferent or hostile to the issue...In other words, we can either know our social context, which is the context of advanced industrial capitalism, or be prisoners of it.²²¹

Little was correct as illustrated by the numerous publications in historical archaeology linked to the topic.²²² However, archaeologists also emphasized the many layers of daily life operating, knowingly or unknowingly, within the capitalist framework. For them, the

²¹⁹ Charles E. Orser, Jr., “Toward a Theory of Power for Historical Archaeology: Plantation and Space” in *The Recovery of Meaning*, 313-343; Barbara J. Little, “People with History: An Update on Historical Archaeology” in *Images of the Recent Past*, 52.

²²⁰ Little, *Ibid.*

²²¹ *Ibid.* Also, Leone and Potter, Jr., “Introduction: Issues in Historical Archaeology” in *The Recovery of Meaning*, 19.

²²² Particular focus on capitalism and its influence in American historical archaeology scholarship was initially seen in a wave of publications in the late 1980s such as *Consumer Choice in Historical Archaeology*, ed. Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood (New York: Plenum, 1987). Themes of commerce, industrialization, socio-economic status and consumer behaviour as illustrated by the archaeological record were prominent. The role of the plantation economy followed. More recently, see Mark P. Leone, *The Archaeology of Liberty in an American Capital: Excavations in Annapolis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005). Leone's two decade long interdisciplinary analysis of Annapolis, Maryland sought to decipher how men and women in capitalist societies dealt with that economic system. He states, “The issue for me in this book is to link the archaeology of the world of things and of people of African descent in Annapolis and other areas in North America to a world outside capitalism. There are two reasons to do this....One is to have a clear vision or critique of capitalism, including its history. The other is to have a view of how to build a world different from it” (247).

focus was not the capitalist structure or context at work but often subtle insights gained by studying a particular time, a particular place, and a particular group.

The Leading Theoretical Framework

The archaeology component of the dissertation falls within the theoretical framework of post-processual archaeology. Post-processualism developed in the late 1980s out of the critique of the “New Archaeology,” or the processual movement of the 1960s and 1970s. The processual movement called for scientific and methodological rigor in the analysis of archaeological materials. Identification and description of artifacts and the development of site chronologies were standard practices. The processualists, such as Stanley South and Lewis Binford, pushed the discipline further by linking strongly with anthropology and the goals of social science in answering questions about culture and society.²²³ New methods and techniques employing statistics, hypothesis testing and cultural formation processes were at the forefront of a wave of scholarship aimed at directly understanding past and present societies through the application of systematic strategies and methods.

This approach has been intensely debated.²²⁴ Principal flaws often noted were the emphasis on environmental determinism, a preoccupation with technique, and the

²²³ *Research Strategies in Historical Archaeology*, ed. Stanley South (New York: Academic Press, 1977); Stanley South, *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology* (New York: Academic Press, 1977); Lewis R. Binford, “Evolution and Horizon as Revealed in Ceramic Analysis in Historical Archaeology – A Step Towards the Development of Archaeological Science” in *Historical Archaeology: A Guide to Substantive and Theoretical Contributions*, ed. Robert Schuyler (Farmingdale: Baywood Publishing Co., 1978), 246-251.

²²⁴ See Clyde D. Dollar, Iain C. Walker, Charles E. Cleland, James E. Fitting and Lewis R. Binford in *Historical Archaeology: A Guide to Substantive and Theoretical Contributions*.

application of the hypothetico-deductive method. Debate focused on whether the *New Archaeology* was new at all or a reinterpretation of existing practices. The substantive reaction to processual archaeology came with the post-processual movement of the late 1980s and 1990s, which called for a swing back to a focus on people and behaviour. Post-processual theory considers multiple approaches and interpretations as being complimentary in understanding archaeological material. As post-processualist Ian Hodder stated, “archaeologists want to go beyond their data to make statements about the dynamics of past societies. They want to make statements about behaviour, economic and social structures and so on which go beyond the data and are not themselves observable.”²²⁵ A focal point of the post-processual movement was to counter six key oppositions or dichotomies set up by the processualists: norm/adaptation, material/ideal, system/structure, societies/individuals, anthropology/history and subject/object. Post-processualists preferred to see processes rather than separate things or categories. As Hodder explained,

Societies and systems are continually being renegotiated from different perspectives and according to conflicting interests. Material culture meanings are continually being reconstituted and reread. They are not fixed but are fluid, varying according to context. Text and context form and transform each other. Agents construct roles in the daily practices of life. Past and present transform each other in the practices of archaeology. In all these ways, post-processual archaeologists seek to break down categories, entities and essences and to embrace a radical notion of process, according to which all aspects of societies are situated, contextual, changing, moving, dialectical....the positivism of processual archaeology led to a simplistic and thoroughly unprocessual view.²²⁶

²²⁵ Ian Hodder, *Theory and Practice in Archaeology* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 83-86. Hodder led a group of post-processualist/post-modernist archaeologists known as the Cambridge school.

²²⁶ Ibid. See also Thomas C. Patterson, “The Last Sixty Years: Toward a Social History of Americanist Archeology in the United States,” *American Anthropologist* 88, no. 1 (March 1996): 7-26.

Using the post-processual framework, this thesis pulled concepts that favoured multiple interpretations and opportunities to draw from a variety of disciplines to help understand the past. There was no rigidity in methodologies or separation of static categories but rather an inter-play of collected evidence – historical, archival, archaeological, geographical, and ethnographic – rooted in different frameworks to create an inclusive, informed, holistic unit.²²⁷ The current approach to archaeological research and scholarship - the post post-processual, or the *new* post-processual - strives for balance between the two schools of thought rather than an either or path. As Bruce Trigger summarized, “The blending of data from the sciences and humanities enriches the interpretation of past (landscapes) and demonstrates the power of a synthesis between the positivist methods of science and the more contextual historical particularism of the post-processual approach.”²²⁸

Informing the Archaeological Record

There were several sub-disciplines in historical archaeology that held meaningful analyses applicable to the archaeological component of the dissertation. The following sub-discipline review presents concepts and theoretical contributions that related and informed the archaeological work on North Mountain.

²²⁷ Robert L. Schuyler, “Archaeological Remains, Documents and Anthropology: A Call for a New Culture History,” *Historical Archaeology* 22, no. 1 (1988): 37-42.

²²⁸ Bruce Trigger, “Distinguished Lecture in Archeology: Constraint and Freedom – A New Synthesis for Archeological Explanation,” *American Anthropologist* 93, no. 3 (1991): 551-69. I have seen the term “post post-processual” in print but not “new post-processual.”

Landscape Archaeology

An important component of the dissertation was the interpretation of archaeological data in the context of the symbolic significance of historic landscapes.²²⁹ The two historic landscapes for this project were the Ruggles Hardwick and North Mountain plantations. Hardwick and North Mountain provided the terrestrial setting for the material culture and architectural features found below ground. How were the landscapes of Hardwick and North Mountain linked to the archaeological evidence? These were Ruggles' landscapes. How he modified and used them reflected his values and ideology during his time and place. How his servants and slaves modified their landscapes reflected the same. Hardwick and North Mountain were evolving places of housing, roads, fields, gardens, transportation, communication, inequality and production. Considering historic landscapes within this active, organized framework is standard to landscape archaeology investigations. The two landscapes can even be considered the largest artifacts in the archaeological collection.²³⁰ As such, the landscapes take on their own meaning as they are used and modified similar to other forms of evidence recovered from an archaeological investigation.²³¹

Landscape archaeology, a sub-discipline of historical archaeology and fully developed under the post-processual framework, has seeds in the scholarship of Bruce

²²⁹ *Landscape Archaeology*, ed. Rebecca Yamin and Karen Bescherer Metheny (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996), xiii.

²³⁰ Patricia A. Rubertone, "Landscape as Artifact: Comments on the Use of Landscape Treatment in Social, Economic and Ideological Analysis," *Historical Archaeology* 23, no. 1 (1989): 50-54. Rubertone views landscapes as among the most intriguing artifacts studied in historical archaeology and as vital sources of historical evidence on (American) life, work and ideas.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 50-53.

Trigger in the late 1960s. Trigger argued for a settlement archaeology approach for studying societal relationships using archaeological data:

This study includes an inquiry into both the synchronic, or structural, and the diachronic, or developmental, aspects of these relationships. ... Three basic levels of analysis can be defined: the individual structure, the settlement, and settlement distributions; and each level may be analyzed independently of the other. By studying the layout and use of structures – which include houses, granaries, workshops, temples, and markets – much can be learned about the structuring of nuclear family and larger residential units and also about class divisions and occupational specializations within a community.²³²

In the late 1980s onward we begin to see the first collections of essays from American historical archaeologists exploring landscapes as cultural statements.²³³ Questions asking why archaeologists had not applied particular attention to the spatial dimension were addressed in archaeological publications and conferences. James Deetz set the tone in 1990 when he described the space between houses and between communities as the “very connective tissue that gives houses and communities proper context. Gardens, fields, trees roads, and walls all structure the environment according to the set of cultural rules of their creators.”²³⁴ He stressed the importance of the landscape in archaeological research given cultural alterations to the land represent the highest level of mediation between the natural and the cultural, against which all other mediating material culture is projected. He defined landscape as,

... the total terrestrial context in which archaeological study is pursued and uses *cultural landscape* to denote that part of the terrain which is modified according to a set of cultural plans. These terms embrace the entire range of terrain from the house lot, the smallest and the most frequently studied, through gardens and field

²³² Bruce Trigger, “Settlement Archaeology – Its Goals and Promise,” *American Antiquity* 32, no. 2 (April 1967): 150-151.

²³³ See *Earth Patterns: Essays in Landscape Archaeology*, ed. William M. Kelso and Rachel Most (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990). For a landscape archaeology themed volume of essays see *Historical Archaeology* 23, no. 1 (1989).

²³⁴ James Deetz, “Prologue: Landscapes and Cultural Statements,” in *Earth Patterns*, p. 1-2.

systems to truly large units of analysis, entire regions that bear the imprint of a shared set of values.²³⁵

This definition set the landscape investigation of the dissertation in a position that allowed the thorough recording and consideration of as much visible cultural modification as possible. It also supported an analysis of landscape within the context of technomic, social, symbolic, and ideological functions.²³⁶

Regarding meaning and unraveling the overall story of the two landscapes, understanding the historical and social contexts was key. Hermeneutics, a theory of interpretation often applied to texts, architecture, or landscapes, was helpful when considering non-verbal and non-written forms of communication such as landscapes that may be viewed as texts containing symbols, messages or reflections of ideology. Hermeneutics also implies movement back and forth between different lines of data and between the past and present. For this project, understanding the two landscapes was based on the relationship between the landscapes (the whole) and the lines of evidence under study (the parts) such as the archaeological, historical, and the documentary records. The goal was to create understanding between each part and the whole.²³⁷

To clarify the framework or context of the Ruggles plantation, the time period and influences had to be considered. Equally important was what the interpreter brought to the

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ For definitions of technomic, socio-technic and ideo-technic functions see Lewis Binford, "Archaeology as Anthropology," *American Antiquity* 28, no. 2 (October 1962): 217-26.

²³⁷ Hermeneutics is appealing partly because it is similar to the middle-range theory method developed by Lewis Binford and modified for historical archaeology by Mark Leone and Parker Potter Jr. See *Recovery of Meaning*, 11-19. See a thorough application in Catherine M.A. Cottreau-Robins, "Domestic Architecture of the Black Loyalists, 1783-1800", MA thesis, Dalhousie University, 2002.

interpretation.²³⁸ The hermeneutic method for the thesis was to describe - using historical, archaeological, documentary and present day visual records - the landscapes of Hardwick and North Mountain. The main inquiry was: did Ruggles in the transformation of his space (his plantation on North Mountain) to place communicate his views and beliefs to society around him and, if so, were they accepted? ²³⁹

When exploring the question of whether Ruggles placed his New England Loyalist stamp on the North Mountain landscape, a framework of structuralism comes into play at a cursory level. Having only two landscapes to compare, unraveling patterns or codes behind Ruggles plantation spaces similar to Henry Glassie was unlikely.²⁴⁰ However, the question remained, were there enough similarities, natural and cultural, between the two landscapes of Hardwick and North Mountain to support an argument for continuity and an underlying, repeated symbolic theme?²⁴¹ Was there a pattern of thought at work?

Archaeology of the African Diaspora

In the Loyalist period African slavery was used in some shape or form throughout the British Empire. One cannot engage in the story of the movement of the Loyalists

²³⁸ Sarah Bonnemaïson, "Hermeneutics – Interpreting Architecture", School of Architecture lecture, Dalhousie University, Summer 2005; Yamin and Metheny, *Landscape Archaeology*, xiv.

²³⁹ Bonnemaïson, "Hermeneutics".

²⁴⁰ Ian Hodder, "Converging Traditions: The Search for Symbolic Meanings in Archaeology and Geography" in *Landscape and Culture: Geographical and Archaeological Perspectives*, ed. J. M. Wagstaff (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), 139. Refers to Henry Glassie's seminal work *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: A Structural Analysis of Historic Artifacts* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975).

²⁴¹ Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten*; Mark P. Leone and Parker B. Potter, Jr. "Issues in Historical Archaeology", in *The Recovery of Meaning*, 10-11.

from one country to another without recognizing that this migration also represented another part of the African diaspora along the Atlantic northeast seaboard.²⁴² Looking at archaeological, documentary and geographical records to gain an understanding of the African diaspora to the Maritime region and subsequent processes of African Nova Scotian identity formation was potentially the most powerful aspect of the thesis.²⁴³

Archaeology of the African diaspora emerged from the larger discipline of historical archaeology during the civil rights movement of the 1960s.²⁴⁴ Spurred by a growing national interest among African Americans to know their history and understand their origins, archaeologists realized that a unique opportunity for substantive contribution could be made through the excavation of the early African-American material record. Since the initial efforts, archaeology of the African diaspora has developed into a field of research with defined methods and approaches. Scholars have intensely investigated what has been called a forgotten and hidden past contributing insights via historical archaeology's unique capability of gaining simultaneous access to the past through multiple, independent categories of evidence, a data base characterized

²⁴² Ibid., Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*.

²⁴³ Theresa A. Singleton, "Before the Revolution: Archaeology and the African Diaspora on the Atlantic Seaboard" in *North American Archaeology*, ed. Timothy R. Pauketat and Diana DiPaolo Loren (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 319-336. Identity formation as influenced by societal practices of racism, inequality, and slavery. The dissertation does not look at community formation in detail but recognizes that free Black community formation was taking place during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries not far from the working farmsteads of the enslaved. The Loyalist period saw the first black communities, "enclaves of legally free blacks", develop in Birchtown, Tracadie and Brindley Town, Nova Scotia.

²⁴⁴ See the pioneering archaeological work of Charles Fairbanks in "Excavations of a Slave Cabin: Georgia, USA," *Historical Archaeology* 5, no. 1 (1971): 3-17 and "The Kingsley Slave Cabins in Duval County, Florida, 1968" in *The Conference on Historic Sites Archaeology Papers, Vol. 7*, ed. Stanley South (Columbia: The Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1972), 62-93. Fairbanks was instrumental in beginning the archaeological discourse on housing, diet, and daily life among plantation slave communities.

by Robert Schuyler as “the spoken word, the written word, observed behavior and preserved behavior.”²⁴⁵

Theresa Singleton, a pioneer in the field, recognized that one cannot fully understand the European colonial experience in the Americas without understanding that of the African. She presented a description of the archaeology of the African diaspora that, when opened to include explorations further north, was applicable. Scholars working within the archaeology of the African diaspora aimed to examine archaeological findings from a wide range of sites and integrate them into the historiography of eighteenth and nineteenth century African-American and/or African-Canadian life, rather than treating them as isolated vignettes disconnected from historical analysis of the places and times under consideration.²⁴⁶ She added, following over twenty years of work,

This heightened appreciation of African (American) archaeology is transforming its goal from a study of a forgotten people to the study of the formation and transformation of the black Atlantic world. Archaeologists engaged in this research are increasingly concerned with issues such as the analysis and representation of cultural identity, race, gender and class; cultural interaction and change; relations of power and domination; and the sociopolitics of archaeological practice.²⁴⁷

The archaeology on North Mountain and Ruggles’ 1000 acre land grant had as a primary goal the search for evidence of the enslaved.²⁴⁸ Archaeology on North Mountain

²⁴⁵ Robert Schuyler, “The Spoken Word, The Written Word, Observed Behavior and Preserved Behavior: The Contexts Available to the Archaeologist” in *The Conference on Historic Sites Archaeology Papers, Vol. 10, No. 2* (Columbia: The Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1977), 99 -120; Kathleen A. Deagan, “Neither History or Prehistory: The Questions that Count in Historical Archaeology,” *Historical Archaeology* 22, no.1 (1988): 7.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ “*I, Too Am America*”: *Archaeological Studies of African-American Life*, ed. Theresa A. Singleton (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 1. Also by Singleton, “The Archaeology of Slavery in North America,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995): 119-140.

²⁴⁸ In the American context this is titled African-American archaeology. In the Nova Scotian context this is titled African-Nova Scotian archaeology. However, in considering the latter term, would the newly arrived slaves in the nascent years of settlement recognize themselves as African-Nova Scotians? The archaeology

provided a means to shed light on a time, place and small cultural group recorded in fragments and largely forgotten. There was value in viewing archaeological findings through the lens of the archaeology of the African diaspora and its broad spectrum of scholarship. For over 40 years archaeologists have been developing the discipline of the archaeology of the African diaspora. Numerous American sites have had the benefit of lengthy research from Florida to New England. Comparison with the African-Nova Scotia archaeological record, still in its infancy, to this tremendous volume of scholarship provided guidance and reference points to unfold another part of the diaspora story.

Included in the archaeology of the African diaspora in the Atlantic world was the archaeology of race. When the archaeology of the African diaspora began to produce a plethora of information on slavery and plantation life, black settlements, urban experiences, West African reflections, burial and ceremonial traditions, craft making, foodways, housing, master-slave relations, resistance and agency, research categories began to develop such as cultural identity, freedom from enslavement, and race or racism.²⁴⁹ For this dissertation, exploring notions of race, ethnicity and racism was essential.²⁵⁰ Was there an African-American/African-Nova Scotian ethnic identity visible in the archaeological material record of North Mountain? Was there evidence of the elite

of the African Diaspora has very broad description. A title that narrows the focus is Archaeology of Atlantic Africa. Atlantic Africa represents the diverse African experiences in the Atlantic basin during the era of African slavery. For the dissertation I include the movement of people of African descent up and down the Atlantic, for example from New England to the Maritimes. See *Archaeology of Atlantic Africa and the African Diaspora*, ed. Akin Ogundiran and Toyin Falola, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008).

²⁴⁹ Charles E. Orser, Jr., "The Archaeology of the African Diaspora," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 27 (1998): 63-82.

²⁵⁰ Mark P. Leone et al, "The Archaeology of Black Americans in Recent Times," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34 (2005): 581. Drawing from PE Lovejoy and DV Trotman, Leone, et al, add that some recent scholarship focuses less on race and more on ethnicity as a system of categorizing groups, which are perceived to be largely biologically self-perpetuating, share fundamental cultural values, comprise a common field of communication and interaction and identify themselves and are identified by others as constituting a recognizable group.

that supported a racist social structure? These questions required an in-depth interdisciplinary review of all lines of evidence. They are challenging questions that when investigated have the potential to provide insight to the social dimensions of African-Nova Scotian settlement and daily life during the initial pioneering years of the Black and White Loyalist migration.

Intellectual direction for the thesis project began with Paul Mullins and his archaeological research in Indianapolis. For Mullins race was defined as “subjectivity that attempts to disempower particular social groups.”²⁵¹ As he explains,

This makes race ideological in the sense that it is constructed to serve particular social interests and is typically championed by groups that seem to have something to gain from selectively marginalizing another group... Race must have materiality because racial subjectivity is a concrete experience structured by legal and lived reality. American racism has most often found its foundation in white supremacy.....Consequently, much of an archaeology of race and racism should aspire to identify what whites secured from particular racial discourses, not simply how blacks and other marginalized racial subjects were instrumentally disempowered by anti-black racism.²⁵²

This was the direction concerning Ruggles and North Mountain. What did Ruggles secure by bringing slaves/servants to North Mountain? How was *that* Black Loyalist or original African Nova Scotia experience visible archaeologically? Mullins insisted that race had made some impression on all material life. He stated, “All material consumption should harbor some measure of racialized symbolism because no social processes are completely disconnected from race and racism.”²⁵³ A challenge for the archaeology of the North Mountain landscape was determining how race was materialized in that place. Mark

²⁵¹ See Paul R. Mullins, “Racializing the Commonplace Landscape: An Archaeology of Urban Renewal Along the Color Line,” *World Archaeology* 38, no. 1 (2006): 60-71.

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ Ibid.

Leone would ask, does the everyday material excavated mask unequal relationships between groups or in this case, between Ruggles and his labourers?²⁵⁴ Beginning this line of inquiry required an understanding of the historical concept of race as a cultural invention, a mechanism of social stratification, as well as its association with concepts of identity.²⁵⁵

Materiality

Situated alongside the archaeological study of landscape and race was an evaluation of the material culture record. Collections of artifacts provided an advantage to the archaeologist that historical documents and landscape views could not. The material record was a physical record of encounters, a medium of communication or a doorway to past events and mindsets. J. D. Prown states it best:

The underlying premise (of material culture study) is that objects made or modified by man reflect consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly, the beliefs of the individuals who made, commissioned, purchased or used them and, by extension, the beliefs of the larger society to which they belonged.²⁵⁶

In the stories of the Loyalist move northward and the accompanying African diaspora as explored on North Mountain, the majority of the material culture or artifacts came from

²⁵⁴ Mark P. Leone, "The Archaeology of Ideology: Archaeological Work in Annapolis since 1981" in *Historical Archaeology of the Chesapeake*, ed. Paul A Shakel and Barbara J. Little (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), 219-228.

²⁵⁵ Audrey Smedley, "Race and the Construction of Human Identity," *American Anthropologist* 100, no. 3 (1999): 690-702.

²⁵⁶ J. D. Prown, "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method" in *Material Life in America, 1600-1860*, ed. Robert Blair St. George (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 17-18. For similar thoughts see Simon J. Bronner, "Visible Proofs: Material Culture Studies in American Folkloristics," *American Quarterly* 35, no. 3 (1983): 317-338. Anne Smart Martin and J. Ritchie Garrison, *American Material Culture: The Shape of the Field* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997).

the Elliott Site on the Ruggles Road, and a possible labourer or slave quarter. The Elliott site excavation was not restricted to a search for ethnic identifiers or the “smoking gun” artifact that verified Black people were there (such as blue beads, drilled coin charms, decorated pipes or hidden caches) but rather a search for physical evidence of an everyday living space on a pioneer plantation landscape.²⁵⁷ The artifacts found were a means of studying the people associated with them and interpreting their behavior and culture.

In recent decades material culture studies in archaeology have shifted from description and classification to incorporate an anthropological approach that looks at the role of objects in contemporary contexts.²⁵⁸ Moving beyond a positivist paradigm that created descriptions of the material record (identification, typology and chronology) to an interpretive approach for a recovery of meaning is now considered best practice. Description was not omitted. In fact, as Ian Hodder emphasized, historical explanation needs description of the particular. Anthropological inquiry can only progress with complete or total description.²⁵⁹ Archaeological and historical context is just as necessary in order to assign meaning or a reality to the material culture.

²⁵⁷ Such materials including locally made pots with marks on the base and seashells have become items archaeologists hope to find on sites where a colonial African presence has been recorded. Such artifacts have been studied in depth in an effort to understand agency, resistance, acculturation, creolization and continuity. Archaeologists in the United States are now debating whether such ethnic markers are effective for interpreting a majority of African American sites “because few yield robust distinctive information. Elements of culture, as part of adaptive systems, both persevere and evolve or are totally reinvented.” See Mark P. Leone, et al, “The Archaeology of Black Americans in Recent Times,” 582.

²⁵⁸ Matthew D. Cochran and Mary C. Beaudry, “Material Culture Studies and Historical Archaeology” in *The Cambridge Companion to Historical Archaeology*, ed. Dan Hicks and Mary C. Beaudry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 192. Mary C. Beaudry, et al., “Artifacts and Active Voices: Material Culture as Social Discourse,” 272-310.

²⁵⁹ Beaudry, et al., *Ibid.*, p. 273, 294.

For the thesis, the approach described by Mary Beaudry, Lauren Cook and Stephen Mrozowski in “Artifacts as Active Voices” has been adopted. The group advocated a blending of an interpretive approach, as applied to symbolic and hegemonic aspects of culture, with the archaeologist’s necessary focus on things material and particular,²⁶⁰

Our approach attends both to the materiality of the data – their substantive and functional roles – as well as to the ideological roles. Our concern for the “situatedness” of the data prompts us to focus on context – archaeological, historical, institutional, and behavioural context – while avoiding the tendency to treat meaning and context as static, suspended in time.²⁶¹

Concerning the material culture from North Mountain, identification, typology, function and chronology have been documented. A wider examination that incorporated contemporary “situatedness” and artifact discourse analysis was explored. Specifically, in the framework of cultural hegemony, did the artifacts suggest or communicate a certain relationship between Ruggles and his labourers or looking from the bottom up, between the labourers and Ruggles?

Archaeology of Ideology

A thread that was pulled in each of the disciplines for the dissertation concerned ideology.²⁶² In each section ideology was explored and discussed as a way to extract

²⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 274. For this group of archaeologists interpretive approaches in anthropology are characterized by attention to world views or belief systems and by a concern for meaning within its cultural and historical contexts. Further to this, culture is seen as meaningfully constituted and cultural facts as observations subject to multiple interpretations.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² Little, “People with History”, 56-57. Drawing from T. Eagleton, Little provides six definitions of ideology (for example ideas, beliefs and values produced by material processes or ideas and beliefs (true or

meaning from the three main records of the past developed for the research. Ideological concerns sprung a number of questions specific to Timothy Ruggles, his servants and slaves, and his plantations.²⁶³ For example, how did Ruggles' personal ideology, an amalgam of Loyalist (also labeled Royal American, Loyal American or Anglo-American), colonial elite, scientific gardener, and student of the Enlightenment, come into play as he defined his life as a New Englander in Hardwick and in Nova Scotia? As more was learned of the case study, it was interesting to contemplate how Ruggles' ideology – ideas, beliefs and values – were expressed in the material dimension. Ruggles' ideology may be expressed in the layout of his landscapes or in the design of his home or the artifacts found on his land grant. The material and landscape records may support what was in the archival record regarding Ruggles' personal politics and beliefs and how he ordered his world. As artifacts were analyzed from the Elliott Site, it was useful to consider if the collections reflected or symbolized the beliefs or values of the Ruggles' plantation workers.

Archaeologist Mark Leone was correct when encouraging archaeologists to consider ideology in their investigations. Ideology speaks directly to identity and to the “intellectual climate” that existed at the time sites and landscapes were created.²⁶⁴ When attempting to interpret that past and the intersections between the people on any site or landscape an exploration of ideology has the potential to clarify decision making that

false) of a specific, socially significant group or class) and depending on the focus, six kinds of strategies. These are unifying and hegemonic; action oriented, i.e., practical; rationalizing; legitimizing; universalizing; and naturalizing.

²⁶³ The questions spring mainly from Ruggles not because this is a top down approach to looking at the past but because more is known about him as an actor in the social, political and economic climates of eighteenth century Massachusetts and in Nova Scotia. For challenges to the ideological approach as a method of interpretation see Beaudry, et al., “Artifacts and Active Voices,” 278.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

affected transformations, mediations, practices, and development of the material record. Connecting people and things leads to understanding culture(s) and illuminates the historical context. Leone has employed a multi-layered ideological framework in his archaeological study of historic Annapolis, Maryland. Some of the individuals he has researched are contemporary to Ruggles and comparable in terms of social, political and economic status.

In exploring social differences, unequal wealth and hierarchy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Leone brought to mind Michel Foucault and the ideology of individualism when analyzing the domestic material remains of the colonial elite and associated rules of etiquette, orderliness and uniformity. He stated, “People internalized the rules of etiquette as they used these items in the dining room, kitchen, toilet and elsewhere in the home, and they turned themselves into punctual, orderly, segmentable beings, ideal for the marketplace and workplace. This was the ideology of individualism.”²⁶⁵ This was an interesting concept when considering what is known about Ruggles and his position in the Massachusetts colonial elite, but finding such subtleties in a relatively small material collection is difficult.

It was likely that Ruggles prescribed to an ideology of natural hierarchy. Leone argued that material remains, the architecture and especially the ornamental gardens and designed landscapes of colonial Annapolis, supported an accepted ideology of natural hierarchy.²⁶⁶ This was an interesting concept given Ruggles work as a scientific gardener, something he is noted for in the historical records of Hardwick and North

²⁶⁵ Leone, “The Archaeology of Ideology,” 222; Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995).

²⁶⁶ Leone, *Ibid.*, p. 226.

Mountain. His concentrated gardening efforts and political efforts to establish the first country fair in Hardwick can be viewed as private and public demonstrations of his desire to study and control nature. For Leone working in Annapolis, such efforts also demonstrated place in the social hierarchy and “thus a presumed natural right to govern, since society was a natural phenomenon also governed by natural laws.”²⁶⁷ Regarding Ruggles and his construction of self-identity, a natural hierarchy likely ordered his world including the positions of his family members, servants, labourers and slaves. For him the message may have been that “class or status was a natural position and those who knew nature well enough to copy and control it deserved to rule.”²⁶⁸

According to Beaudry, Cook and Mrozowski, Leone’s basis for ideological analysis came from the dominant ideology thesis as per Louis Althusser’s work on the function of ideology at the state level.²⁶⁹ Althusser’s thesis denies subsidiary groups the capacity to formulate their own ideologies, which was something unknown with the Ruggles case study. A fluid relationship between the ruler and the ruled was not considered in Leone’s case studies (i.e. William Paca’s garden) however it should be a consideration with the Ruggles case study. The relationship between Ruggles and his labourers/servants, particularly on an active plantation such as Hardwick or a pioneering plantation in the context of clearing the forest on North Mountain, was not silent. The dominant ideology thesis implies social control by the elites as well as coercion but the caution for the Ruggles case study was what was happening at the other end. Where was

²⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 225.

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ Beaudry et al, “Artifacts and Active Voices,” 278-279. Also, see Louis Althusser, “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses,” in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971).

the *voice* or the flexibility of the other members of that relationship? Beaudry, Cook and Mrozowski summarize as follows,

What we seek, then, is a class-based model of relationships within and between subcultures that is flexible enough to account for the accommodations of interest that in fact occur among and between social classes and ethnic groups (and that can be demonstrated to have occurred in the historical past).²⁷⁰

The group promoted the framework of cultural hegemony to mediate the above.

Adapted from the work of Marxist philosopher Antonio Gramsci, cultural hegemony implied the dominance of one social group over another or the ruling of one social class over another; however, this was not a passive relationship on behalf of those being ruled.²⁷¹ Gramsci viewed members of the social classes as developing their own competing ideologies focused on what they identify as their own interests: “Class relationships consist of the negotiation of these ideologies in the cultural arena”.²⁷² The essence of the theory was active and shifting relationships or a “lived hegemony” as opposed to a static, top-down dominating relationship. Cultural hegemony holds an interesting analytical possibility for the Ruggles case study.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 279-280.

²⁷¹ Note that the relationship is more complicated than mere dominance because it focuses on legitimation and why the ruled are willing to follow the rulers.

²⁷² Ibid.

Archaeology of Colonialism²⁷³

The archaeology of colonialism is a relatively new sub-discipline in historical archaeology, or is it? For decades historical archaeologists have been researching, excavating and comparing sites, settlements and landscapes linked to the European colonization of North America. Deetz defined it clearly in 1977.²⁷⁴ However, in recent years this scholarly focus with its varied themes has been put under the umbrella of the archaeology of colonialism.²⁷⁵ This re-branding was not a simplification in identity but recognition of over fifty years of scholarship and an opportunity to reposition investigations in a post-processual framework.²⁷⁶ The archaeology of colonialism emphasized the importance of archaeological (material) and historical (documentary) research of colonialism working in tandem - a match for the investigation of the Loyal or *Royal* American Timothy Ruggles, his colonial ideals and his colonization efforts on North Mountain. The archaeology of colonialism also confirmed that colonization took many shapes and forms depending on the circumstances of colonization, goals of the

²⁷³ Colonialism, as defined by Susan Lawrence and Nick Shepherd, covers the purposes of this project: "Colonisation involves the expansion of one state or polity into the territory of another and the establishment of settlements subject to that parent state. Expansion may be accomplished by conquest or by trade, and includes political, economic, social, cultural and psychological dimensions. Colonialism is the process by which new societies emerge in both the new territories and the core because of colonization, and the new systems of relationships that result. Colonial sites might be defined culturally as those occupied during the first generation or two of colonization, or politically as any from the period that precedes independence from the homeland. Colonialism appears as a complex, layered process, whose implications extend to the writing and practice of history and archaeology, and our understanding of the past". Susan Lawrence and Nick Shepherd, "Historical Archaeology and Colonialism," in *The Cambridge Companion to Historical Archaeology*, 69.

²⁷⁴ Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten*.

²⁷⁵ Varied themes such as the archaeology of French colonial America, the archaeology of the British colonization of the Caribbean, the archaeology of Spanish colonialism, British military sites on Lake Champlain, the Dutch in seventeenth century New York, the English in New England, the archaeology of slavery and plantation life, etc.

²⁷⁶ Bonnie G. McEwan and Gregory A. Waselkov, "Colonial Origins: The Archaeology of Colonialism in the Americas," *Historical Archaeology* 37, no. 4 (2003): 1-2.

colonizers and the responses of the colonized.²⁷⁷ Joined is the international extension of colonial systems and comparisons to sites around the world.

Archaeologists Susan Lawrence and Nick Shepherd suggested that “colonialism is best understood as material phenomenon, wherein the power lies in new sets of material culture and practices associated with a symbolic centre.”²⁷⁸ Such a notion related to one of the more interesting tests for the Ruggles project. At what level was the material record on North Mountain connected to the symbolic centre of Anglo-American New England and the mother country Britain, and was that link visible?

The Archaeology of Race

The study of race in North America, within an archaeological framework and particular to African slavery, gathered momentum in the late 1970s as the sub-discipline of plantation archaeology began to fully develop. Early research projects directed by archaeologists such as William Kelso (Kingsmill Plantation and Monticello), Jim Deetz (Flowerdew Hundred), Ivor Noel Hume (Martin’s Hundred), John Solomon Otto (Cannon’s Point Plantation) and Thomas Wheaton and Patrick Garrow (Yaughan and Curriboo Plantations), sparked a wave of scholarship about the African-American past revealed through the buried material record, and the subject of race could not be ignored.²⁷⁹ As more plantation sites were excavated, the academic dialogue shifted from

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ Lawrence and Shepherd, “Historical Archaeology and Colonialism,” 71.

²⁷⁹ While at Monticello, as a student in the University of Virginia archaeology field school in the mid-1980s these works were new or in progress and of discussion. Kelso, Deetz and Noel Hume were also on

a search for distinct settlement patterns to artifacts interpreted as illustrating particular “Africanisms”, to the master-overseer-slave relationships. In recent years, with more fieldwork and wider comparative analysis, focus shifted again to agency, resistance, identity, landscape and the process of the larger African diaspora.²⁸⁰

This dissertation is not directly about the archaeology of race however there is relevance in considering race. Firstly, working with the scholarship surrounding race in tandem with the North Mountain archaeology helped place aside notions of whiteness potentially carried by the researcher.²⁸¹ In the Maritime Provinces the framework of whiteness was reinforced historically by the fact that the regional population of slaves in the eighteenth century was small among a much larger population of European and Anglo-American whites.²⁸² Also, given the history of slavery in the Maritime (and Canadian) past as a whole had fundamentally disappeared as part of any publically-communicated narrative until the late 1990s, the small population was considered a less intense or less present population, and an automatic extension of the “benevolent slavery” theme ascribed to the American northeast. Following this ascription, it was further concluded that because slavery was not a significant presence (concerning size) on the

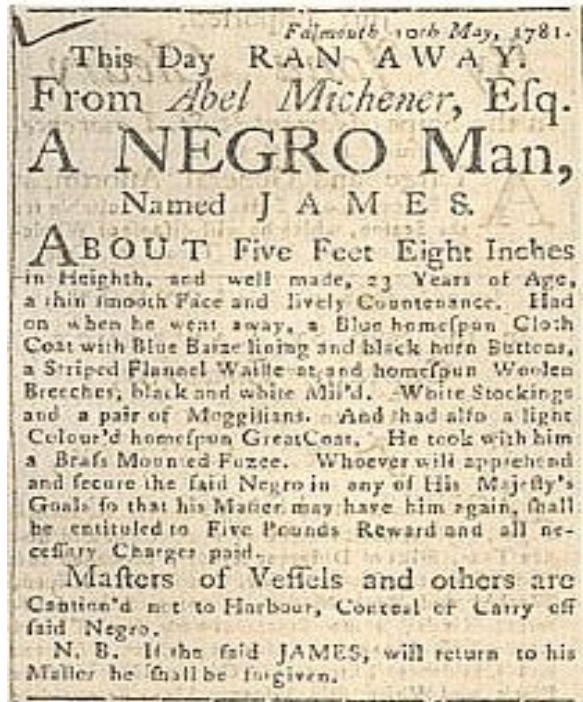
hand to provide tours of their project areas. Charles Fairbanks conducted pioneering plantation investigations at the Kingsley Plantation in Georgia in the late 1960s however his emphasis was ethnicity, identifying material remnants of Africa and the cultural lives of slaves.

²⁸⁰ Distinct changes in settlement occurred as the plantation economy gathered strength and newly imported Africans in America transformed to generations of African-Americans. See Alexandra Chan, Theresa A. Singleton, Maria Franklin, James Delle, Thomas Epperson, Paul Mullins, Mark P. Leone, Robert Fitts, Michael Blakey and Cheryl La Roche, Akin Ogundiran and Toyin Falola. Full references available in the bibliography.

²⁸¹ For this researcher, an inherent reference point when considering the recent human past including the past of the enslaved originates from a framework of the middle-class, white Canadian.

²⁸² At the end of the American Revolution it is estimated that 30,000 Loyalists left the United States for Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island (Maritime Provinces of Canada). Among this Loyalist exodus north were an estimated 3000 free Black Loyalists and 2500 enslaved Black Loyalists. The Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management reviewed population figures for the Loyalist era based on historical documents in their collection. See the NSARM web page titled “African Nova Scotians in the Age of Slavery and Abolition.”

Maritime landscape, it did not warrant social analysis.²⁸³ Supporting this constructed whiteness was the long-accepted narrative that slavery and the general oppression of the Black population in this period happened elsewhere.²⁸⁴



3.1 Runaway-slave advertisement for 'James' property of Abel Michener of Falmouth, Nova Scotia, 22, May 1781. (NSARM, Nova Scotia Gazette, 22 May 1781, p. 3, MFM 8159)

Secondly, an objective of the dissertation research was to develop insights regarding Nova Scotia's first significant migration of enslaved African Americans.

²⁸³ See Robert Paynter, "The Cult of Whiteness in Western New England" in *Race and the Archaeology Identity*, ed. Charles E. Orser, Jr. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2001), 125-126. Paynter's framework of whiteness for Massachusetts holds salience for the Loyalist era and an extension to Nova Scotia and the Maritime Provinces. Regarding the point on social analysis, it was interesting to debate the idea of such a research project among fellow students. Some expressed that because relatively few slaves were in the Maritimes the subject matter of slavery did not warrant serious exploration and even questioned whether one could say slavery even existed or had impact in the region.

²⁸⁴ Ibid. Paynter frames this well for New England but it easily applies to Nova Scotia. This narrative is gradually being corrected as historians and archaeologists in North America explore, publish and discuss in academic and public forums Canada's history of slavery. It is also important to note that the researcher's understanding of race and racism stems beyond the academic realm. Living and working in a North American urban context dominated by a historically-rooted white Anglo social structure, the researcher has witnessed the impact of racial categorizations and hierarchies among African Nova Scotians as well as First Nations individuals.

Therefore, working with the scholarship helped in the understanding of the ideas, concepts and practices that created race in North America, particularly during the eighteenth century. It was important to be aware of the established racialized framework in the Revolutionary War/ Loyalist era and how it was sustained. Was the framework based on economic terms as with a manager-labourer or planter-slave relationship, or legal terms as with free whites-unfree Blacks relationship, or power terms as with elites (whites) and subordinates (slaves)? The thesis aimed to learn about the history of racial divisions in Nova Scotia society when combining archaeological evidence, the historical record and an analysis of landscape under an umbrella of race scholarship?

For nearly thirty years archaeologist Charles Orser, Jr. had placed emphasis on the subject of race and racialization gradually spreading beyond the realm of the African-American experience to that of the Chinese in California and the Irish in their homeland and later New York City.²⁸⁵ As a leading scholar in the field, Orser emphasized that historical archaeologists working in a North American context could not overlook race and racism in their investigations. Though he did not expect the subject of race to become the central topic in archaeological investigations, marginalizing its significance was a mistake. He explains,

Archaeologists of the modern world can no longer reasonably ignore race as a subject for several important reasons. First race and racial categorization have been prominent ideas in world history, particularly within the United States, where racial constructs are inseparable from history. Many of today's most cherished beliefs about race have considerable historical depth, and to understand

²⁸⁵ *Race and the Archaeology of Identity*. Charles E. Orser, Jr., *Race and Practice in Archaeological Interpretation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004). Charles E. Orser Jr., *The Archaeology of Race and Racialization in Historic America* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007). Orser, in the preface of *Race and Practice in Archaeological Interpretation*, simply defines race as "a label that asserts the identification of individuals based upon real or perceived physical differences."

the many dimensions of modern race, we should be familiar with its antecedents.....As race is “one of the central conceptual inventions of modernity” it especially behooves modern-world archaeologists to examine the phenomenon as closely as possible.²⁸⁶

Background Archaeological Context

This project does not represent the first archaeological research of the Black Loyalists in Nova Scotia. Archaeological fieldwork in early African-Nova Scotian settlement began in the 1990s and a number of survey and excavation projects have taken place since that time establishing a foundation for additional research and wider historical inquires.²⁸⁷ The following outlines in cursory detail the background archaeological work that led to this project.

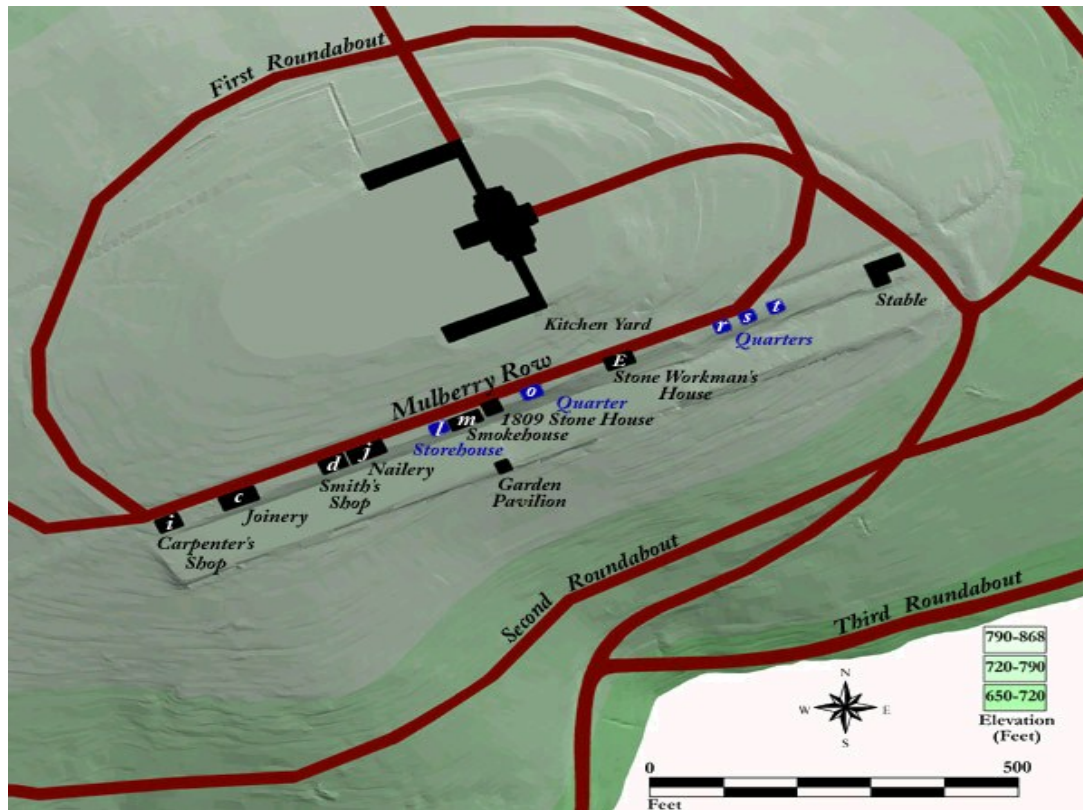
²⁸⁶ Orser, *Race and the Archaeology of Identity*, 2.

²⁸⁷ See bibliography for archaeology reports on file with the Nova Scotia Museum and publications by Laird Niven, Stephen Davis, and Stephen Powell. Also, see MA thesis by Heather Macleod Leslie (Carleton University, 2001) and MEDS thesis by Catherine Cottreau-Robins (Dalhousie University, 2002).



3.2 Archaeology at a workshop site on Thomas Jefferson's slave street Mulberry Row, Monticello, Virginia. (L. Niven, Monticello Archaeology Field School, University of Virginia, 1986)

An interest in Black historical archaeology began in 1986 while excavating Thomas Jefferson's slave street, Mulberry Row, at his Monticello residence just outside Charlottesville, Virginia. Under the direction of William Kelso, hands-on training and insight was gained concerning unveiling the daily lives and hidden past of marginalized peoples. That experience on "the mountain top", resulted in planting seeds for study and archaeological work.



3.3 A lidar image of Thomas Jefferson's home Monticello highlighting Mulberry Row, south of the main house (in black), where many of the enslaved lived and worked. As a student under William Kelso, the focus was excavation in the nailery. Image is from a current research project titled "Reassessment of Mulberry Row." See <http://www.monticello.org/site/research-and-collections/mulberry-row-reassessment>.

Archaeology in Virginia came at the end of a two year term at Saint Mary's University researching and writing about the most significant eighteenth-century material culture assemblage ever retrieved from the City of Halifax.²⁸⁸ Between the two experiences, academic interest in the eighteenth century, the Revolutionary War period and the movement of people in and out and up and down the Atlantic northeast was solidified. As opportunities to explore the African Nova Scotia past transpired, these

²⁸⁸ Catherine Cottreau, Stephen A. Davis and Laird Niven, *Artifacts from Eighteenth Century Halifax* (Halifax: Saint Mary's University, 1987). The town of Halifax in the province of Nova Scotia was founded by the British in 1749 as a counter to the Fortress of Louisbourg controlled by the French in Cape Breton Island. Artifacts, particularly the 25,000 specimen ceramic collection, represent the founding years of the city up until the late nineteenth century industrial period.

early experiences provided a point of reference in terms of archaeology sites, scholars and publications.²⁸⁹

Bob Brooks NSARM accession no. 1989-468 vol. 16 www.gov.ns.ca/nsarm/ c 2011



3.4 Seaview African United Baptist Church in the community Africville, Halifax, Nova Scotia. (Acc. No. 1989-468 vol. 16 / negative sheet 5 image 36, NSARM, Halifax)

Preparation for the Africville archaeology project in 1992, which signaled the beginning of Black archaeology in Nova Scotia, began my particular interest in the early Black history of Nova Scotia. It was during the Africville project that I learned of the Black Loyalist journey from the eastern United States to the Maritimes in 1783. The story of the Loyalists had always been prominent in the historiography of colonial Nova Scotia. Until the 1990s, the story of the Black Loyalists had largely been invisible except for a few historians researching early Canadian Black history.²⁹⁰ The standard Canadian

²⁸⁹ In 1992 while a student in the Faculty of Architecture at Dalhousie University, an opportunity came to direct an excavation in the former community of Africville in the far north end of Halifax. Africville was a black community established in the early nineteenth century along the shores of the Bedford Basin. The community was razed in the 1960s as part of an aggressive urban renewal program. Since that time Africville has been the focus of academic study and political debate. For an in-depth sociological study see Donald H. Clairmont and Dennis W. Magill, *Africville: The Life and Death of a Canadian Black Community* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 1987). For details on the archaeology see Catherine M.A. Cottreau-Robins, "Excavation of the Seaview African United Baptist Church, Africville" in *Archaeology in Nova Scotia, 1992, 1993 and 1994*, ed. Stephen Powell, Nova Scotia Museum Curatorial Report 95 (Halifax, 2001), 56-70. A replica of the Seaview Church with an interpretation centre commemorating the story of Africville was constructed and opened to the public in the fall of 2011.

²⁹⁰ Robins Winks, *The Blacks in Canada: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971); James W. St. G. Walker, *The Black Loyalists* (Halifax: Dalhousie University Press, 1976); Ellen Gibson Wilson, *The Loyal Blacks* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1976).

historical narrative had been one centered on the Underground Railroad and Canada as the end of the road to freedom. Canadian Black history in the age of slavery was unfamiliar and unspecified. This gap in the story of African Nova Scotians was noted with preliminary research in 1992 and investigated in depth with this dissertation.

Black Loyalist Archaeology in Nova Scotia

Contemporary to the Africville archaeology project was the initial interest in the community of Birchtown, Shelburne County, Nova Scotia. Municipal government in the area made plans to place a landfill near Birchtown. The decision became widely publicized and controversial when African-Nova Scotian residents of Birchtown developed awareness about the historic roots of the village and voiced similarities with other black communities in the province, like Africville, that had municipal dumps placed nearby despite resident protest. Points in the media were direct concerning ongoing racism that sanctioned landfills in the communities of Nova Scotia's marginalized peoples.²⁹¹ The landfill location was changed and historical and archaeological interest in Birchtown, as the largest free Black community in North America in the late eighteenth

²⁹¹ See the web site *Black Loyalists: Our History, Our People* at <http://www.blackloyalist.com/canadiandigitalcollection/blhs/archaeology.htm>. "The event that sparked the Birchtown Archaeological Survey was the announcement that Fox Ridges, an area just outside of Birchtown, was being considered as a great prospect for a new regional landfill. The society felt that placing a landfill at Fox Ridges would be another act in the continuing saga of placing landfills in areas important to black history. The Society, with many other community members, protested the landfill and they initiated the search for funds to conduct an archaeological dig in Birchtown."

century (population approximately 1500), was launched. This interest is sustained today.²⁹²

Archaeologist Laird Niven was responsible for much of the archaeological investigation in Birchtown. Every year from 1993 to 2000 Niven conducted research, field surveys, field testing, excavation, mapping or photography and documented archaeological resources in the original Loyalist land grant area. A general goal was to locate archaeological resources on the landscape and to assess the potential for archaeological, historical and ethnographic information on the Black Loyalist migration and settlement. Over eighteen Black Loyalist sites have been recorded, and some have been investigated in collaboration with the Nova Scotia Museum, Saint Mary's University Anthropology Department and the Black Loyalist Heritage Society.²⁹³

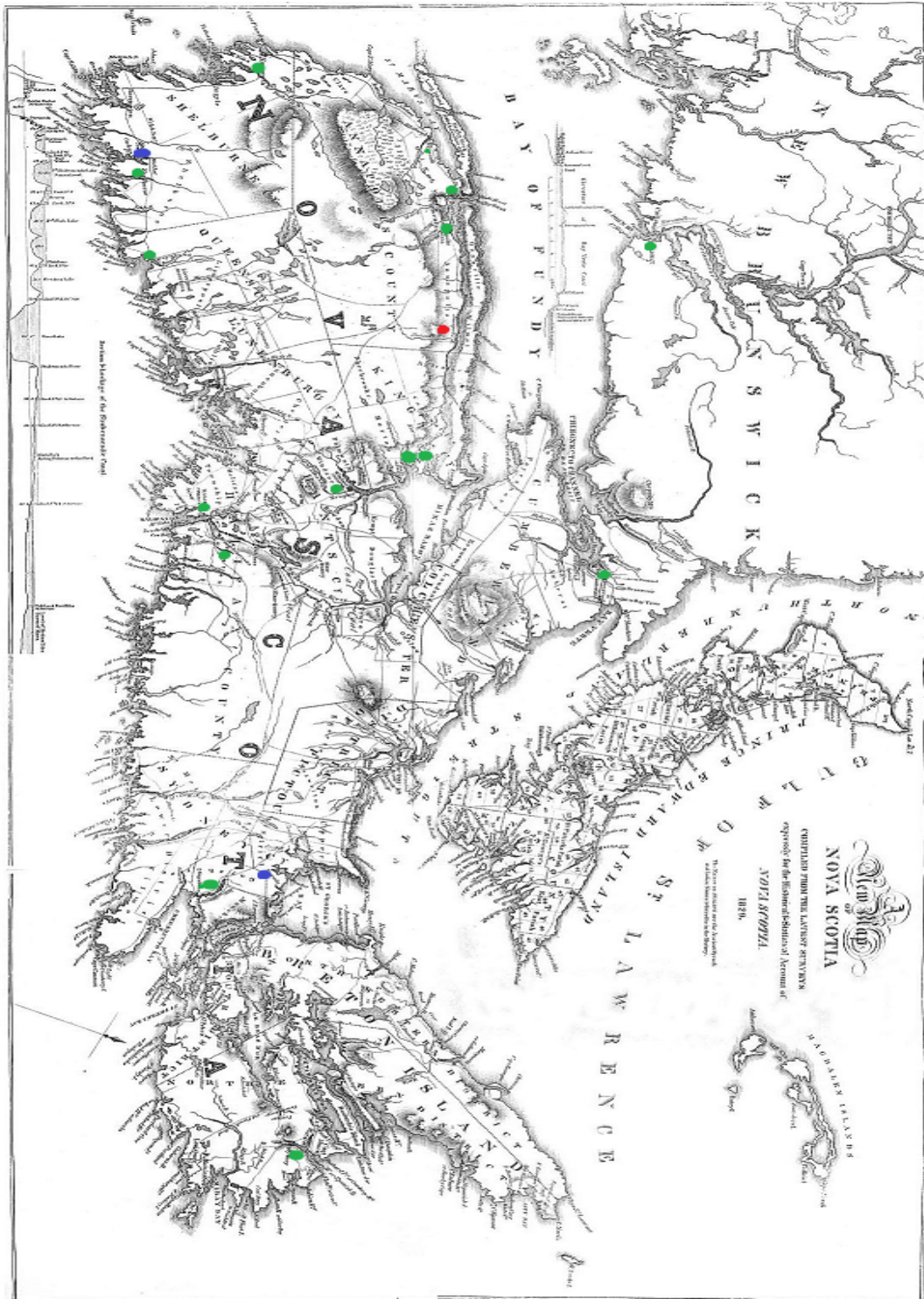
By the middle 1990s, Black Loyalist history and its connection to Nova Scotia had become recognized as an important yet largely unknown story of the province's first immigrants of African descent. In 1998, a two year research initiative on the Black Loyalists was undertaken by the History Section of the Nova Scotia Museum. The focus of the initiative was research, public education and community partnership and development. Titled "Remembering Black Loyalists, Black Communities", the project

²⁹² Architectural and exhibit design plans for the construction of the Black Loyalist Heritage Centre in Birchtown are complete. Sod turning for the new museum occurred in June 2012. Steering the project are members of the Black Loyalist Historical Society, the Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage, the Nova Scotia Museum, and the local community. The heritage centre will become part of the Nova Scotia Museum's family of provincial museums.

²⁹³ See Bibliography for a listing of publications by Laird Niven.

resulted in community collaborations, publications, web sites, film and slide productions, archaeological, documentary and ethnographic collections and exhibits.²⁹⁴

²⁹⁴ “Remembering Black Loyalists, Black Communities” was funded by the Multiculturalism Programme of the Department of Canadian Heritage and by the History Section of the Nova Scotia Museum. Partnerships were formed with the communities of Birchtown and Tracadie as well as the Black Cultural Centre for Nova Scotia and the Learning Resources Technology Division and the African Canadian Services Division of the Nova Scotia Department of Education. The ethnographic, historical and archaeological information collected during the project is available through the Nova Scotia Museum. See the web site <http://museum.gov.ns.ca/Blackloyalists/>



3.5 “A New Map of Nova Scotia” from *An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia* by Thomas Chandler Haliburton (Halifax, Joseph Howe, 1829). A map compiled after the immigration of approximately 40,000 Loyalists to Nova Scotia at the end of the American Revolution but prior to the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1834. Green indicates noted Black Loyalist settlements. Blue indicates the larger Black Loyalist settlements of Birchtown in Shelburne County and Tracadie in Guysborough County. Red indicates the thesis study area in the Annapolis Valley.

During the project two areas were targeted for archaeological fieldwork. These were Birchtown, given previously recorded finds and the historic designation as a key debarkation and settlement point for the Black Loyalists, and Tracadie, a 3000 acre Crown land grant area settled in 1787 by seventy-three Black Loyalists located in Antigonish and Guysborough Counties at the northeastern end of the province.



3.6 A black woodcutter at Shelburne, Nova Scotia in 1788. Watercolor by William Booth. See the collection of the National Archives of Canada, Ottawa. (C-40162)

Considering the archaeological investigations that had taken place in Birchtown since 1993, the main objective of the “Remembering Black Loyalists, Black Communities” project was to gain a deeper understanding of the settlement through the testing and excavation of selected features.²⁹⁵ Three field investigations took place: surveying the Goulden and Acker properties which were suspected of having belonged to Colonel Stephen Blucke, the man who led the Black Loyalists in Birchtown; testing of a Black

²⁹⁵ Stephen Powell and Laird Niven, *Archaeological Surveys in Two Black Communities, 1998: Surveying the Tracadie Area and Testing Two Sites in Birchtown*, Curatorial Report 92, (Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum, 2000), 4.

Loyalist dwelling north of the town to confirm its late eighteenth century time frame; and the bisection of a rock mound in order to record stratigraphic and artifactual data that would illuminate questions regarding the age, cultural affiliation and function of the mound (one mound in a series of twenty-two).²⁹⁶

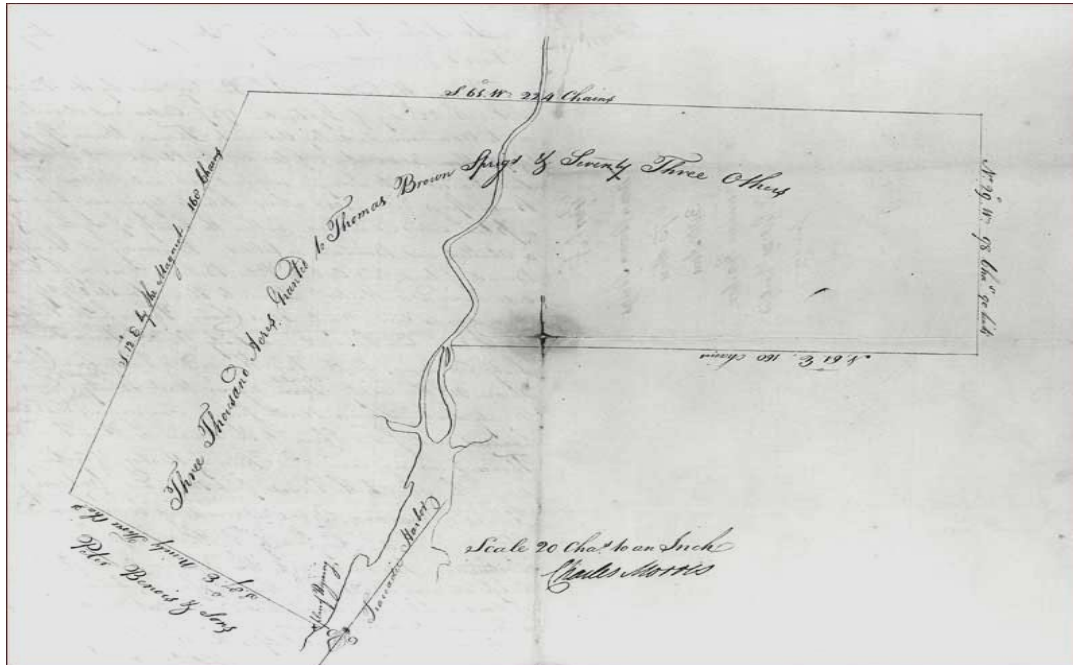


3.7 Acker Site archaeological excavation in Birchtown, Nova Scotia. Is this the home of Stephen Blucke? (R. Plander, Nova Scotia Museum, 1998)

Tracadie had not had the benefit of previous field investigation therefore basic archaeological survey of the land grant was organized. The goal was to locate and document settlement features and sites associated with the 1787 Black Loyalists. Sixteen areas of archaeological interest were recorded.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ Ibid.



3.8 Crown land map showing the “Three Thousand Acres Granted to Thomas Brownspriggs and Seventy-Three Others” in 1787. Located in Tracadie, Guysborough County, the land grant was the focus of archaeological survey in 1998 as part of the Nova Scotia Museum project “Remembering Black Loyalists, Black Communities”. (NSARM, Halifax)

Archaeological work in Birchtown and Tracadie in 1998 resulted in over 16,000 recovered artifacts and lengthy associated documentation. Seventeen new Black Loyalist sites were also recorded. Data from both study areas contributed heavily to my Master of Environmental Design Studies thesis. The focus of the thesis was the early domestic architecture of the free Black Loyalists. The central question was, what were the initial shelters built by the free Black Loyalists when they arrived in Nova Scotia and how did these shelters evolve as they made Birchtown and Tracadie their home in the late eighteenth century?²⁹⁸

²⁹⁸ Cottleau-Robins, “Domestic Architecture of the Black Loyalists”. All the information gathered during the 1998-2000 Nova Scotia Museum initiative, including archaeological, historical and ethnographic data, was tremendously helpful to the thesis project. Also important was the opportunity to work as an archaeologist on the field projects in Tracadie and Birchtown. Additional data for the thesis came from a 1993 archaeology fieldschool project in Birchtown. See Stephen A. Davis and Laird Niven, “Archaeological Fieldschool at AkDi: 12, Birchtown, Nova Scotia”, (Halifax, 1994). Contemporary with

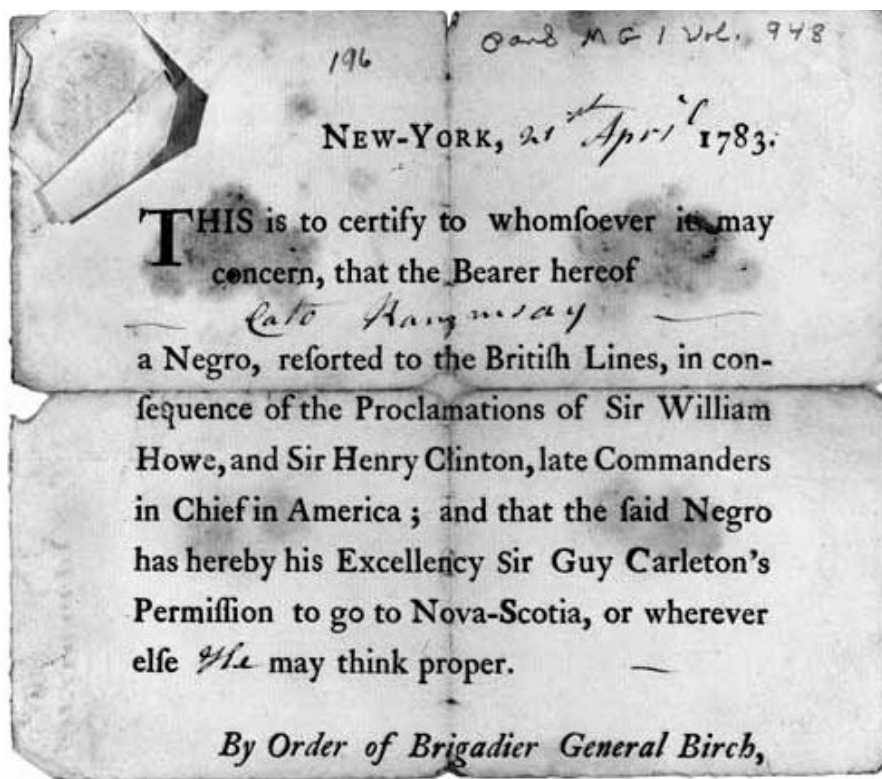


3.9 Completing a line of shovel test pits on the Thomas Brownspriggs 1787 land grant in Tracadie, Guysborough County, Nova Scotia. (S. Powell, Nova Scotia Museum, 1998)

The thesis work required an intensive study of the historiography of the Black Loyalists particularly concerning their skills, geographical and climatic settings prior to Nova Scotia, housing and domestic life, and Revolutionary War experiences. Experiences were diverse. Perhaps none more diverse than the voyages in the transport ships north in 1783-1784 where newly-freed Black Loyalists sailed beside the enslaved with their white Loyalist masters.²⁹⁹

the MEDS thesis work, Heather MacLeod-Leslie completed a Masters thesis with a Birchtown focus. The focus was the application of geographic information system (GIS) technology to Birchtown archaeological data and historic maps. See Heather MacLeod-Leslie, "Understanding the Use of Space in an Eighteenth Century Black Loyalist Community: Birchtown, Nova Scotia", MA Thesis, Carleton University, 2001.²⁹⁹ Ibid., "Book Of Negroes". Sir Guy Carleton, Commander-In-Chief of the British Army, ordered the listing of Black Loyalists leaving New York by ship in the Book of Negroes. There are three copies available: the English copy at the National Archives in Kew, England; the American copy at the National Archives in Washington, DC; and the Nova Scotia copy at the Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management, Halifax. The Nova Scotia copy is believed to be a copy of the British original made in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. The Book of Negroes is invaluable to researchers focused on the black Loyalists. It records the name, age, place of residence, former master, physical appearance, family members, status and year of escape of each Black Loyalist during this particular evacuation. The

The Nova Scotia Museum Black Loyalist research project produced a rich collection of historical evidence about the newly-freed Black Loyalists and their pioneer settlements in the province. As an archaeologist and researcher, the question sparked while working in Birchtown and Tracadie was what of the Black Loyalists who disembarked in Nova Scotia as enslaved workers and servants? Where can we find evidence of their lives? Such questions formed the basis of the doctorate research developed here.³⁰⁰



3.10 A “Certificate of Freedom,” issued to black persons who left the United States after the American Revolution. This certificate, dated 1783, belonged to Cato Ramsay, a Black Loyalist found in Birchtown, Nova Scotia. (MG1 Vol. 948, No. 196, NSARM, Halifax)

listing also indicates if a person served in a department of the British Army and all persons who possess a certificate of freedom.

³⁰⁰ From an archaeological standpoint, the question of where to find sites in the province that may contain evidence of the enslaved was critical. So little was known but the historical research in the late 1990s at the Nova Scotia Museum brought to the fore the “Book of Negroes”; the record of enslaved and free black arriving in Nova Scotia from New York in 1783. A survey of the Book of Negroes and the slave owners listed within provided clues to the location of slaves in the province.

As described above, the archaeological information about the Black Loyalists to date has been developed principally with the understanding of free Black settlements and communities in mind. Creating a data base of sites that demonstrate a Black Loyalist presence in known areas of settlement has been a focus.³⁰¹ Black Loyalist archaeological research is relatively new in Nova Scotia therefore the initial years have concentrated on locating and identifying remains on the better known communities. Some sites have been excavated to confirm Black Loyalist affiliation and to study material culture and daily life. Domestic sites from the most rudimentary subterranean shelter to the more prosperous dwelling have provided interesting comparisons in status and standard of living within the free black community.³⁰² In contrast, the Ruggles archaeology projects described in the next section, represent original research about the Black Loyalists from the perspectives of the slave holder in a plantation context and the unfree labourers who worked to create a particular landscape on the side of North Mountain.

³⁰¹ The Nova Scotia archaeology site database is managed by the Nova Scotia Museum, Heritage Division, Department of Tourism, Culture and Heritage, Province of Nova Scotia. The database is a comprehensive record of all recorded archaeology sites in Nova Scotia ranging from the Palaeo Indian period (approximately 12,000 years BP) to recent historic times.

³⁰² Cottreau-Robins, "Domestic Architecture of the Black Loyalists"; Davis and Niven, "Archaeological Fieldschool at AkDi:12"; Niven, *Was This the Home of Stephen Blucke*; Powell and Niven, *Archaeological Surveys in Two Black Communities*. Attention to early free black settlement continues with a PhD dissertation recently completed in the Archaeology Department, Memorial University, Newfoundland. Heather Macleod-Leslie investigated Black Loyalist identity from the perspective of nineteenth-century free black communities in Delaps Cove, Annapolis County and Rear Monastery, Guysborough County. The title of her dissertation is "Sankofa: An Archaeological Exploration of Black Loyalist Identity and Culture in Nova Scotia." Macleod-Leslie uses a comparative approach and archaeological evidence from a later period rather than the case study approach situated in the eighteenth-century undertaken here.

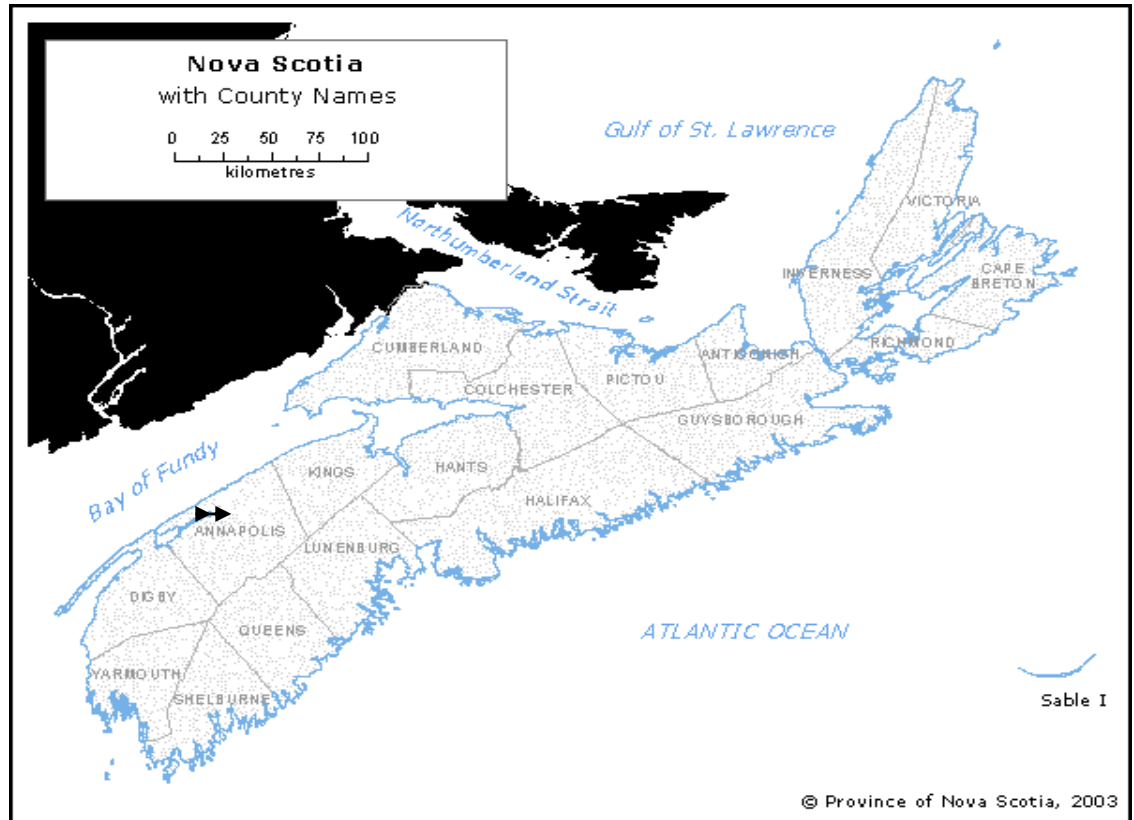
Summary of Research

This section details the archaeological research that occurred on North Mountain in the fall of 2007, summer of 2008 and fall of 2009. Background archaeological context is provided prior to the archaeological data. The data are presented chronologically according to field project. The specific details of the artifacts and features recorded in the field are listed in several tables and depicted in photographs and figures. The artifacts and features recorded informed the theoretical considerations presented early in the chapter. Data are followed by a general discussion of results.

North Mountain Archaeology

Archaeology field work in the form of reconnaissance survey, test excavation and site excavation was conducted on specific areas of the original 1000 acre land grant on North Mountain, Annapolis County issued to Timothy Ruggles in 1784. The archaeology was conducted at different periods from 2007 to 2009 and according to the standards and guidelines of the provincial archaeology permitting system under the Nova Scotia Special Places Protection Act.³⁰³ The archaeology field objectives, methodologies, and results are outlined below in chronological order.

³⁰³ Legally, archaeology in Nova Scotia cannot occur without a trained archaeologist obtaining a heritage research permit for the project/work. For details on the heritage research permit application and permitting process and accompanying legislation see http://gov.ns.ca/tch/heritage_specialplaces.asp. Each heritage research permit issued is entered into a provincial database and given a permit number. The permit numbers for the North Mountain work are A2007NS76, A2008NS45, and A2009NS113.



3.11 Map of Nova Scotia with counties indicated. Study area is within the North Mountain area of Annapolis County and marked by the black arrow. (Service Nova Scotia and Municipal Relations, 2011)

The search for a terrestrial record of Ruggles and his labourers on North Mountain was linked to the following dissertation questions: What was Nova Scotia’s landscape of slavery in the late eighteenth century? Can archaeological evidence contribute to a description of slavery for Nova Scotia in this time period? Does examination of a case study support the argument that Ruggles and perhaps other Loyalists, especially within his peer group, worked to re-create and continue in Nova Scotia life ways that were so successful for them in New England? Was the archaeological record similar to the historical when it came to the enslaved – sparse and fragmented?³⁰⁴ The archaeological fieldwork attempted to address the questions by determining if such evidence was detectable or visible on remnant eighteenth-century landscapes. Three heritage research

³⁰⁴ Whitfield, “Black Loyalists and Black Slaves.”

permits for archaeological research were issued through the course of the dissertation field project. The first permit in 2007 addressed the reconnaissance survey of the property. The second permit (2008) addressed specific areas for testing and excavation identified through the 2007 survey. The third permit (2009) was for the survey of an additional portion of the Ruggles grant that only became accessible in the fall of that year.

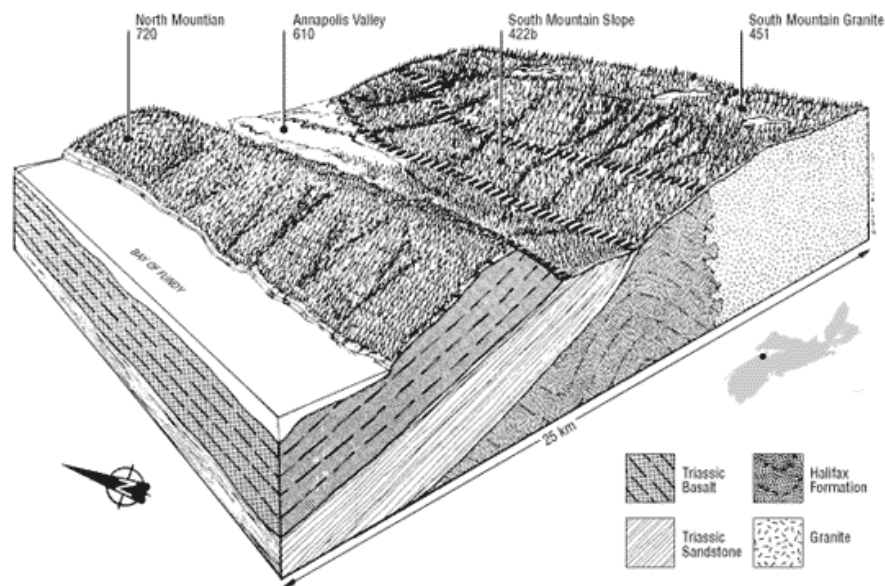
2007 Archaeology

The primary goal of the first stage of fieldwork in 2007 was to get a sense of the physical terrain of the Ruggles grant, including the topography, geology, flora and fauna, and its current segmentation with modern houses, barns, fields and roads in comparison to the few historical maps on file at the Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management. (Figure 3.12)³⁰⁵ Such first stage field work is called reconnaissance survey. The second goal of the fieldwork and an important part of the survey, was to identify any archaeological points of interest that required targeted investigation during the following season. The third goal was to build relationships with the landowners and community

³⁰⁵ Important at the initial survey stage is to develop an understanding of the natural history, topography and geology of the study area. According to M. Simmons, D. Davis, L. Griffiths and A. Muecke in *Natural History of Nova Scotia*, Ruggles Road on North Mountain falls within the Basalt Ridge district of the Fundy Coast theme region. The Fundy Coast theme region is a climatic and vegetation transition zone dominated by basaltic rocks. The basaltic rocks are richer in nutrients being better supplied with both calcium and magnesium than other soils however lower in phosphorous. This pattern of soil formation on the North Mountain Basalt Ridge (District 720) is also inundated with patches of reddish glacial till. The basalt Ridge provides evidence that glacial ice moved across it both southwards and northwards at different times. The southern side of North Mountain, where the study area lies, has a steep scarp slope with softer erodable sediments. Regarding vegetation, the region is a transition zone. Red and White Spruce is abundant as well as Maple, Pine, Birch, and Fir with Sugar Maple, Yellow Birch and Beech at higher elevations. Regarding fauna, deer populations are large and richer soils in the basaltic rock areas support diverse woodland soil fauna. M. Simmons, et al, *Natural History of Nova Scotia 2* (Halifax, 1989), 659-672.

members regarding the research planned for their community and continue the exchange of information about the history, both social and landscape, of Ruggles Road.

Reconnaissance survey involves walking a land parcel or landscape in a controlled and systematic fashion to locate, view, and record any visible archaeological features. To quickly assess the archaeological potential of any features found while surveying, an efficient form of subsurface testing called shovel-testing was employed. If archaeological sites or resources are identified during survey they are recorded and a Maritime Archaeological Resource Inventory form is filled out and submitted to the Nova Scotia Museum for entry into the provincial archaeological resource database.³⁰⁶

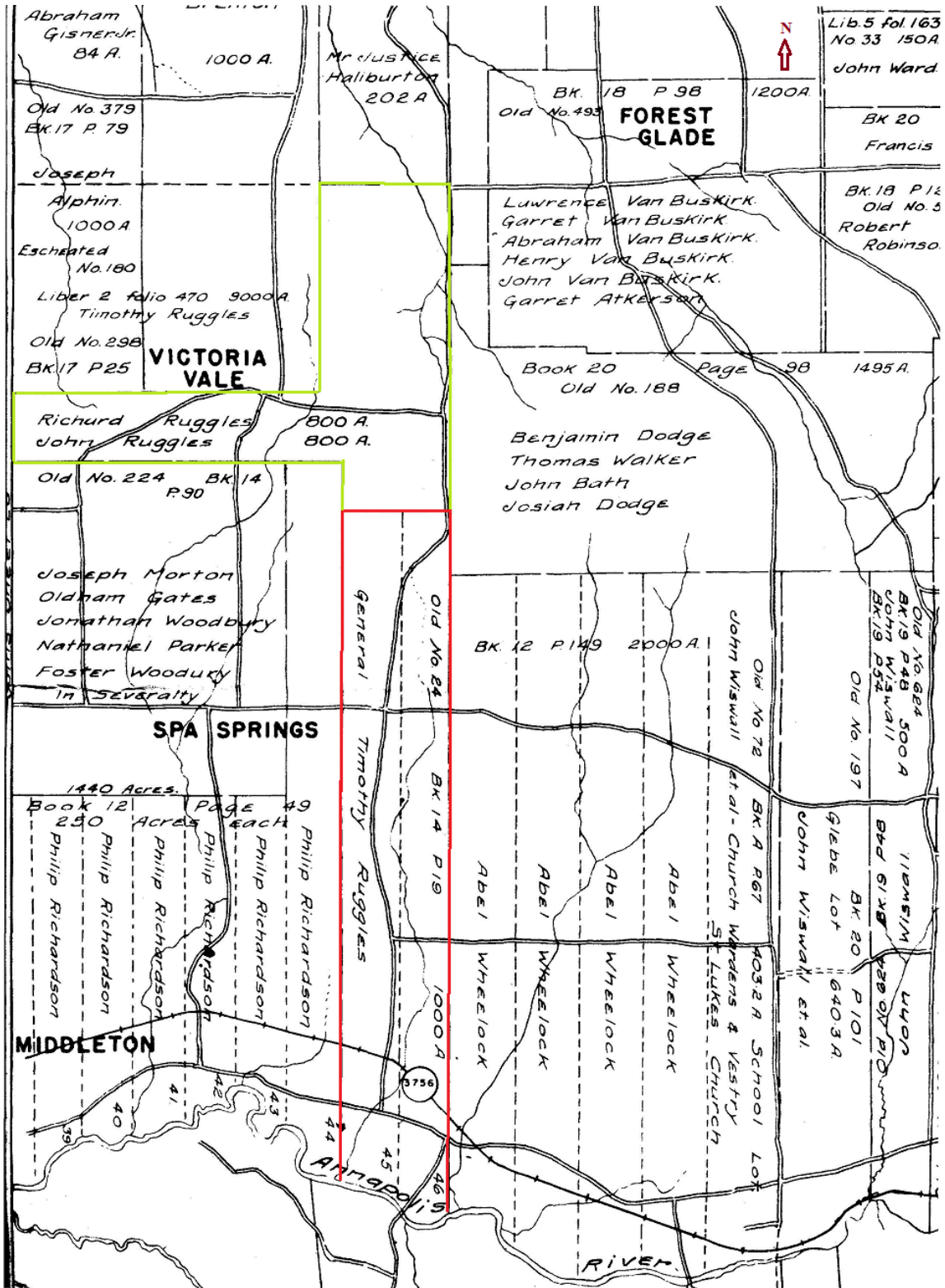


3.12 Geology and Landscape of the Annapolis Valley and North Mountain Area. Natural history theme region 720 Basalt Ridge (Nova Scotia Museum of Natural History, <http://museum.gov.ns.ca/mnh/nature/nhns2/700/fig25.htm>)

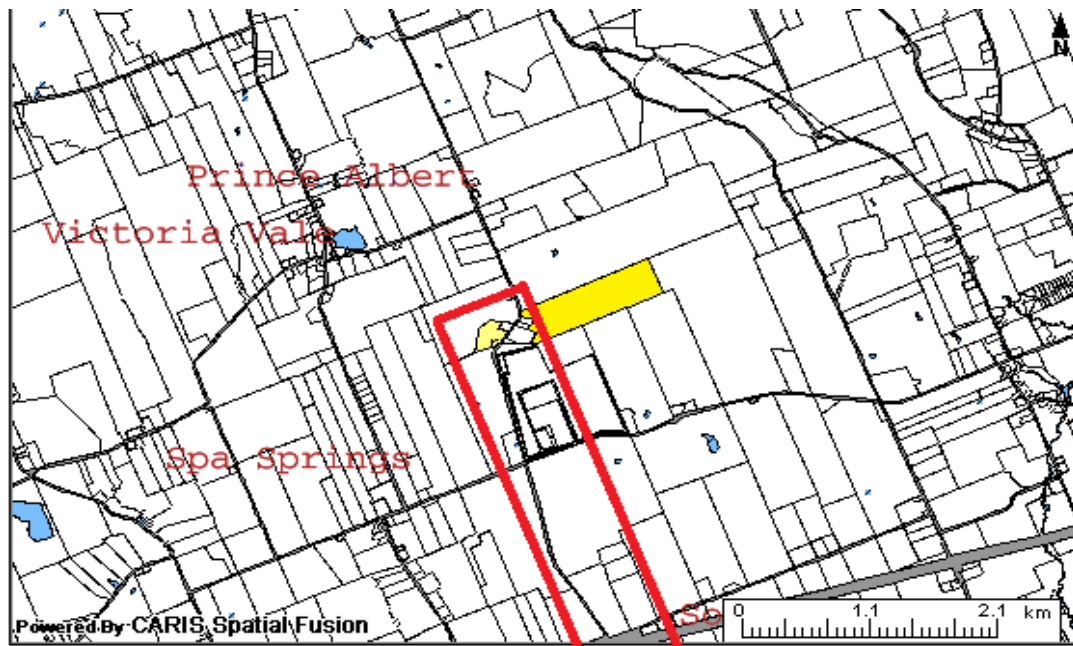
³⁰⁶ See MARI form details at http://gov.ns.ca/tch/heritage_specialplaces.asp There are two completed forms for the 2007 survey project on file with the Heritage Division of the Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage, Government of Nova Scotia.

Next page:

3.13 Crown Land Index Sheet # 35 showing Timothy Ruggles Lots 45 and 46 (in red) running parallel and north of the Annapolis River. Sons Richard and John Ruggles share a lot to the north of their father (in green). Also, to the east of Ruggles, the beginning of several lots granted to friend and minister, John Wiswall. (Department of Natural Resources Library, Halifax)



In the fall of 2007 two adjacent parcels of land on the Ruggles Road, North Mountain, in Spa Springs, Wilmot Township, Annapolis County, were surveyed as well as a specific portion of property on the lower Old Ruggles Road reported to contain a slave cemetery. These parcels were located in the northern portion and mid portion of the original Ruggles land grant (Figure 3.13). It was not practical to coordinate a reconnaissance survey of the entire 1000 acre lot. The landscape was simply too big, partially heavily forested and steeply banked. Also, under a heritage research permit, permission from landowners to access lands is required and inquiries to access additional parcels were not always positive (Figure 3.14).



3.14 Property Online map indicating in yellow the two upper land parcels that were part of the original Ruggles grant, and surveyed in 2007. The red is a frame of reference for the 1784 land grant. (Nova Scotia and Municipal Relations, 2011)

According to historical documents and oral traditions, the northern section of the 1784 land grant contained the main Ruggles occupation area. Those records confirmed the decision to begin the survey in that portion of the land grant. Contact was made with landowners Crystal Tupper, Michael Bernard, David and Deanne Lowe via introductory letters and meetings were arranged to discuss the research project and schedule survey of the individual parcels. Later, once the survey began, Lloyd Evans, the owner of a possible slave cemetery site on the lower Old Ruggles Road, was also contacted. The landowners were very receptive.³⁰⁷ All were versed in the local lore of Timothy Ruggles

³⁰⁷ Collecting oral history from community members was important to the archaeological field investigations. Initial introductory letters and person to person meetings with the residents of Ruggles Road helped to develop long term rapport and friendly communication. Though discussions with residents were not formally structured and not incorporated into the thesis project as part of a defined oral history research

and provided information about the agricultural and architectural history of their lots. Mr. Lowe also provided a tour of local points of historic interest and shared oral tradition regarding slaves living on the Ruggles Road south of the mansion house, and the slave cemetery on the Evans lands.

A documentary record file of local archival materials, aerial photographs, oral traditions and histories related to the Loyalists in Annapolis County and specifically Wilmot Township and North Mountain was begun. The documentary file was not compiled to confirm or negate archaeological findings or vice versa; rather, with the interdisciplinary process in mind, it was compiled as another line of information that could help widen the narrative of Ruggles, his labourers and landscape on North Mountain, address the challenges or differences in both records and ultimately to learn more about the case study at hand.

A goal of the survey was to identify and test any archaeological resources or features in the northern section of the Ruggles land grant. Walking the parcels and documenting any cultural features was completed with questions in mind regarding temporal affinity, cultural affinity and function. Given what was known at the time about Ruggles, surveying for evidence of archaeological features linked to his original mansion

methodology, the collection of personal testimonies and community memories provided another perspective on the past. Guidance was taken from oral history specialists in developing questions, recording details and tracing evidence. See Valerie Raleigh Yow, *Recording Oral History: A Guide for the Humanities and Social Sciences*, 2nd Edition (Oxford: AltaMira Press, 2005). Raleigh Yow simply defines oral history as the recording of personal testimony delivered in oral form. As the interviewer or researcher for this project, the approach was to create an informal, relaxed and respectful atmosphere for the narrator or informant. It was recognized that both the interviewer and the narrator brought knowledge to the discussion – research-based from the interviewer and intimate from the narrator. Like Raleigh Yow, the interviewer/researcher viewed the work as collaborative and recognized a “shared authority”. Evoking memories of the Ruggles Road community was the principal focus of verbal exchange and the residents of Ruggles Road were forthcoming. Notes were taken by the interviewer/researcher during and following each exchange.

house, possible slave quarters, vaulted garden, apple orchards and slave cemetery was high priority. Each parcel surveyed was recorded using hand held GPS technology, digital photography, field notes and field drawings.³⁰⁸

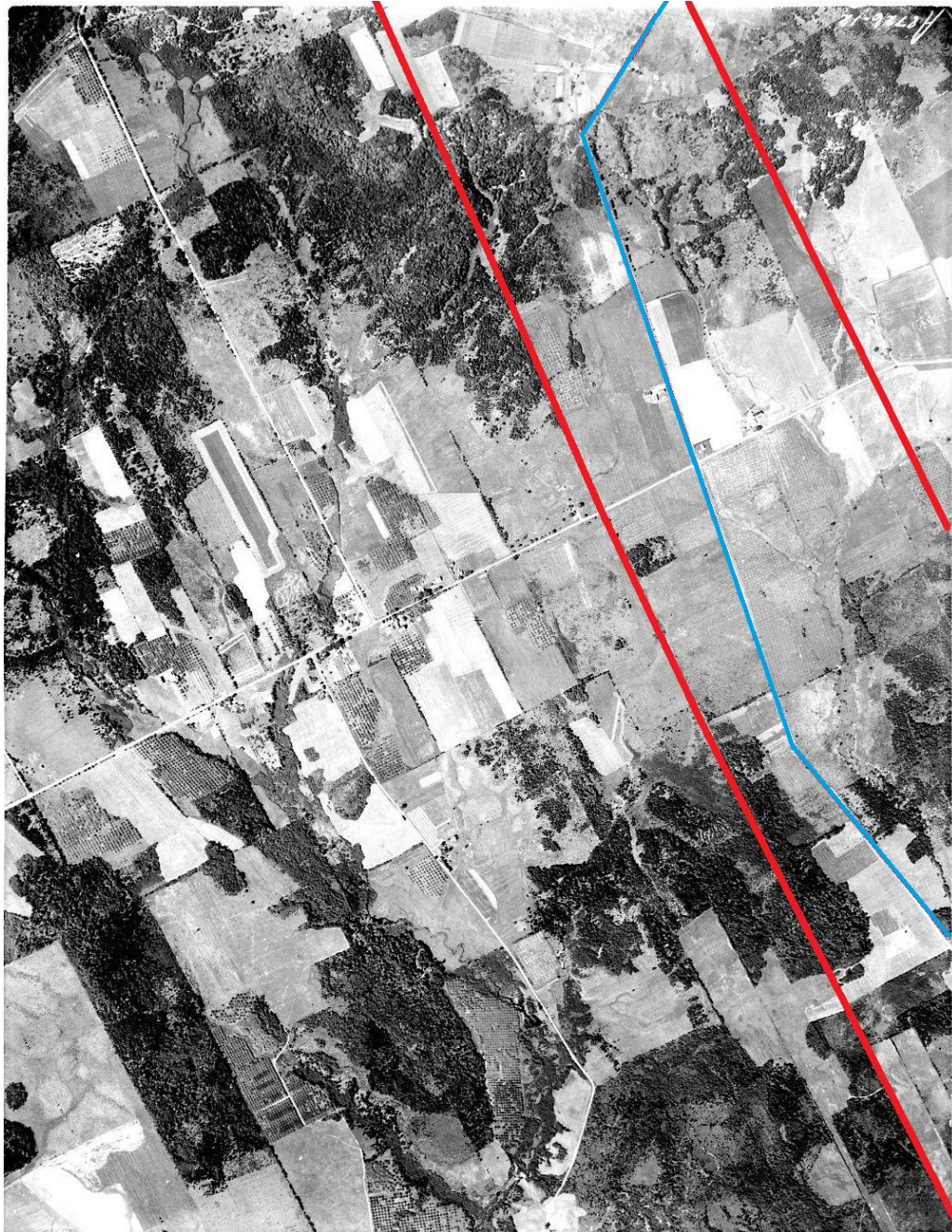
It was anticipated that looking closely at how Ruggles organized and developed his land would provide clues concerning the lives of his slaves, servants, and workers and their roles in his agricultural pursuits and plans for homesteading success. The first stage of the 2007 field project had the following objectives:

- A) Systematically traverse the three parcels of land in an effort to locate, identify and record (map, photograph, document) potential archaeological resources.
- B) Conduct limited subsurface testing of potential resources (with the exception of areas with possible human remains) and record findings.
- C) Continue discussions with the landowners concerning the history and oral traditions surrounding the Ruggles homestead.
- D) In the analysis of the fieldwork, develop an understanding of the nature of the archaeological resources and target specific areas for excavation in 2008.

Reconnaissance and limited test excavations were completed at the Tupper/Bernard and Lowe properties. Test pits (40cm x 40cm each) were dug with a shovel and trowel to the natural sterile soil level in order to uncover material culture or structural features, record stratigraphy, and determine period of occupation or use. All soils were screened through ¼ inch mesh and a representative group of artifacts were collected to aid in identifying features and cultural affinity. Photographic and field records were maintained. The

³⁰⁸ As per provincial archaeology permit guidelines and regulations, a report of the 2007 archaeology survey is on file with the Nova Scotia Museum, Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage.

Evans property was walked and photographed only given the oral tradition of human burials.



3.15 Aerial photograph of research area on Ruggles Road, Spa Springs, North Mountain (outlined in red). The Ruggles Road is in blue and essentially divides the 1000 acre 1784 grant into two strips running north-south. Agricultural landscape is evident. (National Aerial Photo Library, Ottawa, No. A8726_012)

The reconnaissance survey began at the very northern portion of the original Ruggles grant (Lowe property). This portion was the most elevated location on the Ruggles Road as it climbs North Mountain. From the Lowe property one could see down to the Annapolis River to the south. A walking survey determined that the parcel contained fenced and cleared fields, modern barns and house, and a trail that lead east beyond the house where wood was harvested. Also, on the property near the Ruggles Road and near the modern house was a large depression or cellar feature filled with field stones (Figure 3.16). This feature, noted as historic in nature, was measured, sketched, described and photographed. Seven 40 cm x 40 cm shovel tests positioned around the cellar feature were excavated (Figure 3.17). The tests resulted in a small collection of early to mid-nineteenth-century ceramics, glass, and nails (Figure 3.18). The artifacts were contemporary with the Phinney family occupation of the parcel in the nineteenth century.³⁰⁹ Specifically, transfer printed, white refined earthenware, late blue shell-edged refined earthenware, window glass, food bone, brick fragments and nails were collected to a depth of 27 cm below surface when sterile soil was reached.

³⁰⁹ See Registry of Deeds in Lawrencetown, Annapolis County, Nova Scotia for the registered warranty deed representing the land sale from John Ruggles and Hannah Ruggles of Wilmot Township to Lott Phinney of Granville dated 1800 and registered in 1802. See Book 12 and pages 3/4. The deed conveys a significant portion of the upper Timothy Ruggles land grant (Lots 45 and 46) that his son John Ruggles inherited upon his father's death in 1795. The sale included "all buildings, services, profits" and "all other appurtenances".



3.16 Rock-filled depression recorded at the Lowe property. Now in the provincial archaeology data base of recorded sites as the Phinney Site, Ruggles Road, Spa Springs, Wilmot Township, Annapolis County. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2007)



3.17 Shovel testing around the rock filled depression at the Phinney Site in September 2007. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2007)



3.18 A sample of the artifacts, ceramics and nails collected from shovel test pits at the Phinney Site. See Table 1 for a complete inventory. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2007)

The artifacts were collected from shovel test pits dug outside the rock-filled depression. Upon examination of the depression, it appeared to be the remains of a cellar for a larger structure. The outline of the larger structure, likely the Phinney house, could be seen clearly on the surface via the tops of foundation stones breaking through the sod.

2007 Archaeology Field Data and Results

The following is a table that details all the artifacts recovered during the survey on the Ruggles land grant in 2007. Information on soils and stratigraphy is presented as well

as a preliminary interpretation of findings.³¹⁰ From this point forward all the archaeology data (2007, 2008, 2009) are presented chronologically. Artifacts are described according to seven categories: location, number, material, ware, decoration, function, and manufacture date range. These categories provide essential descriptive information for the material culture. Location places the artifact in a specific unit or shovel test on the Ruggles land grant. As the tables progress, further location details are added positioning artifacts in a specific soil level and/or feature in an excavation unit. Number represents one or more artifacts of the same type found in the same location. Material describes of what the artifact is made. Ware describes more specifically the material. Decoration records any decorative element on the artifact. This is particularly important for ceramics and glass given decoration can be an important dating tool. Function provides a category of use for the artifact(s). For example foodways represents any function related to the storage, preparing, serving or eating of food or drink. Finally, the manufacture date range is a timeframe for the artifact, often the *terminus post quem* and the *terminus ante quem*.³¹¹ Manufacture dates when combined with field dating help to develop the chronology for a site, site activities or events and overall site interpretation.

³¹⁰ Further interpretation of the archaeology in tandem with the historical and landscape records will be presented in the Conclusions chapter of the dissertation.

³¹¹ Two terms used often in archaeology, *terminus post quem* means the “limit after which” or the date after which an artifact must have been deposited. *Terminus ante quem* means the “limit before which” or the date before which an artifact must have been deposited.

Table 2
Artifact summary of the shovel test units excavated at the Phinney Site (BfDg-8), September 2007.

Location	Number	Material	Ware	Decoration	Function	Manufacture Date Range
ST 1						
n/a						
ST 2	1	earthenware	pearl	blue shell-edged, rococo	foodways	1780-1815
ST 3	3	glass	n/a	colorless	architectural	
	3	earthenware	white	molded	foodways	1840-1900+
	1	earthenware	hand painted	green	foodways	1795-1830
	2	earthenware	white	blue transfer print	foodways	1820-1859
	6	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	1780-1850+
	1	iron	n/a	n/a	household	
ST 4	1	clay	local red	n/a	architectural	
	1	glass	n/a	light green	architectural	
	4	earthenware	cream	light	foodways	1775-1820
	1	earthenware	annular	blue, banded	foodways	1790-1840+
	2	earthenware	pearl	blue transfer print	foodways	1787-1830
	1	earthenware	pearl	n/a	foodways	1780-1815
	1	earthenware	yellow ware	n/a	foodways	1800+
	2	earthenware	white?	brown transfer print	foodways	1820-1869
	7	earthenware	white	light blue transfer print	foodways	1820-1867
	13	earthenware	misc. white	n/a	foodways	1805+
ST 5	4	glass	n/a	light green	architectural	
	2	clay	local red?	n/a	architectural	

	2	earthenware	cream	light	foodways	1775-1820
	1	earthenware	unidentified	n/a	foodways	
	1	earthenware	pearl?	blue painted	foodways	1780-1820
	1	earthenware	pearl	hand painted, polychrome	foodways	1820-1840
	8	bone	mammal	n/a	foodways	
ST 6	1	earthenware	pearl	green shell-edged, scalloped	foodways	1800-1835
	2	earthenware	white?	blue transfer print	foodways	1790-1859
ST 7	2	earthenware	white	blue sponged	foodways	1830-1870
	1	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	1780-1850+
Artifact Total:	75					

The Phinney Site, located at the northern end of the Ruggles land grant on the Ruggles Road, contained an interesting collection of artifacts illustrating the domestic nature of the depression recorded there. In order to date the depression and determine cultural affinity seven shovel test pits were excavated. The ceramics, the most datable artifacts, positioned the site as active at the end of the eighteenth century up until the late nineteenth century.³¹² The ceramics also represented vessel forms such as serving dishes,

³¹²The identification and dating of the artifacts in the tables was supported by material culture studies by Burke (1991), Groover, Cabak and Scott (2004), Collard (1984), Cottreau et al (1987), Coysh and Henrywood (1982), Godden (1963, 1975), Jones et al (1985), McNally (1982), Miller et al (2000), Nelson (1968), Noel Hume (1980), Rickard (2006), Samford (1996), South (1977), Sussman (1979), Wade (1979), and Webster (1971). See Bibliography for complete references. Some artifacts are listed minus the date range of manufacture. This occurs either because the artifact is too small and/or lacking in sufficient descriptive elements to determine a precise ware, decoration or function linked to a place or time of

common tableware and a possible tea cup. All forms were typical household or kitchen items. This timeline fit with Lott Phinney and family who purchased this section of the original Ruggles land grant in 1802 from John Ruggles who had inherited the property via his father's will (Timothy Ruggles) in 1795. The stratigraphy throughout the seven test pits remained similar unit to unit. The artifact concentrations were in Level 2 and 3.

Level 1 – sod layer, 0 to 5 cm below surface

Level 2 – dark brown loam with few rocks, 5 to 20 cm below surface

Level 3 – reddish brown sandy loam, 20 to 35cm below surface

Level 4 – yellow-brown-red clay like soil with small rocks, 35 to 40 cm below surface, (sterile level).

manufacture. The functional typology of the artifacts is drawn from South (1977), Groover, Cabak and Scott (2004), and Orser (1988) and consists of organizing the artifacts according to the categories of foodways, clothing, architecture/structural, personal, labor, household, and unidentifiable (See Table 13).



3.19 View from the Phinney Site to the south overlooking the Annapolis Valley and the Ruggles land grant. Annapolis River is far in the distance but can be seen from the top of the land grant. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2008)

Mr. Lowe gave permission to walk down slope from the Phinney Site (Figure 3.20). The potential location of Ruggles' vaulted garden was observed at the bottom of the slope opposite the main Ruggles house (Tupper/Bernard property) and in a sheltered gulch. An old stand of apple trees was noted on the slope approaching garden area. Mr. Lowe reported that many fruit trees were there at one time. The vaulted garden area was owned by a local landowner that could not be reached during the time frame of the 2007 heritage research permit (Figure 3.21). A description of the landscape at the fence line border of the garden was noted. Plans were made to continue working to arrange for future exploration directly inside the suspected garden area.



3.20 An image of the slope leading down from the Phinney Site to the south towards the reported vaulted garden area. The vaulted garden was reported to be just beyond the line of evergreens seen at the base of the slope. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2007)



3.21 A view towards the vaulted garden area at the base of the slope; looking east from the Ruggles Road across from the Tupper Bernard home. The suspected garden area is directly behind the wrecked car just past the trees. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2011)

When the survey of Mr. Lowe's property on Ruggles Road was completed he directed us across Highway 221 to the lower, Old Ruggles Road. At a bend in the road he indicated the location of a possible slave cemetery. He noted that Mr. Lloyd Evans, a local farmer, owned the land. Contact was made with Mr. Evans and he accompanied the field crew to the cemetery site and conveyed the family oral tradition regarding the place. His grandfather was told when purchasing the property in the early twentieth century that this portion of the parcel had been a place to bury local slaves. The slaves were victims of an epidemic (cholera?), and the land was not to be farmed or disturbed. His family therefore had never worked the land, though a provincial highway had been constructed adjacent to the lot.³¹³ The suspected cemetery was well treed and hidden (Figure 3.22). The area was photographed and recorded using a GPS unit. It was described as a group of trees with large stones in somewhat of a linear pattern. Mr. Evans gave permission to return to the site for archaeological investigation during phase two of the research project in 2008.



3.22 Suspected slave cemetery area in the trees to the left of the roadway according to the landowner and local oral tradition. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2007)

³¹³ Personal communication with Mr. Lloyd Evans of Kingston, Annapolis County in September 2007.

Under the 2007 permit preliminary information was collected regarding slave housing reported to have been on the Ruggles land grant.³¹⁴ Mr. Lowe took the field crew to a location on the Ruggles Road south of his property and south of the possible vaulted garden area. Oral tradition noted “slaves living there”.³¹⁵ The property, a hayfield with a large tree, was also south of the original Ruggles main house. We were unable to closely inspect the cleared field because permission to enter the property had been attempted but not obtained. The potential site was recorded from the roadside using a GPS unit, digital photography and field notes (Figure 3.23). A depression in the ground was also noted from the roadside. Additional information about the landowner was obtained from Mr. Lowe in an effort to obtain permission to conduct fieldwork for subsurface Loyalist era remains.



3.23 The possible location of a slave quarter near a tree on the Ruggles Road and noted in the 2007 archaeological survey. At this time, without permission of the land owner, we could look from the roadside fence only. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2007)

³¹⁴ An important reference regarding Timothy Ruggles and slaves can be found in the “Book of Negroes.” The BON notes slaves described as “General Ruggles property” arriving in Annapolis Royal (near Wilmot Township) aboard the brig “Ranger” in April 1783.

³¹⁵ Personal communication with Mr. David Lowe, September 2007.

After testing at the Lowe property (Phinney Site) was finished, three shovel test pits were placed outside the modern dwelling at the Tupper/Bernard property in an effort to pick up indications of Loyalist era occupation. The three tests were inconclusive given the heavy disturbance of the land for agricultural purposes and housing renovations and rebuilding over the centuries. Finally, one test pit was placed in the cellar of the house beneath a brick cellar arch. The test was inconclusive given the thick layer of modern large rock fill just below the thin surface layer of fine, loose soil covering the cellar floor. The test was abandoned at one meter below surface. It was decided to try again in phase two of the project in a more strategic location and using more physical strength.

The cellar was quite substantial in height and construction; nine feet tall and upon initial inspection similar to other Loyalist-era construction in the Annapolis Valley.³¹⁶ The north and west walls remained original. With that feature noted, the location was recorded as the Ruggles Site. Based on the architectural remains, the documentary record, and oral tradition, the Ruggles Site was identified as the location of Timothy Ruggles' mansion house and homestead. The remains of the original cellar sit beneath a modern domestic dwelling in use by the current landowners (Figure 3.24). Along with the intact fieldstone walls and brick arch, cut granite blocks once used as steps to the cellar form a walkway in the Tupper/Bernard front yard (Figure 3.25).³¹⁷

³¹⁶ More information on Loyalist era domestic architecture is presented later in the chapter.

³¹⁷ There is secondary literature and oral tradition that states Ruggles imported the Quincy granite blocks from Boston, Massachusetts for use in his "commodious and substantial dwelling" in Wilmot. See Elizabeth Ruggles Coward, *A Letter to H. LeMoine: Ruggles Genealogy* (Bridgetown: Integrity Printing, 2000).



3.24 An image of the cellar feature associated with the c. 1784 home of Timothy Ruggles. The cellar lies beneath the modern home of the current landowners. The floor consists of dense, large boulders and loose soil which represents modern cellar refurbishment activities by the current landowners. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2007)



3.25 The Tupper/Bernard home that rests above the remains of the Ruggles cellar. Note the three large granite blocks that were originally used as steps into the cellar. The current landowners moved them to the yard for landscape decoration. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2007)

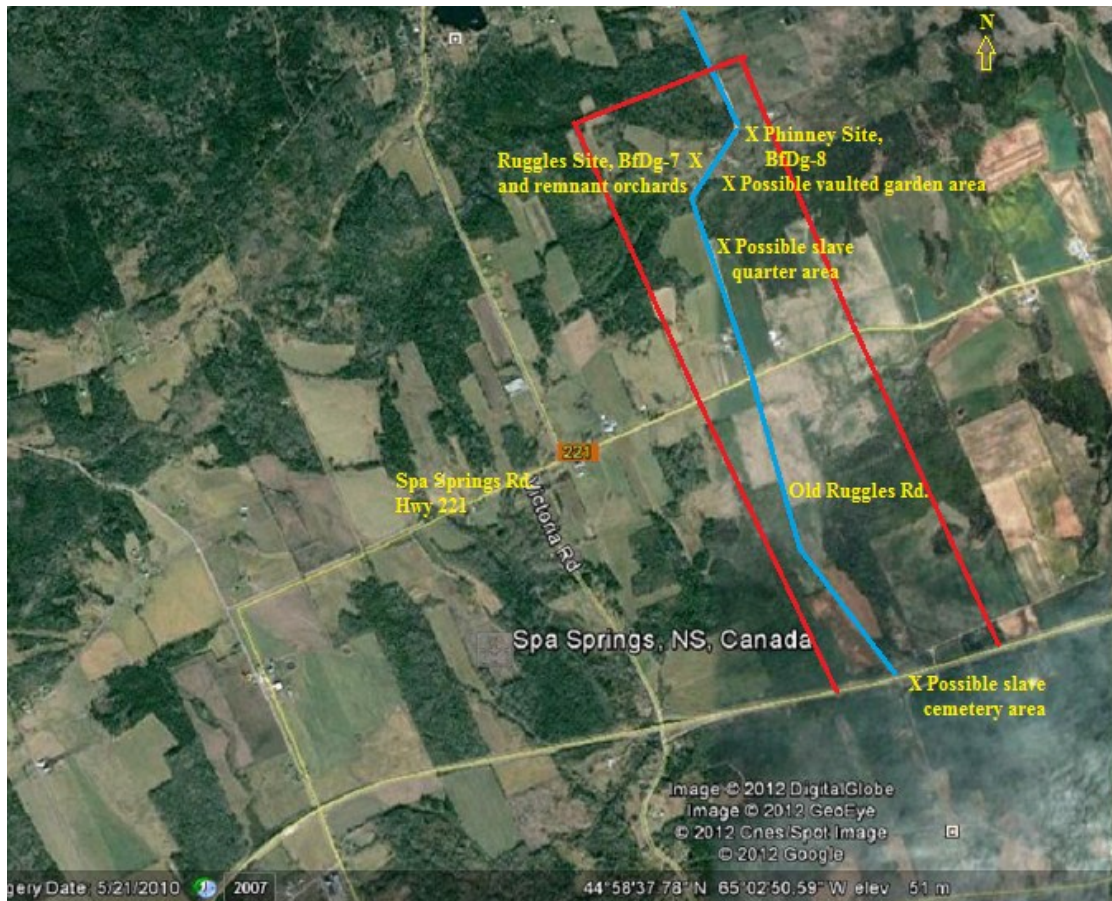
Currently, the patio door at the rear of the modern house rests over the distinctive cellar arch. The homeowners also noted that the house has burned at least twice from lightning strikes.³¹⁸ Outside the cellar, other features were noted on the Tupper/Bernard property including two parallel stone walls at the rear of the house, two circular stone mounds, remnant apple orchard stands, and a large overgrown square feature representing a possible barn.

The 2007 field season achieved the set goals. Reconnaissance survey and shovel testing took place at specific locations on the Ruggles land grant. Two new archaeological sites were recorded and added to the provincial database (Phinney Site and the Ruggles Site).³¹⁹ The Phinney Site represented a nineteenth-century dwelling linked to the Phinney family occupation. The Ruggles Site represented the remains of the “mansion

³¹⁸ Personal communication with Crystal Tupper and Michael Bernard, September 2007.

³¹⁹ See Maritime Archaeology Resource Inventory forms on file with the Nova Scotia Museum, Heritage Division.

house” and some homesteading features on the landscape constructed by Brigadier General Timothy Ruggles when he first moved to North Mountain in 1784. Much of the original arched cellar was intact in the basement of a modern dwelling. Remnants of apple orchards were also recorded behind the Ruggles house as well as a possible barn feature, and fieldstone walls and mounds of some antiquity. A better understanding of the terrain and topography of North Mountain in the grant area was obtained (Figure 3.26). Locations for further fielded investigation were identified, specifically the vaulted garden area, the possible slave quarter area, and the possible slave cemetery area in addition to further work in the Ruggles house general yard area, fields and cellar. Finally, communication networks were developed with local landowners excited to participate in the Ruggles research project. Files for local archival information and oral tradition were initiated and the heritage research permit report detailing the 2007 field work required by the Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage was submitted, reviewed and approved.



3.26 Google Earth map of the dissertation study area. Labels indicate the areas/parcels that were surveyed in 2007 and the recorded points of archaeological interest such as the Phinney Site, the Ruggles Site, a possible slave quarter area, the possible vaulted garden area, the possible slave cemetery area, and old remnant apple orchards. The red is a frame of reference for the Ruggles 1784 land grant. Approximately 875 of the 1000 acres is outlined. The blue is the Ruggles Road running through the land grant.

2008 Archaeology

The 2008 field season followed up points of archaeological and historical interest identified during the Ruggles land grant survey in 2007. The summer field season was organized to locate evidence of the daily life of slaves as well as Timothy Ruggles, the slave owner. This included verifying the location of the reported slave cemetery, investigating Ruggles pursuits as a scientific gardener, testing and excavating in the

reported slave cabin area and mapping the Ruggles landscape and any out buildings. Methodologies employed were test excavation, full excavation, photography (digital and film), material culture collection and analysis, botanical sampling, historic aerial photography review, lidar collection and interpretation, interviewing, and mapping (with hand held GPS and total station). A clearer sense of how Ruggles organized his farmstead and the people who worked for him on the Ruggles Road was needed.³²⁰

The 2008 archaeology season included a research design with the following objectives:

- 1) Particular to excavation, dig another 1m x 1m unit in the cellar of the Tupper Bernard house (BfDg-7, Ruggles Site) to collect architectural details and material culture; outside the cellar at Ruggles Site excavate test units in the area of the possible barn and the walled cart-way leading to the barn; excavate shovel test units in the area of the vaulted garden to confirm area is a former garden and to collect botanical samples for analysis; return to the Evans property on the lower Ruggles Road and excavate test trenches in the location of the potential slave cemetery to verify the area is a cemetery; return to the location of the possible slave dwelling (Elliott property) and now that permission has been obtained from the landowner, complete a shovel test grid over the field and excavate units in areas determined to have high potential for domestic habitation; depending on the analysis of aerial photographs and lidar bald-earth images pinpoint locations at the

³²⁰ To add to this goal, between the 2007 and 2008 field season, extensive historical research on Ruggles was undertaken in Nova Scotia and Massachusetts. Copies of historical documents relevant to Ruggles in the Loyalist era were also acquired via the National Archives in Kew, England. For a full breakdown of the documentary record investigation see Chapter 2: Historical Research.

Ruggles Site or Elliott field that indicate potential outbuildings or structures and field test.

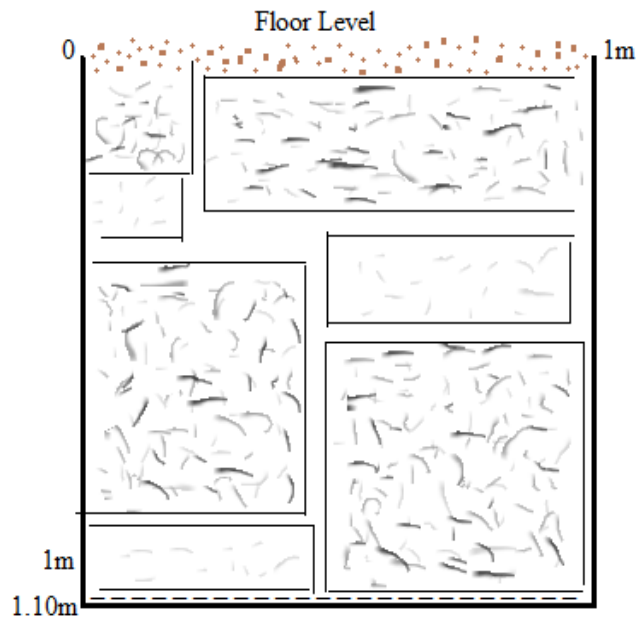
- 2) Map the Ruggles grant landscape, record coordinates of features, test units, test trenches and excavations using GPS technology and total station. Generate a map of features needed to create a visual sense of use of space and a landscape record comparable to the layout of Ruggles pre-Revolutionary War estate landscape in Hardwick, Massachusetts.
- 3) Continue discussions with the landowners about past use of the grant area and local oral traditions.
- 4) Contact staff at the Applied Geomatics Research Group at the Nova Scotia Community College, Middleton Campus regarding lidar data and bald earth imagery of the Ruggles Road. Compare lidar data to aerial photography images and recorded features on the ground.

The Ruggles Site

As planned, in 2008 a second 1m x 1m unit (Unit 4) was excavated in the Tupper Bernard cellar floor. The primary goal was to gather any additional architectural information about the building of the house such as the depth of the cellar foundation and the total height of the cellar from the initial construction level to its terminus at the main floor of the Tupper Bernard home. Also of interest was any material culture evidence associated with the dwelling and the activities there.

The unit was positioned adjacent to the stone and brick arch. Excavation of the unit began as it had in the 2007 season. There was a thick layer of modern, large rock fill mixed with a dark brown, fine grain, soft loam (Munsell 7.5 YR 3/2).³²¹ This fill continued until 86 cm below when a looser fill with smaller rocks began and finally bottomed out at 105 cm below the cellar floor (Figure 3.27). At this point the bottom of the foundation was found and the water table began to seep through the earth floor. Artifacts from Unit 4 were a mix of white ceramic sherds, bottle glass and window glass. Particularly interesting were two artifacts associated with kitchen work: the bone handle of a knife consisting of bone scales riveted to a flat iron tang and a well-used wet stone of local shale (Figure 3.28). The date range of the knife handle places it during the Loyalist period and into the early nineteenth century. The wet stone is much harder to date. While in the cellar, a floor plan was drawn to collect dimensions and design features (Figures 3.29 and 3.30).

³²¹ Refers to the Munsell Color System created by Albert H. Munsell in the early twentieth century and commonly used by archaeologists for consistency in soil recording, description and interpretation. The Munsell Color System is a color system that specifies color according to three color dimensions: hue, value, and color pureness. The Munsell Color System is considered the official color system for soil research and archaeologists carry Munsell Color Charts in the field as a standard component of the field pack.



At floor level, loose brown modern soil was removed then a mix of brown soil and large rocks (fill) with little cultural material. Excavation of the unit exposed the original foundation wall of the Ruggles house which ended 1 meter below the floor surface. The foundation itself was comprised of large local rock, granite and some mortar.

Unit 4
 North Wall Soil Profile
 Ruggles Site, BfDg-7
 Cellar Feature
 July 10, 2008

The profile was exposed up against the foundation wall of the cellar feature. Foundation is composed of stone and mortar including granite. Sterile soil was reached at 1.10m below surface.

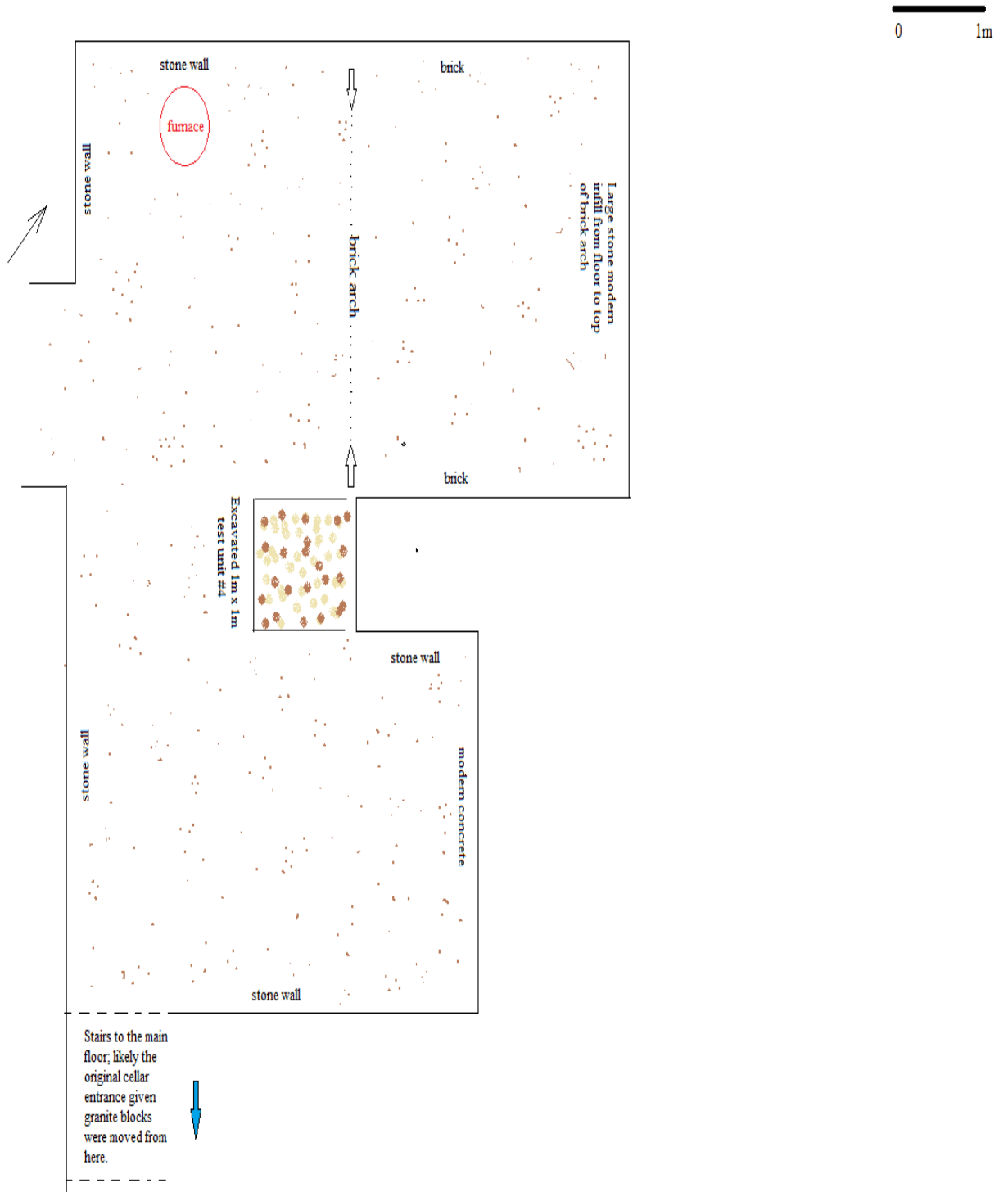
3.27 Unit 4, Cellar Feature Soil Profile



3.28 A composite knife handle and wet stone recovered from the excavation unit in the Ruggles cellar. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2011)



3.29 Image of the brick arch in the cellar of the Ruggles house. Note modern rock infill. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2008)



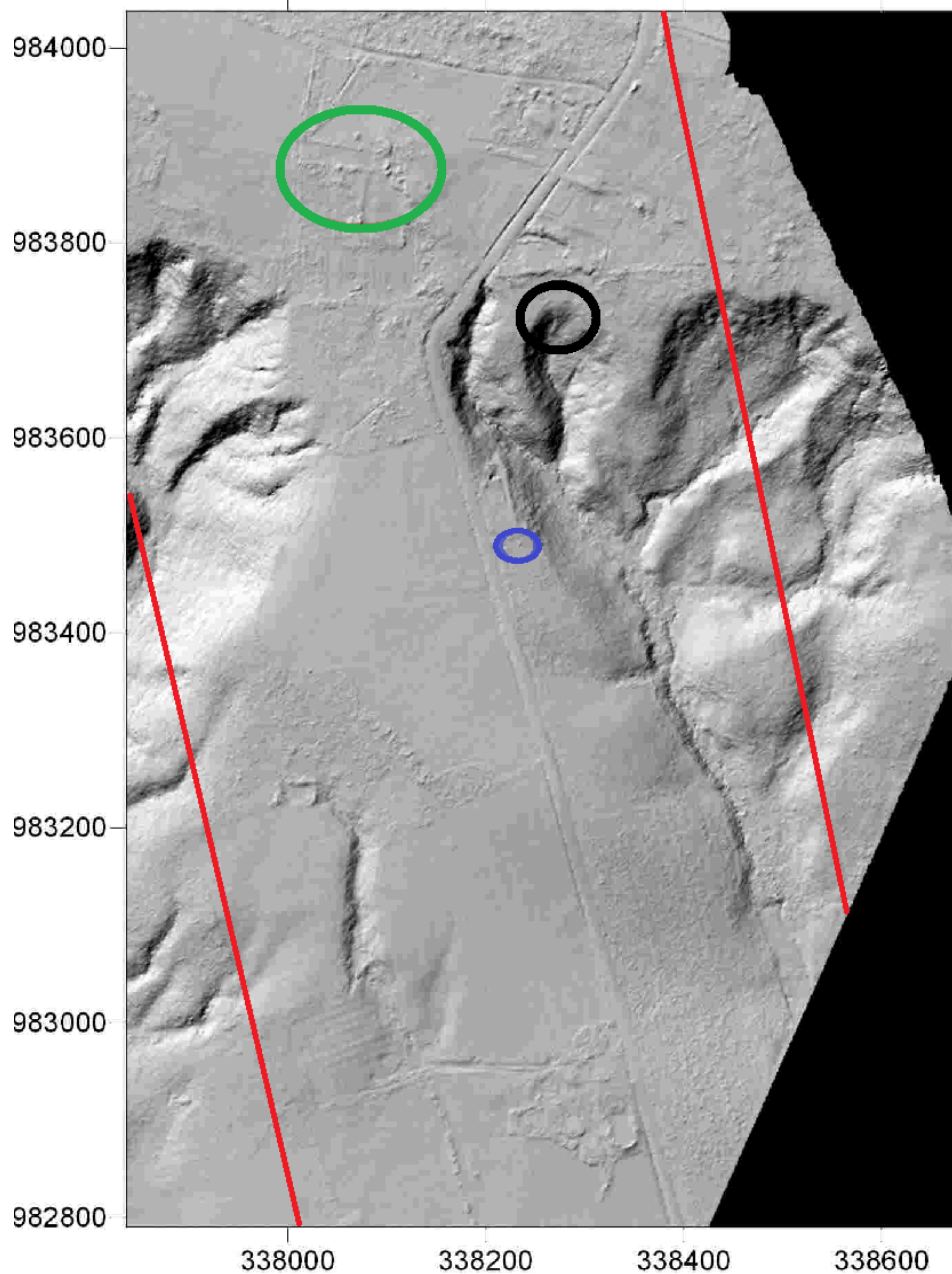
3.30 Ruggles Site, BfDg-7, Cellar Floor Plan³²²

³²² The cellar floor was covered with a thick layer of large rock fill, loose gravel and brown soil reflecting modern improvements. Original cellar walls were approximately 80 cm wide and constructed of local stone,

In both the 2007 and 2008 field seasons the grounds of the Ruggles Site were subject to a thorough field reconnaissance. The reconnaissance was extended to the boundaries of the Tupper-Bernard property lines. Occasional surface finds also supported the theory of a lengthy occupation of the property. Occasional refined white earthenware sherds, red brick fragments and dark green bottle glass were found near the main house and the modern outbuildings.

In 2008, two excavation units were opened in an area with a large depression (6m x 8m) behind the main house noted in 2007 as a possible barn. Once the high shrubbery was cleared, a substantial fieldstone foundation structure was noted. Modern debris and additional rock had been dumped into the depression over the years. A 1x1 meter unit (Test Unit 1) was placed adjacent to the western wall and another in the center of the depression (Test Unit 2). The goal was to record stratigraphy and therefore past events in the area and collect associated material culture. Test Unit 1 resulted in modern debris and finished at 23 cm below surface when a hard-pan yellow sterile soil was encountered. Test Unit 2 revealed a thick layer of large rock at 24 cm below the surface. The unit was expanded in an effort to get around the rock. The rock was a large natural formation and digging was stopped at 25 cm below the surface. Modern glass was collected near the surface and 1 small sherd of blue (Chinese Export) porcelain came from Level 1. It was not expected to find a thick deposit of artifacts for a barn. It was more important to note the size of the foundation and its composition.

granite and mortar. Brick was the main material in the arch. The brick arch rested on a stone foundation. The function of the arch was to support a large chimney. The lower foundation was dry-laid. The upper foundation was mortared. The height of the cellar ranged from 2.5m to 3m.



3.31 A lidar bald-earth image of the Ruggles Road study area. In the upper left of the image (outlined in green), is the Ruggles foundation and other features such as the walled pasture which make up the Ruggles Site, BfDg-7. The black circle indicates the possible vaulted garden area. Note the steep decline in the terrain. The blue circle is the possible slave quarter area noted by local residents. Red is the Ruggles land grant frame of reference. (Lidar courtesy of the Applied Geomatics Research Group at the Centre of Geographic Sciences, Middleton, Nova Scotia 2008)

Six shovel test units were excavated in the walled pasture/old trail west of the barn area and in between the two fieldstone walls that run parallel and lead up to the possible

barn and the house (Figures 3.31 and 3.32). The tests were placed at five meter intervals in a concentrated effort to pick up evidence of past activity in the area. The stratigraphy was as follows:

Level 1 - sod layer, 0 to 6cm below surface

Level 2 - dark brown loam with small rocks, 6 to 22 cm below surface

Level 3 – reddish-brown clay like soil, no rocks, 22 to 35cm below surface

Level 4 – yellowish-brown hard pan sterile soil, 35 to 40 cm below surface

All tests were negative regarding artifacts or cultural events which was not surprising given the area was likely a cart/wagon path leading to and from orchards to the barn or house.³²³

³²³ Note that in recording the stratigraphy or different soil layers in the test or excavation units, the Harris Matrix stratigraphic method has been employed. The Harris Matrix, developed by Edward C. Harris in 1973, distinguishes and records the relationships between human activities and the natural processes of soil formation. The analysis of stratigraphic sequences is the foundation of archaeological research and Harris takes into account natural and cultural factors in determining the relative chronology of past events. Essentially the Harris Matrix method produces a calendar for the stratigraphic events on a site in relative time order. Every archaeological site has a unique sequence of events recorded in the development of its soil stratification. See Harris, E. C., *Principles of Archaeological Stratification* (London: Academic Press, 1989). The levels recorded are listed as they appear in the soil profiles and not always in number order.



3.32 An image looking eastward down the center of the walled pasture to the back of the Tupper/Bernard (Ruggles) house. A low rock wall runs east-west on either side of the field. At the far end of the field is a cluster of low brown shrubs. This is the suspected barn area directly behind the house. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2011)

**Table 3
Artifact summary of the excavation units at the Ruggles Site (BfDg-7), Summer 2008.**

Location	Number	Material	Ware	Decoration	Function	Manufacture Date Range
Unit 1	1	rubber	n/a	n/a	household	modern
Unit 2	1	porcelain	Chinese?	blue painted	foodways	1720-1795
	2	glass	n/a	brown	foodways	modern
	2	glass	n/a	colorless	foodways	1870+
Unit 3	1	glass	n/a	colorless	foodways	1870+
	2	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	1850+
	2	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	1790-1850+
	2	earthenware	cream	light	foodways	1775-1820
	1	earthenware	white?	blue transfer	foodways	1790-1860

				print		
	1	earthenware	white	light blue transfer print	foodways	1820-1867
	11	earthenware	misc. white	n/a	foodways	1805+
Unit 4	1	bone/iron	n/a	n/a	foodways	1760-1840
	1	stone	n/a	n/a	foodways	
	1	stoneware	coarse	n/a	foodways	1760-1900+
	1	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	1850+
	8	glass	n/a	light green	architectural	
	2	glass	n/a	colorless	architectural	
	2	glass	n/a	light green	foodways	
	4	glass	n/a	colorless	foodways	1870+
	1	glass	Mason	colorless	foodways	1860+
	2	earthenware	white	n/a	foodways	1805+
	1	earthenware	white	gilded	foodways	1870+
	1	porcelain	white	n/a	foodways	
	2	stoneware	white	n/a	foodways	1813+
Artifact Total:	52					

The artifacts determine that the Ruggles Site has had a lengthy occupation (Table 3). From the limited shovel testing and 1m x 1m units excavated we collected remnants of the eighteenth century, nineteenth century and the modern era. Considering the level of disturbance in the yards and with the main house itself since initial settlement in 1784, it was interesting that historical evidence remained at the site. The artifacts consisted

mainly of kitchen or tableware sherds once in the form of plates, bowls, or cups and bottle or window glass. The cellar was the prominent feature that anchored the eighteenth-century story of Timothy Ruggles at the Ruggles Site on North Mountain. Much of the original cellar construction was intact. Constructed of local fieldstone, brick and granite and reaching 3.70 meters in height, the cellar was substantial in its construction and has sustained the passage of time.³²⁴ The cellar provided cool storage and perhaps space for food preparation and other household tasks characteristic of such spacious cellars of the period. Evidence of the original chimney is absent. Ruggles obtained his land grant on North Mountain in 1784 and homesteading began shortly thereafter.



3.33 The Ruggles Site or Tupper/Bernard property as it is today. Notice the large pasture for horses, the main house and small barns currently in use. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2008)

³²⁴ Oral tradition and local history reports the granite to be from Quincy, Massachusetts and imported by Ruggles to be incorporated into his mansion house.

A Slave Cemetery?

An additional investigation that took place in the 2008 field season centered on the Evans property located south of North Mountain on the lower Ruggles Road. The Evans property had been noted in the 2007 field survey as the place of a local slave cemetery. Mr. Lloyd Evans, property owner, took us to an area in the woods adjacent to a dirt road. The family oral tradition told to him since childhood was that several slaves were buried in this part of the land parcel. They had died from an epidemic of cholera and therefore had been buried a distance from surrounding homesteads. When his grandparents purchased the land they were told about the burial ground and they agreed as did landowners before them, never to disturb that portion of the land parcel.³²⁵

In 2007 we explored the area with Mr. Evans and noted among the tree cover and brush a somewhat distinct line of four large, natural stones. Were these rudimentary grave markers? In 2008 we returned with the permission of Mr. Evans and conducted a test excavation. We expanded our initial reconnaissance area to look for any additional stone eratics or features. Not finding any we returned to the initial area and cleared away brush, leaves, and deadfall. Three long and narrow test trenches were set up (Trench A - 50cm x 7m, Trench B - 50cm x 8.9m, and Trench C - 50cm x 8.70m). The trenches ran in a north south direction to pick up any cultural evidence that may be associated with the possible markers (Figure 3.34). The goal was to gently shave back thin layers of sod and soil to uncover and distinguish any dark brown or black organic staining in the trenches. Such staining would signal possible human remains and at that point excavation would be

³²⁵ Personal communication with the landowner Mr. Lloyd Evans of Kingston, Annapolis County, during the fall of 2007 and the summer of 2008.

halted. Hoes, root cutters, a sod lifter and skimming shovels were useful tools for the task. The soil profile or stratigraphy uncovered at the Evans property was:

Level 1 – sod/leave matt, 0 to 10 cm below surface

Level 2 – loose, rooty, dry brown loam with few rocks, 10 to 25 cm below surface (Munsell 5 YR, 4/3)

Level 3 – yellowish-red sandy loam, 25 to 38 cm below surface (Munsell 5 YR, 4/6)

Level 4 – red hardpan sterile soil, 38 to 50 cm below surface (Munsell 2.5 YR, 4/6)

The excavation did not uncover any signs of staining or shaft digging. Artifact results were also negative. Were we nearby the actual burial area or has the cultural event disappeared from the soil? The provincial highway is adjacent to the Evans property. The burials, given the oral tradition of the Evans property is correct, may have been wiped out during that significant construction development.³²⁶

³²⁶ More archival research may be needed regarding serious health events in colonial Nova Scotia. Cholera is reported in Canada beginning in 1832 with additional episodes in 1834, 1849, 1851, 1852, 1854, 1866 and 1881. It was common practice to quarantine individuals with the deadly disease. It is likely that quarantining extended to the burial stage. See www.canadianencyclopedia.com



3.34 Testing for the slave cemetery on the Evans Property, Summer 2008. One of three narrow trenches designed to carefully uncover dark staining in association with the line of stone cratics or possible grave markers. (C.Cottreau-Robins, 2008)

The Elliott Property

The bulk of the archaeological fieldwork in 2008 occurred in a section of land owned by Mr. Alan Elliott of Spa Springs (Figure 3.35). Mr. Elliott's land ran parallel to the eastern side of the Ruggles Road and contained, according to Mr. Lowe, the remains of "a slave house". Given the objectives of the thesis project, the bulk of the fieldwork for the season was planned for Mr. Elliott's Ruggles Road field.



3.35 Property Online map with Elliot Field highlighted in green. The red is the frame of reference for the original Ruggles land grant. (Nova Scotia and Municipal Relations, 2011)

Mr. Elliot's field sloped from north to south toward the Spa Springs Road. The field was covered in tall grasses and besides two trees (an elm tree near the roadside and poplar tree in mid field) it was clear of large rocks, modern debris, etc. (Figures 3.36 and 3.38). A shovel test grid was set up over the field. For mapping and recording purposes, a north-south baseline running parallel to the Ruggles Road was established as well as a site datum at the roadside elm tree. All shovel test locations and expanded units excavated later, were recorded using a total station and or a hand-held GPS unit. One hundred and forty-four shovel tests (40cm x 40cm each) were dug every four meters east west and north south the field in a concentrated attempt to pick up artifacts that would suggest cultural activity. The 144 shovel tests resulted in the collection of a wide range of mainly nineteenth century domestic (ceramics and bottle glass) and architectural (nails and

window glass) artifacts. Typical soil stratigraphy through much of the testing grid was as follows:

Level 1 – sod development, 0 to 10-15 cm below surface

Level 2 – dark brown loose loam with small rocks and artifacts, 15 to 33 cm below surface (Munsell 5YR, 3/3)

Level 3 – reddish brown clay like soil, natural sterile layer, 33 to 50 cm below surface, (Munsell 5YR, 5/4)



3.36 Crew members set up the shovel test grid in the Elliott Field, June 2008. Note the Ruggles Road to the right, the poplar tree mid field and elm tree next to the road. (C.Cottreau-Robins, 2008)

Of the 144 shovel tests excavated 73 units contained artifacts and 71 units were negative (Figures 3.37 and 3.38). When assessing the results of the positive shovel tests,

artifact concentrations in the area of shovel tests 123, 132, 133 and 142, a small group of artifacts in the area of shovel tests 101 and 109 and shovel tests 75 and 76 were intriguing (Figure 3.39). The potential for a more substantial cultural footprint in these three areas warranted a closer look.³²⁷

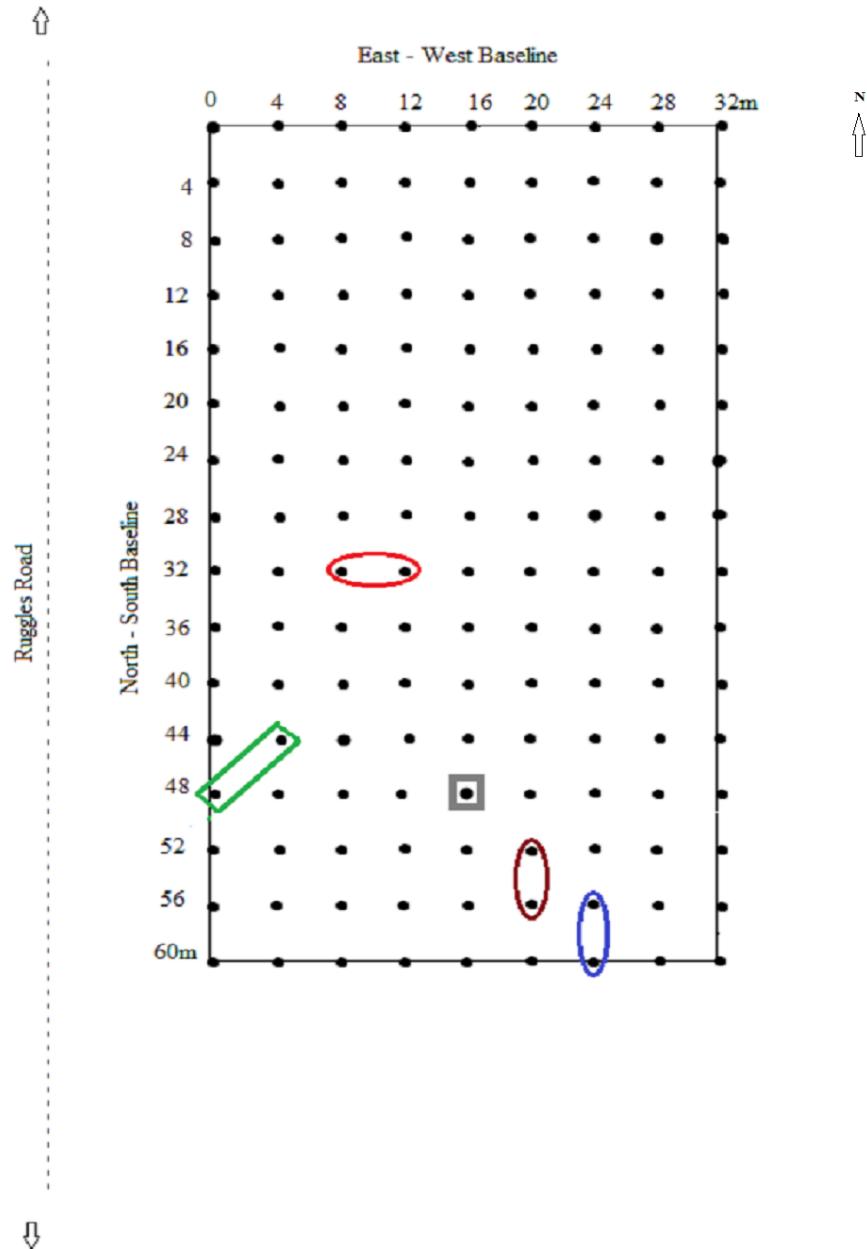


3.37 Typical 40cm x 40cm shovel test pit excavated in the Elliot field. (C.Cottreau-Robins, 2008)

³²⁷ Shovel tests 90 and 99 also suggest the location of a possible late nineteenth-century midden associated with the feature to be uncovered at test pits 123, 132, 133 and 142. The possible midden was noted but not investigated further.



3.38 Elliott field where shovel testing grid was laid out. Yellow star indicates location of the grid on the Ruggles Road. Red is the Ruggles land grant frame of reference. (Google Earth 2011)



3.39 Shovel testing grid in the Elliott field, Ruggles Road. See the yellow star in Figure 3.38 for the location in the study area. The shovel test grid over the Elliott field consisted of 1 shovel test pit every 4 meters. One hundred and forty-four shovel test pits were excavated in an effort to detect evidence of Loyalist-era settlement. The grid was 32m x 60m. Color indicates shovel test pits that were expanded in to test units or excavation units based on material culture linked to the Ruggles period on North Mountain. Brown represents STP 123 and 132 (Unit A). Blue represents STP 133 and 142 (Unit B). Green represents STP 101 and 109 (Unit C). Red represents STP 75 and 76 (Unit D). Grey represents the mid-field tree as shown in Figure 3.36.

Shovel tests 123, 132, 133 and 142 were all located directly east of the large poplar tree in the field. Test 123 contained a dense concentration of architectural debris such as brick fragments, mortar and flat stone. Also recovered were a few ceramic and glass sherds and a 1861 British half penny (Figure 3.40). Test 132 to the south of 123 revealed a continuation of the stones in 123 and sherds of willow pattern refined earthenware. Test 133 continued with brick, and a steady recovery of ceramics, nails and a dark green bottle finish similar to the style manufactured around 1834.³²⁸ Test 142 presented a dramatic change in the soil matrix. A distinct dark brown-black layer of soil (Munsel 7.5 YR, 3/2) with burned ceramics and brick fragments was found at 7cm below the surface. The possible burn event finished at 20 cm below the surface.

Based on these finds we expanded the shovel tests into two adjoining excavation units – Unit A (5m x 1m trench) and Unit B (1m x 2m unit). We were confident we had located a dwelling, possibly burned, and so far the material culture was dating the structure as mid to late nineteenth century. Was there an earlier structure beneath these initial findings? Expansion of the shovel test units 123, 132, 133 and 144 would answer the question.

³²⁸ Noel Hume, Ivor, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980), p. 68.



**3.40 British half penny c. 1861 from the Elliott field.
(C.Cottreau-Robins, 2011)**

The crew removed the sod (Level 1) layer in Units A and B and immediately began to find artifacts such as large brick fragments and small rocks in a brown loam with nails, refined earthenware, glass, kaolin pipe stem and bowl fragments (Figures 3.41 and 3.42). Unit B was lower on the slope and excavation exposed a line of rock signaling part of a possible cellar feature. In consideration of the overall research goals of the field project, the time frame for field work, and the fact that Unit B exhibited characteristics of a cellar or a builders trench for a cellar,³²⁹ Unit A was abandoned and the focus continued on Unit B. So far, it looked like the house cellar feature was in-filled with structural and domestic debris. An eighteenth-century presence was not yet uncovered.

A cellar feature for the nineteenth-century structure persisted in Level 5. Unit B was labeled Feature 1 (Level 4). The stratigraphy of the unit was as follows. Additional levels representing events not recorded in the shovel test grid over the Elliott field are included.

³²⁹ Such as a deeper deposit of dense cultural material and large structure-related rocks.

Level 1– sod development, 0 to 10-15 cm below surface

Level 4 – Feature 1, cellar

Level 5 – below sod containing small rocks, brick and rich with domestic artifacts, 15 to 51 cm below surface (Munsell 7.5YR, 4/3 brown)

Level 8 – dark brown soft loam with bits of wood and artifacts, 20 to 60 cm below surface, (Munsell 7.5 YR, 3/2)

Level 7 – Feature 2, stone wall, 36 cm below surface

Level 6 – reddish-brown clay like soil with a few artifacts and brick, 39 to 57 cm below surface (Munsell 5 YR, 4/4)

Level 9 – damp, brown-black loam with wood, charcoal and artifacts, 22 to 61 cm below surface (Munsell 7.5 YR, 4/2)

Level 10 – Feature 3, interior of cellar

Level 3 – reddish brown clay like soil, natural sterile layer, 70 to 77 cm below surface, (Munsell 5YR, 5/4)

At the north end of Unit B and 36 cm below the surface a rock wall was uncovered and noted as Feature 2 (Level 7). The wall continued to the south end of the unit and ran deep as the unit sloped southward. Inside the wall feature the soil was distinguishable as more black than brown and designated Level 9. The interior of the wall feature was noted as Feature 3 (Level 10) given this area may have represented the inside of the cellar of the dwelling. Level 9 would be fully excavated to expose Level 3. This was the deepest

component of the unit and an effort was made to locate any material from the eighteenth century.

Feature 2 became a multi-layered rock wall as we exposed and excavated it. Wooden planks were uncovered in Feature 3 starting at 50cm below the surface. Beneath Level 9 in Feature 3 is Level 3, the usual reddish-brown clay like sterile soil typical of the Elliott property and the shovel test grid. Unit B was excavated to Level 3 sterile layer. No evidence of an earlier eighteenth-century structure was found.



3.41 Artifacts from Units A and B at the Elliott Site, Ruggles Road. Kaolin pipe bowl and stem fragments, a bird bone fragment, and iron utility buckle. (C.Cottreau-Robins, 2011)

Table 4
Artifact summary of excavation Unit A at the Elliott Site (BfDg-9), Summer 2008³³⁰

Location	Number	Material	Ware	Decoration	Function	Manufacture Date Range
Unit A, Level 1	5	bone	mammal	n/a	foodways	n/a
Unit A Level 1	2	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	1790-1850+
Unit A Level 1	14	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	1790-1850+
Unit A Level 1	10	glass	n/a	colorless	architectural	
Unit A Level 1	7	glass	n/a	dark green	foodways	1700-1885
Unit A Level 1	2	earthenware	coarse	interior brown lead glaze	foodways	1760-1900
Unit A Level 1	1	stoneware	coarse	dark brown salt glaze	foodways	1840-1900
Unit A Level 1	6	earthenware	white	blue transfer print	foodways	1795-1859+
Unit A Level 1	1	earthenware	white	brown transfer print	foodways	1820-1869
Unit A Level 1	6	earthenware	cream	light	foodways	1775-1820
Unit A Level 1	1	earthenware	pearl	blue shell-edged	foodways	1780-1815
Unit A	1	earthenware	white	blue shell-edged,	foodways	1865-1895

³³⁰ As artifact summary tables start to include levels and features note that the artifact data is presented in the same order as the levels of stratigraphy are described in the text.

Level 1				unscaloped, unmolded		
Unit A Level 1	1	earthenware	white	banded	foodways	1790-1840+
Unit A Level 1	4	earthenware	white	polychrome hand painted	foodways	1830-1860
Unit A Level 1	12	earthenware	white	n/a	foodways	1805+
Unit A Level 5 Feature 1	5	glass	n/a	dark green	foodways	1700-1885
Unit A Level 5 Feature 1	25	glass	n/a	colorless	architectural	
Unit A Level 5 Feature 1	4	glass	n/a	colorless	foodways	1870+
Unit A Level 5 Feature 1	2	kaolin clay	n/a	n/a	personal	
Unit A Level 5 Feature 1	4	kaolin clay	n/a	n/a	personal	1820-1860?
Unit A Level 5 Feature 1	1	kaolin clay	n/a	TD, molded	personal	
Unit A Level 5 Feature 1	1	bone	bird	n/a	foodways	
Unit A Level 5 Feature 1	1	iron	n/a	n/a	clothing	1784-
Unit A Level 5 Feature 1	4	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	1784+
Unit A Level 5 Feature 1	19	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	1790-1850+
Unit A Level 5 Feature 1	2	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	1850+
Unit A Level 5 Feature 1	1	earthenware	white	brown transfer print	foodways	1820-1869
Unit A Level 5 Feature 1	1	earthenware	pearl	green shell edged, scaloped	foodways	1800-1835
Unit A Level 5 Feature 1	3	earthenware	pearl	blue shell edged, scaloped	foodways	1800-1835
Unit A Level 5	3	earthenware	pearl	hand painted,	foodways	1820-1840

Feature 1				polychrome		
Unit A Level 5 Feature 1	12	earthenware	pearl	n/a	foodways	1780+
Unit A Level 5 Feature 1	1	earthenware	white	blue and green sponged	foodways	1830-1870
Unit A Level 5 Feature 1	32	earthenware	white	light blue transfer print	foodways	1820-1867
Unit A Level 5 Feature 1	4	earthenware	white?	annular	foodways	1830-1900
Unit A Level 5 Feature 1	5	earthenware	white	blue edged embossed	foodways	1820-1835
Unit A Level 5 Feature 1	20	earthenware	cream	light	foodways	1775-1820
Unit A Level 5 Feature 1	1	earthenware	yellowware	n/a	foodways	1830+
Unit A Level 5 Feature 1	1	porcelain	n/a	molded	unidentifiable	
Unit A Level 5 Feature 1	31	earthenware	pearl	blue transfer print	foodways	1787-1830
Unit A Level 5 Feature 1	58	earthenware	white	n/a	foodways	1805+
Unit A Level 5 Feature 1	1	lead	n/a	stamped	foodways: procurement	1867-1911
Unit A Level 5 Feature 1	2	earthenware	coarse	interior brown lead glazed	foodways	1760-1900
Unit A Level 5 Feature 1	3	earthenware	coarse	dark brown lead glazed	foodways	1760-1900
Unit A Level 5 Feature 1	1	earthenware	coarse	Maritime ware	foodways	1840-1900
Unit A Level 5 Feature 1	4	earthenware	coarse	interior white slip	foodways	1780+
Unit A Level 5 Feature 1	11	earthenware	coarse	n/a	unidentified	
Artifact Total:	336					



3.42 Transfer-printed, feather-edged, and polychrome painted refined earthenware ceramics from Units A and B at the Elliott Site, Ruggles Road. (C.Cottreau-Robins, 2011)

Table 5
Artifact summary of excavation Unit B at the Elliott Site (BfDg-9), Summer 2008

Location	Number	Material	Ware	Decoration	Function	Manufacture Date Range
Unit B Level 1	2	earthenware	white	n/a	foodways	1805+
Unit B Level 1	1	earthenware	white	molded	foodways	1840-1900
Unit B Level 1	1	earthenware	coarse	n/a	unidentified	
Unit B Level 1	1	earthenware	coarse	dark brown lead glazed	foodways	1760-1900
Unit B Level 1	1	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	1830+
Unit B Level 1	1	glass	n/a	dark green	foodways	1700-1885
Unit B Level 5	4	bone	n/a	n/a	foodways	
Unit B Level 5 Feature 1	1	iron	n/a	n/a	household	
Unit B	13	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	1790-1830+

Level 5 Feature 1						
Unit B Level 5 Feature 1	39	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	1790-1830+
Unit B Level 5 Feature 1	6	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	1850+
Unit B Level 5 Feature 1	1	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	
Unit B Level 5 Feature 1	15	glass	n/a	dark green	foodways	1700-1885
Unit B Level 5 Feature 1	15	glass	n/a	colorless	architectural	
Unit B Level 5 Feature 1	6	glass	n/a	light green	architectural	
Unit B Level 5 Feature 1	2	glass	solarized	light purple	foodways	1880+
Unit B Level 5 Feature 1	4	glass	n/a	light green	foodways	1850+
Unit B Level 5 Feature 1	5	glass	n/a	colorless	foodways	1870+
Unit B Level 5 Feature 1	3	earthenware	white	blue sponged	foodways	1830-1870
Unit B Level 5 Feature 1	14	earthenware	white	annular	foodways	1830-1900
Unit B Level 5 Feature 1	2	earthenware	pearl	hand painted, polychrome	foodways	1820-1840
Unit B Level 5 Feature 1	1	earthenware	white	multicolor transfer print	foodways	1820-1880
Unit B Level 5 Feature 1	3	earthenware	white	molded	foodways	1840-1990
Unit B Level 5 Feature 1	4	earthenware	pearl	n/a	foodways	1780-1860
Unit B Level 5 Feature 1	1	earthenware	coarse	Rockingham	foodways	1850+
Unit B Level 5 Feature 1	4	earthenware	white	light blue transfer print	foodways	1820-1867
Unit B Level 5	5	earthenware	yellowware	n/a	foodways	1830+

Feature 1						
Unit B Level 5 Feature 1	49	earthenware	white	n/a	foodways	1805+
Unit B Level 5 Feature 1	2	earthenware	coarse	Maritime ware	foodways	1860-1900
Unit B Level 5 Feature 1	20	earthenware	coarse	Maritime ware?	foodways	1840-1900
Unit B Level 5 Feature 1	6	earthenware	coarse	dark brown lead glaze	foodways	1760-1900
Unit B Level 5 Feature 1	2	stoneware	coarse	brown salt glaze	foodways	1830-1860
Unit B Level 8	10	earthenware	coarse	Maritime ware?	foodways	1840-1900
Unit B Level 8	5	earthenware	coarse	n/a	foodways	
Unit B Level 8 Feature 1	1	leather	n/a	n/a	clothing	1800+
Unit B Level 8 Feature 1	1	earthenware	white	annular	foodways	1830-1900
Unit B Level 8 Feature 1	1	earthenware	white	blue edged, embossed	foodways	1820-1835
Unit B Level 8 Feature 1	4	earthenware	white	blue sponged	foodways	1830-1870
Unit B Level 8 Feature 1	6	earthenware	white	n/a	foodways	1805+
Unit B Level 8 Feature 2	4	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	1850+
Unit B Level 8 Feature 2	10	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	1790-1830+
Unit B Level 8 Feature 2	1	iron	n/a	n/a	household	
Unit B Level 8 Feature 2	1	glass	n/a	dark green	foodways	1700-1885
Unit B Level 8 Feature 1	17	glass	n/a	light green	architectural	
Unit B Level 8 Feature 1	7	glass	n/a	light green, embossed	foodways	1850+

Unit B Level 8 Feature 1	4	glass	n/a	colorless	architectural	
Unit B Level 8 Feature 1	1	glass	solarized	light purple	foodways	1880+
Unit B Feature 1 Level 6	2	earthenware	pearl	n/a	foodways	1780+
Unit B Feature 1 Level 6	6	earthenware	coarse	Maritime ware?	foodways	1860-1900
Unit B Feature 1 Level 6	4	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	1850+
Unit B Feature 1 Level 6	2	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	1790-1830+
Unit B Feature 2 Level 9	1	leather	n/a	n/a	clothing	1800+
Unit B Feature 3 Level 9	1	earthenware	white	blue sponged	foodways	1830-1870
Unit B Feature 3 Level 9	1	earthenware	white	blue transfer print	foodways	1790-1859
Unit B Feature 3 Level 9	4	earthenware	white	n/a	foodways	1805+
Unit B Feature 3 Level 9	8	earthenware	coarse	Maritime ware?	foodways	1840-1900
Unit B Feature 3 Level 9	2	glass	n/a	dark green	foodways	1700-1885
Unit B Feature 3 Level 9	1	glass	n/a	colorless	foodways	1870+
Unit B Feature 3 Level 9	20	glass	n/a	light green	architectural	
Unit B Feature 3 Level 9	2	glass	n/a	colorless	architectural	
Unit B Feature 3 Level 9	3	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	1790-1830+
Unit B Feature 3 Level 9	3	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	
Unit B Feature 3 Level 9	1	iron	n/a	n/a	household	
Artifact	369					

Total:						
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An analysis of Units A and B suggested a mid to late nineteenth-century domestic dwelling with a cellar (Tables 4 and 5). A comfortable standard of living was noted by the variety of household artifacts. The following images detail the process of excavation (Figures 3.43-3.48).



3.43 Unit A, at the Elliott Site, after Level 1 sod removal. Rocks and brick fragments are visible. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2008)



3.44 Excavation in Level 5 and Level 8, Unit B, the Elliott Site. Notice the dark stain (Level 8) in the soil adjacent to the western wall. Level 5 produced artifacts and Level 8 mainly structural material such as nails, window glass, wood, rock and brick. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2008)



3.45 Given a tight timeframe for the project, excavation of Unit A in the upper left corner was stopped as Unit B began to exhibit a richer concentration of materials and structural features like the possible wall, Level 7, Feature 2, exposed in the dark stain of Level 8. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2008)



3.46 A close up of the above of possible wall feature. Notice brick in the wall and the clear layers of stratigraphy. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2008)



3.47 Field worker Aaron Lohr excavates the wall area Feature 2. The soil was distinguishable as more black than brown and designated Level 9. The interior of the wall feature was noted as Feature 3 (Level 10) given this area may have represented the inside of the cellar of the dwelling. Note the wooden plank exposed in the west wall. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2008)



3.48 Excavation near completion in Unit B as Level 3 begins to come through. The darker area on the right (west wall of pit) represents the possible cellar of the domestic site. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2008)

Another area of interest that resulted from the shovel testing grid for the Elliott field was in an area close to the Ruggles Road on the western side of the poplar tree adjacent to Units A and B. Shovel test units 101 and 109 produced a small amount of artifacts that hinted at the late eighteenth century: wrought iron nails and lined, underglazed brown pearlware and creamware ceramic.³³¹ Based on this physical

³³¹ See George L. Miller, et al “Telling Time for Archaeologists,” *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 29 (2000): 12. Miller gives a date range of 1770-1825 for underglazed brown lines parallel to rims of creamware and pearlware tableware.

evidence the two shovel tests were expanded into a full-sized test unit labeled Unit C.

The following is a description of the findings in Unit C, the stratigraphy and artifact table.

We started with expanding Shovel Test 101 to a 1m x 1m test unit and removed the sod (Level 1) (Figure 3.49). Excavation proceeded in the test unit similar to much of the Elliott field – sod, brown loam with artifacts then reddish brown clay. However, at 37-40 cm below surface a line of rock was uncovered along the western edge of the square. This was an intriguing feature given it could represent something structural. In an effort to define and explain what may be a wall or drain feature it was decided to expand the unit two meters southward. This new section was labeled Expansion A. As excavation continued it was determined that the line of rock was layered and not a single tier. The wall or drain was labeled Feature 1. A fragment of dark green bottle glass was recovered within the layered rocks at 47 cm below surface which was encouraging given the field objective to discover and record evidence of a structure linked to the earlier occupation of the Ruggles Road rather than the mid to late nineteenth century site to the east of the poplar tree.³³²

³³² In terms of general dating of artifacts, dark green or olive green bottle glass signals more to the eighteenth century than the nineteenth century.



3.49 Shovel Test 101 expanded in to Unit C, Elliott Field. Line of rock is clearly visible. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2008)

The rock feature expanded into an alignment continuing southward. Adjacent to the feature was a new soil designation – Level 7. This level was a mottled brown loam with a mix of greyish, reddish and orange bits. The density was heavy and had clay like elements. The soil was void of artifacts and because of the mixed nature and location next to the wall/drain feature it may have represented a builder’s trench. The rock feature was traced through several expansions of the original Unit C (See Planview for Expansions A – G). The goal was to delineate the feature, determine its function, chronology and association with any additional structural features or artifacts that may be uncovered in a larger unit (Figures 3.50-3.54).



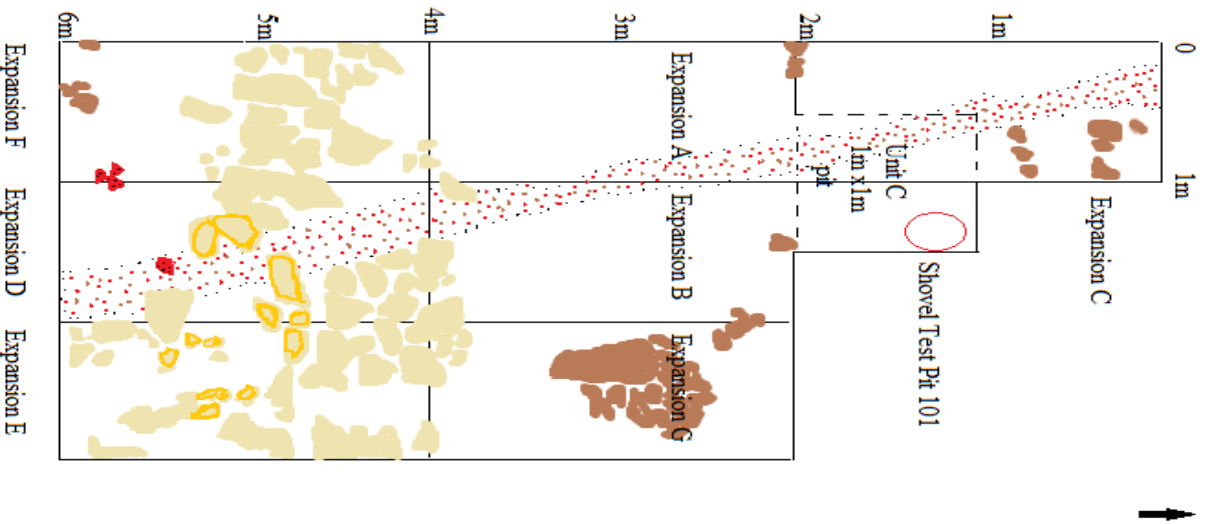
3.50 Field assistant Roger Lewis expands on the original wall/drainage feature uncovered in Unit C. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2008)



3.51 As above, wall/drainage feature continues southward into other Unit C expansions. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2008)

Next page:

3.52 Planview of Unit C and all expansions, Elliott Site, BfDg-8



Planview of Unit C
 Elliott Site, BHD-g-8
 Ruggles Road, Spa Springs
 July 18, 2008

Unit C began as an expansion of Shovel Test Pit 101 in the Elliott field. As buried features and artifacts were uncovered, Unit C developed to include expansion areas A, B, C, D, E, F and G. The main features excavated were a drain, wall and hearth.

Brick fragments uncovered in Unit C were hand molded and likely of local clay. The medium-sized nails recorded may represent clapboard construction. This may be the remains of a laborer's hut or quarter.

Expansions of the original Unit C continued north, south, east and west from Expansion A to Expansion G as the wall/drain continued southward and other structural stones appeared in new opened 1m x 2m units.



3.53 and 3.54 Field workers Talia Olshefsky and Aaron Lohr excavate in Unit C Expansions F and G respectively uncovering additional structural evidence at the Elliott Site. The image above was taken looking south and the image below was taken looking north. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2008)



At the southern end of Expansion B another stone feature was uncovered that appeared to be running perpendicular to Feature 1. This Feature (2) was constructed with larger rocks than Feature 1. The field crew was moved to the Unit C area. All hands were needed for focus and excavation. We had only ten days left in the field and this part of the Elliott field was revealing a potentially earlier and more rudimentary structure than recorded at Units A and B. Material culture was not plentiful but persistent and consisted mainly of glass, nails and ceramics (Tables 6 to 13). An abundance of artifacts was not expected if this was the location of slaves or labourers working the Ruggles land grant.

With a large rock feature (2) exposed in Expansions B and continued in D, E and F, it was concluded that Feature 1 was likely a drain and Feature 2 a structural wall. Further excavation in Expansions D and E also exposed a possible stone hearth. This was a somewhat circular area of large fire-marked rocks now labeled Feature 3 (Figure 3.56).



3.55 The Feature 3 area is in the upper left area of the expanded Unit C. Looking south. (C.Cottreau-Robins, 2008)



3.56 Unit C, looking north. Hearth area is to the right. (C.Cottreau-Robins, 2008)

The brick fragments coming up in the excavation zones of Feature 2 and 3 appeared to be hand molded of local clay. Additional observations in the field included: a high number of medium-sized nails commonly used in clapboard construction, no formal chimney remains, the low amount of window glass, the low amount in general of material culture (nothing that reflected elevated economic status), and structural remains that were dry laid (no mortar). This was in sharp contrast to evidence recorded at Units A and B.

In the field lab, the manufacture date range on datable artifacts for the Unit C study area were consistently earlier than the Phinney Site or Units A and B at the Elliott Site. Taking a closer look at a specific artifact group, such as transfer-printed earthenware, a highly-decorated tableware, Units A and B produced 77 sherds whereas Unit C, with its much larger excavation area, produced only 9 sherds.

Recorded Stratigraphy for Unit C³³³:

Level 1– sod development; 0 to 10-15 cm below surface

Level 2 – dark brown loose loam with small rocks and artifacts; 12 to 15 cm below surface (Munsell 5YR, 3/3)

Level 4 – containing small rocks, brick and domestic artifacts, charcoal bits, some burnt brick; 15 to 30 cm below surface (Munsell 7.5YR, 4/3 brown);

Level 5 - Feature 1; dry-laid layered rock drain running north-south in the eastern area of the Elliott property; 38 to 55 cm below surface; rock is a mix of medium to large, local and likely from the field

Level 6 – reddish-brown clay like soil with a few artifacts and brick; 30 to cm below surface; (Munsell 5 YR, 4/4)

Level 7 – mottled brown loam with orange, greyish and reddish hints; dense, heavy and clay like; 48 to 65 cm below surface; no artifacts; (Munsell 7.5 YR, 5/4)

Level 8 - Feature 2; large rock feature exposed at the south end of Expansion B and further more in Expansions D, E, F and G; dry-laid foundation wall, local rock

Level 9 – 17 to 20 cm below surface, in Expansion D (Munsell 7 YR, 4/4)

³³³ Note that the stratigraphy/soil levels recorded for Unit C are somewhat different than what was recorded in Units A and B. This is due to different events or activity in the different unit locations in the Elliott field. Unit C does however exhibit some similarities to the overall general stratigraphy of the Elliott field recorded during the shovel testing grid.

Level 10 – Feature 3; stone hearth feature exposed in Expansions D and E

Level 3 – reddish brown clay like soil, natural sterile layer; 30 to 65 cm below surface; (Munsell 5YR, 5/4)

Table 6
Artifact summary of excavation Unit C at the Elliott Site (BfDg-9), Summer 2008

Location	Number	Material	Ware	Decoration	Function	Manufacture Date Range
Unit C Level 1	1	clay	n/a	n/a	architectural	
Unit C Level 1	1	lead	n/a	stamped	foodways: procurement	
Unit C Level 1	1	earthenware	pearl	blue painted	foodways	1779-1830
Unit C Level 1	1	earthenware	cream	light	foodways	1775-1820
Unit C Level 1	1	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	1790-1830+
Unit C Level 4	8	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	1790-1830+
Unit C Level 4	1	glass	n/a	pale green	architectural	
Unit C Level 4	2	glass	n/a	colorless	architectural	
Unit C Level 4	2	earthenware	pearl	blue shell edged	foodways	1780-1815
Unit C Level 4	1	earthenware	pearl	polychrome painted	foodways	1795-1830
Unit C Level 4	1	earthenware	white	molded	foodways	1840-1900
Unit C Level 4	11	earthenware	white	n/a	foodways	
Unit C Level 4 Feature 1	1	glass	n/a	pale green	personal	
Unit C Level 4 Feature 1	1	glass	n/a	dark green	foodways	1784-1885
Artifact Total	33					

Table 7
Artifact summary of excavation Unit C, Expansion A, at the Elliott Site (BfDg-9), Summer 2008

Location	Number	Material	Ware	Decoration	Function	Manufacture Date Range
Unit C Level 4 Exp. A	5	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	1784-1830+
Unit C Level 4 Exp. A	2	glass	n/a	colorless	architectural	
Unit C Level 4 Exp. A	1	glass	n/a	colorless, molded	foodways	1780+
Unit C Level 4 Exp. A	3	earthenware	pearl	blue painted	foodways	1779-1830
Unit C Level 4 Exp. A	2	earthenware	pearl	blue shell edged	foodways	1780-1830
Unit C Level 4 Exp. A	5	earthenware	white	blue transfer print	foodways	1795-1840
Unit C Level 4 Exp. A	1	earthenware	pearl	underglazed polychrome painted	foodways	1795-1830
Unit C Level 4 Exp. A	1	earthenware	pearl	n/a	foodways	1780-1830
Unit C Level 4 Exp. A	1	earthenware	white?	dark blue	foodways	1805+
Unit C Level 4 Exp. A	3	earthenware	cream	light	foodways	1775-1820
Unit C Level 4 Exp. A	10	earthenware	white?	n/a	foodways	1800+
Artifact Total	34					

Table 8
Artifact summary of excavation Unit C, Expansion B, At the Elliott Site (BfDg-9), Summer 2008

Unit C Level 1 Exp. B	2	glass	n/a	pale green	architectural	
Unit C Level 1 Exp. B	2	glass	n/a	colorless	foodways	
Unit C Level 1 Exp. B	3	earthenware	cream	light	foodways	1775- 1820
Unit C Level 1 Exp. B	3	earthenware	pearl	n/a	foodways	1780- 1830
Unit C Level 1 Exp. B	6	earthenware	white?	n/a	foodways	1800+
Unit C Level 4 Exp. B	4	earthenware	white?	dark brown glazed	foodways	
Unit C Level 4 Exp. B	2	earthenware	pearl	transfer print Willow	foodways	1790- 1820
Unit C Level 4 Exp. B	1	earthenware	pearl	blue shell edged	foodways	1780- 1830
Unit C Level 4 Exp. B	2	earthenware	pearl	n/a	foodways	1780- 1830
Unit C Level 4 Exp. B	3	earthenware	pearl	underglazed painted polychrome	foodways	1795- 1830
Unit C Level 4 Exp. B	4	earthenware	cream	light	foodways	1775- 1820
Unit C Level 4 Exp. B	1	earthenware	coarse	Maritime ware?	foodways	1840- 1900
Unit C Level 4 Exp. B	3	earthenware	white?	n/a	foodways	1800+
Unit C Level 4 Exp. B	1	kaolin clay	n/a	n/a	personal	
Unit C Level 4 Exp. B	2	glass	n/a	pale green	architectural	
Unit C Level 4 Exp. B	4	glass	n/a	molded dark brown	personal	1850+
Unit C Level 4 Exp. B	1	iron/copper alloy	n/a	n/a	clothing	
Unit C Level 4	1	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural ?	

Exp. B						
Unit C Level 4 Exp. B	7	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	1770-1820s
Artifact Total:	52					

**Table 9
Artifact summary of excavation Unit C, Expansion C, at the Elliott Site (BfDg-9), Summer 2008**

Location	Number	Material	Ware	Decoration	Function	Manufacture Date Range
Unit C Level 1 Exp. C	1	earthenware	pearl	underglaze floral blue painting	foodways	1775-1830
Unit C Level 1 Exp. C	2	earthenware	cream	light	foodways	1775-1820
Unit C Level 1 Exp. C	5	earthenware	white?	n/a	foodways	1800+
Unit C Level 1 Exp. C	2	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	
Unit C Level 4 Exp. C	1	glass	n/a	pale green	architectural	
Unit C Level 4 Exp. C	2	earthenware	cream	light	foodways	1775-1820
Unit C Level 4 Exp. C	2	earthenware	annular	blue banded	foodways	1790-1840
Unit C Level 4 Exp. C	1	earthenware	pearl	underglaze blue painted	foodways	1775-1820
Unit C Level 4 Exp. C	1	earthenware	pearl	blue transfer print	foodways	1787-1830
Unit C Level 4 Exp. C	1	stoneware	unidentified	brown glaze	foodways?	1750-1900
Unit C Level 4 Exp. C	1	earthenware	pearl	n/a	foodways	1780-1830
Unit C Level 4 Exp. C	3	earthenware	white?	n/a	foodways	1800+
Unit C Level 4 Exp. C	7	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	1770-1830+
Artifact	29					

Total:						
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Table 10
Artifact summary of excavation Unit C, Expansion D, at the Elliott Site (BfDg-9), Summer 2008

Location	Number	Material	Ware	Decoration	Function	Manufacture Date Range
Unit C Level 1-2 Exp. D	1	glass	n/a	pale green	architectural	
Unit C Level 1-2 Exp. D	2	earthenware	cream	light	foodways	1775-1820
Unit C Level 4 Exp. D	1	glass	n/a	pale green	architectural	
Unit C Level 4 Exp. D	1	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	1790-1810
Unit C Level 4 Exp. D	1	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	1790-1820+
Unit C Level 4, 10 Exp. D	1	stoneware	n/a	n/a	foodways?	1750-1900
Unit C Level 4,10 Exp. D	6	earthenware	pearl/cream	n/a	foodways	1775-1830
Unit C Level 4,10 Exp. D	1	earthenware	pearl	blue shell edged	foodways	1780-1830
Unit C Level 4,10 Exp. D	2	earthenware	pearl	underglaze blue painted	foodways	1775-1820
Unit C Level 4,10 Exp. D	1	earthenware	pearl	underglaze painted polychrome	foodways	1795-1830
Unit C Level 8,9 Exp. D	5	earthenware	pearl	underglaze painted polychrome, fine line	foodways	1795-1815
Artifact Total	22					

Table 11
Artifact summary of excavation Unit C, Expansion E, at the Elliott Site (BfDg-9), Summer 2008

Location	Number	Material	Ware	Decoration	Function	Manufacture Date Range
Unit C Level 1,8 Exp. E	1	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	1790-1830
Unit C Level 1, 8 Exp. E	1	earthenware	white	blue sponge	foodways	1830-1870
Unit C Level 4 Exp. E	1	earthenware	pearl	blue shell edged	foodways	1780-1830
Unit C Level 4 Exp. E	6	earthenware	pearl	n/a	foodways	1780-1830
Unit C Level 4 Exp. E	1	earthenware	cream	light	foodways	1775-1820
Unit C Level 4 Exp. E	1	earthenware	coarse	Maritime ware?	foodways	1840-1900
Unit C Level 4 Exp. E	1	earthenware	white?	brown glazed	foodways	
Unit C Level 4 Exp. E	6	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	
Unit C Level 4 Exp. E	1	glass	n/a	amber/brown	personal	
Unit C Level 4 Exp. E	1	glass	n/a	pale green	architectural	
Unit C Level 4 Exp. E	3	glass	n/a	medium green	foodways	
Unit C Level 4 Exp. E	1	glass	n/a	light olive green	foodways	
Artifact Total:	24					

Table 12
Artifact summary of excavation Unit C, Expansion F, at the Elliott Site (BfDg-9), Summer 2008

Location	Number	Material	Ware	Decoration	Function	Manufacture Date Range
Unit C Level 1 Exp. F	1	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	modern
Unit C Level 1 Exp. F	1	iron	n/a	n/a	unidentifiable	
Unit C Level 1 Exp. F	1	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	
Unit C Level 1 Exp. F	1	iron	table	n/a	foodways	1784+
Unit C Level 1 Exp. F	1	glass	n/a	colorless	personal	1820+
Unit C Level 1 Exp. F	4	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	1790-1830
Unit C Level 1 Exp. F	2	earthenware	pearl	blue line at rim	foodways	1770-1825
Unit C Level 1 Exp. F	2	earthenware	pearl?	unidentified	foodways	
Unit C Level 4 Exp. F	3	earthenware	pearl	n/a	foodways	1780-1830
Unit C Level 4 Exp. F	4	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	1790-1830
Unit C Level 5,8 Exp. F	1	earthenware	coarse	n/a	architectural	1784+
Unit C Level 8 Exp. F	1	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	
Unit C Level 8 Exp. F	2	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	1790-1830
Artifact Total:	24					

Table 13
Artifact summary of excavation Unit C, Expansion G, at the Elliott Site (BfDg-9), Summer 2008

Location	Number	Material	Ware	Decoration	Function	Manufacture Date Range
Unit C Level 1 Exp. G	2	earthenware	cream	light	foodways	1775-1820
Unit C Level 1 Exp. G	1	earthenware	pearl	blue transfer print	foodways	1787-1830
Unit C Level 1 Exp. G	1	stoneware	unidentified	white glaze	foodways	1750-1900
Unit C Level 1 Exp. G	1	glass	case	dark olive	foodways	18 th c.+
Unit C Level 1 Exp. G	11	glass	n/a	amber	personal	1850+
Unit C Level 2-4 Exp. G	2	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	1790-1830
Unit C Level 2-4 Exp. G	1	glass	n/a	dark olive	foodways	18 th c.+
Unit C Level 2-4 Exp. G	2	glass	n/a	amber	foodways	1850+
Unit C Level 2-4 Exp. G	2	earthenware	pearl	blue shell edged	foodways	1780-1830
Unit C Level 2-4 Exp. G	17	earthenware	pearl	n/a	foodways	1780-1830
Unit C Level 4 Exp. G	1	iron	n/a	n/a	labor	1800+
Unit C Level 4 Exp. G	2	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	1790-1830
Unit C Level 4 Exp. G	10	earthenware	pearl	n/a	foodways	1780-1830
Unit C Level 4 Exp. G	1	earthenware	pearl?	unidentified	foodways	
Unit C Level 4 Exp. G	2	earthenware	coarse	unidentified	foodways	
Unit C Level 4 Exp. G	1	earthenware	unidentified	brown glazed	foodways	
Unit C Level 4 Exp. G	1	earthenware	white	embossed	foodways	1840+

Unit C Level 4 Exp. G	2	earthenware	cream	light	foodways	1775-1820
Unit C Level 4 Exp. G	1	kaolin clay	n/a	n/a	personal	1784-1820
Artifact Total:	61					

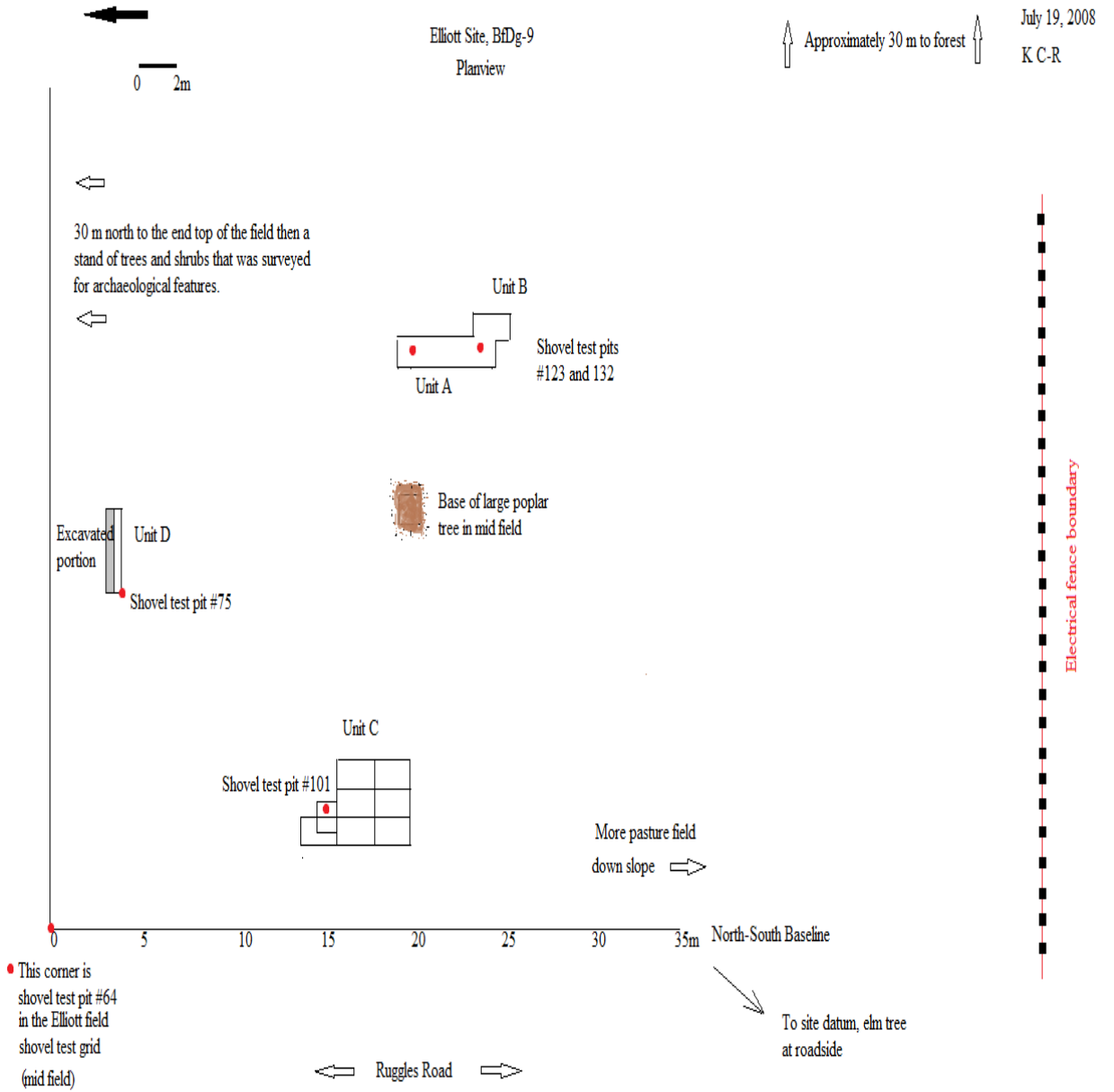
The Elliott Site, BfDg-9, exhibited two components: a mid to late nineteenth-century dwelling located in the middle of the field which was quite substantial in its material culture content and architectural content, and closer to the road, a smaller, more rudimentary structure with less material culture and architectural content. Two cultural events separate in material illustrative of daily life, structural material, and time.

Shovel tests 75 and 76 in the Elliott field also provided two artifacts that suggested the possibility of an area representative of late eighteenth century activity. Shovel test 75 produced a large fragment of dark olive liquor bottle glass typical of the eighteenth century. Shovel test 76 produced an iron artifact that was either furniture or building hardware found in the same period. A .50m x 3m trench, Unit D, was set up in line with ST 75 and ST 76 and excavated to determine if additional evidence of the period was in that location. The following table presents the material culture collected.

Table 14
Artifact summary of excavation Unit D at the Elliott Site (BfDg-9), Summer 2008

Location	Number	Material	Ware	Decoration	Function	Manufacture Date Range
Unit D Level 1	1	iron	n/a	n/a	architectural	1850+
Unit D Level 1	5	glass	n/a	pale green	architectural	
Unit D Level 1	1	glass	n/a	colorless	unidentified	
Unit D Level 1	2	glass	n/a	pale green, molded	foodways	1850+
Unit D Level 1	1	earthenware	white?	brown transfer print	foodways	1820-1869
Unit D Level 1	2	earthenware	pearl	n/a	foodways	1780-1830
Artifact Total:	12					

Unit D did not reveal any structural evidence or concentration of artifacts. The testing event was recorded and the unit closed.



3.57 Plan of Elliott property indicating all tested areas A, B, C and D and walking survey in the upper field.

Table 15
Functional Typology
(Examples of artifacts in each subcategory were recovered from the Ruggles project).³³⁴

1. Foodways

- a. Procurement: ammunition
- b. Service: ceramic ware (earthenware/stoneware), flatware, glassware
- d. Storage: earthenware/stoneware storage containers, glass bottles
- e. Remains: faunal

2. Clothing

- a. Fasteners: buttons, buckle

3. Household/Structural/Architectural

- a. Architectural/Construction: nails, bricks, window glass, mortar, stone
- b. Hardware: hinge, fasteners, staples
- c. Furnishing hardware

4. Personal

- a. Medicinal: medicine bottles
- b. Recreational: smoking pipes
- c. Monetary: coins

5. Labor

- a. Agricultural: fence staple, horse shoe
- b. Tools: wet stone, knife

6. Functionally Unidentifiable

- a. Glass
- b. Metal
- c. Ceramics

The Vaulted Garden³³⁵

Information on the vaulted garden is absent from the data section of the archaeology chapter. The analysis of botanical samples collected during field work in 2008 is complete and a report from Memorial University in Newfoundland was

³³⁴ Table 14 is modeled after Groover et al (2004) who drew from Orser (1988). Charles E. Orser, Jr. *The Material Basis of the Postbellum Plantation: Historical Archaeology in the South Carolina Piedmont*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988). Mark Groover, Melanie A. Cabak and Elizabeth Scott, *Plantations Without Pillars: Archaeology, Wealth and Material Life at Bush Hill*, Vol. 2, Savannah River Archaeological Research Papers 11, (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 2004), p. 2-4.

³³⁵ Vaulted garden is a term used locally to refer to Ruggles' garden area on the slope opposite the mansion house. Its exact origin is unknown. "The Vault" is a significant cave recorded on North Mountain and located to the north east of the Ruggles land grant. The garden may have taken on that name over time given its proximity to The Vault. The vaulted garden may also refer to the vaulted ceiling affect the trees lend the natural terraces in the sloped garden area.

forwarded. A larger discussion of Ruggles' garden will be included in the Chapter Four. Lidar data will also be presented in the landscape section. Additional information in the form of oral tradition and reconnaissance survey, proposes that Ruggles vaulted garden was to the west of his house just beyond the walled pasture and down slope. Whether, Ruggles was gardening to the east or west of his home (or perhaps in both areas) it was challenging to determine for certain. Archaeological evidence may be inconclusive.

2009 Archaeology

A third field investigation occurred in the fall of 2009. An opportunity to survey another section of the Ruggles land grant, inaccessible in 2007 and 2008, became available and the Cyr property was walked, searched and documented in an additional effort to record any archaeological points of interest (Figure 3.58).



3.58 Property Online map of the Cyr property (highlighted in orange) on the Ruggles Road in Spa Springs. The red is the frame of reference for the original Ruggles land grant of 1784. (Nova Scotia and Municipal Relations, 2011)

The Cyr Property

The Cyr property ran parallel to the Ruggles Road but on the west side. Three days were spent walking the tract and looking for evidence of cultural activity. Three dumping areas for modern debris were noted as well as a man-made watering hole. Of interest were two landscape features: a microenvironment at mid slope in a field west of the Cyr house and barns, and a line of trees with a lane or path running west of the Cyr home and dividing the lower and upper fields (Figure 3.59). Shovel test pits were excavated as required during the reconnaissance but no cultural material was found.

Lidar imagery highlighted a man-made pond and modern structures but it did not indicate any potential features of antiquity except for visible rows from orchards no longer on the

landscape. Overall, the Cyr property contained cleared fields, remnant orchards and old stands of trees that were likely linked to Ruggles development of cidering.³³⁶ Old roads were also noted as well as another suggested vaulted garden area.

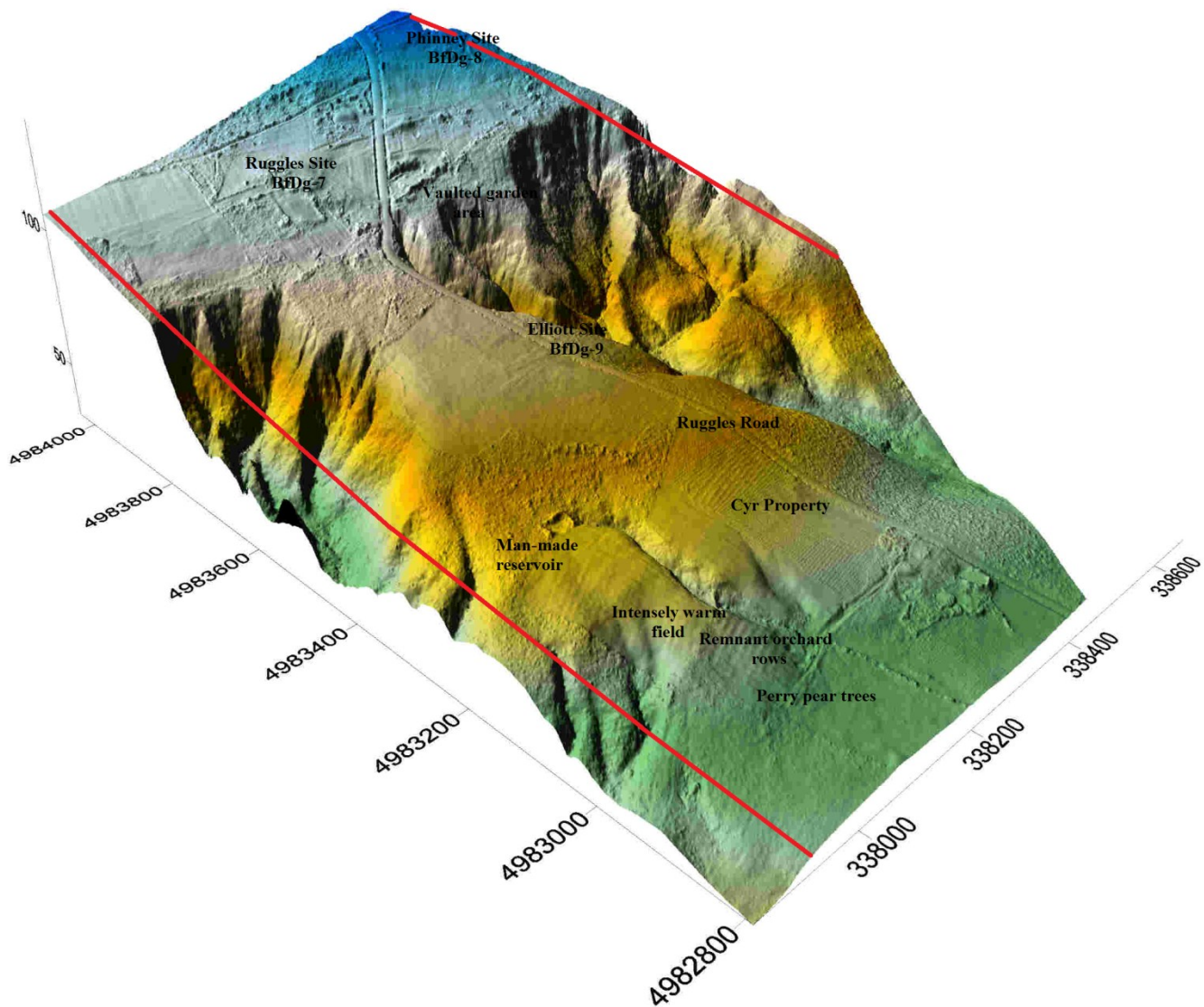


3.59 Part of a stand of perry pear trees cited by Mr. Cyr as being approximately 230 years old. The species is rare in Nova Scotia but have been documented widely in Great Britain, where over 100 varieties grow, for 300 years. Perry pear trees are noted for cider making.³³⁷ The stand on the Cyr property could be linked to the Ruggles period and, if so, likely planted by Ruggles as part of his cider making efforts. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2009)

³³⁶ Mr. Edward Cyr accompanied the field crew on a walking tour of his land and pointed out remnant orchards, old road/pathways, field clearing stone piles and what he believes to be Ruggles vaulted garden.

³³⁷ See the following web site for some historical information on the perry pear tree. http://www.habitataid.co.uk/acatalog/Perry_Pears.html “Perry Pears are large trees living up to 300 years, grown from at least Saxon times in the West Midlands and more recently in Somerset. They are beautiful trees Pear identified in Gloucestershire, many of which were popular from before the written record of them, over 300 years ago. Perry Pears have strong resistance to diseases like canker and scab, and have prolific early blossom. Perry as a drink was never as popular as cider as its quality was variable and too weather dependent.”

No archaeological features in terms of depressions, cellars or other possible features were observed. Mr. Cyr, the new landowner and agriculturalist, indicated his desire to reintroduce orcharding to the parcel given the natural hot spots on particular portions he felt were favorable for growing. Concerning one section of his parcel in particular, Mr. Cyr was convinced Ruggles would have used for growing apples and suspected a history of apple growing on that slope (Figure 3.60).



3.60 A lidar image of Ruggles Road. The Cyr property is to the left of the Ruggles Road. Notice the rows of bumps in the mid and lower slope indicating orchards no longer there. Red is the Ruggles land grant frame of reference. (Applied Geomatics Research Group, Middleton, 2008)



3.61 The “old maple” on the Cyr property. Of considerable antiquity, this maple tree dates to before the Loyalist era and was no doubt witness to Ruggles pioneering efforts. Some evidence of field clearing is nearby. Width of the tree is 2.51 meters. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2011)



3.62 One of the remnant roads on the Cyr property. There are several and they are all linked. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2011)



3.63 The Cyr vaulted garden area? This area is at the base of a long slope and has a remnant road leading to it. No evidence of fruit trees but perhaps willows. The ground was quite spongy indicating long term water retention or flooding. It was difficult to determine if trees had been organized in any formal design. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2011)

Thoughts on the Archaeology

From 2007 to 2009 considerable archaeological fieldwork was undertaken on the Ruggles landscape. The site of the Lott Phinney house and the remains of Ruggles’ “mansion house”, stone walls, and barn were recorded. A possible location for Ruggles vaulted garden was tested. A slave cemetery area was tested. Remnant orchards and roads were recorded and two domestic sites – one a possible labourers quarter – were investigated. Local community members were interviewed and provided access to their lands. Archaeologically, what is known now that was not known prior to the fieldwork? Generally, we have a better understanding of the layout of the Ruggles property. Ruggles

positioned his main house near the top of his land grant on North Mountain. His house or country seat at that elevated position would have overlooked the Annapolis River to the south, the town of Middleton to the south west, and his cleared fields, orchards and labourers' dwelling. His experimental garden could be approached from the front entrance of his house. The only road on the mountain at the time – the Ruggles Road – was to his door. He could see all who travelled it. We confirmed that Ruggles' house was substantial. Exploring the cellar remains and the building materials set the dwelling apart and struck comparisons to his estate in Hardwick (see Figure 4.11) and the prominent Loyalist houses of Annapolis Royal and area (Figures 3.64 and 3.65).



3.64 The “Belleisle Farm” in Belleisle, Nova Scotia purchased from Dr. Prince by Timothy Ruggles in the late eighteenth century and given to his son Richard and family. The house illustrates a common architectural form in the Loyalist period in Annapolis Valley, Nova Scotia. Is it similar to the Ruggles Road house? (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2010)



3.65 Loyalist era buildings of Lower Saint George Street in Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia. Not far from North Mountain. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2010).

A main goal was to find a place on Ruggles' land where slaves lived and to excavate that place therefore gaining insight regarding the daily life of slaves. Background research and field testing suggested two areas in the Elliot field as promising locations (BfDg-9, Units A, B and C). Uncovered were the remains of a mid-nineteenth century house with a cellar and large collection of domestic artifacts (Units A and B) and a rudimentary shelter close to the Ruggles Road with a dry-laid stone foundation, interior hearth and a collection of basic domestic and architectural material culture exhibiting consistent hints of the late eighteenth century.³³⁸

As the centuries passed, two areas of historic occupation remained in the Elliott field. With the timeframe for fieldwork and the main goal in mind, focus was shifted to the smaller hut or cabin given its potential eighteenth-century connection and shared

³³⁸ One hundred and sixty-six artifacts out of a total of 279 at the hut date to the eighteenth-century.

characteristics with other recorded slave quarters of the Revolutionary War period, such as the dry laid stone foundation, possible earthen floor, clapboard construction, sparse window glass, small size, and location close to the fields but visible from the main house.³³⁹ Nothing collected or recorded signaled definitively that enslaved Black Loyalists or African-Nova Scotians lived in the cabin. Artifacts and architectural features did not exhibit Africanisms as documented by researchers in the United States, nor did they exhibit a recognizable process of creolization, a fusing of African and Anglo traditions, or even a representation of two distinct groups (slave and slave holder or enslaved and free) (Figure 3.66).³⁴⁰ Instead we have the remains of a place in the Elliott field below the Ruggles Site, where people of lower economic status lived, likely workers or labourers.³⁴¹ They may have been Black Loyalists, given the artifact patterns on page 187 and recalling that Ruggles and his sons were slave holders.

³³⁹ These characteristics have been recorded by other scholars/researchers for slave quarters of the Revolutionary War time period. For a detailed survey of eighteenth and nineteenth century domestic architecture built by slaves and free Blacks and/or inhabited by slaves and free Blacks from the Low Country to the Chesapeake to New England and the Maritimes see Cottreau-Robins, "Domestic Architecture of the Black Loyalists in Nova Scotia, 1783-1800." Sources used in the MA thesis were Philip D. Morgan, George W. McDaniel, Carl Woodward, Alexander Boulton, Mechal Sobel, John Michael Vlach, Cary Carson, et al, Ira Berlin, Dell Upton, William Kelso, Ivor Noel Hume, James Deetz, Leland Ferguson, Barbara Heath, Bernard Herman, Catherine Bisher, Laird Niven, Stephen Powell and others.

³⁴⁰ See Leland Ferguson's discussion of colonoware ceramics in *Uncommon Ground: Archaeology and Early African America, 1650-1800* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992). Also see Mark P. Leone's discussion spiritual caches at the Charles Carroll House in Annapolis, Maryland in *The Archaeology of Liberty*, 192-244. Finally, see several contributors to "*I Too Am America*": *Archaeological Studies of African-American Life*, ed. Theresa A. Singleton (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999). Of particular note is Part 1 of the volume titled "African-American Identity and Material Culture.

³⁴¹ This is emphasized by the lack of artifacts at the site illustrative of activity beyond food preparation, storage or service and nails and a bit of glass for building. Personal items are absent except for two clay pipe fragments and a few fragments of glass, as well as items related to labour, clothing and general household activities.



3.66 A single log house photographed near Richmond, Virginia in the late nineteenth century. Except for the glass window, it is representative of a typical log cabin described by former slaves. Something similar may have been at the cabin site in the Elliott field. Evidence of an external chimney was not recorded and it is likely that clapboard covered the exterior. A dry laid stone foundation was recorded whereas in Virginia many slave quarters were earthfast construction especially in the eighteenth century.³⁴²

The absence of Africanisms, described by archaeologists, historians and folklorists as small root cellars, pottery and pipes decorated with African motifs, buried spiritual caches, and African-American made coarse earthenware, does not determine definitively that enslaved individuals brought to North Mountain by the Ruggles did *not* live at the cabin site. In the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century it was not uncommon for the slaveholder or planter to directly influence the construction and management of the slave quarter.³⁴³ On North Mountain, under Timothy Ruggles, the influence affecting the built environment would be Anglo-American. This aligns with the artifact collections at the Elliott field. They are British and Anglo-American based, as would be expected for late eighteenth and early nineteenth century colonial Nova

³⁴² Image is from George W. McDaniel, "Voices from the Past: Black Builders and Their Buildings," in *Three Centuries of Maryland Architecture* (Annapolis: Maryland Historical Trust, 1982), 52.

³⁴³ A particularly powerful example of this can be found with Thomas Jefferson at his mountain top plantation Monticello in Virginia, where at its peak, from 1796 to 1804, the slave street Mulberry Row contained nineteen structures. Historical records reveal that Jefferson controlled all aspects of housing.

Scotia.³⁴⁴ Could the slave-holding Anglo-American/Loyalist framework active on North Mountain mask a culturally-defined Black Loyalist presence? That is an interesting hypothesis.³⁴⁵

Concerning dating the cabin site, the artifact collection was considered closely. The earliest date obtained from the material evidence is 1775 and links to the production of British light creamware refined earthenware.³⁴⁶ The latest date obtained from the material evidence is approximately 1840.³⁴⁷ The dates were derived from the collection of British earthenware ceramics excavated at the cabin site. Research on British earthenware, particularly refined earthenware, of the eighteenth and nineteenth century is extensive and has been employed in dating archaeological sites in North America since at least the mid-twentieth century. Reliability for dating using ceramics is considered high. The dates reflect a range of site occupation. North Mountain was noted as undeveloped forest before the arrival of Ruggles. Therefore 1784 is the historical beginning date of pioneering on the Ruggles plantation and the date of beginning for the development of historical archaeology record.

To tighten dating of the cabin site further, a ceramic dating formula was pursued. The Mean Ceramic Date Formula was developed by archaeologist Stanley South in the late 1970s and determines a mean manufacture date for British ceramic types from

³⁴⁴ Any material culture exhibiting African influences may have been taken with the inhabitants when they moved on or were removed in the process of cultivation in the Elliott field. Perhaps such artifacts simply did not exist at this particular site. Another consideration is that such artifacts or features are yet to be excavated. Time constraints did not allow for complete excavation at the cabin site.

³⁴⁵ If so, how is masking determined? How is the Black Loyalist presence manifested in the material record during these early years of pioneering in the North Mountain forest? Only more archaeological investigation of Loyalist slave sites and analysis of recorded data will inform the questions.

³⁴⁶ It is important to note that the 1775 date reflects a beginning point of British manufacture for light creamware.

³⁴⁷ It is important to note that the 1840 date reflects an end point of manufacture for some of the British refined earthenwares found at the cabin site.

eighteenth-century historic sites.³⁴⁸ The formula was applied to the ceramic collection from Unit C at the Elliott Site to gain a tighter date range for the collection and therefore support a tighter date range for site occupation. Application of the formula followed the guidelines of South which are based on descriptions of British ceramic types, date range of manufacture, and median date of manufacture.³⁴⁹ Details of the ceramic collection from Unit C were taken from artifact summary Tables 5 to 12.³⁵⁰

Using the basic principles of South's ceramic tool but tweaking some dates of manufacture given refinements in material culture research since late 1970s, a mean ceramic date for the cabin site was determined to be 1815. This date is late considering the artifacts recovered. Further research into South explains the discrepancy. The sample size for Unit C, the cabin or hut, was too small to produce a reliable occupation date for the site.³⁵¹

Another approach regarding artifact analysis stems from South's development of defined artifact patterns for historic archaeology sites. South's progressive study argued for the examination of artifact relationships in order to recognize socioeconomic patterns in the material collections of archaeology sites. Key to his testable method was the development of set artifact types and artifact groups which facilitated the comparison of artifacts between sites. His descriptions became and remain standard in the practice of

³⁴⁸ Stanley South, *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology*, 201-230. South's quantitative analysis of ceramic samples from historic sites illustrates the theoretical and empirical developments characteristic of historical archaeology during the processual movement of the 1970s. For a Nova Scotia application see Catherine Cottreau, "Kitchen Artifact Group" in Stephen A. Davis, et al, *Artifacts from Eighteenth Century Halifax* (Halifax: Saint Mary's University and the Nova Scotia Museum, 1987), 13-50.

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

³⁵⁰ See pages 114 to 121 in the thesis.

³⁵¹ South, Ibid., 219. Another consideration regarding the discrepancy is the potential for some mixing of soil matrices and/or domestic debris left behind from the two dwellings. The Elliott field has been pasture land but also a plowed and planted field over the years as part of a larger working agricultural operation.

North American historical archaeology and have been applied to the Ruggles archaeological collections.

South's most notable contribution concerning patterning was the delineation of the Carolina Artifact Pattern based on the material record from five British colonial sites in the Carolinas.³⁵² South expected the pattern to be refined by others as new research questions required and such was the case with archaeologist Patrick Garrow and his work in plantation archaeology in the early 1980s.³⁵³ Garrow noted a sharp contrast between the proportions of artifacts present in eighteenth-century British colonial sites, as described by the Carolina Artifact pattern, and slave context sites. He suggested the presence of a slave artifact pattern as outlined below³⁵⁴:

	A.	B.	C.
(1) An elevated percentage of kitchen group artifacts	77.49	59.51	67
(2) A lowered percentage of architecture group artifacts	17.74	27.58	25
(3) A higher combination of kitchen architecture group artifacts	95.23	87.09	92.9

- A. Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern (Garrow, 1981)
- B. Carolina Artifact Pattern (South, 1977, Garrow, 1981)
- C. Elliott Field labourer's hut/cabin site (Cottreau-Robins, 2011)

³⁵² Ibid., p. 83-130.

³⁵³ See Patrick H. Garrow, "Investigations of Yaughan and Curriboo Plantations", Paper presented at the 14th Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology Conference, New Orleans, January 1981. Thomas R. Wheaton and Patrick H. Garrow, "Acculturation and the Archaeological Record in the Carolina Lowcountry" in *The Archaeology of Slavery and Plantation Life*, ed. Theresa A. Singleton (Orlando: Academic Press, 1985), 239-259.

³⁵⁴ Niven and Davis apply this pattern scenario to free Black Loyalist sites in Birchtown, Nova Scotia. For this table see Laird Niven and Stephen A. Davis, "Birchtown: The History and Material Culture of an Expatriate African American Community" in *Moving On: Black Loyalists in the Afro-American World*, ed. John W. Pulis (New York: Garland Publishing, 1999), 59-83. Data for Elliott field has been added. The percentages for the Elliott field labourer's hut/cabin fall within acceptable ranges developed by Garrow suggesting an enslaved Black Loyalist presence.

The cabin/hut site in the Elliott field yielded a kitchen artifact group percentage of 67 percent, which was just short of the range developed by Garrow of 70.94 - 84.18 percent for a slave pattern. The cabin site also showed a lower percentage of architectural artifacts at 25 percent just meeting Garrow's range for a slave pattern of 11.82 – 24.83 percent. The combination of kitchen and architectural group artifacts for the cabin site was 92.9 percent which aligns more with the Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern. Based on the above, the artifact collection for the cabin site in the Elliott field supported Black Loyalist occupation and probable construction. The artifact patterning developed by Garrow moved the artifact collection at the cabin site from simply British or Anglo based, as promoted by place of manufacture of the ceramics, to the actual occupants living in this field on the Ruggles Road.

A challenge for the archaeological component of the dissertation research was the absence of additional local Loyalist sites to compare findings.³⁵⁵ This was the first research project in Nova Scotia, if not the Maritimes, where testing and excavation for archaeological evidence of the enslaved in the Loyalist context has been approached. Black Loyalist archaeology, mostly in the form of preliminary survey and reconnaissance, has taken place at the locations of free Black settlements in Nova Scotia (Birchtown, Tracadie, Delaps Cove, Digby) with the fruitful assistance of archival and ethnological

³⁵⁵ In Nova Scotia, there have been very few Black Loyalist domestic sites excavated. Several have been surveyed and require follow up field work and study. Outside of this dissertation, all of these sites are associated with free Black Loyalists or their descendant communities. Most of these sites were investigated as part of my Master of Environmental Design degree (Dalhousie University), which focused on the communities of Birchtown and Tracadie and the domestic architecture of the free Black Loyalists as revealed through the archaeological and historical records. It is interesting to note that the detailed architectural information gleaned from the free Black Loyalist sites for the Masters research, which resulted in three proposed Black Loyalist house types, differs to what has been recorded at the proposed enslaved Black Loyalist cabin in the Elliott field.

resources.³⁵⁶ Locating the enslaved however, who were primarily absent from the historical record and therefore missing what can be in archaeology a key starting point of a field research design, is much more of an experiment.

The research experiment on North Mountain has provided a baseline of information and a scenario concerning the Loyalist elite and their labourers pioneering the “wilderness” of eighteenth-century Nova Scotia. A conclusion is that the enslaved African Nova Scotian or Black Loyalist is almost invisible archaeologically under the Anglo slave holder concerning domestic material culture but somewhat more visible architecturally. Perhaps Ruggles slaves were more a part of what Ruggles was constructing in these early years than what they may have wanted to construct. North Mountain was forest when Ruggles received his grant. The Ruggles, enslaved or indentured or planter, started with basic tasks like clearing the mountain, planting the fields, making a road, gardening, and house construction. Time or resources to define a material Black Loyalist presence may not have been of primary importance.³⁵⁷ When considering the racialized framework in Loyalist era Nova Scotia, North Mountain was undoubtedly a flexible but structured combination of relationships based on economic terms, as with a manager-labourer or planter-slave relationship, legal terms as with a free whites-unfree blacks relationship, and power terms as with elites (whites) and subordinates (slaves). Such relationships would assist, as planned by Timothy Ruggles,

³⁵⁶ See Nova Scotia Museum curatorial reports from 2000 by Ruth Holmes Whitehead, Carmelita Robertson, Laird Niven and Stephen Powell as well as the Nova Scotia Museum Black Loyalist Ethnology and Archaeology Collections. The Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management in Halifax also houses numerous documents linked to the free Black Loyalists.

³⁵⁷ It is interesting to note that archaeologists in the Chesapeake and Lowcountry developed similar conclusions when investigating the initial plantations with enslaved labourers in the seventeenth century. The initial pioneering, shelter building, land clearing and planting was so labour intensive and rudimentary that master and slave often shared the same space, residence and tasks. The defined structure of a segmented plantation and plantation household evolved as the landscape, housing and productive fields improved and lines of wealth and status solidified.

the significant pioneering tasks at hand and result in the level of success he achieved in the single decade he was on North Mountain.³⁵⁸

A certainty is that more fieldwork at other Loyalist slaveholding plantations is needed to conduct further comparisons.³⁵⁹ Challenging again is that more remains underground of the white occupants in Nova Scotia. This is problematic when seeking comparisons for the archaeology of Black Nova Scotians.

³⁵⁸ Recall the journal entry of Reverend Jon. Wiswall upon Ruggles' death, "There is now no Gentleman of property left in Wilmot....," Wilmot, 12 October 1795. In the "Journal of Reverend Jon Wiswall", Manuscript on file, John Wiswall Fonds, Acc. No. 1900.008-WIS, Esther Clark Wright Archives, Acadia University, Wolfville, Nova Scotia. Also, the entry of Bishop Charles Inglis in "Journal of occurrences noted by Charles Inglis", October 12, 1785-1811, MG 1MFM No. 480, Item 4, Book 1791, pg. 17. The diary of Inglis who was touring the province in this period, enters comments about Ruggles remarking General Ruggles house on North Mountain as very fine and commanding a most extensive prospect with excellent soil.

³⁵⁹ And to focus on research areas particular to early Black migration such as slave agency, foodways, religious practice, and craft that can be revealed through study of the archaeological record.

Chapter 4

Reviewing Two Loyalist Landscapes

Landscape study represents the third research stream in the interdisciplinary dissertation. It connects the historical and archaeological information captured thus far with the geographical places shaped by Ruggles and those who lived on his plantations in Hardwick and North Mountain. Investigating the two landscapes takes the individual sites and finds recorded on North Mountain and Hardwick and the documentary record associated with Ruggles and his labourers, and joins them together in a wider geographical context. Linking the history research streams for the thesis (archaeology and Loyalist period historiography) to Ruggles' primary physical places enriched the overall narrative while at the same time strengthening each individual discipline. As D. W. Meinig pointed out,

Geography and history are not only analogous, but complementary and interdependent, bound together by the very nature of things. This relationship is implied by such common terms as space and time, area and era, places and events – pairs that are fundamentally inseparable. In practice the two fields are differentiated by the proportionate emphasis each gives to these terms.³⁶⁰

The connection between geography and history needed for research projects such as this is further emphasized by human geographer Deryck Holdsworth. Holdsworth argued that one cannot rely simply on the landscape alone when interpreting the landscape. The researcher must access other resources such as historical and archival materials. He called for an interdisciplinary approach: “Landscape is a mere fraction of the “stuff” of the past

³⁶⁰ D.W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History*, Volume 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), xv. Meinig goes on to add that the study of geography is “a different reading of the past but it cannot be a substitute for more orthodox studies because it makes no attempt to deal with many of the persons, issues, and events that are generally accepted as basic to history.” The sub-discipline of cultural geography includes the human element and has since widened the scope.

that contributes to the current scene and it reveals only partial evidence of the social and economic focus at work in the world as it is now.”³⁶¹ For Holdsworth, the archives or historic record provided firmer evidence and encouraged more analysis of social and economic change.

Historical landscape analysis, which falls within the over-arching field of geography and more particularly cultural geography, is a strategy for capturing the changing geographical character of rural eighteenth-century Nova Scotia. Cultural geography also provided a framework within which to explore why Ruggles did as he did in the places where he lived. Furthermore, linking Ruggles’ culture - Anglo-American Loyalist - to his physical spaces had the potential to provide insights about him and those he expected to help bring his plantations to maturity.

When Ruggles received his land grant for 1000 acres on North Mountain, the tract was described as “being wilderness lands.” He spent a decade clearing and shaping that wilderness. By examining and comparing in detail Ruggles’ landscapes in Hardwick and North Mountain, one can explain his approach and methods to the development of his plantations, the places where he worked, lived, entertained and pursued his agricultural interests. Key to the success of his landscape approach was labour. This chapter argues that by exploring Ruggles’ landscapes, in tandem with the historical and archaeological records, one can learn not only how he set about creating a plantation, complete with mansion house, but the role he expected others to play in the realization of those

³⁶¹ Deryck W. Holdsworth, “The Landscape and the Archives: Texts for the Analysis of the Built Environment” in *Vision, Culture and Landscape*, ed. Paul Groth (Berkeley: Dept. of Landscape Architecture, University of California, 1990), 187-189. Similar ideas are also supported by George Thompson and Charles Little who call for a multi-disciplinary approach between history and geography and art and science for the study of landscape in America. For these scholars landscape is a historical experience, myth and memory, artifice and art. See *Landscape in America*, ed. George F. Thompson and Charles E. Little (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995).

places.³⁶² It was anticipated that a thorough landscape review could provide insights on two points: concerning Ruggles, as the planter and plantation owner, and concerning the Ruggles plantation workforce, his sons, hired hands, servants and slaves.³⁶³

Defining Cultural Landscapes

As with many of the fields in the humanities, general arts or social sciences, the discipline of cultural geography underwent a period of internal separation and reflection during the 1980s and 1990s. The result was the recognition of two principal approaches in the field: the traditional school and the new school. The dialogue by specialists resulted in several definitions of cultural geography that provided context for this chapter. They melded together effectively and created a broad platform on which to discuss the findings in Hardwick and North Mountain. In the 1980s and 1990s the field of cultural geography experienced what can be describe as a redefining period. A group of scholars broke from what they called the “traditional school” of cultural geography. The following statement summed up the divide and the new direction:

To many cultural geography studies the relations between human communities and the natural world, investigating the transformations of natural landscapes into cultural ones. To others, the tasks of cultural geography are to examine the patterns of signification in the landscape and their reflexive role in molding social relations while contending with the spatial patterning of race, class and gender.....³⁶⁴

³⁶² The word plantation is used in its general sense here meaning an agricultural or cultivated tract(s) of land or estate.

³⁶³ Planter, for the dissertation, is defined as the colonist or settler affecting cultivation of the land.

³⁶⁴ Marie Price and Martin Lewis, “The Reinvention of Cultural Geography,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 83, no. 1 (1993): 1. The first part of this statement represents the traditional approach while the second part represents the new school approach.

For the purpose of this project the traditional approach held salience particularly regarding methodology. However, the new approaches, including the exploration of patterns, symbols and text in the landscape, and what they communicate, would also be powerful analytical tools.³⁶⁵

Fieldwork and the recording of observations and modifications of the landscapes contributed to viewing the landscapes historically and imagining them through the eyes of their historic occupants in order to understand why and how past occupants were connected to those places.³⁶⁶ The Ruggles landscape work combined observing and recording, considering past impacts and influences, and understanding how Ruggles made his places and lived on his land. The work also extended to a search for meaning. Specifically, what did Ruggles' landscapes represent and what did they symbolize? Was shaping his landscapes also securing his ideals and goals and a framework for how the world should be? J.B. Jackson's definition of landscape captured the many layers involved in interpreting landscapes:

Landscape is not scenery, it is not a political unit; it is no more than a collection, a system of man-made spaces on the surface of the earth. It is never simply a natural space. It is always artificial, always synthetic, always subject to sudden and unpredictable change, we create them and need them...³⁶⁷

J. B. Jackson called for an exploration and study of all types of landscapes be it a contemporary urban streetscape or the sparsely populated rural farmstead. He grappled with how to define the concept of landscape but emphasized "learning how to see" the

³⁶⁵ For a detailed analysis of text embedded in a historic landscape, see J.S. Duncan, *The City as Text: The Politics of Landscape Interpretation in the Kandy Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

³⁶⁶ Price and Lewis, *Ibid.*, p.7. Price and Lewis sum this up in their review of the Berkeley School (traditional school formed by Carl Sauer) of cultural geography which has as a central concern the interrelationships between humankind and the natural environment framed in their regional and historical contexts. The "new school" is strong on social theory noted as a gap in the Berkeley School.

³⁶⁷ J.B. Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 156.

complexity of the landscape.³⁶⁸ D.W. Meinig in “The Beholding Eye” offered several definitions reflecting how people viewed landscapes in different ways thus confronting “a central problem: any landscape is composed not only what lies before our eyes but what lies within our heads.”³⁶⁹ Of his ten definitions, six connected to the Ruggles research: landscape as habitat, landscape as artifact, landscape as wealth, landscape as ideology, landscape as history, and landscape as place.³⁷⁰

John Fraser Hart argued that the rural landscape more than the urban has been central to the development of cultural landscape studies in the past forty years.³⁷¹ According to Hart, in order to understand the rural landscape one must experience it and contemplate it by considering three principal components: landforms (features on the land surface, geology), vegetation (plants, forestry, agriculture), and structures (elements people have added). Again there is the combination of the natural and the cultural when deciphering the story of a landscape. From the cultural geographers or landscape specialists a potent, consistent thread through the scholarship is summed up by historical geographer Peirce Lewis in “Learning from Looking”.³⁷² Observation of the physical and human landscape is key to analysis. Complement observation with detailed description

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

³⁶⁹ D. W. Meinig, “The Beholding Eye: Ten Versions of the Same Scene,” *Landscape Architecture* (January 1976): 47-54.

³⁷⁰ Ibid. According to Meinig, landscape as habitat reflects the ideology of the harmony of man and nature and of the earth as the garden of mankind (see environmentalism); landscape as artifact supports the notion that so powerful and intensive has been man’s role in changing the face of the earth that the entire landscape has become an artifact thus ideologically, this is the view of man as creator, the conqueror of nature; landscape as wealth concerns those who are future-minded and view the landscape as an appraiser considering monetary value; landscape as ideology reflects those who consider the landscape as a place containing clues and symbols of values or governing ideas or a place that represents a translation of philosophy into tangible features; landscape as history represents to the viewer a complex cumulative record of the work of nature and man in a particular place (written records, natural history and geology are considered); and landscape as place is a view that every landscape is a locality, an individual piece in the infinitely varied mosaic of the earth; such a viewer accepts everything he sees as being of some interest.

³⁷¹ John Fraser Hart, *The Rural Landscape* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1998).

³⁷² Peirce Lewis, “Learning from Looking: Geographic and Other Writing about the American Cultural Landscape,” *American Quarterly* 35, no. 3 (1983): 242-261.

and historical resources and an understanding of what has occurred at a place, including what may be ideological or symbolic about a place, will result. In his article Lewis quoted Carl O. Sauer, an influential scholar in the Berkeley School of geography:

Geography is the science of observation...The geographic bent rests on seeing and thinking about what is in the landscape...By this we do not limit ourselves to what is visually conspicuous, but we do try to register both detail and composition of the scene, finding in it questions, confirmations, items or elements that are new and such as are missing.³⁷³

On equal footing was the work of geographer Fred B. Kniffen, a colleague of Sauer. Kniffen's work supported a central argument in the dissertation that Ruggles' continued a Loyalist mindset when he moved to Nova Scotia's Annapolis Valley.³⁷⁴ He placed his stamp or cultural footprint on North Mountain, thereby transporting his agricultural ideal and Anglo-American-Loyalist ideology to North Mountain. Kniffen's work was of interest when reviewing the rural Loyalist landscapes of Ruggles. He argued that particular house types could be traced across the eastern United States and that these house types represented movements or the diffusion of cultural ideas.³⁷⁵

In more recent scholarship there are similar organic themes expressed but with a search for deeper meaning. From Iain Robertson and Penny Richards in 2003:

³⁷³ Ibid., p. 243. Sauer was a guiding force in the development of cultural geography and set the tone for the discipline early in the twentieth century with his signature work "The Morphology of Landscape," *University of California Publications in Geography* 2, no. 2 (1925): 19-53. Sauer is often credited as having introduced the notion of culture to American geographers in the above article and therefore defining landscapes as representative of elements beyond the physical.

³⁷⁴ Loyalist mindset refers to Ruggles' ideas, values and beliefs as a Loyalist in New England. He essentially transported a political and ideological context which included his way of doing things under the British colonial framework. How he shaped his land was in turn affected by his mindset.

³⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 245. Fred B. Kniffen, "Louisiana House Types," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 26 (1936): 173-193. It is interesting that Kniffen's work resonates so well with historical archaeology. Kniffen directly influenced Henry Glassie and his classic work regarding folk housing in Virginia. See Henry Glassie, *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: A Structural Analysis of Historic Artifacts* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975). Glassie in turn influenced the ground-breaking work of archaeologist James Deetz and the development of structuralist theory in archaeology. Both scholars explored patterns in the landscape and among artifacts that illustrate the spread of cultural ideas and behavior particularly in American colonial society.

Land is transformed into landscape – strategies for organising civilisation and settlement. ...Landscape, we would argue, in agreement with an entire way of thinking over the past 20 years, is never simply or purely aesthetic, but is also ideological. That is to say, the very ideas[of beauty] that we have inherited and, perhaps, tend to think of as politically neutral, in fact encode deep social needs, sometimes asserting and sometimes obscuring relations in power and wealth.³⁷⁶

Robertson and Richards expressed another common theme, that landscape is a highly complex term that carries many different meanings.

Landscapes, then, can be physical, iconological and ideological. They can also be representations, and landscapes can themselves represent the processes out of which they have emerged. In addition...perhaps the most important meaning attaching to landscape is the cultural. This suggests that landscapes are products of human values, meanings and symbols, and of the, usually, dominant culture within society; they are cultural products.³⁷⁷

This approach to the study of landscapes was most intriguing when considering the two historic geographic places developed and shaped by Ruggles and his group.³⁷⁸ Can we understand Ruggles homesteads as symbolic places? They represented his values as a gentleman and a politically-active, well-informed leader with wealth, status, education and British favor.³⁷⁹ Did Ruggles hold his core values so high that even in the face of

³⁷⁶ *Studying Cultural Landscapes*, ed. Iain Robertson and Penny Richards (London: Oxford University Press, 2003), 1.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 2. The complexity of studying landscapes is also emphasized in archaeology. See Christopher C. Fennell, "Carved, Inscribed and Resurgent: Cultural and Natural Terrains as Analytical Challenges" in *Perspectives from Historical Archaeology: Revealing Landscapes*, ed. Christopher Fennell, Society for Historical Archaeology, 5 (2011): 1-11.

³⁷⁸ Group means his kin, servants or slaves and hired labourers. There are references to all three in the documentary record related to Timothy Ruggles.

³⁷⁹ Alexandra A. Chan provides a detailed description of the eighteenth-century Massachusetts gentleman in her review of Isaac Royal, merchant, slave owner and contemporary of Ruggles. A useful description, she defines a gentleman of the period as someone of respectable lineage, well-educated, articulate, well-travelled, versed in current events and studied in a variety of subjects such as horticulture, architecture, philosophy and medicine. He was also a gracious host, horseman, hunter and agriculturalist. The colonial gentleman was well aware of his role as head of household, good husband and father, kind master and true friend; overall a model of gentry culture. See Alexandra A. Chan, *Slavery in the Age of Reason: Archaeology at a New England Farm* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2007), 96-102. Chan adds that this "mode of being" was rooted in the Italian Renaissance but took on a particular meaning in the eighteenth century with the Enlightenment or the Age of Reason. During this period, an emphasis was placed on order, hierarchy, control and the rise of scientific thought. Equally important for gentleman of the

forced migration, war, and extreme personal loss he desired to continue them once again in a physical way on his land in Nova Scotia? Such an expression may have been conscious or unconscious and sprang from roots anchored in the colonial elite of Massachusetts. This is where looking to his particularly-shaped places becomes relevant. His places were a reflection of a time and encoded with how Ruggles' viewed the world. It was possible to "trace relations in power" (as in the master-slave or planter-labourer relationship) and the "conditions of labour" (as evidenced in the remains of the hut in the Elliott field) in Ruggles landscapes.³⁸⁰

Focusing on the symbolic nature of the Ruggles landscapes can have the negative affect of freezing the two places in time, in the late-eighteenth century Loyalist era. It was important to remember that landscapes are not static but dynamic and always changing. Simply concentrating on his representation leaves out others present in Hardwick and North Mountain. Ruggles' family members, servants, slaves and labourers were an active part of the everyday activities. It was important to consider what they brought to the cultural meaning of these places.³⁸¹

Landscape Archaeology

From archaeology, cultural geography or landscape studies fall within a sub-discipline known as landscape archaeology. The development of the sub-discipline was essentially a result of the post-processual movement in archaeology and has been shaped

day and their families were visual representations of elevated standing and authority and "material statements of distinctiveness."

³⁸⁰ Robertson and Richards, *Ibid.*, p. 3. Robertson and Richards agree this is possible in the study of landscape and discuss several examples in England. This is also a common theme in landscape archaeology.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8. Also see, as referenced in Robertson and Richards, *The Anthropology of Landscape*, ed. Eric Hirsch and Michael O'Hanlon (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1995).

in North America over the years by the contributions of archaeologists such as Bruce Trigger (1991), James Deetz, Patricia Rubertone, William Kelso, Mark Leone, Christopher Fennell, Mary Beaudry, Larry McKee, Rebecca Yamin and Karen Bescherer Metheny, Martha A. Zierden, William Hampton Adams, Anne Yentsch, Alexandra Chan, James A. Delle, Mark D. Groover and others.³⁸² A current and useful

³⁸² See the following scholarship: Ibid., Trigger, “Distinguished Lecture in Archaeology”; Ibid., Deetz, “Prologue”; Patricia A. Rubertone, “Landscape as Artifact: Comments on the Archaeological Use of Landscape Treatment in Social, Economic and Ideological Analysis.” *Historical Archaeology* 23, no.1 (1989): 50-54; William Kelso, *Kingsmill Plantations, 1619-1800: Archaeology of Country Life in Colonial Virginia*. Orland: Academic Press, 1984 and *Earth Patterns: Essays in Landscape Archaeology*. ed. William Kelso and Rachael Most (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990); Mark P. Leone, *The Archaeology of Liberty in an American Capital: Excavations in Annapolis*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005; Also by Leone, “The Relationship Between Archaeological Data and the Documentary Record: 18th Century Gardens in Annapolis, Maryland,” *Historical Archaeology* 22, no. 1 (1988): 29-35 and Leone, et al, “The Archaeology of Black Americans in Recent Times,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34, no. 1 (2005): 575-600; Christopher C. Fennell, *Crossroads and Cosmologies: Diasporas and Ethnogenesis in the New World*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007 and *Revealing Landscapes*. Perspectives from Historical Archaeology, No. 5, Society for Historical Archaeology, 2011; Ibid., Beaudry, Cook and Mrozowski, “Artifacts and Active Voices”; Ibid., Cochran and Beaudry, “Material Culture Studies and Historical Archaeology”; *Landscape Archaeology: Reading and Interpreting the American Historical Landscape*. ed. Rebecca Yamin and Karen Bescherer Metheny (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996); Larry McKee, “The Archaeology of Rachel’s Garden,” *Landscape Archaeology: Reading and Interpreting the American Historical Landscape*. ed. Rebecca Yamin and Karen Bescherer Metheny (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996), 70-90; *Another’s Country: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on Cultural Interactions in the Southern Colonies*. ed. Martha Zierden and J. W. Joseph (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002); William Hampton Adams, “Landscape Archaeology, Landscape History and the American Farmstead,” *Historical Archaeology* 24, no. 4 (1990): 92-101; Anne E. Yentsch, *A Chesapeake Family and Their Slaves: A Study in Historical Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Ibid., Chan, *Slavery in the Age of Reason*; James A. Delle, *An Archaeology of Social Space: Analyzing Coffee Plantations in Jamaica’s Blue Mountains* (New York: Plenum Press, 1998) and “The Landscapes of Class Negotiation on Coffee Plantations in the Blue Mountains of Jamaica: 1790-1850,” *Historical Archaeology* 33, no. 1 (1999): 136-158; Mark D. Groover, *The Archaeology of North American Farmsteads* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008).

definition of landscape archaeology that reflects the post-processual approach was developed by Christopher Fennell: “Landscape archaeology addresses the complex issues of the ways that people have consciously and unconsciously shaped the land around them.”³⁸³

Mark D. Groover in *The Archaeology of North American Farmsteads* posed the question “Why study farm sites”? This was a relevant inquiry, since Ruggles’ enterprises in both Massachusetts and Nova Scotia were agriculture based. For Groover, the study of farmsteads contributed to a better understanding of the agrarian foundations of the American experience: “Because farmsteads were linked to the market and occupied for long periods of time, they are sensitive barometers to assess changes in broader cultural processes of industrialization, immigration, and consumerism.”³⁸⁴

Until relatively recently, farming was a predominant way of life in North America whether the enterprise was a single family-operated, self-sustaining settlement operation or a large-scale plantation with hundreds of workers and wide-ranging commercial links. Farms potentially contained a wealth of historic information reflecting not only daily life, practices, and economic development but also diverse cultural interactions when considering those who worked on farms: immigrants, slaves, indentured servants, and labourers. Knowledge regarding specific farming families and the character of rural life is important, but farmstead archaeology can also contribute knowledge about cultural trends and processes that occurred and spread across the North American landscape.³⁸⁵

³⁸³ Ibid., Fennell, p.1.

³⁸⁴ Ibid., Groover, *The Archaeology of North American Farmsteads*, xiv.

³⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 2-5.

Groover presented several research possibilities for what he called a prevalent archaeological resource. When looking at the history of the eastern United States historical archaeologists,

are confronted with several important recurring trends that influence the character of rural life and the development of the nation. Colonization and frontier settlement are significant processes that historical archaeologists often address at specific sites. How were pioneer life and frontier farming similar or different in regions across the nation? Did immigrant pioneers re-establish familiar cultural practices in America, such a farm layout, dwelling styles, and foodways, or can we see changes in the material conditions of settler households?³⁸⁶

Another layer for consideration in the geographic archaeology component of the dissertation was the notion of colonialism and landscape, specifically power relationships and/or ideologies that may be included in the design or layout of a colonial landscape. Such relationships were woven in as indigenous landscapes in the colonial period were cleared and prepared for plantation enterprises. Mark Hauser and Dan Hicks in their review of the current scholarship on British colonial landscapes in the Caribbean presented the complexities of the role of landscape in the colonial process particularly in solidifying conditions of inequality, in establishing slave dimensions of plantation landscapes such as lifeways and foodways, in promoting or diminishing continuities of African traditions, and in facilitating situations of resistance and agency.³⁸⁷

Often the role of landscape has been presented or analyzed in the context of the power or domination of colonial elites over non-dominant groups and/or in the context of

³⁸⁶ Ibid. Groover's interest in the re-establishment of familiar cultural practices is particularly relevant given the thesis argues for continuity of a Ruggles Loyalist formula on the North Mountain landscape. Groover refers to this as "cultural continuity" and adds that besides large scale processes farmstead studies also reveal cultural information about the details of daily rural life. Some settler households transplanted Old World material traditions and strove to maintain culturally distinct practices in the New World.

³⁸⁷ Mark W. Hauser and Dan Hicks, "Colonialism and Landscape: Power, Materiality and Scales of Analysis in Caribbean Historical Archaeology" in *Envisioning Landscape: Situations and Standpoints in Archaeology and Heritage*, ed .Dan Hicks, Laura McAtackney and Graham Fairclough (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2007): 251-274.

resistance. In the postcolonial perspective, Hauser and Hicks suggest such models are replaced with “an account of colonialism as both destructive and creative, in which humans and objects were bound up together in transatlantic choreographies.”³⁸⁸

Such a postcolonial archaeology aims to acknowledge the complexities of apparently ‘shared landscapes’, and the challenges of realising historical archaeology’s potential to generate ‘shared history’ (Harrison 2004) while recognising the extreme power relations, violence and horror of plantation slavery, and the continued hardships and inequalities in many parts of the contemporary, postcolonial Caribbean region.³⁸⁹

Hauser and Hick further suggested that archaeologists of colonialism and landscape need to move focus back on materiality and the connections between people, objects and places along with a current understanding of what really matters, rather than “using objects and landscape to illustrate historical accounts, elite ideas or political observations already developed elsewhere.”³⁹⁰ This approach posed an interesting challenge for this dissertation. The documentary record for Ruggles and his colonial landscapes captured his Anglo-American elite ideas and values, but how do they capture the multiplicity of the Atlantic world or in the terms of Hauser and Hicks, “the permeabilities between human and object movements and the role of landscapes in imagining and bringing about a diversity of Atlantic worlds?”³⁹¹

Finally, complementing, and for some researchers influencing the scholarly development focused mainly on colonial American landscapes, was the work of British post-processual archaeologist Christopher Tilley.³⁹² Tilley promoted the intuitive study of material things, particularly landscapes, in order to understand their meaning to people

³⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 267.

³⁸⁹ Ibid.

³⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 274.

³⁹¹ Ibid.

³⁹² Christopher Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments* (Oxford: Berg, 1994).

of the past. Tilley resonated with the observation and experiential approach of cultural geographers like Carl Sauer and J.B. Jackson. He required the investigator to go to a landscape or locale under study and observe and experience using one's senses. As a result the investigator would develop an enhanced interpretation of how historic peoples interacted with a place in the past.³⁹³ The approach can be applied to highly-specialized landscape contexts, for example places of ceremony or ritual, as well as everyday landscapes, such as the rural, domestic farmstead. It can also be combined with information gathered from more traditional or established archaeological methods to develop a "lived experience of place."³⁹⁴ Often criticized for its lack of specific methodologies, phenomenology has found place and practice within landscape studies.

Theory and Method

As with historical and archaeological research, there are various methods and theories that help facilitate the investigation of landscape-related research questions. This chapter explored two historic landscapes in an effort to learn what may have taken place at each locale in the past. This third line of inquiry was valuable in that the work of exploring, recording and interpreting forced consideration of the Loyalists on a larger

³⁹³ Though viewed by some archaeologists as lacking a scientific framework and defined archaeological methodologies, this approach can be very useful in archaeology. Often an archaeologist is in the field at a specific place (a site area) where in the distant past cultural activity of some sort took place. While in the field there is the opportunity to look around and visualize the past landscape, keeping in mind what is already known archaeologically and historically, and consider what was at that place that may have influenced activity and how the space was used or transformed by its inhabitants. The phenomenological approach can be particularly helpful when working with prehistoric landscapes where artifacts are minimal and historic records are non-existent.

³⁹⁴ Sue Hamilton, Ruth Whitehouse, et al, "Phenomenology in Practice: Towards a Methodology for a 'Subjective' Approach" *European Journal of Archaeology* 9, no. 1, (2006): 32.

scale, distant from individual events, sites and artifacts. Especially when contemplating ideologies and symbols, the landscape study moved the discussion from artifacts and pioneering farmsteads to the human relationships between Ruggles and those around him, including his labourers, which speaks to the core of the dissertation effort.

Understanding how people make places was an interdisciplinary effort.

Researching the Ruggles landscapes engaged the fields of history, ethnology, geographic science, cultural geography, archaeology, archaeo-botany, and documentary and archival studies. The historiographical approach provided a foundation of information based on extensive historical research, from which to build interpretations and conclusions.³⁹⁵

Archival and historical documents in Nova Scotia, Massachusetts, and The National Archives (Kew) were accessed and searched for clues regarding how the Ruggles land parcels were used and developed during the time of his occupation and management. Primary documents included the few historic maps available, Ruggles' claim to the British Crown for losses experienced during the Revolutionary War, tax records, correspondence written by Ruggles upon settlement in the Annapolis Valley, and a landscape painting by Winthrop Chandler of the Ruggles estate in Hardwick.³⁹⁶ Other sources included genealogy records, aerial photographs, lidar images, archae-botanical analysis, a photo record of contemporary Loyalist houses in Annapolis County, and interviews with local residents in Hardwick and Spa Springs. These sources were complemented by walking and photographing the land parcels and making a plan for fieldwork.

³⁹⁵ J.B. Jackson, *A Sense of Place, A Sense of Time* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).

³⁹⁶ For a thorough breakdown of historical resources reviewed see Chapter 2 – Historical Research.

The visual experience and accompanying field notes and photo records were critical to creating familiarity with the places and conceptualizing the past use of space. Questions regarding Ruggles' organization of a domestic, agricultural and gardening space could be reflected upon as well as how each place was tied to Ruggles' sense of identity and notion of a settlement ideal. The hands-on experiential method facilitated a sense of history and a better understanding of how people inhabited spaces. The goal was to create a foundation for interpretation. The landscape of North Mountain in particular was walked numerous times. Each hike increased awareness of the space.

In general, the methodological process for the landscape study was historical background, fieldwork, and description with attention to material objects and features on the landscape. A form of phenomenology was also employed as a method.³⁹⁷ Noted by Chapman as "soft phenomenology," the fieldwork engaged the sensory experience of sight and noted visual perceptions of landscapes from prominent view planes, vantage points or "elevated beauty spots" in addition to basic phenomena at each locale such as architectural and landscape features like houses, barns, trees, roads, walls, pastures and fields. All contributed to an overall landscape analysis required to expand and inform the scope of possibilities concerning how the sites were developed in the past and Ruggles' designs for transformation, production, or improvement.

Though the theoretical basis for the dissertation is found in the archaeology and history sections, there were meaningful threads to be found in cultural geography. These themes helped in the understanding of Ruggles' migration north and his production of

³⁹⁷ Ibid., Hamilton and Whitehouse, et al. For thoughts on the elementary phenomenological responses such as sight and sound in combination with traditional archaeological practices or "soft" phenomenology see John Chapman, "Editorial," *European Journal of Archaeology* 4, no. 1 (2006): 5-6. An interesting question is does the special consideration of the sense of sight and potential historic view planes at the Ruggles landscapes provide a heightened awareness of Ruggles' mindset or even his daily experiences at these sites?

landscape. They come from the field of cultural ecology and from the recent scholarship that connects landscape to identity and the production of power or the establishment of power relationships. Cultural ecology focused on the spread of settlement across geographic space and the coinciding human adaptation to physical and social environments. More specifically, and of particular interest was the area of cultural ecology that explored how cultural beliefs and institutions influenced human interactions with the natural ecology. Joseph S. Wood, in his exploration of the historic New England landscape provided explanation for the development of the New England village by arguing for “the pre-adaptive nature of English settlers in encounters with the land in colonial New England.”³⁹⁸ He explained,

Adaption implies a process of perceiving possibilities and acting on choices, leading to a simplification of complex sets of traits. Preadaption involves trait complexes that cultures process prior to advancing into new environments or experiencing environmental change that give them a competitive advantage in occupying that new or changed environment. We might view cultural transfer, therefore as an adaptive strategy in which diffusion and simplification are processes of weeding our maladaptive traits and encouraging survival of preadapted traits.³⁹⁹

At one level Ruggles experienced such a process as he moved from his estate in Hardwick to new lands on North Mountain. His extensive agricultural experience in Massachusetts, including cider making, along with his Anglo-American - Loyalist elite cultural framework provided a beneficial edge, skill set and approach as he cleared the lands and developed apple orchards in Annapolis County. As Wood applies pre-adaption to English settlers transforming the landscape in New England, a similar principal can be

³⁹⁸ Wood, *Ibid.*, p.10.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

applied to Ruggles and his Anglo-American characteristics when he moved to the timberland of North Mountain.⁴⁰⁰

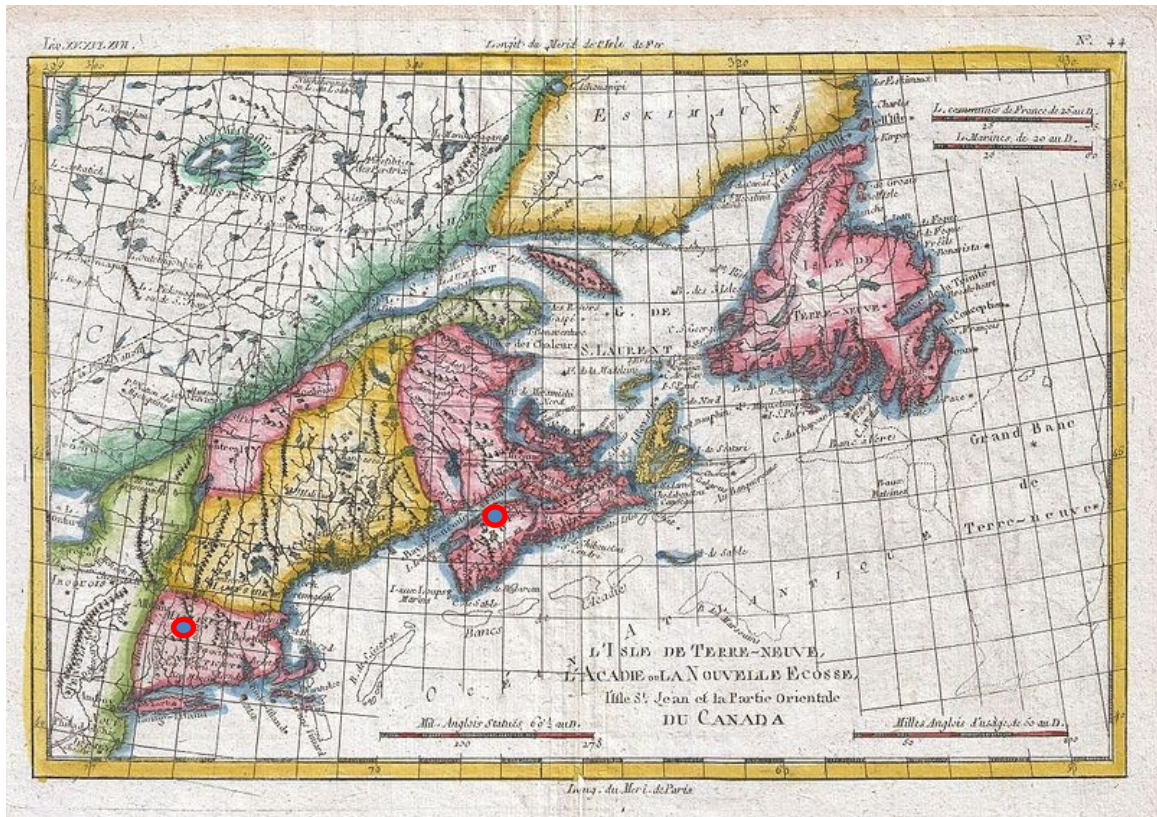
Regarding power relationships, emphasis can also be found in the work of James S. Duncan and Denis Cosgrove and their research concerning landscape, discourse and social structure.⁴⁰¹ Duncan's focus was how landscape is connected to the production of power or the pursuit of power. In *The City As Text*, Duncan asked how landscapes were used to forward or delay the attainment of social and political goals. For Duncan, landscapes conveyed messages and symbols about identity and power. Landscapes were texts that encoded information and he demonstrated this through his detailed study of the Kandyan Kingdom. He developed a method to decode messages of kingship, religion, myth, and politics and therefore the interactive landscape of Kandy. The method was to view the landscape in Kandy itself as text. Duncan worked from this baseline by utilizing concepts from other disciplines such as anthropology, literary and art criticism, and political science.

Denis Cosgrove, in *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, explored the social and cultural politics of landscape. Cosgrove connected with Duncan in the view that landscape is a cultural expression of social relations with the land. He explored the history of landscape but his project was the exploration of the relationship between cultural production and material practice. Furthermore, Cosgrove aimed to understand landscape as an ideologically-charged cultural product. He contended that landscape was

⁴⁰⁰ Also see Terry G. Jordan, "Preadaption and European Colonization in Rural North America," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 79, no. 4 (1989): 489-500. An additional consideration is how much pre-adaption assistance did Ruggles acquire or seek from the resident New England Planters who had settled in Nova Scotia in the 1760s. Ruggles certainly would have known Planters given his age and peer group. Did the Planters assist him, on the ground, especially during his initial visit to Nova Scotia, in the selection of land or in the development of a plan for a Nova Scotia plantation?

⁴⁰¹ James S. Duncan, *The City As Text*; Denis Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*.

a way of seeing that had its own history, but a history that could be understood only as part of a wider history of society and economy.⁴⁰² It is argued here that Ruggles landscapes were hegemonic and very much a message to others of his power and status and his place in the world - as well as the power, status and place of others around him.



4.1 The general locations of the two historic Ruggles landscapes in Hardwick, Massachusetts and Spanglers Cove, Nova Scotia indicated on the Bonne map of the Maritime Provinces and the New England states, c. 1780.⁴⁰³

⁴⁰²Denis E. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and the Symbolic Landscape* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984).

⁴⁰³ The map, titled “L’Isle De Terre-Neuve, L’Acadie ou La Nouvelle Ecosse, c. 1780” was drawn by Rigobert Bonne for Guillemme Raynal’s *Atlas de Toutes les Parties Connues du Globe Terrestre, Dressé pour l’Histoire Philosophique et Politique des Établissements et du Commerce des Européens dans les Deux Indes, 1780*. See www.geographicus.com/P/AntiqueMap/Canada-bonne-1780.

Research Findings

The first landscape to be reviewed was Ruggles' principal plantation in the town of Hardwick, Worcester County, Massachusetts, where he lived with his family, servants and workers from 1753 to August 1774, until he was forced to leave and flee to Boston and later Nova Scotia never to return.



4.2 Map of Hardwick, Worcester County, Massachusetts located approximately 88.5 km west of Boston. (Google Maps, 2011)

Second was Ruggles' permanent home on North Mountain, in Spa Springs, Wilmot Township, Annapolis County, Nova Scotia. He was granted 1000 acres from the British Crown in 1784 and worked to establish a country seat for ten years until his accidental death in 1795.⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰⁴ See History chapter for obituary reference.



4.3 Map of the Province of Nova Scotia in the Atlantic Region of Canada. The Ruggles Road in Spa Springs is north of the town of Middleton, on North Mountain in Annapolis County. Historically, Spa Springs and surrounding area was known as Wilmot Township. See blue star. (Nova Scotia Online, nsonline.com, 2011)

The following sections will present what is known about Ruggles’ principal estate in Hardwick and his country seat in Spa Springs, North Mountain. Details about each landscape will be presented separately and chronologically where possible beginning with Hardwick.

Hardwick, Worcester County, Massachusetts

The landscape fieldwork in Hardwick took place in April 2008.⁴⁰⁵ Arrangements were made in advance with the Hardwick Historical Society for tours of the village, the local cemetery, Ruggles’ plantation area on Upper Church Street, and the location of

⁴⁰⁵ A four day stay in Hardwick was part of a larger research trip for the thesis project that saw visits to many archival/historical institutions in Massachusetts to view holdings regarding Timothy Ruggles.

Bathsheba Ruggles Spooner's homestead and infamous well in nearby Brookfield.⁴⁰⁶ The village itself was small and could be described as similar to many in New England. There was a town center where the main streets converged. At the center there was a church and cemetery, commemorative monument and a small park, stores, and public buildings including the Historical Society.



**4.4 Hardwick Historical Society, Hardwick, Worcester County, MA.
(C. Cottreau-Robins, 2008)**

Hardwick, named for Lord Hardwicke, an English nobleman, was first settled in 1737 and incorporated in 1739. It has remained primarily agricultural except for a period in the late nineteenth century. Like many New England towns, that period experienced an industrial boom linked to mills and manufacturing. By the 1930s the boom was over and Hardwick returned to its agricultural roots. The current population is approximately 3000 citizens. Of particular interest during the field visit was the location of Ruggles' Hardwick estate. The historical record details a large plot of land, 1100 acres, with a

⁴⁰⁶ Members of the Hardwick Historical Society were most welcoming and shared their archival and material culture resources related to Timothy Ruggles. Local historian and Hardwick Historical Society Curator Leon Thresher ensured a thorough tour of the landscape took place.

substantial home, outbuildings, riding park, orchards and a church. Remaining today are cleared fields, a depression from a house, and fields bounded by stone walls.⁴⁰⁷

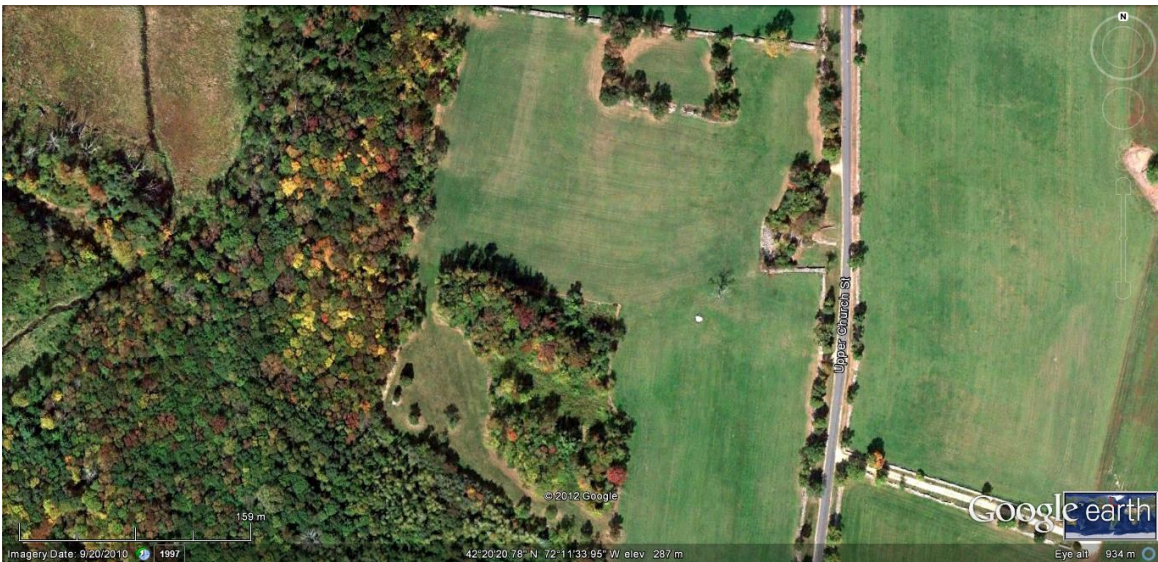


4.5 Handmade, dry-laid stone walls around the Ruggles Hardwick lands. Such walls are often associated with the eighteenth century but whether these were constructed during Ruggles' occupation is unknown. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2008)

⁴⁰⁷ The depression appeared to be nineteenth century based on the visible material culture on the ground however, evidence of an earlier period beneath the remains may have been present. We had no permit for subsurface investigation in Massachusetts so archaeological testing was not possible.



4.6 As in 4.5, more stone walls. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2008)



4.7 Ruggles lands on Upper Church Street, Hardwick, Massachusetts. Notice the stone walls marking field boundaries and running along the roads. The white dot in the middle is the large granite erratic with the flag mast bore hole. (Google Earth, 2011)

Most notable was the elevated position of the lands and the view overlooking the village of Hardwick. Near the center of a cleared field was a large granite erratic with a bore hole, recorded in local tradition as the anchor point for a flag mast used by Ruggles

to fly his banner.⁴⁰⁸ Such a banner would not only be visible for miles as riders approached but also mark the presence of the landowner.



4.8 The noted mast hole in the granite erratic in the Ruggles field. (E. Bancroft and the HHS, 2011)

The Hardwick plantation was not wilderness when Ruggles moved there with his family in 1753-1754. Other family members, such as his father and some of his siblings, had already settled. Ruggles had developed a successful law practice, and at the time he arrived in Hardwick he had accumulated a healthy fortune. With his wealth, he began to develop a plantation applicable to a gentleman of his social standing and legal influence. Over the years the estate became the most noteworthy in the area with extensive agricultural holdings, a large mansion house, riding park, thirty horse stables, and deer park complete with hounds. He entertained frequently and in grand style.⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁸ Personal communication with Leon Thresher, Hardwick Historical Society, April, 2008.

⁴⁰⁹ See Chapter 2.



4.9 Elevated view plane from Ruggles estate looking down toward the center village of Hardwick. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2008)



4.10 Elevated view plane from Upper Church Street to Hardwick center. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2008)

Ruggles was also noted for his scientific agriculture efforts. Experimental or scientific gardening, particularly with apples, and the breeding of thoroughbred

horses and cattle were noted activities of his in Hardwick.⁴¹⁰ He was acquainted with the tradition of English market fairs. In 1763 Ruggles attempted to have Hardwick established as the country seat of a new county that would be composed of the western part of Worcester County and the eastern part of Hampshire County. With his influence in the General Court of Assembly the regulated annual fair was established by an act of the Court passed on June 12, 1762 and published in *The Boston Evening Post* on June 21, 1762.⁴¹¹



4.11 An unknown artist's rendition of "Brigadier General Timothy Ruggles' House" which hangs in the Hardwick Historical Society museum building. No date. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2008)

This context must be considered when thinking about how Ruggles shaped his Hardwick plantation. A primary document, Ruggles' Loyalist memorial, also informs the context. Considerable effort was invested by Ruggles in organizing

⁴¹⁰ Ivan Sandrof, "Forgotten Giant of the Revolution: The Story of Brigadier General Timothy Ruggles of Hardwick," *Worcester Historical Society*, New Series, 3, no. 6 (April 1952), pp.16-28. Sandrof notes Ruggles as having more than 30 choice horses in his stable including his favorite black "war horse" and states he spared no expense to obtain the best sires in the colonies and in England.

⁴¹¹ Emily M. Bancroft, "The Hardwick Fair: A Community Experience Enacted in 1762". Manuscript on File, Hardwick Historical Society, Hardwick, Mass., 2-6.; personal communication with the author, April 2008.

his memorial. He detailed the breakdown of losses due to the war, noted the expected compensation for the losses, appended supporting statements by friends and officials who knew him well, and signed and submitted the claim to the Crown. In his memorial portfolio of papers Ruggles provided specific details of his real and personal property in New England. These documents contributed to the understanding of Ruggles not only as a long-standing member of the New England elite, but as a British colonial war refugee organizing resources in order to start over in the Nova Scotia wilderness.⁴¹²



4.12 Possible nineteenth-century foundation on the Ruggles property in the treed area to the north east of the stone erratic. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2008)

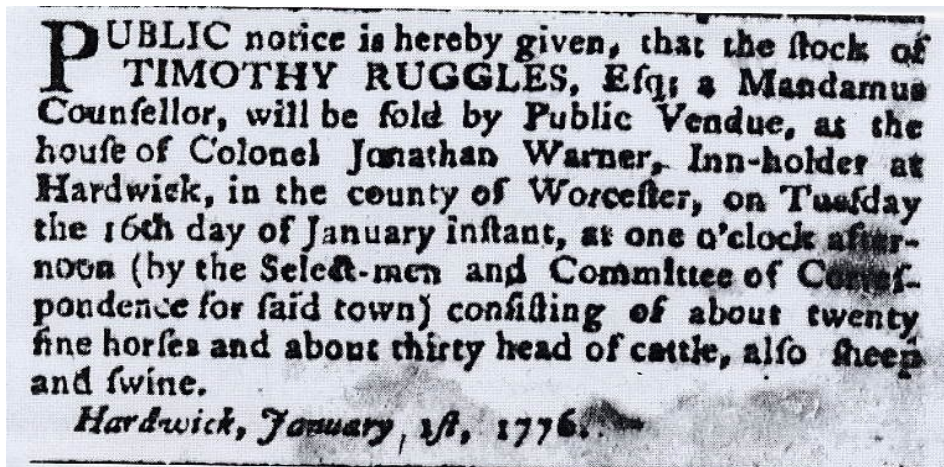
⁴¹² Ruggles memorial documents are on file at the National Archives, Kew, England. These documents provide more detail than what is available through archives in Massachusetts. For example, the Massachusetts Historical Society holds the “Massachusetts Tax Valuation List of 1771”, ed. Bettye Hobbs Pruitt, (Boston: G.K. Hall and Co., 1978). This list provides a picture of Ruggles estate in Hardwick in 1771 and details buildings, stock, pasture land, grains but in comparison to other documents it is incomplete. For example, the column for horses is blank, the column for swine is blank, and the column for servants for life is blank. Comprehensive census material does not come into the record until the post- revolutionary period, c.1790. There is one early census for the province in the 1730s; however, Hardwick has not become a village/town yet.

Ruggles appeared before Edmund Fanning, Esq. and Lieutenant Governor and President of His Majesty's Council for Nova Scotia, on October 16, 1783. He made solemn oath that the memorial, or "schedule of articles lost" since August 1774 and the noted "losses he has since sustained," was true. His losses were "by means of his Loyalty and adherence to the British Constitution" and therefore he asks that "what compensation he may be entitled to is to come from that Government under which he was born and bred and to which he has ever been a faithful subject."⁴¹³

A search for historic maps linked to Ruggles Hardwick period was undertaken during the 2008 research trip to Massachusetts. Four historic maps were located at the Massachusetts State Archives in Boston. Dated 1732, 1750, 1794 and 1830, the maps provided a basic layout of the Hardwick area with roads, ponds, brooks and later a few town buildings, mills and land owners. None represented the period 1753-1774 when Ruggles was present on Upper Church Street.⁴¹⁴

⁴¹³ See National Archives document A.O. 13/75, page 403. The memorial is signed Timothy Ruggles, Nova Scotia, Wilmot, October 16th, 1783.

⁴¹⁴ The following references represent four digital files of original maps on file with the Massachusetts State Archives in Boston, Massachusetts. "Plan of Hardwick" by David Pratt, March 21, 1795, 1794 Series Maps, Vol. 6, pg. 5, no. 1260; "Plan of Hardwick" by Gardner Ruggles, dated 1830, 1830 Series Maps, Vol. 6, pg. 6, no. 2113; "Plan of Hardwick showing portions of Brookfield, New Braintree and desired..." dated 1750, Third Series, Vol. 32, Pg. 17, no. 647; "Plan of Hardwick (Lambstown), granted to Col. Joshua Lamb, et al, Nov. 1732," dated Dec. 8, 1732, Third Series, Vol. 37, pg. 10, no. 390.



4.13 This newspaper ad confirms some of the livestock Ruggles listed in his memorial to the British Crown (about 20 fine horses, about 30 head of cattle, also sheep and swine).⁴¹⁵

The Loyalist memorial described an active agricultural concern in Hardwick. Ruggles had his hand in cidery, cattle (meat and dairy), carpentry, horses and dogs, grains, and garden house (green house) activities. He did not complete the variety of tasks represented without help. Friend and associate Israel Mauduit mentioned servants in his testimonial in support of Ruggles claim.⁴¹⁶ Of interest for the dissertation was how this agricultural landscape compared to the North Mountain activities in Nova Scotia.

Of equal value to the Loyalist memorial was the journal of Dr. Elihu Ashley of Deerfield, Massachusetts.⁴¹⁷ Dr. Ashley was a good friend of John Ruggles, son of the Brigadier General, and had occasion to visit Hardwick and view the Ruggles estate. In the journal, which covers the years 1773 to 1775, a glimpse of Ruggles in Hardwick can

⁴¹⁵ From *The Massachusetts Spy or American Oracle of Liberty*, January 2, 1776, Vol. V, Issue 255, p. 4, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA. A similar advertisement can be found in the *Massachusetts Spy* dated June 10, 1784, Vol. XIV. The ad promotes the selling of a “half blooded black Arabian sire... This horse came of the beautiful black horse that was imported from Arabia, and formerly owned by Timothy Ruggles, Esq. at Hardwick.”

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Timothy Ruggles memorial, p. 405. Ruggles Loyalist memorial is an extensive listing of everything that would have supported an active plantation. Household items from linens to sugar tongs, firearms, cider production tools, windows, barrels, machinery, buildings, livestock and associated gear, harvested agricultural goods, and even the leashes for his hounds.

⁴¹⁷ Amelia F. Miller and A. R. Riggs, eds. *Romance, Remedies, and Revolution: The Journal of Dr. Elihu Ashley of Deerfield, Massachusetts, 1773-1775* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007).

be found just prior to the action of “the Mobb” that saw both the Brigadier General and his son forced from their homes in 1774-1775.⁴¹⁸ The following entries speak directly to the Hardwick estate:

July 4, 1774

About Eight I set out, stopt at Catlins then drove to Sunderland...then drove on for Hardwick, put up at Brigr [Timothy] Ruggles, found Jack [Ruggles] hearty...After drinking a Dish of Coffee Jack, Pomeroy and myself walked round the farm, and into the Park, saw the Deer, returned and spent the Evening together...⁴¹⁹

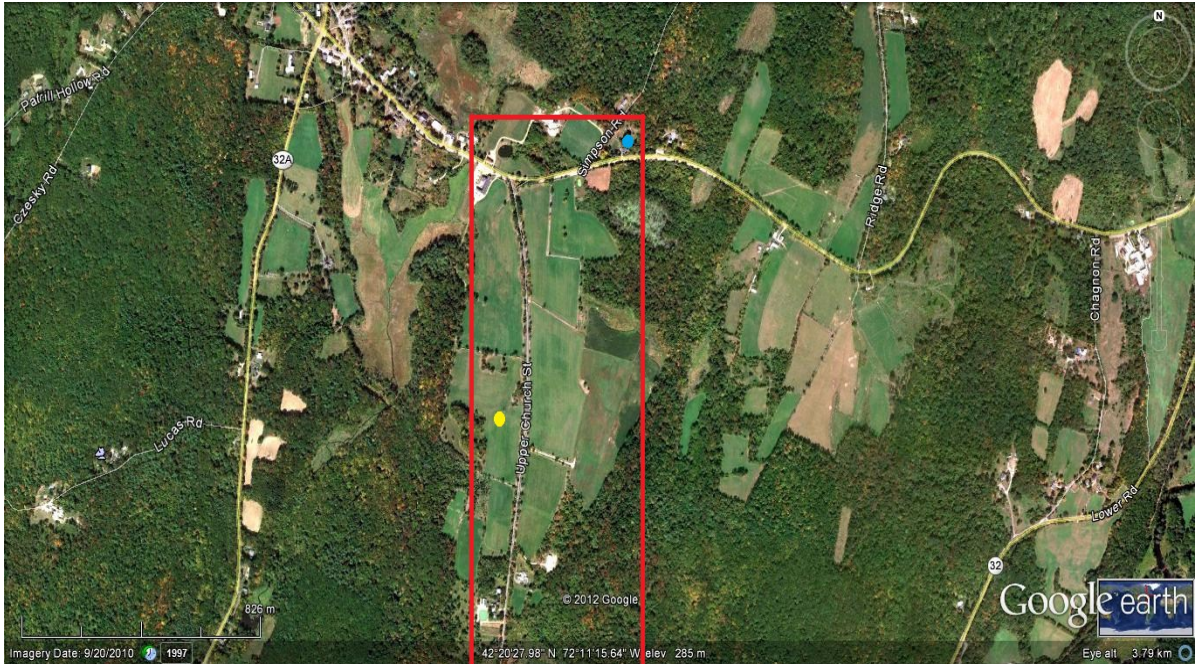
July 6, 1774

...came to Hardwick, got in about Eleven. I waited upon C to [Gardner] Chandlers then I went up to the Brigrs, found him getting the Nitts off of his horses. He waited upon me in. Dinner was brought on and a very fine one it was. After Dinner the Old Gentn walked out with me... About four the mentioned Gentn and myself went up to Coxhall where the Brig is making a fine Situation. He has a piece of Ground about three Quarters of an Acre Enclosed with a Noble piece of Stone Wall, the height of it about Eight feet, under half his Wall runs a Brook which he lets out upon a piece of Mowing. This Garden he designs for a Kitchen Garden And South of where he designs to set his house he is fitting a piece of Ground for Nines. The land descends to the South, and he designs to make three Squares, one about four feet above the other, which will make a most agreeable Graduation, and if ever finished will be the grandest thing in the Province of its kind. After viewing this Situation We returned back to the Brigs...⁴²⁰

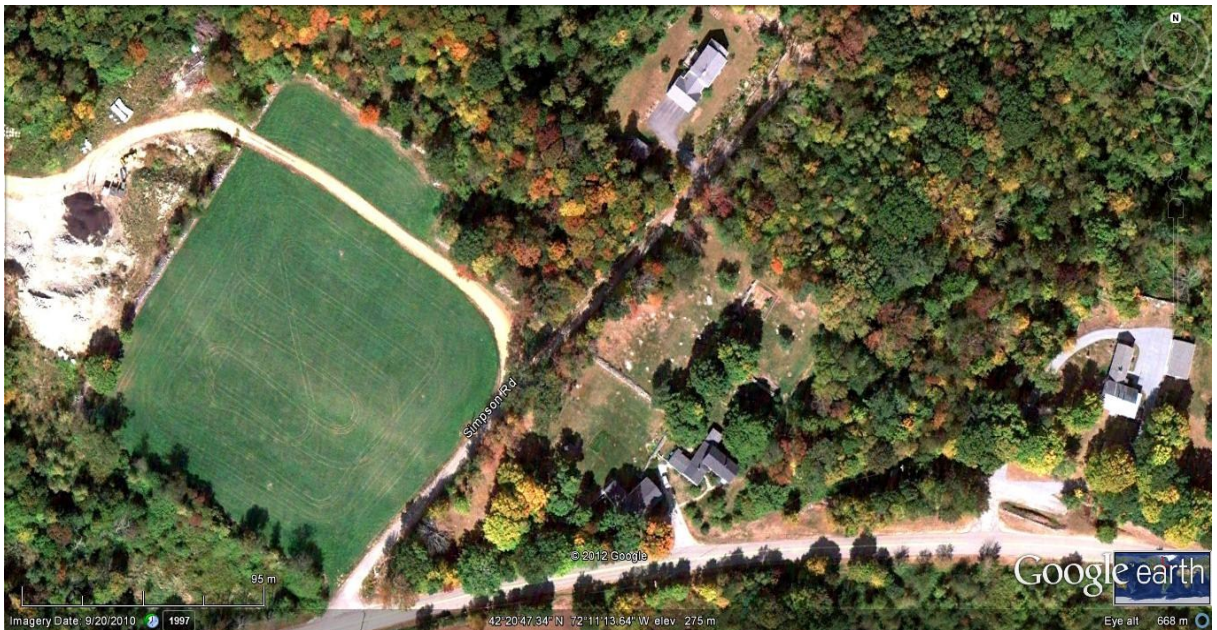
⁴¹⁸ Ibid, Miller and Riggs, 202. Footnote 570 confirms that that as of April 25, 1775, “Ruggles and his family” were not confined to their home in Hardwick but already in Boston. Confining Tories to their home was a practice by the Whigs as divisions and conflicts increased.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., p. 86. Dr. Ashley refers to his friend John Ruggles as Jack. Miller and Riggs add in the footnote (275) that John Ruggles had twelve deer in the park on his father’s land, which was surrounded by a high stone wall. Miller and Riggs also note that John Ruggles, like his father, was a breeder and trader of horses. See pages 139 and 385.

⁴²⁰ Ibid., p. 86-87. According to Miller and Riggs, Coxhall was the site of a new estate planned by Ruggles and about a mile south of the village of Hardwick. Nines refers to nine-pin lawn bowling game. In 2008 local residents Susan Gainley, Ed Hood, Myron Goddard and Carol Andrews investigated the area described which is located on the Simpson Road in Hardwick (See blue in Figure 15). Oral tradition stated the lot on Simpson Road was Ruggles’ deer park. Ruggles acquired the 150 acre parcel (Cox Farm), in 1771 from widow Elizabeth Cox and had plans to improve. The investigation by Gainley, et al, determined that the stone enclosure was for a kitchen garden not a deer park. Documentary evidence states that the deer park covered 20 acres and it was likely located on Ruggles’ estate on Upper Church Street to the south of the enclosure on Simpson Road. Ruggles’ plans for improvement were not completed. His lands in Hardwick were confiscated when the Revolutionary War began. His Cox Farm acres reverted back to Widow Cox in 1783. See “Report to the East Quabbin Land Trust”, by Susan Gainley, et al, May 2008. On file with the authors.



4.14 The red line shows the approximate extent of Ruggles 1100 acres in Hardwick (in red). The yellow dot indicates the location of the flag pole stone erratic at the high point of the estate. The blue dot indicates the location of the Ruggles' planned Coxhall estate as described in the Ashley diary. Remnants of the planned kitchen garden and a significant stone wall still remain. (Google Earth, 2011)



4.15 Close up image of Ruggles' planned Coxhall estate area on the Simpson Road in Hardwick (blue dot area in Figure 4.14). Notice the remnant stone wall in the center of the image. (Google Earth, 2012)



4.16 A large stone used to cover a well (approximately 2.25 m in height) from the Ruggles estate in Hardwick. The stone is located on the property of the Eagle Hill School in Hardwick. The inscription on the lower left is TR 1759.⁴²¹ The stone was flat on the ground when viewed in 2008. Now on its edge, it functions as a landscape ornament. (S. Gainley, 2012)

Spa Springs, Annapolis County, Nova Scotia

Ruggles was pre-adapted to settlement when he arrived in Nova Scotia.⁴²² He had successfully built up the Hardwick estate and not long after his arrival in Nova Scotia he

⁴²¹ Also regarding water, the Worcester Registry of Deeds, Worcester County, Massachusetts, has on file in Book 35, Page 595, a conveyance of water rights from Kenhelm Winslow to Timothy Ruggles. Dated 1755, Winslow, in consideration of ten shillings, conveys to Ruggles and his heirs “the priviledge of building and forever continuing a dam atop two small brooks at the easterly part of my homestead farm in Hardwick to raise the water in said brooks and to draw the same foreverwith the priviledge of digging stone and gravel for making said dam and keeping it in repair with free liberty of piping and repiping to and from the same as often as may require.”

⁴²² Wood, *Ibid.*, Jorden, *Ibid.* Jorden, working from a cultural ecology perspective, suggests pre-adaption as an explanatory method in his study of the origin of the highly successful woodland pioneering culture of the Middle Colonies that took root and spread across most of the forested areas of the eastern United States. He concluded that back-country Finns who came to the Delaware Valley colony of New Sweden in the 1640s introduced a forest colonization strategy, that when mixed with contributions from local American Indians, produced a backwoods pioneer culture. According to Jorden, preadaptation involves “trait complexes possessed by human societies in advance of migration that give them competitive advantage in occupying the new environment.”(p. 494). Wood applies the same approach to the Puritans who successfully settled the New England landscape in the early 1600s. I apply the concept to Ruggles and his move from Massachusetts to Nova Scotia. Jorden adds that very often, “successful preadaptation resulted from the deliberate selection of settlement sites environmentally similar to the (European) homeland. . .” (p. 494). According to the historical record, Ruggles had opportunity to become familiar with the terrain, climate and landscape of Nova Scotia before settling on North Mountain. He was in Nova Scotia (Halifax and

set to work developing an agricultural base in a regionally-specific ecological zone – the Annapolis Valley. He likely recognized the value of the North Mountain environment and saw similar opportunities for successful cider making as in Hardwick.

The most direct documentary evidence for contemporary landscape-related activity in the Annapolis Valley is a letter written in Annapolis by Ruggles, while waiting for his land grant in Wilmot Township, to his friend Edward Winslow, Sr. in New York and dated July 17, 1783:

Dear Sir –

.....Your fruit trees when compared with those here, I mean apples, are hardly worth noticing. About ten days ago, I had a present of well toward a bushel of as fine, fair, sound high flavored apples as you ever saw at New York in the month of January. Colo. Allen of [New] Jersey told me he had drank the best Cyder here he ever drank in his life... Vegetables of all kinds of the very best quality, but not so early as at New York. Fin, scale & shell fish of all kinds except oysters, the want of which is richly compensated by scallops in plenty about the bigness of a common tea saucer & of excellent flavor. The land, very natural of grass of all kinds, with some of our New England husbandry often produces forty bushels of Indian corn per acre; but am apprehensive from the scantiness of heat and much wet weather it is not the proper grain for this climate. Wheat, Barley, Oats and Flax thrive well here upon the uplands. No bugs ever known in the place. The people begin to clear upland which turns off good crops. The growth of timber in general near the marshes is evergreen; such as white Spruce, Red Spruce, Black Spruce, Fir and Hemlock. The upland back from the river is Rock Maple, Yellow and Black Birch, Beech and White Ash; some Red oak. There is one hickory tree here produced from what in our country we call Shagbark Walnut, planted by Major Winniet about 23 years ago, an exceeding fine thrifty tree. Bids fair to have at least a bushel of nuts this year if no accident befalls them. In the same gentleman's garden is a Filbert tree of some

elsewhere?) following the evacuation of Boston in 1776. Following the close of the Revolution but prior to receiving his 1784 land grant on North Mountain, Ruggles was in Digby, Wilmot, and Annapolis. I propose Ruggles recognized environmental and agricultural possibilities on North Mountain similar to Hardwick and simply applied his agricultural skills and knowledge in adapting to his new homeland and developing his Nova Scotia country seat.

bigness with plenty of fruit growing on it. In the next garden there is a Madeira nut tree of considerable bigness; by its appearance has been sometimes nipt by the frost, but not more that I have seen the same sort nipt on Long Island. Upon the whole I think the climate good & the soil capable of becoming the granary of any part of the continent to the eastward of New York....⁴²³

In the letter Ruggles noted in detail the agricultural promise of the Annapolis Valley and compared it often to the New England landscape. Such features were no doubt contemplated when he received the 1000 acre land grant from the British Crown, “being all wilderness lands”, on North Mountain in April 1784.⁴²⁴ Sons Richard and John were later granted 800 acre lots each directly north and adjacent to their father on North Mountain.

Ruggles worked the 1000 acre lot with family, hired hands, slaves, house servants and possibly indentured servants.⁴²⁵ North Mountain acreage was not what Ruggles initially requested. He originally selected lands closer to Annapolis Royal but they were already granted to other Loyalist settlers. Nevertheless in the decade he was on the

⁴²³ W.O. Raymond, *Winslow Papers, 1776-1826*. (Saint John: Sun Printing Co. Ltd, 1901), 106-109. Also see Elizabeth Ruggles Coward, *Bridgetown, Nova Scotia: Its History to 1900* (Kentville: Kentville Publishing Company, 1955), 32-33. Note the phrase “the people”. Is Ruggles referring to workers, or servants/enclaved labourers?

⁴²⁴ See Original land grant in Old Book 14, Page 19, MFM 13041, dated April 24, 1784 and signed April 27, 1784, Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management, Halifax, NS.

⁴²⁵ See the “Book of Negroes” entry for 23-27 April 1783, Brig *Ranger* bound for Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia which lists Hester Ruggles, 7, fine wench, (General Ruggles), The General’s property; Jeffery Ruggles, 6, fine boy (General Ruggles), General’s property; Prince, 19, stout B. Richard Ruggles of Annapolis, claimant. (Richard Ruggles), Property of Richard Ruggles; Robert Williams, 23, stout, B, (General Ruggles). Free born at Shrewsbury, New Jersey; John Coslin, 25, stout, M, (General Ruggles). Free born at North Hampshire, Virginia; parents free. Also, see the essay by Cousins, pg. 3. Annapolis County history by Calnek, 507, 590 and 609-610, states, that Ruggles met George Stronach of Glasgow, Scotland, in Halifax and Ruggles brought him to Annapolis County. There Stronach with Benjamin Fales, whose family came from Taunton, Mass. and had been in Wilmot since the 1760s, worked for three years clearing land for Ruggles in exchange for 500 acres each on North Mountain. The Stronach family remains on the land today.

from his Hardwick farms.⁴²⁹ On the steep slope east of the main house in a vaulted natural hot house Ruggles experimented with other varieties of trees and shrubs expanding skills as a scientific gardener he was noted for in Worcester County.⁴³⁰ According to historian Leone Cousins, Ruggles' new home soon became the model farm of the district.

The youths (Fales and Stronach) were at once instructed to clear an acre on the southern slope, three feet deep, throwing out all the stumps and stones. Here the General set out the first apple orchard in the Township, importing the young trees from Massachusetts. The youths excavated a cellar nine feet deep faced with fieldstone, over which the general had his mansion constructed. Dressed quincy granite was brought from Massachusetts for the foundations and doorsteps....Other dwellings on the property sheltered his slaves and their families.....A natural ravine on the mountain side... he selected for the location of a special garden where he planted a variety of plants, such as grape vines, quince, peaches and walnut saplings.⁴³¹

Other indications of Ruggles activities in Nova Scotia can be found in his Last Will and Testament dated 1795.⁴³² In his will Ruggles bequeathed to his son

⁴²⁹ Ibid. Also, it was noted during the field survey that several old orchard trees also remain west of the Ruggles Site and not far from the mansion house. See Bourne, 33. "From his old orchards in Hardwick he brought stock from his best apple trees."

⁴³⁰ Investigated by Cottreau-Robins in the summer of 2008. Seed samples were collected for analysis and sent to the archaeobotany lab at the Archaeology Department, Memorial University, St. John's, NF.

⁴³¹ Ibid., Cousins, p. 3. Regarding the Quincy granite, there is reference to an "old Ruggles house" in Quincy Massachusetts. Did Ruggles have a connection there to help import the cut granite? Did it come from family property there? See Henry Stoddard Ruggles, *Ruggles Homesteads* (Privately printed, 1912), 7.

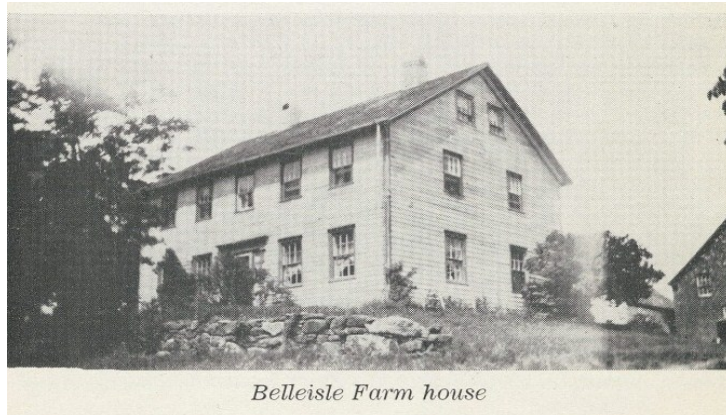
⁴³² "Timothy Ruggles Will," Annapolis County Probate: R-9, MFM 19049, Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management, Halifax. Witnesses/signatures to the Will were Willm. Cropley, Rachel Baggs or Bass and Peter Barnes (X as his mark). William Cropley arrived in Nova Scotia in 1783 and settled in Wilmot (Hanley Mountain). He officiated as a lay-reader in the absence of rector Reverend Wiswall, a friend, neighbour and minister to Ruggles. Rachel Bass is no doubt connected to the Bass family who have roots in Annapolis County dating from 1783. Regarding Palet or Polet Barnes, the surname is uncommon and not among Calnek's biographical and genealogical sketches for Annapolis County. However, Sam'l Barnes is listed in the "Muster Roll of Refugee Negroes living in Annapolis and Granville", recorded between June and August 1784. See MG15, Vol. 19, No. 36, Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management, Halifax. Also, Charles Barnes, D. S. I Batt. N.J. Vols., is listed in the "Muster Roll of Discharged Officers and Disbanded Soldiers and Loyalists taken in the County of Annapolis" in June 1784. Perhaps there is a connection. See Appendix G in Calnek. A search of the church, poll tax and census

Timothy Ruggles the two farms in Granville Township with all the stock and farming utensils and the furniture in Wilmot except what he bequeathed to Mrs. Lavinia Outhit. To her he also bequeathed five cows and to her son John one pair of oxen, one colt, and implements or tools to settle a new farm. He left to his son John, all the real estate in the Township of Wilmot. Blacksmiths tools were divided between John and Timothy Jr. Fifty pounds was also left to the Widow Outhit and to Ebenezer Fales, one cow, a colt one ax, one hoe, one sythe, one silver table spoon, one pair of two year old steers, cloth, blankets earthen plates, two dishes and a knife and fork.⁴³³

There was record of Ruggles' property in Granville known as the Belleisle Farm. The original deed detailed two groups of parcels. A farm exists today with a home and large barn which is elevated and overlooks the Belleisle marsh and orchards. Across from the residence is the St. Mary's Anglican Church and cemetery where Ruggles grandson Timothy and his wife Jane Thorn are buried.

records for Wilmot, Annapolis, Aylesford, Cornwallis, and Granville townships has not revealed any more specific details.

⁴³³ Ibid.



Belleisle Farm house

4.17 The Belleisle Farm house as recorded in *Bridgetown, Nova Scotia: Its History to 1900*. The Belleisle Farm in Granville Township, was purchased in 1789 by Timothy Ruggles from John Prince for 900 pounds.⁴³⁴ Ruggles willed the farm to his son John though it is likely his son Richard and his family occupied the farm for a time. John’s son and his wife are buried across the road from the house in the cemetery for St. Mary’s Anglican Church.



4.18 The Belleisle Farm house as it stands today. The Georgian or Neo-classical house displays modern renovations not visible in the mid-twentieth century photo in Ruggles-Coward.⁴³⁵ Only one brick chimney remains, the central door is missing the earlier heavy set moulding detail, and there now appears to be a back porch. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2011)

Other subtle clues linked to Ruggles land on North Mountain were in deeds and descriptions of land conveyances following his death. For example, a deed dated 1802 has Ruggles’ son John conveying a portion of Lots 45 and 46 to

⁴³⁴ Ruggles Coward, *Bridgetown*. See the Prince - Ruggles deed on file in the Lawrencetown Registry of Deeds, Annapolis County, Nova Scotia. The conveyed parcels contained 500 acres and included “farm lotts” and “marshy lotts.” The conveyance was recorded the 15 day of August, 1789. It is interesting to consider if the Belleisle house was similar to what was built on North Mountain.

⁴³⁵ Allen Penney, *Houses of Nova Scotia* (Formac Publishing and Nova Scotia Museum, 1989), 52-53.

Lott Phinney. The description accompanying the deed noted “Together with all the buildings thereon...and appurtenances...services...profits, which alludes to improvements to the parcels.”⁴³⁶ There was also the obituary of Ruggles published in the *Royal Gazette* in August 1795 and written by Reverend John Wiswall, friend and neighbour to Ruggles. In the obituary there was the following paragraph that references Ruggles’ work in cultivation and farming:

The idea that his advanced age would not permit him to reap the fruit of his labours never dampened the spirit of improvement by which he was, in a most eminent degree, animated; and the district of the country in which he lived will long feel the benefits resulting from the liberal exertions he made to advance the agricultural interests of the Province.⁴³⁷

The archaeological record for the cultural landscape was developed as a result of field reconnaissance activities on the Ruggles land grant on North Mountain. Archaeological methods of visual inspection and recording of suspected cultural features or modifications (such as depressions, stone walls, middens, historic roads) that could potentially provide clues to past activities were the main objectives. Fieldwork also included the collection of soil samples (for archaeo-botanical analysis, in the area thought to be Ruggles’ vaulted garden), the inspection of an unusual line of trees, walking as much of the acreage as possible, talking to local residents, examination of aerial photographs from the 1940s forward, and the examination of bald-earth Lidar images of the Ruggles Road.⁴³⁸

⁴³⁶ See the deed between John and Hannah Ruggles and Lott Phinney in Book 12, Page 3-4, December 1802, Lawrencetown Registry of Deeds, Annapolis County, NS.

⁴³⁷ Obituary of Brig. General Timothy Ruggles, *The Royal Gazette and Nova Scotia Advertiser*, Vol. VII, no. 335, August 11, 1795, MFM 8167, Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management, Halifax.

⁴³⁸ For details on these activities see the Archaeology Chapter of the dissertation.

The following provides specific detail on the field observations as well as the archaeo-botanical analysis.⁴³⁹

The oral tradition of Ruggles' vaulted garden has been noted since preliminary fieldwork began to take place on North Mountain in the fall of 2007. Local residents recalled the location of the experimental garden and Ruggles' efforts at growing exotic fruit trees. Local historians recorded the same in the various histories of Annapolis County. It was decided early on in the development of the research plan that the suspected garden area be investigated. In July 2008 the archaeology field crew conducted a field survey of the east side of the Ruggles Road and traversed up and down the slope between the Phinney Site and the Elliott Site. Approximately mid slope we discovered a cluster of old apple trees and just south of that a long stone wall of some antiquity. Abandoned pathways were also visible downward into an area intensely warm and humid. Trees bearing fruit not yet ripened were on either side of the lengthy stone wall. Five test pits were excavated in the area and soil samples were bagged for botanical analysis.

This mid slope area between the Phinney site and the Elliott site was selected for testing because of its location in a steeply-sloped, vault like area, the remnants of a handmade stone wall, the fruit trees, and its location directly east of Ruggles mansion house. Ruggles could have easily walked out his door, crossed the Ruggles Road and turned down into the garden. An abundance of artifacts

⁴³⁹ Once flotation of the soil samples was completed and seeds removed, all seed samples from the suspected vaulted garden area were sent for analysis to the archaeobotany lab at Memorial University of Newfoundland. Analysis took place under the direction of Dr. Michael Deal, Archaeology Department, MUN.

was not expected because it was a garden area. How far along Ruggles was in the shaping of the garden and conducting scientific experimentation with plants is not known. In the ten years he homesteaded on North Mountain, there was much work to do on the land besides specialized gardening. Ruggles died after aggravating a hernia injury when he climbed out of the garden. Having climbed out of the area, it was not difficult for the field crew to imagine Ruggles, then 84, creating a “rupture.”

The seven test units (50cm x 1m) were easy to dig given the soft brown loam that dominated the soil matrix, minimal small rocks and absence of artifacts.

Table 16: Ruggles Vaulted Garden Area Soil Sample Chart

Unit	Location	Depth of Sample	Sample ID
Test Unit 1	Lower Terrace	sod development level	MUN#S1/1
	Lower Terrace	14 cm below surface	MUN#S1/2
	Lower Terrace	20 cm below surface	MUN#S1/3
Test Unit 1	Upper Terrace	25 cm below surface	MUN#S1/4
	Upper Terrace	40 cm below surface	MUN#S1/5
Test Unit 2	Lower Terrace	sod development level	MUN#S2/1
	Lower Terrace	15 cm below surface	MUN#S2/2
	Lower Terrace	26 cm below surface	MUN#S2/3
Test Unit 2	Upper Terrace	35 cm below surface	MUN#S2/4
Test Unit 3	Upper Terrace	30 cm below surface	MUN#S3/1
Test Unit 4	Upper Terrace	20 cm below surface	MUN#S4/1
Test Unit 5	Upper Terrace	30 cm below surface	MUN#S5/1

As detailed in the table above, more samples were retrieved from the upper terrace of the possible garden area. The vaulted area had a terraced appearance and it was the upper terrace that contained the stone wall and an abundance of fruit bearing trees. Was the construction of the stone walls part of planned garden design or

simply a property boundary marker? Walls were formed rather than simply the development of rock piles as a result of field clearing. The recorded temperature on a summer day in the vaulted garden area was 36 degrees Celsius (96.8 Farenheit) in the shade.



4.19 Two views of a collapsed stone wall in the vaulted garden area of the Ruggles homestead on North Mountain, east of the mansion house. View on the right was taken after the clearing of forest debris. It is interesting that potential garden areas on North Mountain and in Hardwick (Simpson Road) have evidence of stone walls. (C. Cottreau-Robins, 2008)



**4.20 Apples developing in the vaulted garden.
(C. Cottreau-Robins, 2008)**

Soil samples were taken at a range of depths. The samples were processed through a water flotation process at the field house. Water was introduced to each sample causing seeds and other organics to float to the surface. Each seed or seed-like item was carefully removed with tweezers and laid out to dry. Once dry each collection from each sample was carefully packaged in foil, labelled and ship to the archaeobotany lab for analysis.

Results of the archaeo-botanical analysis were somewhat inconclusive.⁴⁴⁰ It was anticipated that some remnant of what had been detailed by historians would be recovered. For example, as Calnek stated “In this vault, as it was generally called, and which was sheltered on all sides except the south, Mr. Ruggles introduced many exotic plants, among others, peaches, grapes and quinces, and more than one black walnut tree.”⁴⁴¹ However the botanical analysis

⁴⁴⁰ See project paper and laboratory worksheets by Memorial University of Newfoundland student Miranda Romkey, December 8, 2008. On file with Cottreau-Robins.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid., Calnek, p. 591.

identified raspberry and/or black berry (*Rubus idaeus*), white and black spruce (*Picea glauca* and *Picea mariana*), tall buttercup (*Ranunculus acris*), sedge (*Carex*), herbs of the buckwheat family (*Rumex crispus?*), tall grasses (*Gramineae?*), and various sclerotia. Interesting to note is that many seeds remained unidentified and many seeds were identified by genus only and not species. Charred fragments of seeds or shells and some charcoal was also identified in Test Units 1(4 pieces), 2 (7 pieces) and 4 (15 pieces). The technician conducting analysis concluded that overall much more time was needed to identify the seeds which in the analyzed categories still remain unidentified. The technician was restricted by time constraints.⁴⁴²

Landscape as Continuity, Ideology and Symbol

The argument of the landscape chapter is that Timothy Ruggles spent a decade replicating on North Mountain the New England landscape he dominated in Hardwick. The argument was one of Loyalist continuity. Essentially, Ruggles continued a formula in Nova Scotia that had been very successful in Massachusetts. A formula that resulted in a highly-regarded productive and developing plantation supported, most essentially, by labourers of all modes from house servants to field workers. The result of his efforts in Nova Scotia, after a decade on North Mountain, was regarded as “very fine and commanding a most extensive prospect with excellent soil.” Supporting the argument for

⁴⁴² Miranda Romkey, “Paleoethnobotany Final Project, Archaeology Department, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2008. On file with Cottreau-Robins.

continuity were the landscape data. Information gleaned from documentary sources and field observations illustrated Ruggles' efforts as he turned land to landscape. The list of similarities between the two places was evidence of a continued approach to development and management of a plantation. Layered in this argument were questions about Ruggles' ideology, his relationship to power and wealth, and what he considered to be the natural order of things. His landscapes were "cultural products" that were meaningful to him and symbolized his ideas, values regarding improvement and prosperity, and a hierarchal framework rooted in the Enlightenment agenda.⁴⁴³ Also contributing to these "cultural products" was Ruggles' loyalism. Being a Loyalist was an integral part of Ruggles' identity.⁴⁴⁴ Janice Potter summarized Loyalist ideology, in the context of Revolutionary War era Massachusetts and New York, as ideology that,

...included a logical, coherent and even reasonable interpretation of the origins and nature of the Revolution. It rested on certain basic assumptions, which were shared by respected and influential British theorists about man's nature and government's role. It provided well-reasoned defences of the imperial status quo at the same time it outlined ways of improving both the British Empire and the British institutions in America. Tying together these various dimensions of Loyalist thought was the pervasive theme that Americans had more to fear from self-interested factions in their midst than from the power of the British government.⁴⁴⁵

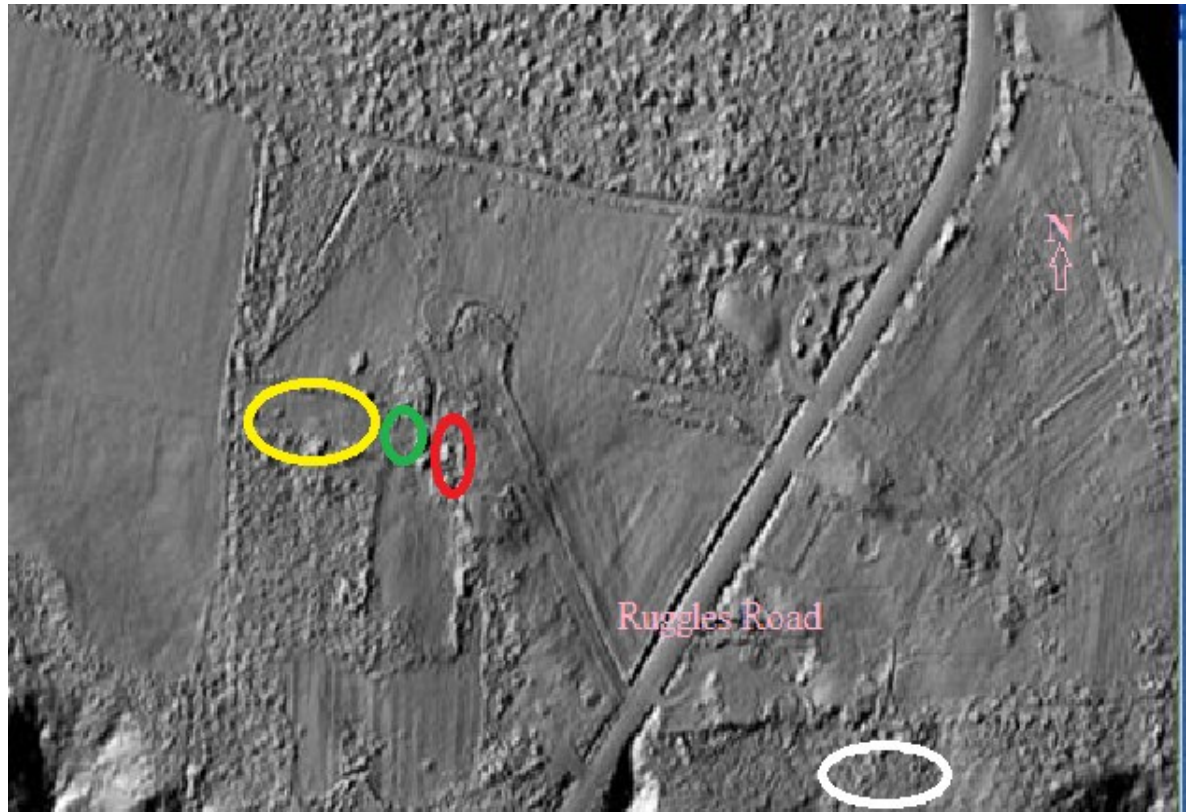
⁴⁴³ Ibid., Robertson and Richards.

⁴⁴⁴ For examples see Ruggles' call to form a Loyalist Association in "The Association", an article in the *Boston News-Letter*, December 29, 1774, Issue 3718, 2; Ruggles published response to his decisions at the Stamp Act Congress; Ruggles development of military units in Boston and New York, and Ruggles Loyalist Memorial papers.

⁴⁴⁵ Janice Potter, *The Liberty We Seek: Loyalist Ideology in Colonial New York and Massachusetts* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 12-14. Ideology, as described by Potter, is an argument on behalf of a cause, which is coherent, cohesive and comprehensive. A key element of Loyalist ideology was the vision of an Anglo-American empire: Britain and America. Loyalists believed the two were united by history, trade and a shared attachment to the empire and the British government. A continued link would also bring unity and prosperity. This was not a sudden ideology for Ruggles that came along as war tensions increased. He was a long standing Anglo-American. He wrote, published and coordinated military engagements not only to cultivate action and provide explanation or clarification, but, as Potter states, to affect choice.

Potter's summary applied to Ruggles. He was a true Anglo-American and in favour of a solution that would see Britain and America as collaborators for the improvement and stability of America rather than adversaries.

Concerning evidence of continuity, both Hardwick and North Mountain were parcels of land similar in dimension (approximately 1000 acres). Both parcels had elevated vistas and mansion houses oriented towards the village. A main access road ran up the center the length of the estates. Both had stone walls and commanding views of Ruggles' domains consisting of fields, forests, workers, and agricultural enterprises. At hand was the support of family as well as labourers in the form of servants, slaves and hired hands. Each estate had components of specialized gardening, both had apple orchards, and both had the capacity to host guests. A difference is that Ruggles spent two decades working the Hardwick plantation and only half that time on North Mountain. He was also much older then. North Mountain was a smaller scale Hardwick with a number of adapted characteristics in process at Ruggles' accidental death in 1795. In essence, at both estates Ruggles worked to develop country seats, with an impressive house and productive agricultural enterprises, ensuring a domestic landmark visible for miles, constantly improving and dominated by his presence and context.



4.21 Bald earth Lidar image of the Ruggles Road, North Mountain. Red is the location of Ruggles house, green is the location of the barn, yellow represents two parallel stone walls and white is the probable location of the vaulted garden. Through the processing of the Lidar data, all ground cover has been removed resulting in an image that illustrates the intense landscape modifications since the land was granted to Ruggles in 1784. (Applied Geomatics Research Group, Middleton, 2008)

The landscape review supports a theme of continuity in cultural geography across time and space, but what is the deeper meaning behind the concerted effort by Ruggles to maintain continuity, and develop his spaces as symbols of who he was, what he represented, and what he believed? Ruggles saw himself as part of the long-established colonial gentry stemming from his family prominence in Massachusetts since the early seventeenth century. As he worked to establish plantations on the highest point of land he was signaling the power and status of the ruling class and communicating messages that separated him from the dispersed, small landholding working majority surrounding the two areas. He was a well-known gentleman in

Massachusetts, a “gentleman in the wilderness” in Nova Scotia, but a gentleman all the same.⁴⁴⁶ He had higher education, an understanding of science, land, military and Crown designations, authority, and he kept company with the best of society. He sat with the decision makers and had command of the court room and the battlefield. Ruggles was comfortable with the focus on scientific explanation characteristic of the age and demonstrated this in his agricultural experimentations. Rational explanation and a natural hierarchy to all things were philosophies that kept the gentry in their privileged positions especially as their world approached revolution. Expressed in colonial New England as the Georgian Order, Alexandra Chan describes:

...a behavioral as well as material culture phenomenon that segmented, ordered and created hierarchy in all things, as well as implicitly linked them to the mysterious workings of nature, which were beyond question. Everything from architecture to interior décor, landscape, dance, dress, and manners was rallied to provide the isolation needed to hinder an attack on the crumbling social order.⁴⁴⁷

The Georgian Order framework was an extension of the overarching philosophy of the eighteenth century, the Enlightenment. Scholars of the Enlightenment engaged in a renewed focus on order and control and with this focus increased the development and exploration of scientific thought. Ruggles, the Loyalist, saw the King, and British parliament, as the logical framework to maintain order. To maintain this status quo, Ruggles was part of what Chan describes as “gentry cliques”.

“Gentry cliques” with strong ties to country courts and to each other began to transcend local community and form an exclusive class of gentlemen and their families and political and social luminaries, all of whom were largely interrelated by blood or marriage and collectively

⁴⁴⁶ A phrase borrowed from historian Margaret Conrad’s conference paper “A Gentleman in the Wilderness: Edward Winslow’s Loyalist Legacy in Colonial New Brunswick, 1783-1815,” delivered at the *Loyalists and the Revolutionary Atlantic World Conference*, University of Maine, Orono, June 2009.

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Chan, p. 99. A crumbling social order brought on by the move towards revolution in the American colonies. *Ibid.*, Shumate.

ruled the province.⁴⁴⁸

Ruggles' colonial encounter with the land was to continue the Loyalist framework as manifested in the shaping of his country estates.

Though there are no diaries of plantation activities, such as the highly descriptive farmbooks of Virginia plantation owners Landon Carter or Thomas Jefferson, Ruggles' focus on scientific experimentation and agricultural pursuits emphasized a theme of utilitarianism and a determination to understand the natural processes on his land coupled with goals of advancement. Rhys Isaac described such elements as characteristic of the period and concluded it was "the search for understanding so as to control and re-order – the cult of improvement."⁴⁴⁹

The permanence and substance that accumulated from the effort of Ruggles was at odds with other images of the Loyalists. For example, Stephen Kimber, in *Loyalists and Layabouts*, describes the Loyalist gentry of contemporary Shelburne, Nova Scotia, and their attempts to display the characteristics of polite society through frequent parties, dinners and balls. Ruggles was also at odds with prominent Loyalists such as Edward Winslow Jr. of New Brunswick who, as Margaret Conrad noted, worked intensely to re-establish the urban gentry lifestyle on the Maritime colonial frontier. Winslow's goal was to institute New Brunswick as a Loyalist colony inhabited by the best the colonies had to offer. Conrad explained, "he also imagined that the character of Loyalist New Brunswick

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid., Chan, p. 102.

⁴⁴⁹ Rhys Isaac, "Imagination and Material Culture: The Enlightenment on a Mid-Eighteenth Century Virginia Plantation" in *The Art and Mystery of Historical Archaeology: Essays in Honor of James Deetz*, ed. A.E. Yentsch and M.C. Beaudry (Boca Raton: CRC Press, 1992), 406. Landon Carter kept diaries of plantation activities that have been extensively studied by scholars like Jack P. Greene and Isaac. In the chapter Isaac states "As a natural-philosophic "farmer", Landon Carter's interest and imagination were intensely focused on life processes of fecundation, growth and decay, health, and their "enemy," sickness and death. Guided by the forms of knowledge of his day, his gaze sought constantly to penetrate the soil – whose proper working demanded so much care....", 406-407. Ruggles was no doubt like-minded.

would be so enlightened compared to that of the United States that many of their most respected inhabitants will join us immediately.”⁴⁵⁰ Winslow experienced considerable distress at not achieving his vision. Like Ruggles, he was patriarch of his family and had control over the household, his wife, children, slaves and servants. He worked to develop a structure that would support their “gentile condition.” Ruggles, on the other hand, was simply more hands on. In the colony of Nova Scotia, going to the clubhouse, making sure he was fashionably dressed, and climbing the social and political ladder was not the focus.

Ruggles for the most part retreated from public life and concentrated on improvement of his lands. He took advantage of what the Crown offered him: free land, a yearly pension for his lengthy service, a largely uncontested political structure and a religious framework that helped to keep the conditions of the British Empire in place. In regards to developing his influence, he was recorded only as keeping some associations with friends of his Loyalist class and later helping to fund and build the local Anglican church.⁴⁵¹

Ruggles differed from what MacKinnon described as a general dissatisfied lot when they arrived to begin anew in Nova Scotia. MacKinnon described a diminished supply of British aid for the Loyalists and the subsequent hampered prosperity and disappointment

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., Conrad. Historian Ann Gorman Condon also developed similar themes. See *The Loyalist Dream for New Brunswick* (Fredericton: New Ireland Press, 1984).

⁴⁵¹ The only other improvement effort in Nova Scotia at the time appears to be Ruggles’s support of the establishment and construction of the old Holy Trinity Church in Lower Middleton where a monument marks his local contributions. Old Holy Trinity Church is recognized for its association with the development of the Anglican Church in Nova Scotia and for its relatively unchanged eighteenth century architectural details (Georgian tradition). Construction of the church began in 1789, overseen by Rev. John Wiswall, a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sent to the District of Cornwallis, Horton and Wilmot to serve many Loyalist refugees who had arrived in Nova Scotia after leaving the United States during the American Revolution. Ruggles and his son John both contributed to the establishment and building of the church which was finally completed in full (interior and steeple) in 1797. The first service was held in 1791 and officiated by the Bishop of Nova Scotia, Rev. Charles Inglis.

at the lack of recognition by Nova Scotians regarding the Loyalist sacrifice.⁴⁵² He indicated Ruggles' disappointment and frustration at not getting the lot of land he initially requested near Annapolis. Research indicates, however, that upon receiving the Wilmot grant, Ruggles went to work improving and prospering. There are no additional records citing indignation or disappointment. Ruggles did not return to the United States as many Loyalists did in the years following the War, but dug in and made a substantial place for himself and the family members who joined him.

Ruggles again compared to Landon Carter of Virginia in that he too was an "old fashioned patriarch faced with rebellion in his great house and its surrounding estates." Both were deeply connected to the land and worked to improve it.⁴⁵³ In Nova Scotia the focus was on starting over and creating the plantation. There was no ideological revolution, no assault on the patriarchal structure, and no challenge to the King's rule. Ruggles was content to work with the land and refrain from public and military life. Is this a result of his advanced age and being worn out from the trials of conflict? Or is there a desire to wind down the intensity and return to the natural order of things? Such uncontested order would maintain his place under God but above what he governed: the land, the family who joined him, his servants, hired hands and slaves.

In Nova Scotia, Ruggles' efforts were no longer political or military in nature as they had been during the Revolution. His efforts were concentrated on the basic rebuilding of a place, the clearing of the forest, the improvement of the land, and the

⁴⁵² Neil MacKinnon, *This Unfriendly Soil: The Loyalist Experience in Nova Scotia, 1783-1791*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988).

⁴⁵³ However, Carter struggled intensely to uphold his position of authority over family, servants and slaves, which he viewed as divinely ordained. Carter struggled with the change in ideology, from patriarchal to democratic, that occurred during the Revolution. In his world the social order collapsed and he was forced to make adjustments. Ruggles on the other hand moves his Loyalist hierarchal framework north where the British Empire remains in place without much controversy. He maintains the traditional structure that brought him security and success in New England.

growing of things. The study of the two landscapes aided in the exploration of this Loyalist legacy of colonialism in Nova Scotia. With the Loyalist connections to the Georgian Order and Enlightenment frameworks, there was opportunity to explore through changes to the land the material manifestations of particular colonial encounters: agricultural enterprises, establishment of the mansion house, scientific gardening, and the homes of labourers whether enslaved or free.

Chapter 5

Conclusions and Discussion

The subject that has driven the dissertation work from the beginning has been the enslaved Black Loyalists. Until the last decade or so, their story was nearly absent from the Maritime Atlantic and Canadian historical narrative. Currently, there is a developing national awareness of a slave-holding past in Canada due to recent publications - fiction and non-fiction - from a variety of cultural history specialists. The inclusive nature of the Atlantic world history framework also continues to influence the development of fresh chronicles and insightful accounts. However, within the massive body of literature about slavery in the Atlantic world, the publications, manuscripts, and studies concerning Canada can be considered small.

I am fascinated with the history of the enslaved Black Loyalists in Nova Scotia because their descendants are part of the fabric of the province, yet their past has been overlooked. When the Black Loyalists arrived in Nova Scotia in 1783, a new beginning was signaled for many. For others, the history of subjugation that accompanied them continued and left an imprint and a legacy in the developing northeast British colonies. It is important to explore the enslaved Black Loyalists because their place in Nova Scotia history should be evident. The Black Loyalists can inform us about a time in colonial history when a specific race-related framework was active - a framework that took root and impacted the lives of African-Nova Scotians in the two centuries that followed. Given the impact of the immigration of thousands of Black Loyalists, their story

essentially represents the beginning of early African-Nova Scotian history.⁴⁵⁴ Though individuals or very small groups of people of African descent are recorded in the province prior to 1783, it is with the arrival of the Black Loyalists that we have the opportunity to advance in-depth study of the formation of race relations in Nova Scotia and the legacy that followed the Loyalist period. The Black Loyalists also represent the beginnings of community formation for African-Nova Scotians. It is in the Loyalist period that newly-freed slaves acquire land (such as in Birchtown and Tracadie), work together, establish homesteads and schools, and are guided by influential religious and community leaders such as John Marrant, Boston King, David George, Thomas Brownspriggs and Stephen Blucke. For some of the Black Loyalists their descendant communities survive today.⁴⁵⁵

A significant challenge regarding the subject of the enslaved Black Loyalists was determining how and where to get historical information. Repeatedly, I had heard from historians specializing in black colonial history that documentation regarding the enslaved was nearly impossible to find. How do you find records of the invisible, the marginalized and the dehumanized? To address the research challenge, the approach had to be from multiple directions and layered, in other words, interdisciplinary. The historian's research tools were not sufficient. As an historical archaeologist, this was not a stretch in thinking. My training was in the material culture record. It was the physical evidence of the past that had the potential to reveal a layer of the enslaved Black Loyalist experience that was missing from the documentary archive. The two disciplines had a successful history of

⁴⁵⁴ It is often promoted that Matthieu DeCosta signals the beginning of African-Nova Scotian history. However, the period surrounding his debated presence in the colony does not hold the impact of the thousands of Black Loyalists and associated slave-holding Loyalists that arrived in 1783-1784. See A.J.B. Johnston, "Mathieu Da Costa and Early Canada: Possibilities and Probabilities," for Parks Canada, 2009.

⁴⁵⁵ This viewpoint is in contrast to Harvey Amani Whitfield and George Elliott Clarke who contend that African-Nova Scotian community formation did not occur until the War of 1812 period. See George Elliott Clarke's public lecture at Acadia University (with El Jones), Black History Month Series, February, 2012.

working together. Still, could another research layer be added? What about the larger context where slavery unfolded? A review of the slave-holding plantation landscape held possibilities for yet another avenue of insights. The landscape studies framework easily complimented the history and archaeology layers.

As the research began and the difficulty in finding records of the enslaved was confirmed, the interdisciplinary model became fundamental. It was going to take a combination of fields to get at the subject matter and address the research questions with any explanatory strength. Furthermore, the application of a case study would help tighten the focus and bring the study of the enslaved Black Loyalists to the scope of the local plantation and the relationships that unfolded within that defined context.

Integration of the Disciplines

What about the Loyalist slaves? The interdisciplinary research has opened and expanded the story of the enslaved on a particular plantation in Nova Scotia. Through exhaustive historical research of Timothy Ruggles, it has been learned that a legacy of slave-holding immigrated north with the Loyalist refugees. Ruggles, notwithstanding his advanced education, scientific knowledge, varied life experience and prominence in a range of fields as part of the Massachusetts colonial elite, engaged in slavery. He was comfortable with the system of forced labour prevalent in the day and supported by a contemporary ideology of natural hierarchy among men and under God. Massachusetts records indicate a history of slave-holding in the Ruggles family. Ruggles' Loyalist memorial notes servants in Hardwick. When forced to Nova Scotia to start over, Ruggles brought with him the resources he needed. Archival records list the General's human

property aboard a transport ship to Annapolis Royal in 1783. Within a decade, Ruggles and his indentured servants (Benjamin Fales and George Stronach), house servant (Lavinia Outhit), family members (sons John and Richard), his slaves (Hester Ruggles, 7, Jeffrey Ruggles, 6, John Coslin, 25, Robert Williams, 23) and possibly son Richard's slave Prince, 19, had contributed to the transformed the North Mountain wilderness tract into a recognizable and admired plantation.⁴⁵⁶ Particular details or notations concerning Hester, Jeffrey, John, Robert or Prince have not been found despite a scouring of the documentary record, though there are two baptismal records in the later eighteenth century noting infants born into slavery among the Ruggles.

Between the documentary evidence that has been compiled about Ruggles and servants and slaves in Massachusetts and in Nova Scotia, it can be confirmed that enslaved Black Loyalists were not only part of the immigration experience but they can be directly connected to a specific slave-owner, a specific place, and time. The Ruggles narrative confirms that in the Loyalist era in Nova Scotia, there was an active slave-holding policy carried out and maintained by the Loyalist colonial elite. Established in the British colonies through Parliamentary rule, this slave-holding policy arrived en masse in Nova Scotia with the Loyalists marking the period as the age of slavery for Nova Scotia. Forced labour was used to settle, rebuild and prosper on a scale previously not experienced in the colony. Whether Nova Scotia was a slave society or a society with slaves is a debate for historians. What is known is that slavery was supported by the government and the institution retained its place among the thousands of newly-arrived British subjects as they started over.

⁴⁵⁶ Note John Coslin and Robert Williams are listed as "free born" but with General Ruggles' group (indicating they are the responsibility of the General).

Slavery among the Loyalists in Nova Scotia was different from the American colonies. Scale has to be considered because there were fewer enslaved people here. The Book of Negroes does not detail any more than ten enslaved individuals arriving in the province as the property of one master.⁴⁵⁷ Furthermore, many parts of the colony were undeveloped and unsettled. The Loyalists did not land in a place where well-established industries thrived, urban centres bustled or vast plantations produced harvests over lengthy growing seasons requiring substantial labour forces. For the Loyalists, a primary activity was basic pioneering. The enslaved dotted the landscape, as their Loyalist masters did on newly acquired land grants.⁴⁵⁸ Daily life was assisting in pioneering tasks: clearing land, building shelters, and planting crops. Records for colonial America note that enslaved workers laboured side by side with the slave owner during the initial pioneering phase of settlement. Similar activity likely occurred on North Mountain. This image does not support the notion of a more benevolent form of slavery in the northern colonies but rather a less structured form of slavery for Nova Scotia, in the post-Revolutionary era, when tasks were shared out of necessity as the plantation landscape was being carved out of the forest.

The historical research provides the first insights regarding the question of Loyalist continuity. The historical record confirms the continuation of slave-holding practices and plantation building as Ruggles moved north. The development of the land was central to Ruggles' identity and he carried it through literally to the end of his life. This was illustrated in Massachusetts by his extensive memorial document, newspaper advertisements describing his livestock, efforts at scientific agriculture, and the

⁴⁵⁷ See "Book of Negroes" regarding Dr. Bullen's slaves arriving in Halifax.

⁴⁵⁸ In the general area of North Mountain, Ruggles is one of six Loyalist slaveholders working to homestead. See Crown Land Index Sheet 35 and entries in the Book of Negroes.

contemporary entries in the diary of Dr. Ashley. In Nova Scotia this was illustrated by entries in the journals of Bishop Inglis and Reverend Wiswall, Ruggles' letter to Edward Winslow while in Annapolis Royal, the purchase of Belleisle Farm, and his Last Will and Testament.

The most original contribution of this dissertation is the archaeological evidence from North Mountain. Reconnaissance survey of the land parcels, which make up a significant portion of Ruggles land grant, and the testing and excavation of the cemetery area, vaulted garden, Phinney Site, Ruggles Site and Elliott Site constitute a substantial amount of fieldwork in an effort to learn about Ruggles in Nova Scotia and the labourers who worked on his plantation. Through the archaeology it was learned that Ruggles constructed a significant house on North Mountain. The building materials suggest what would have been considered a "mansion house" in eighteenth century rural Nova Scotia, likely comparable to his Belleisle farm or other Loyalist houses of the colonial elite in the Annapolis Valley. Behind the house there was a barn and a walled pasture. Remnant apple orchards surround the Ruggles Site as well as early roadways no longer in use. East from Ruggles' house, across the Ruggles Road, and in a naturally-heated gully is the suspected vaulted garden area. Remnant dry-laid stone walls mark the place as well as old stands of apple trees. On the Ruggles Road, south of the mansion house but viewable from the main elevation, is the site of two residences: a mid to late nineteenth century home and an earlier late eighteenth-century to early nineteenth century rudimentary hut designated a labourer's quarter (Elliott Site). It is the labourer's quarter situated near the fields and adjacent the road, with its indications of enslaved occupants, that is the most intriguing. A clear differentiation in socio-economic status can be seen between the labourer's hut and the later nineteenth century residence next door at the Elliott Site. At

the labourer's hut there is little material culture and what remains is fragmented and basic. Concerning the architectural material evidence, the same difference was observed between the nineteenth-century residence and the labourer's hut as well as the Ruggles Site and the labourer's hut. The labourer's hut is small and simple in comparison.

Excavations at the labourer's hut did not result in a definitive artifact that positively confirmed occupation by Ruggles' enslaved workers. The archaeological research design did not incorporate a search for ethnic identifiers as has been the approach for many African-American archaeology projects. The approach was not to apply expectations regarding the material record for a plantation landscape this far north. This was archaeology never before undertaken. The approach was to record findings at face value without the application of interpretations or expectations from plantations recorded elsewhere. In the Ruggles' period, the efforts of all workers, enslaved and free, were placed on basic pioneering. Many artifacts would reflect the British colonial and Anglo-American market place. Cultural differences, visible in the archaeological material record at the labourer's hut, may be less discernible during the initial ground breaking and clearing years. Lack of cultural distinction does not highlight a particular form of Nova Scotian slavery. Rather it addresses the circumstances of initial pioneering efforts. It is also too soon to define Nova Scotia slavery archaeologically. More archaeological work on additional sites in Nova Scotia where slaves lived needs to be completed and studied.

The archaeological record also informs the argument for Loyalist continuity. The fieldwork confirms that Ruggles worked to develop a plantation landscape similar to what he left behind in Hardwick. The archaeological landscape review provides evidence of a comparable plantation layout (See Figure 5.1). His efforts to reconstruct a plantation speak to the continuity of what was most important to him – the land and the

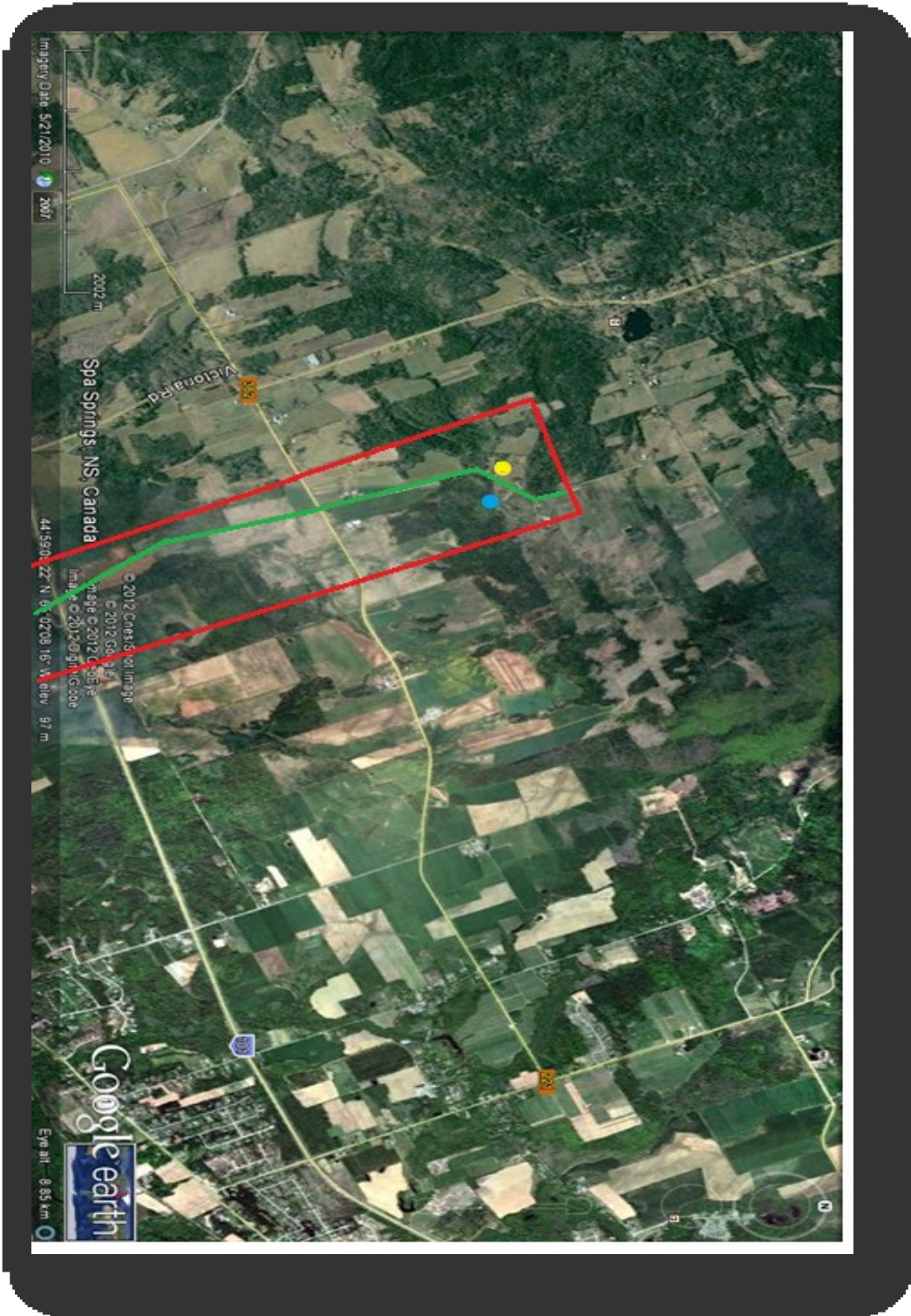
improvement of it and peaceful prosperity under the guidance of British authority. His personal ideology as a Loyalist, a slave holder, and an authority over his domain was deeply connected to the very public statement he developed on North Mountain.

The survey of other parcels and the testing of the slave cemetery provided clues to Ruggles' presence on his land grant. The Cyr property in particular is dotted with ancient paths and cart roads, evidence of past orchards, and a row of perry pear trees dated to the Ruggles period. Over the past 220 years extensive modifications and agricultural enterprises have occurred on the Ruggles land grant. It was amazing that archaeological sites survived.

The landscape research stream for the dissertation not only provided an additional layer of insights regarding the eighteenth-century Loyalist plantation, but also served to integrate all that was learned from the documentary and archaeological records. The research objective was the comparison of Ruggles' plantation landscapes in Hardwick and North Mountain to again address the argument for Loyalist continuity. The level of similarity between the two plantations was significant.



5.1 The historic plantation landscape of Loyalist Timothy Ruggles, Hardwick, MA



5.2 The historic plantation landscape of Loyalist Timothy Ruggles, North Mountain, NS

Though the scales differ slightly in the Google images, the two landscapes are similar when compared. The red indicates the approximate dimensions of the parcels (1100 acres in Hardwick and 1000 acres in North Mountain). Both have main roads (green) running through the middle of the parcels. Both have main house areas at the high point on the parcels (yellow) and overlook the plantation lands surrounding the houses. Both are orientated towards the local towns (Hardwick, MA and Middleton, NS). Both landscapes have garden areas (blue) and are noted for orchards. Both garden areas are in lower, naturally sheltered areas on the parcels. Stone walls are recorded on both landscapes. Both have documentary and/or archaeological evidence for outbuildings (X marks the worker's quarter in Nova Scotia). Both had a master-slave or planter-labourer relationship in place that helped to fulfill the plan for a thriving plantation.

Ruggles was the master of his plantation landscapes. He was in control of what was most important to him and what defined him. The streams of research investigated are for the most part silent concerning day to day interactions between the master and slave, but the landscapes reinforce a hierarchal arrangement constructed by Ruggles with his mansion house at the top and others on the land or in the quarter below.

The dissertation's conclusions represent insights compiled regarding a Loyalist plantation and the labours – servants and slaves – who shared in its development. The conclusions are based on evidence gleaned from the historical, archaeological and landscape records. As with any dissertation, debating about what may be learned or what may be represented was noted throughout however, in the end, it was the tangible evidence - the primary documents, the artifacts, and the culturally modified land - that came to the fore. The evidence describes what is known to date about two Loyalist plantations and the master and labourers. More is known now about the subject of

Loyalist plantations in Nova Scotia and the people who inhabited them. Continuing a Loyalist framework on the Nova Scotia landscape was the plan. The plan defined and confirmed an ideology that was deeply rooted and highly valued.

It is significant to note that it was the interdisciplinary methodology designed for the dissertation that brought together the history, archaeology and cultural geography. The methodology was original to the study of the enslaved Black Loyalists within the plantation complex. The success of the multi-stream methodology is a valuable contribution to historical research methods applied to the subject of slavery. It will be tested again with future Black Loyalist research projects. The results will be fruitful and the comparisons fascinating.

A Final Note on Integration

Near the end of analysis, as integration of the information from the three disciplines was underway, something very interesting occurred that reinforced the argument for an Age of Slavery. The results of the research were mapped and the concept of a *landscape of slavery* became visible.⁴⁵⁹ More work is needed to clarify and confirm specific details however, Figure 5.3 demonstrates that in the Loyalist period, in Nova Scotia, there was not the occasional enslaved person, here and there, mostly unknown and unseen.

⁴⁵⁹ The phrase “landscape of slavery” is not original to this research but has been used by other landscape and archaeology specialists.

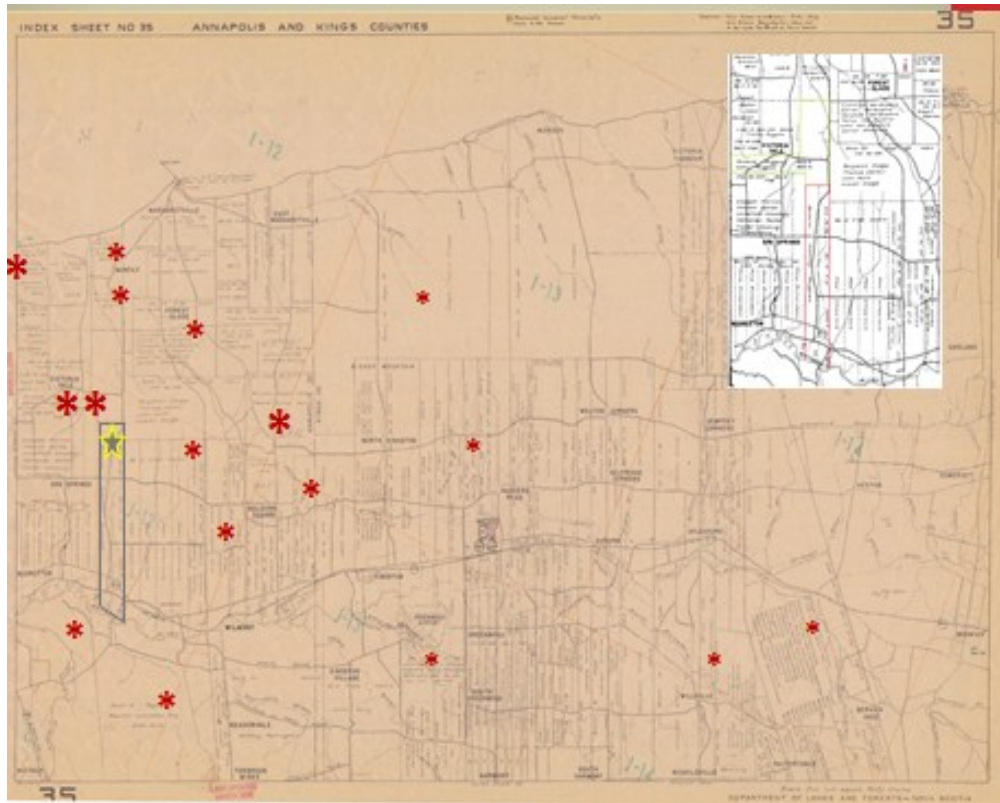


Figure 5.3 Crown Land Index Sheet No. 35. This map encompasses parts of Annapolis and Kings Counties, Nova Scotia. The white insert is the section of the index sheet that holds Ruggles 1000 acres (See Figure 3.13). The yellow star and four large red stars represent Ruggles, his family members and close associates directly linked to enslaved individuals. The eight medium-sized stars represent neighbours of Ruggles. They are comparable to Ruggles in many ways and were likely connected to slavery in Nova Scotia or colonial America.⁴⁶⁰ Finally, moving into the larger Wilmot Township, the additional five small stars represent associates or peers of Ruggles with shared backgrounds and practices. As historical data came together, clues to a wider and deeper landscape of slavery in the Loyalist period became evident.

There was something larger taking place that requires closer exploration and study.

An interdisciplinary approach could easily be the investigative tool.

⁴⁶⁰ Comparable for example in social position, land ownership, military and political connections, and associations with doctors, clergy, the financially advantaged, and those linked to industry. Several archival documents provided clues such as muster roles, township records, church records, tax records, census records, the “Book of Negroes” and journals. This is a preliminary analysis given the scope reaches well beyond the Ruggles North Mountain plantation.

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