

VICISSITUDES OF A LOYALIST CITY

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IN the July number of the *Dalhousie Review* I outlined some of the chief events of that "Roseway" settlement from which the town of Shelburne grew. Having considered its beginning and the first two years of its municipal life, I shall now briefly trace the later period of its development and its decline.

During the years 1786 and 1787 the town, from a social and business standpoint, may be said to have reached high-water mark. The tent and stump-covered clearing had given place to the log hut; the latter had been in many instances followed by a framed building. Streets were well defined, and wharves built. Organizations of various sorts sprang up, and constant efforts were put forward to improve trade and facilities for communication. The opening of roads to Annapolis, Yarmouth and other settlements was a question of great importance, and persistent energy was devoted to this vital matter of getting into touch with markets or sources of supply.

In December, 1785, £1500 was voted by the Legislature for a road from Halifax to Shelburne and thence to Yarmouth, and £200 as premiums to settlers who might take up residence on the new road from Shelburne to Annapolis—an undertaking which had been begun many months before, and for the completion of which much time and money had been spent. The Annapolis highway was then locally known as "Pell's Road", from the fact that its construction and the allotment of land on its borders were under the charge of Joshua Pell, formerly of New York and one of the original Associates. As early as September, 1783, a trial of the possibility of such a highway had been made, but it was beset with many difficulties; and, although after repeated efforts a road connecting the two towns was cut through and was occasionally used, it was apparently never completed or made good enough for general travel, and was finally abandoned, in spite of further money grants from Provincial funds and assistance from the military. £500 was voted for this purpose in July, 1786, as well as £200 for a road from Shelburne

to Barrington. It may be mentioned here that at the same session £500 was allotted to the erection of a Lighthouse on McNutt's or Roseway Island, at the mouth of the harbour. We have no record of the actual work done on road construction at this time, and can gauge the progress made only by the varying amounts of the grants. For instance, in December, 1787, only £50 was voted to the road from Shelburne to Annapolis, and a like amount to one from Shelburne to Yarmouth, while £350 was authorized for the highway between Shelburne and Liverpool. This important feature of industrial effort was aided by local associations in the Port Roseway town. In the *Gazette* of 24th January, 1785, a public appeal was made for support of the good road movement, and subscriptions of from £5 to £20 were called for, 50 acres of land to be given for every pound subscribed. In the following April a thirty-five mile road to Tusket was projected, on similar terms and conditions.

Access to and from the outside world was of vital consequence to the commercial life of Shelburne, for on the success or failure of its commerce the growth or decline of the town depended. Its trade was the all-important factor, and the business men of the colony spared no effort to develop business on a world-wide basis. A Chamber of Commerce was established in 1785 for discussion and settlement of trade matters, and for the introduction of features of local utility.

The number of merchants—large and small—in the town was considerable, and represented the buying and selling of a great variety of commodities. I have before me a list giving name and business of many of those men during 1785-6. Some of these may be of interest to the Shelburne citizens of to-day. There were Benjamin Davis & Co., Sullivan & Mills, Teuch & Taylor, Andrew Bruce & Co., Robertson & Rigby, Charles White, Chas. Keeling, Mackaness & Harvey, Reilly & Braine, Bell & Co., Patrick Wall, Joseph Brewer, William Hargrave, John Hughes, James Donaldson & Co., John Boyd, Brewer & Sommerville, John Robertson (hair-dresser), Henry Guest, Philip Lenzi, Joshua Watson, G. & R. Ross, Valentine Nutter, James Cox & Co., Graham & M'Lean, and many others. With very few exceptions these names are now of the town's buried past, although perhaps familiar in other localities and amid other associations.

Perhaps the most important and promising branch of the commerce of Shelburne was that connected with the fisheries. Much attention was given to this industry, and strenuous efforts were made in several directions to ensure success; but the ill luck

which seemed fated to attend so many of the enterprises of the Shelburne merchants was again a barrier, and the larger and most promising schemes did not result in commensurate financial success. Chief among these was that of a whaling company, organized largely by local merchants in 1784. Six of the nine business houses concerned were in Shelburne. More vessels were subsequently purchased in England, and whaling was prosecuted on a large scale; but after five years hard work the company was faced with the loss of one-third of its capital, and thereupon wound up the business. A year or two later another effort was made to extend trade in fish,—this time in the carrying trade between the United States and Newfoundland. Operations in this direction were somewhat illegal, British law forbidding entry at the “Oldest Colony” of vessels direct from American ports, but by making Shelburne harbour a half-way house on the run from New England ports it was possible to show correct clearance papers, and there was thus no difficulty in landing the cargoes. But after a year or two of success this movement was checked by various unfavourable features which developed concurrently, and the enterprise was given up or reduced to a minimum.

During all these years, however, a steady and moderately lucrative trade was carried by Shelburne vessels engaged in the shore and bank fisheries, and this has continued more or less through all the changing scenes of the life of the old loyalist town. Ship-building too has been prosecuted through many decades. In 1785 a Bill passed the provincial House of Assembly offering a bounty of ten shillings per ton on all vessels of over forty tons burden built in the province. This gave a marked impetus to local enterprise in this direction, and during the next summer and autumn eight vessels were built, one of which, appropriately named “The Roseway”, is said to have been the first ship launched in Nova Scotia since it came under allegiance to Britain.

A small schooner called “The Roseway Yacht” of only eight tons burden, built in Shelburne, crossed the Atlantic in the summer of 1786, arriving in London after a passage of 28 days. It may be noted that in 1787 Nova Scotia was officially divided into two Custom House districts, of which one centred at Shelburne and comprised all the western portion of the province from Annapolis to Queen’s counties; the other, known as the Halifax district, took in the remainder of the colony.

A fair amount of business was done in lumber and timber during the early years of settlement. A cargo of squared timber

shipped at Jordan River to London in June 1785 was declared by the *Royal American Gazette* to have been the first full cargo of Nova Scotia products exported to Great Britain. Business in such a variety of staple and basic articles as dry goods and wet goods, ironmongery, potash, rum, books, confectionery, jewellery, etc., etc., was busily carried on—if we may judge from the weekly papers. There were at least four inns or houses of entertainment and occasional festivity, the “British Coffee House,” the “King’s Arms Tavern” the “Merchants’ Coffee House” and “Steele’s Tavern” affording, no doubt, ample accommodation for the very limited travel of that day. Rum was sold on a generous scale, and was accountable for much of the crime which was somewhat in evidence during the early years of the settlement. A “Loan Bank” was projected early in May, 1785, by certain of the mercantile community, and advertisements were issued asking for subscribers; but the matter seems to have been dropped, as no further record of such an institution can be traced.

One quaint advertisement of the Roseway settlement in 1785 was that of Charles Oliver Bruff, goldsmith and jeweller, “At the Sign of the Tea-pot, Tankard and Cross-swords, corner of Queen and Carleton streets, near the market at the head of the Cove.” Joseph Bond, surgeon (no “Dr.” or “M. D.”) presents his modest card, and adds that he is also one of the firm of Bond & Brinley, chemists. David Landeg was another surgeon who desired and obtained publicity. Of auctioneers there was no lack, and in the middle and late eighties and early nineties they had plenty of business; then they followed the trek to parts unknown. One of them, Alexander Gay, camouflaged his occupation by styling himself a “Vendue Master.” Public sales at auction were not confined to the land, as we note that Captain Hunter, of the Brig “Industry,” held a sale of miscellaneous goods in this way on board of his vessel in May, 1785.

The printing offices apparently did very little work beyond producing weekly those somewhat crude journals, the few remaining copies of which tell us much of the little we know about the inner history of the Port Roseway town. A few local Almanacs were published during the earlier years, but have practically disappeared from the ken of modern collectors. In December, 1786, there was printed locally “An Act of Parliament passed the last session for the further increase and encouragement of shipping and navigation.” A few by-laws and rules of local organizations were no doubt put in type, but specimens are very hard to find. DesBarres’s famous

charts of Nova Scotia, now so much sought after, were then to be bought in Shelburne from the publisher of the *Nova Scotia Packet*, as well as that extremely rare and interesting book published in London in 1786, *The Laws of the Legislature of New York against the Loyalists*—an exposure of the virulence of the American legislators of that day.

Court and legal matters occupied a fairly prominent place in the annals of early Shelburne. We have already noted that authority had been given in 1783 for the appointment of the General Sessions of the Peace and of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas for the newly created County of Shelburne. Sittings were first ordered to be held on the last Tuesdays of March and October, but a few years later a change to the first Tuesdays in March, July and November was enacted. Magistrates for the former had been named by Governor Parr in July; these were but temporary appointments, and at the session of the following March, Abraham Van Buskirk and Joseph Pyncheon were named Justices of the Common Pleas, and also placed on the Board of the General Session, aided by Messrs. McEwen, Thomson, and Brewer. All are fairly well spoken of by that somewhat caustic critic, Marston, except Pyncheon who, he states,

does not want understanding, but is very timorous, and, as timorous creatures generally are, cunning; he shows the New England man very plainly in his manner.

It may be added that the last mentioned gentleman did not remain long in Shelburne, although he was very prominent among the first Associates, and one of the committee which decided on Port Roseway as the site of the settlement. He evidently scented a possible decline in its fortunes and, after a residence of only eighteen months, removed to Lunenburg or Halifax. Governor Parr subsequently denounced him in vigorous language.

The Court of Sessions was kept busy dealing with the cases of crime—of varying degree and quality—which soon became manifest in the new town. Its sentences would now be considered severe even to barbarity, but they were no worse than those inflicted at that period in all civilized countries and communities. A "House of Correction" was erected among the first of the public buildings; and, from the context, we may infer that its methods must indeed have been of a correcting and chastening nature. A few of the sentences inflicted by the Magisterial Board may be of interest; they certainly must have been painfully so to the victims.

Michael Burke, for the offence of stealing two jackets, was to spend one month in the Home of Correction and to receive ten lashes on entry, ten on every Monday during the month, and ten on leaving, as a farewell souvenir. Apparently this treatment had not much effect, as we find that a few months later the same offender for a similar cause was ordered to receive five lashes at the corner of every street in town, and then to be confined in the House of Correction. Prince Frederick (coloured) was awarded thirty-nine lashes for stealing shoes, and Daniel Anderson the same number for abstracting "towles", value one shilling. Thirty-nine was evidently a popular number as regards lashes, one Thomas Lloyd being given this, together with a month in gaol for obtaining boards fraudulently. John Russel (probably an old reprobate) was ordered one hundred strokes of the cat-o'-nine-tails for stealing a bed quilt. An especially harsh ruling seems to have been given in the case of James Walsh, an indentured servant of Patrick Wall, who petitioned to be released from his service. The Court held that his request was based on frivolous and unsatisfactory grounds, and ordered him to gaol for one week, to receive ten lashes, and to make up to his master the time lost by his imprisonment. Many other instances of public whippings are in the records before me,—truly a debasing sight for the youth of that day. The death sentence was occasionally heard in these early Courts, in accordance with British law of the time. Certain cases of robbery and similar offences were punished in this way. A whipping-post was erected in a prominent part of the town, also a pillory,—the latter a frame which secured the head and hands of the victim, leaving him helpless and the possible victim of any fruit, eggs or other missiles of varying quality with which the on-lookers might wish to pelt him.

One sentence, although of a somewhat later date, may be here copied from the official records of the Sessions:—

The KING, vs MARGT. TALLANT, ELIZA. BROWN, JUNR.	}	A LIBELL.
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Margaret Tallant, and Elizabeth Brown, Junr., were brought into Court by Virtue of a warrant issued from this Court, yesterday, to apprehend them.

The Prisoner, Margt. Tallant, was arraigned at the Bar, and the Indictment read to her, to which she pleaded Guilty. The Prisoner, Eliza. Brown, Junr., arraigned at the Bar, and the Indictment read to her, to which she pleaded Guilty.

A Petition from Margaret Tallant, and Elizabeth Brown, Junr., praying the Mercy of this Court, was read by the Clerk.

Proclamation made for Silence, while His Majesty's Justices proceed to give Sentences.

The Custos Rotulorum, by the Court, delivered the following Sentence:—"You, Margaret Tallant, and Eliza. Brown, Junr., having this day been convicted of publishing a Scandalous, and malicious Libell, and from hence you are both to be put into a Cart, with the following *Inscriptions* on your Breasts, and Backs, viz;—*Convicted of a Scandalous, and false Libell*, and to be led to the Pump in King Street, and then to proceed thro' Water Street, as far as the Middle to George Street, and from thence to proceed back to the Corner of John Street, and Water Street, and from thence to be conducted to their respective abodes. To prevent any abuse to the Culprits, all the Constables to attend." A Warrant for the Execution of the above orders was made out, and directed to the Sheriff.

In September, 1786, a number of desertions took place from H. M. Sixth Regiment, then forming part of the Shelburne garrison and quartered in the barracks opposite the town. The commanding officer, Major Edwards, laid a formal complaint before the Magistrates against certain citizens, accusing them of enticing these men to take French leave and concealing them from the search and look-out parties. A very strongly worded proclamation was thereupon issued denouncing such connivance and aid, and threatening the utmost severity of the law to any offenders who may be secured and convicted. Another proclamation, this of a widely different character—by the Justices of the Peace—forbad all fishing on the Sabbath day, and instructed the constables to see this order obeyed. It was also enjoined that all proprietors of mills should open gates or sluices at sunset on every Saturday evening until sunrise on Monday, when they might again be closed for business purposes.

Amusements or sports of any kind were very limited in scope, and confined in the main to convivial gatherings of various sorts. Of these, Masonic dinners on the great days of the Craft are frequently recorded and were participated in by many of the leading lights of the community. One example of the summons for such festivities may be of interest:—

ANNIVERSARY OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST.

The Brethern of Lodge No. 643; in His Majesty's 6th Regiment; and the Brethern of Park Lodge, No. 3, Ancient York Masons, intend celebrating the Festival of St. John the Evangelist, at Brother Steele's on Wednesday next, the 27th instant.

Any Ancient Masons desirous of celebrating this Festival, and will honour these Lodges with their company, may be furnished with

Tickets by applying to Brother C. Cunningham, or Parr Lodge, in St. John street, or to Brother J. Allen of Lodge No. 643, on the Registry of Ireland.

By Order of the Worshipful Masters,

JOS. ALLEN, Sec. No. 643

B. BOWSER, Sec. Parr Lodge No. 3.

Dinner on table at 3 o'clock.

Shelburne, Dec. 21.

Another Lodge, Hiram No. 10, announced a similar function on the same day With "Dinner on the table" at half-past four o'clock.

The King's birthday and other national holidays (of which there were many in those days) were occasionally the scenes of brilliant military and naval displays, with flags flying, bands playing, and salutes fired from both batteries and ships. In the evening, on at least one occasion, the barracks were beautifully illuminated, as were also many of the houses in town; and the night was spent with that "conviviality and decorum that marks the character of loyal subjects and good citizens."

In May, 1785, a Major McNeill issued a public notice to the half-pay officers of the settlement informing them of a proposed dinner in celebration of His Majesty's birthday to be held at Mr. Steele's Tavern at three o'clock on the fourth of June, and inviting subscribers.

In the following December we read that

On Monday last, being the anniversary of St. Andrew, Old Stile, the Sons of that sage and ancient Saint, who had with their accustomed social glee and hilarity celebrated his Festival on the 30th ult. gave an elegant Ball, at the Merchant's Coffee-house, to the Ladies and Gentlemen of this place; perhaps the ball-room was never more crowded or a company made more happy than on this occasion; and the order and decency with which it was conducted, with the social harmony and good humour of the company, passed away the hours of the night in the most pleasing manner.

A rather unique entertainment—of which the advertisement is given below—was staged in the summer of 1785 in the "Long Room" of Mr. Steel's Tavern. It will be noted that price of admission is in decimal currency instead of sterling—a very unusual feature in the vernacular of early Shelburne:—

(Positively the last NIGHT)
 At Mr. Steel's LONG ROOM,
 On Friday Evening, May 13, 1785,

Mr. MOORE will deliver
 FASHIONABLE RAILLERY,
 With Alterations,

To be preceded by

An ELOGIUM on FREE MASONRY;

In which Mr. Moore will discover to the
 Ladies the SECRETS of that Art

The Evening's Entertainment will conclude
 with a Poetical Vision called

THE COURT OF MOMUS;

In which will be imitated the following Dramatic Characters:

Falstaf	LORD FOPPINGTON	Scrub,
Pistol	JOHN MOODY	and
Fribble	LORD OGLEBY	Mungo.
Miser	MAWWORM	

Tickets, One Dollar each, to be had at
 the Coffee-House and Printing-Office.

No persons to be admitted without Tickets.

To begin at Half past Seven o'clock.

In the winter of 1786-7 we find dancing to have been in vogue, and that the Subscription Assemblies for the season were to begin at half-past six o'clock on the 18th of January;—this also in the Long Room of Steel's Tavern, which seems to have been the fashionable dining and dance room of that day.

Human nature is the same everywhere, and the symptoms of perhaps a mild form of "envy, hatred and all uncharitableness" appeared fairly early in the loyalist city. Much jealousy developed between the original pre-war settlers (1749-1775) and those who came to Nova Scotia from the revolting colonies during and at the close of the Revolutionary struggle. These parties did not spare public or private criticism of each other, and the dividing line was clearly marked during many years. Occasional communications to the periodicals of that day accentuate this discordant but natural note in the provincial life of the eighties and nineties of the eighteenth century and in the first few decades of its successor. Political and party feeling was the cause of further division and sub-division, the loyalist emigrants being themselves divided on this point. In a community such as Port Roseway, made up of all sorts and con-

ditions of men, the personal element was a prominent factor in matters of dispute.

In June, 1784, about thirty of the good citizens of Shelburne presented an address to Captain the Hon. H. E. Stanhope, R. N., on his appointment to the command of the Halifax stations. Mr. Stanhope had commanded H. M. S. "Mercury" on patrol and guard duty in and about Port Roseway since early in 1783, and was thus somewhat identified with the growth and settlement of the town. The address was couched in very laudatory phrases, and his reply was not lacking in eulogy of persons and place. He expressed warm hopes for the success of

Shelburne, which in point of situation and approach to spacious harbour is scarcely to be equalled.

In the next issue of the newspaper in which this address had appeared there came out a strongly worded counter-blast in the form of a communication signed by about one hundred and fifty worthy Shelburnites disclaiming all sympathy with the address, and stating—among other things—that

We the subscribers, esteeming actions more than promises, and not recollecting any benefit that this settlement has derived from Captain Stanhope during his command here, unless promises may be considered such, and conceiving that the address alluded to when connected with its answer may induce many to believe that it met with the general approbation of the inhabitants, we do hereby testify that it never met with ours, etc., etc.

In a somewhat similar manner, the first election of Shelburne representatives to the House of Assembly gave rise to effusions embodying the thanks of one section of the community which were promptly repudiated by another group. The letter of thanks was to Richard John Uniacke, then rising to prominence in the legal and political circles of the province, who evidently had warmly advocated in Assembly debate the political views held by one portion of the Shelburne citizens, twenty-five of whom publicly voiced their gratitude for his aid. Among these appear the names of Richard Townshend, William Sorrel, John Minshull, James Robertson—all somewhat prominent in civic matters. Uniacke in turn thanked them in befitting terms. This roused the ire of the voters holding other political faith, and they promptly issued a disclaimer in which they state that

We would have taken no notice of that address if the persons who signed it had not the effrontery to insinuate that they conveyed

the sentiments of the Freeholders of Shelburne. We should have no objection to their addressing the Church steeple in Halifax provided that they had only done so in their own names; but we cannot bear with silence to be so publicly defamed and insulted as to have sentiments entirely foreign to our hearts conveyed to the public, etc., etc.

This outpouring of wrath on the admirers of Uniacke was signed by David Thompson, Gregory Springall, Gideon White, Abraham VanBuskirk, John Pell, Nicholas Ogden and sixty-five other townspeople of more or less social prominence. The original actors in the comedy wrote at great length to the newspaper medium of the day, defending their conduct in full measure of argument and invective. Apparently this closed the incident, as no rejoinder on behalf of the seventy-one dissentients appears on record.

The election to which this Uniacke episode refers was the first at which representatives for the new county (consisting of the townships of Yarmouth, Barrington and Shelburne) and town of Shelburne, were chosen. The successful candidates were Alexander Leckie and Charles McNeill for the county, who led the poll with 601 and 593 votes respectively. One of the candidates was Henry Edwin Stanhope—probably the same naval officer to whom had been presented by local admirers two years previously that address which, as we have seen, elicited a somewhat caustic rejoinder. On this occasion he polled 507 votes, so he must have had many friends.

Isaac Wilkins, the first of the name in a family distinguished in the judicial circles of the province, was elected representative of the town. Dr. Watson Smith describes the election as one which created great excitement in the settlement, the personal element being the predominating one. He states that the opposing parties were known as the Blues and the Greens—the former being represented by Messrs. Leckie and McNeill. To such an extent were these party labels adopted that Leckie's slaves were known as Blues, and their descendants up to recent years still bore that name.

There is scant reference to Shelburne in the Journals of the House of Assembly during the eighties and nineties of the eighteenth century. Robert Appleby's case was one of the few to be noticed, and it tells a story of distress. Appleby had been one of the Captains in charge of an important party of loyalist settlers, who came to Port Roseway in September, 1783, on the ship "Williams", numbering 142 persons. He originally hailed from Philadelphia, was a man of means there, and brought with him to Nova Scotia a family of six, with a servant. He went into business in Shelburne, but

matters went wrong, and in three years he was imprisoned for debt in accordance with the law and custom of that day, his liabilities exceeding £100. He was long in custody, until in 1787 his case was brought before the Legislature, and an Act passed to grant him his discharge on certain terms and conditions.

A word or two might be said about the military side of early Shelburne. I have already mentioned that barracks had been built on the peninsula jutting out into the harbour opposite the town. These consisted of a large building for the rank and file, officers' quarters, commandants' house, storehouses and magazines—the latter built down by the water-side facing Commissary Island. The first defences however were at Point Carleton, on the western side of the harbour not far from Roseneath Island, and intended to guard the entrance to the harbour from the sea. Here a small barrack was built, and batteries and defensive works erected. This post was the best armed and equipped of any of the forts in the province (except the Citadel at Halifax) although the garrison did not exceed 100 men. The earliest infantry to arrive at Shelburne appears to have been a detachment (five companies) of the Thirty-seventh or "Hampshire" Regiment of foot; they lived in tents until the barracks were ready for their use. In August of the following year (1784) the Seventeenth (Leicestershire) Regiment under command of Lieut-Col., Johnston—which had come direct to Halifax from New York in 1783 after long and arduous war service—was moved to Shelburne and remained until August 1786, being then relieved by the Sixth (Warwickshire) Regiment under Lieut-Col. Whyte which formed the garrison until July, 1791, when they were ordered home. On the departure of the last two battalions each was presented with an address signed by the magistrates and principal inhabitants of the town, testifying to the excellent behaviour of the regiments while at Shelburne, and expressing great regret at their departure.

These personal phases of Shelburne life were part of the general trend of local events during its first decades. The peak of prosperity had been reached in the years 1786 and 1787, and thereafter began a decline which became quicker with the passing of the years. The rosy expectations of the loyalist pioneers that a great, and even a Capital city would be firmly established on the shores of Port Roseway were doomed to bitter disappointment. Every effort was made to strengthen existing commercial enterprises and to develop new lines of business endeavour, but the conditions of time and place were such as to make success impossible.

The times were out of joint. A long and bitter war had just closed, with the usual aftermath of business depression and personal suffering,—both factors tending in large measure to commercial failure and lack of initiative in trade development. The laws of the province governing shipping and trade, in themselves crude and prohibitory of freedom of intercourse with the American States, were administered in a harsh and exacting spirit. The local surroundings also were most unfavourable to permanent success. Roads to other centres of population were practically useless, in spite of the efforts made and expense incurred in their making; for example, that to Annapolis, to which so much attention had been given, was of no value at all as a commercial highway. The harbour was at least partially frozen over in winter, and thus of little service for an appreciable portion of the year. The people themselves, drawn largely from cities or substantial towns, or fresh from long military service, were wholly unaccustomed to the new and varied requirements of a community where fishing and farming were necessarily the chief vocations, and were hampered by the inferior, and in many cases very unsuitable nature of the soil for agricultural success. Free issue of foodstuffs by the British Government lasted until 1787. Up to that time there was more or less work to be done by the middle and lower classes of the community in the way of clearing land, making streets, building houses, wharves, and all the variety of labour incidental to the maintenance of a large town in the wilderness. For their services remuneration in actual cash was small. This fact was not of vital importance when necessaries of life were furnished free from other sources, but when distribution of "the King's flour and pork" ceased, and the demand for remunerative work diminished, an exodus began. Sales by auction of land, houses, and furniture became more and more frequent.

I have before me the original account sales-book of the sheriff or official auctioneer, during the years 1787-1789. Furniture, household effects and merchandise brought fair returns, but land and houses were sold for absurdly small sums. For example, Wm. Hill's house and town lot in the South Division brought £4.10s. Kenneth Reach's town lot on Water front was knocked down for £3. 0. 0, and his country lot of 200 acres on the Tusket River for £3 10s 0—about 4½ pence per acre. An extreme case was that of James Robertson's property, consisting of one town lot and one water lot—the sale of which by the Sheriff netted £1 4s 6d, to offset a debt of £62 2s. 10d.

When sales were impossible, buildings, and in some cases even their contents, were abandoned by the owners who wandered

off to more promising fields. Halifax, Lunenburg and other towns and settlements in the province absorbed many. Others went far afield to Great Britain, the West Indies, or back to their old homes in the United States. The latter was eventually the goal of a large number of the wealthier members of the Port Roseway colony, including several who had been most prominent in its initial selection and establishment.

The cost of living cannot fairly be considered a serious factor in the depopulation of Shelburne. Charges for accommodation of man and beast in inns or houses of entertainment were moderate to an extreme. Take this piece of evidence:—

Monday, 8th. November, 1784,—

Prices Established by the Court of Quarter Sessions, in Shelburne, the 8th day of November, 1784, to be Observed by all Tavern Keepers in the district of Shelburne:—

One Man, or Woman, Lodging in a Comfortable Bed,—Six pence.

A Servant, Lodging,—Three pence.

Stabling, and Hay for a Horse, pr Night,—One Shilling.

Oats pr Quart,—Six pence.

For a Man, or a Woman, Breakfast of Bread, Butter, Tea, Coffee, or Chocolate, with Loaf Sugar,—Eight Pence.

A Servant, Breakfast,—Four Pence.

For a Man, or Woman's Dinner of good Wholesome Meat, with Bread, and Vegetables,—Ten Pence.

A Servant's Dinner,—Six pence.

For a Man, or Woman's Supper, of Good wholesome Meat, with Bread, and Vegetables,—Eight Pence.

A Servant's Supper,—Five pence.

For Man, or Woman's Tea, or Coffee, in the Afternoon, with Bread, Butter, and Loaf Sugar,—Eight Pence.

Man, or Woman's Breakfast, or Supper of bread, and Milk,—Four Pence.

Sufficient Hay to Bate one Horse whilst his Master Breakfasts or Dines,—Four Pence.

Pasture for an Horse, One night,—Three pence.

Reference to the Sales or Day Book of a prominent Shelburne merchant during the years 1789 to 1792 bears out the low cost of the necessaries of life (and an occasional luxury) at that time. Wheaten and rye flour sold respectively at 30s and 20s a barrel; potatoes, 2s a bushel; molasses, 2s. 6d. to 4s. per gallon; sugar (loaf)

9d a pound; butter, same price; tea 3s; corn, 4s. a bushel; candles, 10d a pound; soap 9d; boards, 20s per 1000 ft; and as rum or brandy could be had in plenty at 4s a gallon, and tobacco at 1s. 9d. a pound, a certain amount of temporary happiness to the worried citizen was available at small cost.

The Provincial Revenue Reports, during some of the early years of Shelburne, indicate to a certain extent its position and importance in the business life of the colony. During the period from March 1786 to June 1787, it gave a customs revenue of £906,—a figure certainly a long way below that of Halifax, which was £8168, but far above any other port of entry in Nova Scotia, the third being Cornwallis with £265. During the next year Shelburne improved its showing, the income of that port being £1380 as compared with Halifax £8038, and Annapolis £436. The exports of timber, boards, shingles, fish, fish-oil, sperm, whale oil and whale bone (of which exact figures are available) also showed in 1788 a marked advance over 1787. A decided drop then set in, and the next returns gave Shelburne £431, Halifax £5302, and Annapolis £393. Twenty-eight years later, alas, collections at the once flourishing loyalist town had shrunk almost to the vanishing point, being £46, against Halifax £39475, and Liverpool £4427.

These figures tell their own story, and little more need be said of the rapid decline of the Roseway Settlement.

A decrease in population from 9000 or 10000 in 1785 to 374 in 1816, is a depressing record to those interested in the growth of the province, and must have been especially so to the pioneers and founders of the settlement. Much has been written elsewhere on the subject, and the gloom of the vacant buildings and unfrequented streets has been eloquently set forth, so repetition or further comment is needless. Since the earlier decades of the last century there has been a slow but sure gain in population and prosperity. Schools, churches, good roads, railway facilities—all the elements of civic and social progress have come into being; industries have been established and have flourished. Special mention might be made of ship building and of the high position Shelburne deservedly holds in this respect,—vessels from its yards being much in demand and of excellent reputation. It also rightfully claims to have brought forth perhaps the greatest shipbuilder and designer that this continent has produced—Donald MacKay, born in Shelburne early in the last century, a grandson of a Scottish officer who was one of the first loyalist grantees. Lachlan MacKay, a brother of Donald's,

also became noted in shipping circles as one of the most brilliant and daring of sea-captains.

But these later events are not within the scope of this article. My pleasant task has been to portray some phases of the settlement at Port Roseway in 1783, and of the growth and life of the town during the few years immediately subsequent to the date. I trust that the patient reader will have found the portrayal not wholly devoid of interest.

While a large portion of the material used in this sketch has come from documentary and other original sources, I am indebted for many important details to the valuable and exhaustive account of the life and work of Benjamin Marston, first Crown Surveyor at Shelburne, printed in Volume Seven of the Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society, from the pen of Rev. Dr. W. O. Raymond; and also for much information to an excellent paper on "The Loyalists at Shelburne" written by the late Rev. Dr. T. Watson Smith, and published in an early volume of the *Collections* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society. An article on same subject by the late R. R. McLeod, which appeared in *Acadiensis* for January 1908 also contains much interesting matter.

NOTE.

Colonel Morse, Chief Engineer of the British Forces in America, who was ordered to report fully on the conditions and prospects of the loyalist settlers and settlements in Nova Scotia in 1784, after giving a very comprehensive and instructive account of the general state of the Province, wrote:—

I am sorry to add that a very small proportion, indeed, of these people are yet upon their lands, owing to different causes—First—their arriving very late in the season. Secondly—timely provision not having been made by escheating and laying out lands, in which great delays and irregularities have happened. Thirdly—a sufficient number of surveyors not having been employed, but lastly and principally, the want of foresight and wisdom to make necessary arrangements, and steadiness to carry them into execution, the evils arising from which will be felt for a long time to come, not only by the individuals, but by Government, for if these poor people who, from want of land to cultivate and raise a subsistence to themselves, are not fed by Government for a considerable time longer, they must perish. They have no other country to go to—no other asylum. They have hitherto been mostly employed in building towns at the principal settlements. At Port Roseway and the mouth of the River St. John, astonishing towns have been raised, and in less time, perhaps, than was ever known in any country before. It is, however, much to be lamented such great exertions had not been more profitably directed in cultivating their lands, for besides loss of time, they have wasted their substance in that which can never prove profitable to themselves or useful to the country.