

THE SHELBURNE THAT WAS AND IS NOT

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IN all Canada there is no other community that has a history akin to that of the now modest town of Shelburne, Nova Scotia. Like individuals, some places have greatness thrust upon them—greatness which may grow or recede, and the fluctuating fortunes of this haven on the rugged coast of southern Nova Scotia will here be briefly told.

The great Revolution or Rebellion—call it what you will—of 1775-81 was over. Britain was shorn of the choicest and most populous of her American possessions, and had formally, although with much reluctance, recognised their independence. The United States of America was now an accomplished fact. The horrors of civil war, intensified as the struggle had progressed, slowly began to abate; but bitter feelings still existed, and the persecution and indignities inflicted by the victorious “Americans” on the less fortunate loyalists during previous years were still in evidence. New York had been the last stronghold of British power, and to that city thousands of men and women—exiled and in very many cases driven from their homes or ostracised by former friends and neighbours—made their way, and in despair clung to the skirts of British sovereignty until the conditions of peace forced the final transfer of that town to the new Republic.

The period from October 1781, when Cornwallis was surrounded at York Town and forced to surrender his army, till November 1783, when King George’s troops, their followers, friends, and brothers in loyalty to Great Britain finally evacuated the American metropolis, was indeed a dark and gloomy time for many. But for several months before the curtain fell on England’s rule in the old colonies, a systematic plan of immigration to lands still owing allegiance to Britain had been evolved, carefully considered, tested to the fullest extent possible under existing conditions, and made ready to be carried into execution. As the closing months began to draw near, and the shadow of another winter in a city surrounded by enemies fell on the loyalists in New York, the plan of finding new homes in the adjoining provinces took definite shape. Meetings

were held of those who favoured immigration, and about 120 families, after careful consideration and enquiry, decided to settle together on the shore of that commodious and promising arm of the sea, known as Port Roseway, on the south-west shore of Nova Scotia. Here the ocean thrust deep into the land, forming a beautiful harbour about eight miles long, and of ample width and depth, well guarded by large islands at the entrance. Its shores had already been visited by would-be settlers, although oddly enough the French pioneers of earlier days had to a large extent overlooked its charms. They had named it "Port Razoïr," and a few stray settlers had been located there, but their stay was brief. Under the clumsy twistings of New England tongues, "Port Razoïr" became "Port Roseway." Many years before the beginning of the loyalist city Colonel Alexander McNutt had obtained a conditional grant of one hundred thousand acres on the shores of Port Roseway, and had subsequently induced a few old country families to settle there, naming the settlement "New Jerusalem"; but either the name or some other objectionable feature proved fatal to the success of the experiment. In a few years the inhabitants of this Celestial City gradually sought fresh fields and pastures new, and the whole grant reverted to the Crown.

In Desbarres's "Atlantic Neptune," that incomparable collection of charts of the Acadian coast, an excellent plan of the Roseway harbour or "Port Campbell"—as he calls it—is given, dated 1776. How the name of Campbell originated is unknown, but no doubt it was a fanciful name of Desbarres's own choosing, as the greater number of the names of the bays, capes etc., charted by him were evidently chosen to suit his special taste, and are to-day unused and unknown. The island is called "Roseneath" with "Carolina Beach" at the extreme N. W. point; the south end of the tongue or cape at the head of the harbour is given as "Hamilton's Point." What is now known as Jordan Bay was charted by Desbarres as "Buller Bay"; and similar peculiarities of nomenclature were given to practically all bays, harbours, rivers and headlands along the coast.

A locality adapted specially for shipping and fisheries would naturally appeal to a community such as that of which the New York loyalists were fairly representative; and, when their attention had been directed to the beauties and possibilities of Port Roseway, they decided to make its shores their future home. Apparently the agricultural impossibilities of the surrounding country were overlooked or mis-stated—an error bitterly regretted in later years. However, the decision was made, and a committee of seven was

chosen to make necessary arrangements for removal in the early summer of 1783. The names of these pioneers may be of interest. They were Thomas Courtney of Boston, James Dole of Albany, Captain Joseph Durfee of Newport, R. I., Peter Lynch of Boston, William Hill, Joshua Pell, and Joseph Pynchon. The colony was officially known as the "Port Roseway Associates." The first general meeting was held on 16th. November 1782, Joseph Pynchon being elected president. At a meeting convened a few weeks later Messrs. Pynchon and Dole were chosen as delegates to proceed to Halifax in order to lay their proposals before the then Governor of Nova Scotia, John Parr. They were instructed by the Associates to arrange for the free grant of a large tract of land on the shores of the chosen harbour of Roseway, with all privileges of fishing and hunting; the land was to be surveyed and the town laid out by the provincial government prior to the arrival of the colony. The delegates apparently did their work thoroughly, and no features of prospective value or use seem to have been omitted. They requested aid in making roads in the vicinity, men and materials for building and other necessary purposes, incorporation of the town or city, and a permanent guarantee that the inhabitants would be free from all risk of impressment into the Royal Navy,— a common feature of life at that time in towns where shipping and its allied interests were much in evidence.

The reception of the delegates in Halifax was flattering to them and to their cause. In fact it was unduly so, and conveyed erroneous impressions and inaccurate representation. The committee appears to have received the most emphatic assurances of the entire suitability of the Port Roseway site for the proposed colony; of its climatic, agricultural, and fishing advantages, and of the undoubted success which would follow the settlement. Expressions of belief that the new town would soon rival Halifax in many respects, and possibly supplant it as the capital of the province, were freely offered. An apparently ample supply of boards and other necessary building material was promised. In all respects the features of lasting success were apparent, and so reported to the waiting Associates in New York.

With such a hopeful prospect before them, who can wonder at the complete acquiescence of the intending emigrants in arrangements apparently so complete and leading to so promising a future? Active steps towards making the move were promptly taken. A large number of new colonists were enrolled. Sir Guy Carleton, who was in command of the King's troops in New York, took a very active interest in the movement and encouraged it in every way. Realizing the urgent need of at least temporary aid to the colony

in provisions and stores, and of a systematic supervision of their distribution and conveyance, he appointed for this purpose a Board of Agency, the president of which was Lieutenant-Colonel Beverley Robinson, who bore a name long prominent in loyalist and colonial circles. Transports were secured under convoy of two ships-of-war, and on the 27th. April 1783 the first party of loyal emigrants set sail from New York for Port Roseway in eighteen square rigged vessels as well as some smaller craft.

Let us glance for a moment at the personnel and character of some of the exiled patriots or refugees—both names are applicable. They were apparently a mixed lot, good, bad and indifferent. Loyalty to Britain had undoubtedly been the underlying motive of action with many of them; others had lost all in the old provinces, and must needs find new homes and opportunities for success; a smaller percentage were hangers-on and adventurers. A number of the party proved to be of some social and commercial importance in the new colony; but apathy, extending at times to laziness, soon developed among many of the less prominent, and lapses from even a somewhat lax standard of morality were at times observed. The majority had done more or less military service during the war. Most of these had received rough treatment from their opponents, and the somewhat brutalizing and disturbing effects of civil strife had undoubtedly left deep furrows in both habits and character. “The even tenor of their way” had been rudely disturbed, and a somewhat feverish measure of unrest was inevitable. Many were men discharged from the King’s regiments, unaccustomed to the requirements of civil life. Of the wealthier class of civilians, several were slave-owners and brought their human chattels with them. Andrew Barclay is said to have brought no fewer than fifty-seven slaves, Stephen Shakespeare twenty, Charles Bruff fifteen, and there were many others.

Perhaps the most prominent family was that of Captain Gideon White, son of Colonel White of Marshfield, Massachusetts, and a descendant of one of the Mayflower pilgrims. Through all the vicissitudes of fortune which Shelburne experienced, the gallant captain and his family did not desert the ship but remained on deck, and took an active part in all town events. The family is still represented in modern Shelburne, and its members occupy a high position in the social and business circles of the town.

With the new colony came Lieutenant Douglas Lawson of the Royal Engineers and Ensign William Lambton of the 33rd. Regiment, sent by Sir Guy Carleton with carefully prepared instructions for the selection and building of wharves, barracks, forts, and all public

buildings necessary for the new site. The "Instructions" are of much interest as indicating the generous proportions which it was expected the town would attain, and are given *verbatim* in an Appendix to this article.

We have seen that the Associates left New York on 27th. April in a large number of vessels. They were divided into companies, under selected captains, whose names will be found in the Appendix. They maintained at least nominal control over their parties for many months after arrival. We have no record or diary of the voyage, but can well imagine that very mixed feelings were experienced by all; sadness and regret at the severance of old ties and friendships alternated with anticipation of new homes and new activities.

On the afternoon of Sunday, 4th. May, the first of the flotilla bearing the exiled home-seekers came within sight of their desired haven, and by nightfall the whole fleet—thirty craft in all—had arrived and were soon at anchor in the north-east harbour. How eagerly on the early morrow must the pilgrims have looked out on their new surroundings! To many it must have been an uninviting prospect. Between water and sky were a rocky shore and dense masses of forest. Through negligence on the part of the provincial authorities practically nothing had been done in the way of clearing and making ready for the colony. Only three days earlier had arrived the surveyor in charge of the preparatory work, one Benjamin Marston, who on the 21st. April had been appointed by Charles Morris, Surveyor-General of Nova Scotia, to superintend the laying-out of the new site at Port Roseway. Marston was a man of much ability and of excellent character. A graduate of Harvard, and subsequently a prosperous merchant, he warmly espoused the royal cause when the rebellion broke out, and after suffering great hardships for his loyalty he had to emigrate to Nova Scotia and take up what work he could. To the journal of his doings we owe much of our knowledge of the first year or two of the Roseway settlement and of the chief actors on the stage of its early life.

In view of the visit to Halifax of the delegates Pynchon and Dole six months earlier, and of the assurance of welcome and assistance which they had received, we should have expected that everything possible would have been done in anticipation of the arrival of the colony. But such was not the case. Possibly the remissness of the provincial officials was due in part to lack of co-operation between the Nova Scotia authorities and the Commander-in-chief in New York, Sir Guy Carleton, whose instructions to his engineer repre-

sentative indicated uncertainty as to the location of the military buildings,—a feature which would, in those days of war, have considerable bearing on the exact site of the town itself. In any case it was not until the following Wednesday that the actual site for the budding city was definitely selected by the surveyors, whose decision was that the north-east portion of the harbour was apparently the most suitable. This was objected to by many of the prospective settlers on the plea that the ground was too rough and uneven. It was evident that the newcomers had their own views regarding location and other matters of importance, and they apparently wanted the introduction of the “town meeting” feature for settlement of disputed points. A satisfactory compromise or adjustment was, however, arrived at, and the town site finally fixed on land immediately east of the north-east harbour. No further time was lost; on the 9th. the centre street of the “city of promise” was laid out and the newcomers put at work cutting down trees—a novel employment for many. During the next few weeks and months matters of settlement in the new home, and adjustment to the new conditions, made rapid progress. The first death—that of a man called Mason—occurred on the 12th.

In these strange surroundings, and under the exigencies of daily life in Port Roseway, the true character of the various elements of the townspeople soon became apparent. Indolence was shown by many, those of the lower social class being in this respect the chief offenders. Grumbling was naturally not lacking, and at certain times an almost mutinous spirit was shown by a certain element of the community. Real authority, exerted by those qualified in position and character as leaders, was apparently absent; the captains of the transports who were temporarily in charge of local affairs were said to be in many instances unfitted for anything approaching permanent control of the situation. The lines of streets were run by the engineers, followed by the blocking out of dwelling and store lots. These were then drawn for by the heads of families on the principle that everyone should have an equal chance in his location. Marston’s description of his troubles at this work had best be told in his own words:—

Yesterday I was ashore all day apportioning people to their lots—’tis a task trying to humanity, for while those engaged in settling them are justly exasperated at the insolence and impertinence of one sort of people, they can’t help they must feel for the distress of the sensible feeling part, who have come from easy situations to encounter all the hardships of a new plantation and who wish to submit cheerfully to the dispensations of Providence.

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 Ashore again all to-day appointing people to their lots. Some grumble, some are pleased. They are upon the whole a collection of characters very unfit for the business they have undertaken. Barbers, Tailors, Shoemakers and all kinds of mechanics bred and used to live in great towns, they are inured to habits very unfit for undertakings which require hardiness, resolution, industry and patience. Nothing so easy as to bear hardships in a good house by a good fireside, with good clothes, provisions, etc. etc. Seneca, with some thousands per annum, wrote very learnedly in praise of poverty. *pg 639 New E. Quak.*

This estimate was probably somewhat exaggerated, and due to the inevitable and long drawn-out friction which existed between the surveyor and those looking for eligible lots. The former evidently possessed a somewhat peppery temper. A few days later he writes at the conclusion of the record of his day's work:—"There is now such a damned noise that it is impossible to recollect any other circumstance."

Then, a week or so later, in a somewhat chastened and less acrimonious strain:—

Yesterday at town all day fixing people in their lots. Many are pleased. The idea of owning land is somehow or other exceedingly agreeable to the human mind. Some whose lots have fallen to them in not so pleasant places are much out of temper; and some designing ones who have missed the advantageous situations are likewise dissatisfied. I came home late in the afternoon smutty and fatigued.

During these earlier weeks William Morris was nominally in control of surveys, with Marston as chief assistant, but the former was soon given employment elsewhere, and Marston with three assistants had charge of all work of that nature. The King's birthday, June 4th., was duly celebrated by a ball and general holiday, the effects of which were apparent for some days. With rum at three or four shillings a gallon, the good people at Port Roseway—as well as of every other community—naturally made merry on great occasions and often on minor ones.

But we must not dwell too long on details. The summer was naturally a very busy one, all trying to have houses or shelter before winter. Excellent progress was apparently made in building, and most of the community at all events must have worked very hard. The town was rapidly laid out, as well as much of the adjoining country, the latter being blocked off in lots of fifty acres. All qualified applicants received a town lot and a farm lot; in certain mercantile cases waterfront lots were also issued. All were

drawn for. New settlers arrived in large numbers and shared in the general distribution.

A red-letter day in the early history of the town was that on which the Governor of the Province, John Parr,—whose hatchment hangs in St. Paul's Church, Halifax—visited the Port Roseway settlement, and with due ceremony named the town and district "Shelburne" in honour of the nobleman who occupied a high post in the British Cabinet of that day. Of the ability and character of Lord Shelburne there is no question; but his blunders in dealing with the delimitation of the boundaries between the new United States and the British possessions, and his astonishing facility of surrender to the former of every matter in dispute, made his name even then a very unpopular one to many of the loyalist sufferers from American aggression. Governor Parr arrived on H. M. frigate "Sophia" on Sunday 20th. July, and made his official landing on the following Tuesday. He was received with all the customary formalities—salutes from the ship and from the shore batteries, the streets lined with the citizens under arms, and general demonstrations of respect for the King's representative. From the steps of the Firth House he proclaimed the new name of town and district, followed by loyal toasts and expressions of high hopes for the prosperity of the budding city. The appointment of Justices of the Peace was followed by a brilliant dinner on the "Sophia," given by Captain Mowat, and on the following evening a public supper and dance on a most generous scale was indulged in by the Shelburnians.¹

* During the period of the Governor's visit the population of the town was swelled by the arrival of ninety families from New York as well as many others from various points in the older colonies. All had to be promptly provided with shelter, and the surveying staff was kept busy marking out lots for the new arrivals. On one

¹ As indicative of the infatuation under which some of the new settlers laboured regarding the agricultural possibilities of the Port Roseway district, I reproduce a letter sent by one of the new comers soon after his arrival to a friend in New York.

Port Roseway in Nova Scotia.

May 21, 1783.

"My Dear Friend.

"I am happy in having this opportunity of testifying the great satisfaction I enjoy in coming to this place; the prospects of happiness for a set of Loyal people are so many, that without great neglect in the civil departments and other matters prejudicial to the internal policy of the settlement, they must be a flourishing people. The situation is abundantly provided by nature with one of the finest harbours on the continent of America, and the soil is by far the most preferable of any in the Province; and the emulation and cheerfulness with which every individual is providing comfort and convenience for the approaching winter is truly laudable and pleasing. Their industry will every day prove an acquisition, and the produce of their labour will make them ample amends for their trouble."

day in September no fewer than 183 applicants were placed. Every effort was made to discriminate between actual settlers and speculators; quite a number of the latter appeared from time to time in the hope of securing property easily negotiable. Colonel Morse, Chief Engineer of the King's troops in America, visited the new town at the end of August. *A large number of negro emigrants had come over from the States under charge of a certain Colonel Stephen Bluck, a mulatto of good reputation. These worthy people were located together on the north-west portion of the harbour in a community known as Birchtown, named after General Birch, British Commandant of the city of New York.*

By the autumn of 1783 the town was assuming a degree of definite shape. It was laid out in five "Divisions," or wards, known as (beginning at the south) Patterson's, St. John's, South, North, and Parr's. The first and last names were in honour respectively of the general officer in command of H. M. troops in Nova Scotia, and of the Governor of the province. "St. John's" was in commemoration of the festival of Saint John the Baptist, a day dear to the Masonic fraternity (represented in the new town by many influential citizens), who had celebrated the anniversary (24th. June) in due and ancient form. "North" and "South" were the original Divisions; the others were set out in June and July when the population was rapidly being augmented. Down the centre of the town, at right angles to the water, ran King's or Centre street, with Bulkeley, John, Ann, St. George and many others in the same direction east and west; near the harbour, Water street stretched north and south, and was the main business street of the town. Parallel with it were Mowat, Hammond, Digby, and others commemorating names prominent in the settlement or in provincial history. Somewhat narrow "Lanes"—Mason, St. Andrew, Charlotte, Maiden, and others—ran from Water street to the wharves or where land and harbour meet. The King's wharf was on the water front of the North Division; the barracks, where a large garrison was maintained, was on the tongue of land at the end of the harbour opposite the town. The town plot was roughly one and one-half miles north and south by half a mile east and west.

Refugee loyalists and disbanded soldiers of all ranks kept pouring in during the autumn, and Marston's journal is replete with details of great interest as to numbers, class, character and habits of the new colonists, as well as of his arduous work in trying to distribute and satisfy them. Preparations for receiving such immigrants were almost wholly lacking, and those in authority—surveyors and magistrates—were evidently at their wits' end to

cope with the situation. The later arrivals were of a class less appreciated than the first comers, being made up largely of disbanded soldiers, unfit for steady laborious work and with little initiative. It is but fair, however, to state that they had hard luck, and incurred much discomfort from their belated arrival at Shelburne—a matter over which they had no control. It was well on in the autumn before many of them landed, and too late for more than temporary and often insufficient shelter. With them came many civilians and followers of a somewhat undesirable type, prone to grumbling and mischief, and to accept as much as possible for a minimum of labour in return. This class never becomes extinct, and is in fact somewhat prolific in the extension of its uncanny characteristics.

A list (by regiments) of the disbanded soldiers is quoted in an Appendix to this sketch; it was prepared early in 1784, at a general muster of the inhabitants of the province. It will be seen that the men, women and children of the British regiments numbered over 1300, and those of the disbanded Provincial corps about 1500 in all. The latter represent but a fraction of the disbanded American forces who had fought for the King. By far the greater number settled on or near the river St. John, and in other parts of the Acadian provinces.

The problem of feeding and sheltering these incoming groups—aggregating perhaps 8,000 to 10,000 souls—was a serious one, and called for much administrative ability. Those who first had charge of operations—the captains of the various companies into which the original settlers were divided—were unfitted for more than temporary control. The magistrates appointed on 22nd. July by Governor Parr,—Messrs. McEwan, Robinson, Pynchon, and Durfee—may have been excellent men in certain ways, but were evidently not considered by His Excellency to possess special mental strength, as in the following May he wrote Lord Sydney, then Secretary of State in the Home Cabinet, reporting dissensions among the loyalists at Shelburne and St. John and adding that he “had to make magistrates in these settlements of men whom God Almighty never intended for the office, but it was Hobson’s choice.”

It seems evident that civic matters in Shelburne during 1783-4 were in a somewhat chaotic state, and it was well that perhaps the most important feature of local administration, that of the issue of food and necessary supplies, was in the hands of a capable officer, Commissary Edward Brinley, whose three storehouses or provision depots, erected on the island in front of the town, furnished the daily bread to thousands of dependent citizens. It must be borne

in mind that the British Government was most liberal in its supplies of food as well as of land. Early in 1783, seventy thousand barrels of flour were purchased for distribution, and the quantity of building and farming materials and implements sent out was on a colossal scale,—nails and spikes by the million, hammers, axes, locks and tools of all sorts in thousands—18,000 saws as one instance. Food shipments were no doubt increased several fold before the time arrived for the discontinuance of free supplies.

Free rations were issued daily to all and sundry of the Port Roseway and other communities of distressed loyalists. This continued until towards the end of the year 1784, in some parts if not all of the settlement; in November 1785 over 26,000 persons participated in the distribution. So far as the loyalists were concerned, it was nominally on the basis of full rations for the first year, two-thirds for the second, and one-third for the third; but the official correspondence indicates that the Government dealt generously with all needy applicants, and by no means confined its allowances to the scale just mentioned. Disbanded officers and soldiers had full rations for a somewhat longer period. Brinley had hard work, and had to combat much in the way of complaints and criticism. Dr. Raymond mentions a case where rather than neglect his duty as commissary he did not attend court to defend a frivolous action brought against him for false imprisonment, and was therefore fined £42. Accommodation, shelter, and sleeping quarters during the winter 1783-4 were at a premium. The population—swollen by almost weekly arrivals during the previous summer and autumn months—was not less than 10,000, the maximum that the town ever supported, though certain inaccurate writers have stated figures much in excess of this estimate. Rough shelters were erected for the late comers, but many had to live as best they could on the ships or transports in the harbour; a few were even forced to spend the winter months under canvas. Much suffering ensued, but we do not hear of any special degree of resulting mortality. Early in 1784 exact musters of the loyalists, disbanded soldiers, and negroes were taken by the authorities, and detailed tables of these musters are given in the Appendices to this paper. The total number who drew or were allotted “the King’s provisions” was 7923; to this must be added 1500 to 2000 as representing the soldiers of the garrison, merchants, traders, and others who had come into the town for business or on the chance of profitable employment, apart from the arrivals from the American states. Early in the year muster reports show that a total of 1157 houses of all sorts had been erected—a most creditable record when one considers the

condition of the time and place. Steady work of this kind continued during the summer, and in September it was estimated that over 250 more buildings—many of them commodious and even elegant—had been built. About 3000 house lots, and 1000 store and wharf lots had been blocked out, as well as nearly 1000 farm lots of from 50 to 500 acres each.

During the spring and summer of this second year, detached parties of exiled loyalists and others continued to arrive, but not to the same extent as in 1783. As a general rule the settlers were busy at farm, garden, or the fisheries. There is no record of any manufacturing industry being undertaken, beyond a couple of saw-mills, and those who did not take kindly to agriculture or land-clearing were apt to lead a somewhat indolent life, leading often to mischief and law-breaking.* In July this culminated in a riot waged by discharged soldiers and their friends against the free negroes; a number of houses occupied by the latter were destroyed. One such thing led to another, and finally Marston the chief surveyor, whose somewhat obstinate honesty combined with an irritable temper had made him very unpopular among the lower classes of the community, had to leave Shelburne hurriedly for Halifax to avoid unpleasant consequences. *He did not return, and therefore disappears from the stage of Shelburne life.* His last act connected with the town and its fortunes was to write at considerable length to a gentleman in Scotland expressing a very favourable opinion of Nova Scotia in general and Shelburne in particular, and voicing his belief in their resources and prospects of business success. He especially mentions shipping and fisheries, pointing out that over fifty vessels then belonged to the port, and that the future of both cod and whale fishing in connection with Shelburne were very promising.

A somewhat surprising feature of the provincial life of that day is the small degree of allusion or reference to the Port Roseway colony in the proceedings of the House of Assembly during the years 1783 and 1784. A possible exception to this was the official creation of the county of Shelburne and the passing of an Act for the appointment of the General Sessions of the Peace, and of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas for the new county. These were ordered to be held on the last Tuesdays of March and October. Chapter V of the Acts of 1784 provided for representatives in the

*In February, 1784, Marston writes:—"am almost dinn'd to death for town lots and water lots, lots for 50 acres, and 500 acre lots. My head is so full of Triangles, Squares, Parallelograms, Trapezias and Rhomboides that the corners do sometimes almost put my eyes out."

House of Assembly by two members from the county of Shelburne, and one from the "Township of Shelburne, situated on the harbour called Port Roseway." An election was duly held, with the result that Alexander Leckie and Charles M. Neal were elected for the county, and Isaac Wilkins for the township.

That modern emblem of civilization, the local newspaper, gladdened the eyes of Shelburne citizens in 1784, the *Royal American Gazette* being first in the field. This was a transplanted continuation of a New York loyalist journal published by James and Alexander Robertson and Nathaniel Mills. All three publishers came over to the Port Roseway settlement, opened a printing office in King Street, and continued the issue of a weekly paper for several years. Death and departure separated the partners, and the *Gazette* ceased to appear.

In October 1784, newspaper Number Two made its bow to the Shelburne public. It was called *The Port Roseway Gazette and General Advertiser*, and was printed by J. Robertson, Junior, for T. & J. Swords, King Street.

The third and last journal to brighten Roseway homes was *The Nova Scotia Packet and General Advertiser*, printed by James Humphreys, a sturdy loyalist, who had been maltreated and driven from Philadelphia by a rebel mob during the war. His printing office was at the Corner of George and Water streets, where he also sold "Spirits and all kinds of merchandise," as indicated by a standing advertisement in his paper. The exact dates when these papers ceased publication is uncertain.

Interest in religion and in providing facilities for public worship was not lacking in the new colony, and during its first two years a fair measure of progress was made in this respect. The Church of England, with which the interests of perhaps the greater number of the loyalists were interwoven, was unfortunate in having two determined aspirants to clerical control in the new settlement, both of whom had many warm friends and supporters. These clergymen, both of high standing and reputation, were the Rev. William Walter, D. D., formerly of Trinity Church, Boston, and later chaplain to the 3rd. Battalion of DeLancey's Brigade; the other was the Rev. George Panton, late Rector of Trenton, N. Y., and subsequently chaplain of the Prince of Wales American Volunteers. Both declared, and properly so, that they had been asked to join the loyalist exiles; both had many supporters who, not only ardent but stubborn, refused to give way, with the consequence that the progress of the church was greatly retarded by the dissension. Two distinct parishes were formed, that of Dr. Walter and his

friends being known as Trinity, while Mr. Panton's organization was entitled the Parish of St. Patrick. No Bishop for the province had then been appointed; the Governor favoured Mr. Panton, but lacked authority to take drastic measures. Services were regularly held by the rival congregations in various halls and temporary places of worship, and the work of the church in connection with baptisms, burials, visiting, and other ecclesiastical duties was fully carried out by both clergymen. This long drawn out dissension greatly delayed the erection of a church, and it was not until May 1788 that a union of the two factions was agreed to, a joint parish meeting held, a new representative vestry elected, and tenders called for the erection of a fitting edifice for public worship. The parish was re-named "The United Parishes of St. George and St. Patrick." The church, known then and now as "Christ Church," was opened on Christmas Day, 1789, and still stands as a monument to the loyalist pioneers of Port Roseway. It is redolent with memories of the early days of the province and of many great and honoured names in provincial life.

A great deal of information regarding church organization and troubles, names of wardens and vestrymen, the contentions of both parties, and other details have come down to us, and constitute an interesting if somewhat breezy chapter of early Anglican Church history in Nova Scotia.

The Kirk of Scotland had many adherents among the early settlers, and after use of a temporary building for a short time obtained from Governor Parr a grant of the land on which the present church stands. They first erected a meeting-house there but it was blown down a few years later, being replaced by a more permanent structure. The first minister was the Rev. Hugh Fraser who, during the Revolutionary War, had been acting Chaplain to H. M. 71st. Regiment, "Highland Light Infantry."

In September, 1788, the congregation petitioned the Government for recognition and assistance, but there is no record of a reply, favourable or otherwise.

The Wesleyans were early in the field, and the first sermon preached in Port Roseway is believed to have been by the Rev. William Black, on the 8th. of June, 1783, at a time when the shore population lived in tents, no houses having been erected. He preached among the stumps thrice on that eventful Sunday without interruption; but on the following day, while again holding service, he met with a somewhat stormy reception from a certain noisy element in the community. With the decline of the town a few years later this body of Christians shared in the general depression,

and it was not until many years later that they were able to erect a permanent and suitable house of worship. Robert Barry, one of the first settlers, was most prominent in the work and religious life of Methodism in Shelburne.

The Baptists of early Shelburne were few in number, but were enabled to erect a chapel at an early date. Very little information regarding their work is available.

In 1786 the Society of Friends (Quakers) sent two of their public preachers, Joseph Moore of New Jersey and Abraham Gibbons of Philadelphia, to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; Shelburne was included in their itinerary. They arrived on 26th. September and preached in the court-house to a crowded audience, which gave them a friendly reception.

The educational advantages of the first few years of Shelburne were naturally somewhat limited. * Schools (of a primitive type) were opened, and in 1791 we find twelve existing in the town and one in the negro suburb of Birchtown. x Of the former, nine were taught by men, and three by women; while that for the coloured children was under the personal care of Colonel Bluck, the head of the Birchtown community. x The following advertisement in the *Port Roseway Gazette* of 27th. June, 1785, gives a fair impression of at least one educational establishment of a more pretentious character :—

SCHOOL.

The subscribers having mutually agreed to teach in conjunction, take this method of informing their friends and the public that they have opened school in Mowat-street, Near Capt. Lynch's; where Youth will be instructed in Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Book-keeping, Navigation, Mensuration, the Use and Construction of Maps and Sea Charts, the Greek and Latin Languages, etc., etc.

Impressed with the liveliest sense of gratitude, they return their grateful acknowledgments to their benefactors, who have favoured them with encouragement since their commencement in business:—assure them, that their utmost attention and assiduity will ever be exerted to render their favours permanent.

W. LEARY,
E. FOGARTY.

N. B. Mr. Fogarty (in compliance with the request of several respectable families in Shelburne) will attend a Dancing School every Tuesday and Friday, at Captain John Stewart's new house, in St. John's-street;—expects the young Ladies and Gentlemen will be pleased to favour him with their company on

Friday next, the first of July.—Hours of attendance from six to nine o'clock in the afternoon.

Shelburne, June 27, 1785.

Tuition by governess or tutor was carried on in some of the wealthier families, and we find advertisements asking for instructors of this nature. No boarding-school for boys existed in the eastern provinces until 1788, when the Collegiate Academy in connection with King's College was opened at Windsor.

Such are some leading features of the Roseway settlement in the first two years of its existence, the period of its richest promise. In a subsequent article I propose to recount its later development and its decline.

APPENDIX A

INSTRUCTIONS TO LIEUT. LAWSON, ENGINEER GOING TO PORT ROSEWAY IN NOVA SCOTIA.

NEW YORK, 19th April, 1783.

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

“When the several situations shall have been made choice of for these purposes, the troops should be encamped or enhuttet upon the spot most advisable for the situation of barracks, and upon such a plan as may be hereafter extended and improved.

“Covering the provisions and the perishable part of ordnance stores should be done as soon as possible, in the best manner the means and materials which can be provided will admit of. The heavy cannon should be planted so as to give immediate protection

to the vessels, and the field pieces should go with the troops. The neighbouring and surrounding country should be carefully explored and cleaned for the materials which may be first wanted.

“To enable you to carry on this service are sent Ensign Lambton of the 33d Regiment as your assistant engineer, one foreman and eleven carpenters, one mason and one smith, with an assortment of artificer’s tools and intrenching tools, a return of which you will be furnished with. * There are also sent a sergeant, corporal and sixteen of the Black Pioneers, who, as well as the artificers, are put under your command to be employed as you may see proper, but in His Majesty’s service only.*

“You are likewise furnished with a whale boat, gun boat, and a sailing boat, with tackle, rigging, oars, &c., complete, for the use of the post, which together with the articles specified in the returns given to you you are hereby made answerable for. The foreman is to keep a regular check in a book of all the artificers, which at the end of every week is to be signed by the Assistant Engineer and examined by you, and from this weekly check an account is to be made out at the end of every month, agreeably to a form given to you, certified by the Assistant Engineer and yourself, and then transmitted to the Commanding Engineer at Halifax to provide payment, should no person be appointed for that purpose at your post.

“In case of lumber or any other materials which may be wanted to carry on the works being offered for sale, you will apply by letter to the Commissary upon the spot to purchase them, giving him all information and assistance in putting a fair and just value upon the same; and you are not to incur any expense, but for the purpose before mentioned of covering the provisions and ordnance stores, without further orders from the Commander in Chief, the General Officer commanding in the District, or the Chief Engineer.

“You will report to me from time to time your progress, and acquaint me with every circumstance which may require further instructions.

ROBERT MORSE, Chief Engineer.

“Approved by the Commander in Chief.

OLIVER DELANCEY, Adj’t. General.

LOYALISTS MUSTERED AT SHELBURNE IN 1784.

| Company | Men | Women | Children above ten | Children under ten | Total |
|----------------------------|------|-------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------|
| Goldbury's | 29 | 13 | 23 | 8 | 73 |
| Lynch's | 57 | 22 | 47 | 21 | 147 |
| Dole's (1) | 33 | 21 | 38 | 17 | 109 |
| Barclay's | 31 | 22 | 28 | 18 | 99 |
| Turnbull's | 30 | 19 | 32 | 22 | 103 |
| Robinson's | 39 | 23 | 22 | 21 | 105 |
| Grosvenor's (2) | 49 | 35 | 30 | 29 | 143 |
| Rashley's | 29 | 24 | 15 | 17 | 85 |
| Lowndes' | 41 | 25 | 29 | 15 | 110 |
| Courtney's | 19 | 12 | 5 | 10 | 46 |
| Potter's | 35 | 20 | 36 | 17 | 108 |
| R. Courtney's | 25 | 16 | 10 | 21 | 72 |
| Murray's (4) | 43 | 26 | 31 | 24 | 124 |
| Moffat's (5) | 45 | 26 | 26 | 16 | 113 |
| Fraser's | 39 | 26 | 16 | 12 | 93 |
| Shakspear's | 28 | 17 | 20 | 15 | 80 |
| Hartley's (6) | 27 | 20 | 31 | 17 | 95 |
| Stewart's | 35 | 17 | 30 | 12 | 94 |
| Pitcher's | 34 | 26 | 29 | 16 | 105 |
| Wilkins' | 23 | 12 | 9 | 7 | 51 |
| Cox's | 28 | 18 | 27 | 22 | 95 |
| Miller's | 32 | 16 | 19 | 6 | 73 |
| Speer's | 32 | 21 | 25 | 17 | 95 |
| Dean's | 31 | 22 | 17 | 15 | 85 |
| Cameron's | 28 | 15 | 20 | 17 | 80 |
| Van Norden's | 46 | 38 | 36 | 29 | 149 |
| Sullivan's | 59 | 31 | 23 | 30 | 143 |
| Hamilton's | 19 | 8 | 14 | 5 | 46 |
| Breen's | 11 | 7 | 9 | 6 | 33 |
| Wright's | 27 | 23 | 20 | 24 | 94 |
| Nutter's (7) | 55 | 35 | 54 | 36 | 180 |
| Kirk's (8) | 27 | 17 | 14 | 20 | 78 |
| Ackerman's | 54 | 33 | 37 | 25 | 149 |
| Leonard's | 44 | 20 | 18 | 12 | 94 |
| Dower's (9) | 36 | 27 | 13 | 21 | 97 |
| Pell's (10) | 50 | 39 | 42 | 31 | 162 |
| Bell's (11) | 33 | 24 | 29 | 15 | 101 |
| Minshull's (12) | 25 | 9 | 12 | 4 | 50 |
| Little's | 12 | 6 | 5 | 2 | 25 |
| Thomas's | 36 | 23 | 24 | 15 | 98 |
| Ward's (13) | 15 | 11 | 15 | 8 | 49 |
| Wall's | 42 | 29 | 28 | 17 | 116 |
| Jenkin's | 32 | 15 | 16 | 8 | 71 |
| Huggerford's | 15 | 13 | 22 | 4 | 54 |
| Appleby's | 46 | 32 | 28 | 26 | 132 |
| Aymar's | 23 | 14 | 6 | 10 | 53 |
| Neill's | 12 | 9 | 2 | 7 | 30 |
| Heyden's | 8 | .. | 1 | .. | 19 |
| Jones' | 6 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 14 |
| Blanchard's | 11 | 7 | 15 | 6 | 39 |
| Savage's | 46 | 21 | 27 | 19 | 113 |
| Loring's | 5 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 13 |
| Persons not in any Company | 84 | 43 | 43 | 42 | 212 |
| Total | 1721 | 1053 | 1173 | 840 | 4787 |

SHELBURNE THAT WAS AND IS NOT 197

DISBANDED SOLDIERS MUSTERED AT SHELBURNE
BRITISH REGIMENTS.

| Corps | Men | Women | Children above ten | Children under ten | Total |
|-------------------------|-----|-------|--------------------|--------------------|-------|
| Artillery | 20 | 11 | .. | 5 | 36 |
| 7th Regiment | 73 | 16 | 8 | 10 | 107 |
| 17th Dragoons | 125 | 45 | 10 | 30 | 210 |
| 22nd Regiment | 50 | 20 | 13 | 19 | 102 |
| 23rd Regiment | 35 | 9 | .. | 4 | 48 |
| 37th Regiment | 11 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 20 |
| 38th Regiment | 85 | 21 | 10 | 12 | 128 |
| 40th Regiment | 65 | 9 | 3 | 9 | 86 |
| 42nd Regiment | 25 | 7 | 1 | 7 | 40 |
| 43rd Regiment | 15 | 6 | 1 | 9 | 31 |
| 54th Regiment | 6 | 2 | .. | 1 | 9 |
| 57th Regiment | 35 | 6 | 2 | 2 | 45 |
| 64th Regiment | 11 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 18 |
| 63rd Regiment | 7 | 3 | .. | .. | 10 |
| 65th Regiment | 1 | .. | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| 70th Regiment | 17 | 8 | .. | 5 | 30 |
| 71st Regiment | 52 | 9 | .. | 5 | 66 |
| 74th Regiment | 21 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 30 |
| 76th Regiment | 110 | 16 | 3 | 12 | 141 |
| 79th Regiment | 1 | .. | .. | .. | 1 |
| 80th Regiment | 44 | 11 | 3 | 2 | 60 |
| 82nd Regiment | 23 | 2 | .. | .. | 25 |
| 84th Regiment | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 7 |
| Hessians | 28 | 13 | 7 | 9 | 57 |
| Total | 863 | 228 | 69 | 150 | 1310 |

DISBANDED SOLDIERS MUSTERED AT SHELBURNE
LOYALIST REGIMENTS.

| Corps | Men | Women | Children over ten | Children under ten | Total |
|--------------------------------------|-----|-------|-------------------|--------------------|-------|
| British Legion | 24 | 11 | 3 | 1 | 39 |
| King's American Reg't. | 15 | 9 | 7 | 6 | 37 |
| Royal Garrison Battalion | 1 | .. | 1 | .. | 2 |
| Prince of Wales Am. Regt. | 3 | 1 | .. | 1 | 5 |
| Duke of Cumberland's Regt. | 22 | 2 | 2 | .. | 26 |
| Nova Scotia Volunteers | 2 | .. | .. | .. | 2 |
| 1st New Jersey Volunteers | 6 | 1 | .. | .. | 7 |
| 2d New Jersey Volunteers | 5 | 1 | .. | .. | 6 |
| 3rd New Jersey Volunteers | 13 | 9 | 9 | 11 | 42 |
| 1st DeLancey's Volunteers | 3 | 2 | .. | 2 | 7 |
| 2d De Lancey's Volunteers | 5 | 1 | .. | .. | 6 |
| Queen's Rangers | 6 | 1 | .. | .. | 7 |
| Emmerick's Corps | 1 | 2 | .. | .. | 3 |
| New York Volunteers | 1 | .. | .. | .. | 1 |
| King's Royal Reg't. of N. Y. | 3 | 1 | 1 | .. | 5 |
| King's Carolina Volunteers | 4 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 15 |
| Total | 114 | 44 | 28 | 24 | 210 |
| Grand total | 978 | 272 | 97 | 174 | 1521 |