

The Harriet Irving Library at the University of New Brunswick in Fredericton, NB is the repository of a Loyalist research collection which is unique in Canada. The *Loyalist Collection* contains microfilm of British, North American Colonial, and early Canadian primary sources from approximately 1760 - 1867, which the chief focus being the American Revolution and the early years of Loyalist settlement in British North America.

The special collection of Loyalist primary sources on microfilm in the UNB Library had its origin in the late 1960's with the formation of the Programme for Loyalist Studies and Publications. The University of London, City University of New York, American Antiquarian Society and the University of New Brunswick were the institutions involved in an international agreement to identify, list and microfilm all Loyalist primary sources in the three countries. The Canada Council provided financial support in this country. By the time the Canadian section of the project ceased in 1976, approximately 700 reels of microfilm had been deposited in the UNB Library.

In 1982 the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada awarded the UNB Library a three-year \$50,000 grant to expand the microfilm collection of Loyalist materials and to enhance the Library's other resources which support Loyalist Research. The awarding of this grant coincided with the New Brunswick Bicentennial in 1784 and the founding of the University of New Brunswick in 1785, both events being a direct result of Loyalist settlement. With purchases made possible by the SSHRC Grant, the UNB History Department and private donors, and with the microfilm accumulated under the Programme, the *Loyalist Collection* was gradually assembled and organized by Kathryn Hilder, the librarian in charge of the Collection from 1978 until her retirement in 1998. This unique and comprehensive collection of Loyalist resources in one location has confirmed the position of the UNB Library as the principal Loyalist research centre in and for Canada.

There are now over 3400 reels of microfilm and 700 microfiche in the *Loyalist Collection*. It is largely unindexed and contains only original sources. In addition, there are numerous finding aids to records in the *Collection*.

The *Loyalist Collection* is arranged by five categories of material:

- Church Records
- Family Records
- Military Records
- Public Records
- Special Collections

The *Loyalist Collection Inventory* was designed and composed by Kathryn Hilder, the author of the Database, Inventory Text, Finding Aids, and Classification Schedules. The *Inventory* may be accessed on the **World Wide Web** at the following address: <http://www.lib.unb.ca/collections/loyalist/>. **Inquiries** regarding the *Inventory* and *Finding Aids* should be directed to the following department:

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Researchers who may wish to forward suggestions or comments about the *Inventory* and *Finding Aids* are invited to contact the author, Kathryn Hilder, Librarian (ret'd.) e-mail: hilder@unb.ca.

Researchers from out of town who are planning to visit the UNB Library to use the Loyalist Collection and related material should write or telephone in advance.

The Loyalists: Who Were They?

by Gwendolyn Hutchinson

Editor's note: This article, dated March 1974, is in the York-Sunbury Historical Society Collection, MC300, MS22/44, at the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick.

The thirteen British colonies were largely self-sufficient in the 1700's. About nine-tenths of their population lived in the countryside. There was no peasant class, or at least, no peasant class in comparison with that in Europe at the same time, starvation was virtually unknown; and such home industries as spinning, weaving, and the making of home and farm implements kept the subsistence farmer going.¹

In New England, the people were progressive, vigorous, engaged in commerce and industry as well as agriculture, rather bigotedly Protestant and strongly attached to their old, inherited rights of self-government.²

From these peaceful, sober-minded citizens came the two forces which were to cause very great suffering and damage to their country, the Whigs and the Tories, who eventually emerged as Revolutionaries and Loyalists. The latter party, undoubtedly the losers of the war, and that part of them who were exiled to New Brunswick, shall be our prime concern.

When Britain began to levy taxes on her colonies which the colonists felt were utterly unjustified, the conflict began. The Whigs, or Liberals were the loudest to complain, and the Tories, the more conservative party, sympathized, but felt that the situation could be solved peacefully. The Tories respected wealth and those who had it. They believed in commercial probity, hard money, and the Bank of England. They envied the easy and efficient intimacy between wealth and government in England.³ But they did not believe that they should be made to pay large taxes ordered by Britain. In May, 1769, the

Virginia House of Burgess, although setting forth that the sole right of levying taxes was vested in the legislature of the province of Virginia, and protesting against English tribunals upon Americans, still assured the King of, "our inviolable attachment to his sacred person and government."⁴ The real complaints had not yet begun.

The great majority of the American Tories did not approve of the course taken by the British government between 1765 and 1774. They did not deny its legality, but they doubted either its wisdom or its justice.⁵ A contemporary observer, who was not a Tory, said of them:

The Loyalists were by far the largest party who not only expected, but prayed for a reconciliation, yet ... all the wrongs which were heaped upon the children could ... entirely alienate them from their parent [England].⁶

In 1774, Tories who refused to sign a Continental Association, made up of Nonimportation, Non-exportation, and Nonconsumption Agreements, were proclaimed as violators, and were sometimes tarred and feathered.⁷ The Whigs and Tories were separating. At the outset of the revolution, the Tories, turned Loyalists, made up about one third of the total population of the revolting colonies, but the number dwindled. They were regarded as the vilest of traitors and outlaws; their estates were confiscated; they could not recover their debts.⁸ The great majority of men could be regarded as indifferent, ready to rush along with the successful party, yet even among the masses, the traditional love of kingship was present. There were those who opposed the Revolution because their livelihood depended on the British system, for example the royal officers and the Anglican clergy-

men, but most of the Loyalists who settled in New Brunswick were mere place-men: farmers, yeomen, cordwainers, and the like. Therefore, to state that the Loyalists represented, "the very cream of the population of the Thirteen Colonies,"⁹ would be a falsehood not justified anywhere. In every class and walk of life, there were men whose strong conservatism, devotion to Great Britain and the monarchy, or personal self-interest, led them to stay with the mother country.¹⁰

Americans have tended to see the Loyalists as hopeless reactionaries, if they considered them at all, while Canadians have tended to hold them up as the expression of nearly every virtue - highly educated, morally upright, sternly adhering to duty and patriotic.¹¹ They were a little of both of these opinions, but not wholly one or the other. The Loyalists simply represented the conservative and moderate element in the revolting states, who, at the thought of civil tumult turned away and tried to run their lives normally. But this they could not do. If the revolutionaries had armies and subjected the Loyalists to terrible torture, so the Loyalists had to fight back, to try to keep their country under the hand of the king as well as to defend themselves and their families.

In the beginning, Boston was the headquarters from which the Loyalists operated, but the British troops were forced to evacuate from Boston, and the many refugees were forced to flee. Many went to Halifax. From there, some sailed for England, some tried to return to their homes where they were put into gaol, and some remained in Halifax.¹² Likewise, from Georgia and New York, where British troop strength was strong, came many of the Loyalist refugees.¹³ With the lessening power of the British

forces throughout the American colonies, the supporters moved within the British military lines of New York for protection.¹⁴ The decisive outcome left no choice for the refugees. Those who could not safely return to their homes were forced to move into the provinces of North America, most notably Nova Scotia, where the crown still ruled.

Nova Scotia became the logical place for the refugees to go, because it was the nearest British territory to New York. Canada was too far away, unknown and inhabited by French settlers, whose language, customs, and religion were different from those of the majority of the Loyalists. Florida and the West Indies were also possible places of refuge, but they were too far away, and the tropical climate brought danger of disease, especially yellow fever.¹⁵ So Nova Scotia became the most desirable home for the Loyalists. They felt that along the river valleys and coast lines, they could find suitable places for settlement.

The Loyalists were not to find themselves in such an easy position as they had believed themselves to be in. Governor Parr of Nova Scotia, in writing to Sir Guy Carleton to approve of the arrival of the Loyalists, said:

... there is not any houses or cover to put them under shelter, this town is already so crowded that ... a body of the Recruits of the Army are huddled in the woods ... and when I add the scarcity and difficulty of providing fuel and lumber for building which is still greater, the many inconveniences and great distress these people must suffer ... what I have said of this town may be applied to any other part of the province.¹⁶

Still, the people came. There were three fleets which carried them: with the spring fleet arrived

about three thousand people; with the summer fleet not quite two thousand; and with the autumn fleet, well over three thousand. Of those who came in the spring or summer, most were civilian refugees; but of those who arrived in the autumn fleet, nearly all were disbanded soldiers.¹⁷ While there were among these people members of the oldest and most famous families in British America, the majority of the people who came to Nova Scotia were of very humble origin. The royal officers, the wealthy merchants, landowners and professional men and the high military officers all went directly to England to press their claims for compensation and to settle.¹⁸ The common man migrated to British North America. The Loyalists had been most numerous among the classes which had the most to lose by the change from sovereignty to independence, and least numerous among those classes which had the least to lose.

At the time of the Loyalist migration to British America, Nova Scotia constituted the land it does today, along with the land which lies north of the Bay of Fundy now known as New Brunswick, and the island of St. John, now Prince Edward Island. When about twelve thousand people were living north of the Bay of Fundy, most of them Loyalists who had settled along the fertile river valleys and in the interior, a new province was created, because the settlers found it too great a distance to travel to Halifax where the government was. This new province they called New Brunswick.

The New Brunswick Loyalists were made up of officers and men of the regiments based in New York and the refugees who had fled for protection to the British lines when New York was the British headquarters. If we examine the occupations of the refugees, we will find that the illusion that the New

Brunswick Loyalists were predominantly Harvard graduates is untrue. The number of graduates of all colleges is insignificant in comparison with any one of such trades as carpenters, smiths, cordwainers, tailors, masons, or weavers, and the number of farmers among the New Brunswick Loyalists erases the legend that the "embattled farmers" were all on the American side. They did not fit into the categories usually accepted by the Americans, that the Loyalists belonged to the governing, the wealthy, the professional classes, the Church of England clergy, and the recent immigrants. About ninety per cent of the Loyalists were American born¹⁹ and loved America with a sincerity not surpassed by the most high-minded Whigs. They were strong in their beliefs and their religion, and most of the Loyalists were of the long established Church of England.²⁰ Also noticeable in the Loyalist population were the minority groups, descendants of the Dutch and Huguenots from New York and Quakers from Pennsylvania.²¹ People occupied in business or commerce, such as merchants, shopkeepers and artisans contributed more to the Loyalists than did the professional people.²²

In giving out provisions and grants of land to the Loyalists in New Brunswick, Benjamin Marston tells what kind of people they were in his diary:

These poor people are like sheep without a shepherd. They have no men of abilities among them. Their Captains ... are of the same class with themselves - most of them mechanics, some few have been ship masters, they are the best men that they have ... Governor Parr ... might not find among them a single person to whom to entrust the supreme command. Upon the whole, considering who they

are and what they are put together, it is much in their favour that we have had no great enormities committed among us.²³

Disgusted with the classes of people that the Loyalists were, and not satisfied with the titles they were given, Marston goes on to say:

Sir Guy's commissions have made many men here gentlemen, and of course their wives and daughters ladies, which neither nature nor education intended for that rank.²⁴

The general structure of Loyalism can be seen by looking at the number of Loyalists who sent claims for compensation to the British government.²⁵ However, realizing that many people did not enter claims for one reason or another, and that those involved in the professions sailed directly to England, the number of Loyalists who came to New Brunswick was larger and undoubtedly engaged in agriculture or commerce. Although there were nineteen Gentlemen admitted as freemen of Saint John in 1785, most of them were struggling for their living, either in trade or agriculture. Only a few of the twenty-four Esquires had received any professional training in the law. The ten clergymen who braved the wilds of New Brunswick could hardly be said to constitute an important part of the Loyalists.²⁶ Always the gentlemen, esquires, merchants, and the like are outnumbered by the yeomen, cordwainers, tailors, labourers, masons, blacksmiths, and their fellows.²⁷ Governor Parr, in observing the new province of New Brunswick, said, "There is not a sufficient proportion of men of education and abilities among the present adventurers."²⁸

In New Brunswick, two principal groups of settlements had developed prior to the landing of the Loyalists. One was at the head

of the Bay of Fundy, and the other was on the St. John River, with small settlements the five townships at the head of the Bay of Fundy, at the time the Loyalists arrived was not less than 1200, and the English speaking population on the St. John River was not less than 1300. There were about one hundred people at Passamaquoddy, one hundred people on the Miramichi, half a dozen on the Nepisiguit, and on the Restigouche, a dozen or more.²⁹ It can be seen from this that the Loyalists added the greatest number to the population of the province, since the population of the new province of New Brunswick reached 12,000 after their arrival.

Most of the Loyalists clambered to the mouth of the St. John River to make their homes. As land became occupied there, the settlers moved farther up the river, to the little town of St. Ann's or Maugerville. Some settled at Passamaquoddy, on the northern rivers, at the town of Kingston, at Burton, on the St. Croix River at St. Andrews, and in the southeast where the old settlements at the head of the Bay of Fundy were located. The town of St. Ann's eventually became the capital of the province, much to the dismay of those who were settled at the mouth of the St. John, and would have much preferred having St. John as the capital.

Considerable effort has been made to determine where the majority of the Loyalists in the thirteen colonies made their homes. Because many of them fought in the Carolinas and Georgia, writers have supposed that most of them originated in the south, but only about five per cent came from the colonies south of New York and New Jersey.³⁰

It has been possible to determine the former homes of about half of the known New Brunswick Loyalists. Of these:³¹

40% came from New York
22% came from New Jersey

12.9% came from Connecticut
7.7% came from Pennsylvania
6.1% came from Massachusetts
2.3% came from Maryland
1.9% came from Rhode Island
1.6% came from North Carolina
1.5% came from South Carolina
1.2% came from N. Hampshire
1% came from Virginia
0.3% came from Delaware
0.3% came from Georgia.

The greatest proportion of the Loyalists came from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the other middle colonies. Those in the regiments of the south made up a small part. The Loyalists of New England were found mainly among the more prominent people who fled the country for England at the outbreak of hostility. The New Brunswick Loyalists from New York came chiefly from Long Island, Staten Island, Westchester and the Dutchess counties. The British army in New York had not only strengthened the loyalism of the Tories, but it had made the Whigs more violent against the Tories. Had the British held Philadelphia for a longer time, the same thing would have happened there, and the number of Pennsylvania and Delaware Loyalists would have been greater.³²

Three lists, two of incoming refugees and one of settled Loyalists, give the occupations of the persons named. The *Union*, one of the ships in the Spring Fleet, had among its passengers thirty-six farmers, eight shoemakers, five carpenters, two blacksmiths, two seamen, and one of each of these occupations, attorney, refiner of iron, joiner, mason, wheelwright, weaver, cooper. Of the 142 men reported by John Smith, New York merchant, there were sixty-nine farmers, twenty-one shoemakers, sixteen carpenters, six weavers, four blacksmiths, two of each of these occupations, mariners, millers, clothiers, masons, gunsmiths, and one ship-carpenter, tallow-chandler,

merchant, shopkeeper, baker, fisher, currier, saddler, painter, potter, and schoolteacher.³³

After 1785, there were very few freemen admitted to the city of St. John. In 1786, a few merchants and labourers were admitted; in 1790, there were a few admissions to other categories; and in 1795 came a few more entrances to several groups, of which the most noticeable was that of mariners. From 1795 on, most of the new freemen were sons of the original freemen.³⁴ The farmers did not seek admittance as freemen, but retired to their lands where they were preoccupied with cultivating and clearing their property. Many carpenters, cordwainers, masons, and blacksmiths left the city of St. John to relocate farther up the St. John River and its tributaries.

Fredericton, St. Andrews, and St. Stephen, had no lists of freemen because these towns were not incorporated, but it seems plausible to say that more skilled craftsmen lived in these places. In St. Stephen, there was a large number of skilled craftsmen such as carpenters, smiths and artificers from the Civil Departments of the Army. St. Andrews was more mixed, and included artificers from the fort at Penobscot, along with fishermen, mariners, traders, and shipbuilders from outposts along the Maine coast. Fredericton had been the gathering place of the officers and non-commissioned officers of the provincial regiments. Many of these men had learned trades, and most of them had their own farms.³⁵

That the Loyalists were not all of the wealthy classes can be further illustrated in the items asked for in claims sent to the government. Typical claims were for a house and furniture, and either a farm and stock, or a shop and tools. Numerous people asked for items such as, "six sheep well fattened," a sloop, eighty-six boxes of soap, carpenter's tools, starch and hair

powder, and one Claimant added, "Numbers of other articles which I shall thereafter make known."³⁶

The Loyalists had a difficult task settling onto their land. They had to clear the land, put up a cabin, plant crops, cut wood for daily use, and perform many more tasks to keep themselves going in the new land. It was a hard life, and a step backward for the people who had been used to the inherited ease and comfort of their homes in America. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, a major in the 54th Regiment, who arrived in June 1788, observed of those who lived north of the Bay of Fundy:

The equality of everybody and of their manner of life I like very much. There are no gentlemen; everybody is on a footing (provided he works) and wants nothing; every man is exactly what he can make of himself, or is made by industry. The more children a man has the better; the father has no uneasiness about providing for them, as this is done by the profit of their work.³⁷

In settling in, then, the Loyalists may be said to have been happy and contented. The work they did to make their farms or trades successful was family oriented, with all members helping. Thus they settled to a new life, one quite different from that of the Thirteen Colonies. In the cities and towns, industry thrived. Trade with the West Indies returned rum and molasses to New Brunswick. There was also the employment offered to the labourers, seamen, fishermen, lumbermen, and shipbuilders, besides the smiths and skilled craftsmen. As families grew, they spread outward to settle in different colonies, and many people died of various fevers, cholera, diphtheria, or tuberculosis. Despite many hardships, political afflictions, failures of farms and industries, and personal crises, the Loyalists

formed the backbone of New Brunswick society and became "New Brunswickers."

These were the people who founded our province and declared, "Nothing is more earnestly our wish than that the most happy and perfect union may be preserved betwixt Great Britain and her colonies."³⁸ As can be proved by looking at any contemporary record of them, they were not wealthy, educated, and sternly adhering to duty. They did not all belong to the governing classes or the Anglican clergy, and those that did went directly to England, not bothering to enhance the wilds of British North America with their elite presence. In New Brunswick, they led the life of the pioneer, clearing and cultivating the land, suffering death and poverty, but having good crops and good times too. They cannot be portrayed as martyrs for Britain, but one cannot say that their lives were easy. A poet of their time sums them up very well:

Not drooping like poor fugitives they came In exodus to our Canadian wilds. But full of heart and hope, with heads erect And fearless eyes victorious in defeat.³⁹

Appendix I

When the city of St. John was incorporated in 1785, over 500 freemen were admitted, under these classifications:⁴⁰

Yeomen	74
Carpenters	74
Cordwainers	43
Merchants	34
Esquires	24
Tailors	23
Labourers	19
Gentlemen	19
Masons	18
Blacksmiths	15
Mariners	14
Bakers	14

Shipwrights	13
Coopers	7
Joiners	7
Fishermen	6
Physicians	6
Barkers	6
Painters	5
Innkeepers	5
Schoolmasters	5
Tanners	5
Cartmen	5
Butchers	4
Brickmakers	4
Hatters	4
Printers	4
Saddlers	4
Cabinetmakers	3
Gardeners	3
Weavers	3
Grocers	3
Goldsmiths	3
Shopkeepers	3
Blockmakers	2
Carmen	2
Curriers	2
House-carpenters	2
Silk Dyers	2
Silversmiths	2
Surveyors	2
Tavernkeepers	2
Tabacconists	2
Vintners	2
Auctioneer	1
Brewer	1
Chairmakers	1
Clothier	1
Coppersmith	1
Cutter	1
Farrier	1
Gunsmith	1
Habitmaker	1
Hairdresser	1
Mayor	1
Pilot	1
Sailmaker	1
Sawyer	1
Smith	1
Stonemason	1
Tallow-Chandler	1
Tidewaiter	1
Trader	1
Turner	1
Upholsterer	1
Victualler	1

Appendix II

An analysis of the occupations of those Loyalists who submitted claims to the British government is given below, and it may reflect the structure of Loyalism in general.⁴¹

Occupation	No. of Claimants
Farmers	1,368
Commerce	
• Artisans	274
• Merchants & Shopkeepers	517
• Miscellaneous Innkeepers, Seamen, etc.	92
Combined Commerce	883
Profession	
• Lawyers	55
• Teachers and Professors	21
• Doctors	81
• Anglican Clerics	63
• Other Clerics	7
• Miscellaneous	26
Combined Professions	253
Officeholders	282

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3. Nelson, W.H., *The American Tory*, Oxford University Press, London, England, 1961, page 2.
4. Wright, E.C. *The Loyalists of New Brunswick*, E.C. Wright, Fredericton, New Brunswick, 1955, page 2.
5. Wallace, W.S., *The United Empire Loyalists*, Glasgow, Brook, and Co., Toronto, 1914, page 11.
6. LaPierre, L., *Genesis of a Nation*, The Canadian Broadcasting Co., Montreal, 1966, pages 6-7.
7. Wright, E.C., *The Loyalists of New Brunswick*, E.C. Wright, Fredericton, N.B., 1955, page 2.
8. Coupland, R., *The American Revolution and the British Empire*, Longman's, Green and Co.,

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9. Upton, F.L.S., *The United Empire Loyalists: Men and Myths*, The Copp Clark Publishing Co., Toronto, 1967, page 9.
10. *Ibid.*, page 16.
11. Evans, G. *The Loyalists*, The Copp Clark Publishing Co., Toronto, 1968, page 1Y.
12. Wright, E.C., *The Loyalists of New Brunswick*, E.C. Wright, Fredericton, N.B., 1955, page 4.
13. Brown, W., *The Good Americans*, William Morrow and Co., Inc., New York, 1969, page 228.
14. *Ibid.*, page 80.
15. Wright, E.C., *The Loyalists of New Brunswick*, E.C. Wright, Fredericton, N.B., 1955, page 28.
16. *Ibid.*, page 33.
17. Wallace, W.S. *The United Empire Loyalists*, Glasgow, Brook, and Co., Toronto, 1914, page 73.
18. *Ibid.*, page 53.
19. Wright, E.C. *The Loyalists of New Brunswick*, E.C. Wright, Fredericton, N.B., 1955, page 155.
20. MacNutt, W.S. *New Brunswick - A History: 1784-1867*, MacMillan of Canada, Toronto, 1963, page 22.
21. Evans, G. *The Loyalists*, The Copp Clark Publishing Co., Toronto, 1968, page 18.
22. See Appendix II.
23. Upton, L., *The United Empire Loyalists: Men and Myths*, The Copp Clark Publishing Co., Toronto, 1967, page 73.
24. *Ibid.*, page 73.
25. See Appendix II.
26. See Appendix I.
27. Nelson, W.H., *The American Tory*, Oxford University Press, London, England, 1961, page 86.
28. Wallace, W.S., *The United Empire Loyalists*, Glasgow, Brook, and Co., Toronto, 1914, page 83.
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31. Wright, E.C., *The Loyalists of New Brunswick*, E.C. Wright, Fredericton, N.B., 1955, page 155.
32. *Ibid.*, page 157.
33. *Ibid.*, page 160.
34. *Ibid.*, page 162.
35. *Ibid.*, page 163.
36. *Ibid.*, page 166.

37. *Ibid.*, page 220.
38. *Ibid.*, page 2.
39. Wallace, W.S., *The United Empire Loyalists*, Glasgow, Brook, and Co., 1914, page 137.
40. Wright, E.C. *The Loyalists of New Brunswick*, E.C. Wright, Fredericton, N.B., 1955, page 161.
41. Brown, W., *The Good Americans*, William Morrow and Co., Inc., New York, 1969, Page 240.

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Captain John Hamilton

by Mary Young

"In memory of Capt. John Hamilton, a native of Kingscross Arran, Scotland. He was the first merchant who settled in Dalhousie and along with many benevolent actions built St. John's Presbyterian Church for which his friends and countrymen here thus record their gratitude. He passed the last ten years of his life in his native land and died at Irvine 24th August, 1848, aged 80 years."

This inscription is to be found on the stone monument to John Hamilton which is located near the present Court House in Dalhousie adjacent to the Dalhousie Centennial Library. The date at the top of the monument is 1851.

The monument was built in Glasgow, Scotland, and brought out to Dalhousie. It was erected on land which had belonged to Captain Hamilton on East Victoria Street.

His house and land were sold to Neill Neilson who had been living on Heron Island. He bequeathed the property to his son, Robert.

After the New Brunswick International Paper Company mill was

built in town there was a demand for building lots and Mr. Neilson divided much of his land into lots. Houses were being built around the monument and the town fathers decided to move it to a more suitable location in the town park east of the Court House.

Today it is not in a very prominent place since the Centennial Library was built on Adelaide Street on land belonging to the park. So, the monument is behind the library, near the entrance to the children's library entrance. However, it is in very good condition after 130 years.

He built the first church on land now occupied by the Riverview Cemetery. The church burned and the presbyterians built their next church on the corner of Adelaide and Brunswick. The second church burned and the present church on that site was built in 1906 which is St. John's United Church.

In the Riverview Cemetery there is a monument to Mary Hamilton, third daughter of Captain John Hamilton, wife of Peter Stewart. We do not seem to be able to find

any more information about Captain John Hamilton's family such as, the number of children, where they lived after their parent's went back to Scotland around 1838 and so on. Perhaps all of the family except Mary went back to the old country.

We know that John Hamilton had several lots when the town was divided, according to the map of 1832.

In an article researched and written by Herman Morin for the Dalhousie Diamond Jubilee book dated 1965, he says: Grants of land within what are now defined as the town limits were obtained very early in 1800 and the first one was the Perry grant. This included everything east of a line drawn from Barberie's Cove (then Arseneault's) to the upper end of Douglas Island then called Indian Island. This is no longer in existence. It has been transformed to a site for warehouses and the Common User Dock.

Included in the first survey at that time were two lots to the south which are of interest. Lot number one, then granted to Louis Ar-

Descendants of Arthur W Nicholson

Generation No. 1

1. ARTHUR W¹ NICHOLSON was born February 1745/46 in Co. Leitrim Ireland, and died March 22, 1822 in Connell, Car. Co. N.B.¹. He met (2) ELIZABETH LAWRENCE in York Co. N.B, daughter of WILLIAM LAWRENCE and MARGARET LAWRENCE. She died November 26, 1827 in Presque Isle NB (City Gazette- Saint John)¹. He married (2) ELLINOR HENRY March 17, 1779 in Southhampton, LI. N.Y.¹. She died May 02, 1786 in Kings Co. N.B..

Notes for ARTHUR W NICHOLSON:

Nicholson, Arthur, collector of customs, land surveyor, and JP; b. Co. Leitrim, 1746; m.

1st. 1779, Ellen Henry, in long Island, N.Y., and 2nd. 1787, Elizabeth Lawrence; d. Carleton Co. N.B. c1822
Prior to the American Revolutionary War, Arthur Nicholson was a cornet in the 17th. Light Dragoons, then serving in Ireland. His regiment was sent to America and he fought in the Battle of Bunker Hill. He had more than twenty years of army service

when he came to New Brunswick after the war and settled with his regiment (Kings American Dragoons) at Prince William, N.B.

In 1788 Nicholson was appointed collector of customs at Miramichi, as well as a deputy land surveyor and Justice of the Peace (JP).

He was one of seven magistrates present at the first session of the Northumberland County Court of the Quarter Sessions in 1789 and one of only two justices to attend all sessions of the court between 1789 and 1793. During this period he acted as

county clerk, but he did not become a permanent settler.

Nicholson was named adjutant of the King's New Brunswick Regiment when it was raised in 1794. He settled near the Presque Isle garrison but retired permanently from army life a few years afterwards. He later taught school in Northhampton and Wakefield

parishes in Carleton County. He died before 25 March 1822, when a notice concerning his estate was dated for publication in The Royal Gazette.

There were two children born of Nicholson's marriage to Ellen Henry and nine of his marriage to Elizabeth Lawrence, three of whom were born on the Miramichi.

Grace V. Nicholson, the second wife of Sir William Ritchie, Chief Justice of New Brunswick and the Supreme Court of Canada, was a granddaughter.

SOURCES: {b/m Raymond/Nicholson family data; Royal Gazette 9 April 1822; Spray (ENC)

Dictionary of Miramichi Biography; W. D. Hamilton.

Carleton appointed him, by merit, to cornet and adjutant to the KAD. His commission was effective 22 Feb. 1781. He married Elizabeth Lawrence in Fredericton and died there on 5th. Sept. 1821. His widow claimed a pension.

Source; Widow pension claim WO 42 Vol. 62. The 17th. Regiment of Light Dragoons was an Irish Establishment in 1775. Sent to Boston in 1775- Part of Philadelphia occupation. Detachment under Carleton at the Battle of Washaw ?

In a letter dated New York 14 March 1783 Lieutenant Colonel Thompson told General Clinton that all the officers in his corps (King's American Dragoons) except the Adjutant were Americans. (The Adj. being Arthur Nicholson).

More About ARTHUR W NICHOLSON:

Burial: Connell, Car. Co. N.B.

Occupation: British Army, ret. 1/2 pay

Notes for ELIZABETH LAWRENCE:

She was married 7 Aug 1787

More About ELIZABETH LAWRENCE:

THE LOYALISTS COME †

In this chapter I will briefly review the events preceding the opening up of this once wilderness land which we know today as the "picture Province".

During the American Revolution, thousands of Tories (those driven from their homes because they refused to take up arms against the British Government to which they had pledged their allegiance) fled within the British lines for protection. During the war the legislature passed many acts dealing with the Loyalists and their estates and any person suspected of disloyalty to the New Government was tried, sometimes imprisoned, and his personal estates seized for eventual sale.

From the tabulated returns of the muster rolls the total number of Loyalist companies in the war was 312, including 1,020 officers and 13,983 men. The last regiment to be formed was the Kings American Dragoons, organized March 10, 1781, under the patronage of Prince William. It was commissioned by Major Daniel Murray, and Sir Benjamin Thompson (Count Rumford) was Colonel and Commander of the regiment. There were six companies in the regiment, 26 officers and 306 men. I mention this group because one of the men was my mother's great great grandfather, John Giberson. Other men in the regiment to locate in Carleton County after the war were Henry Cronkhite, Daniel Kenny and Arthur Nicholson.

After the war had ended, the British Commissioners obtained from Congress a clause urging the States to restore property confiscated from the Loyalists and permit them to retain their rights of citizenship. The Loyalists who attempted to return to their homes, however, met with ill treatment in most cases (refer to Gilbert Giberson, Vol. 2). For this reason many Loyalists fled to Upper Canada, Nova Scotia (then including N. B.), and a few returned to Great Britain. And so it was in 1783 that our forefathers gathered at New York for the voyage by ship to Nova Scotia a land of untamed wilderness; a land where a few forts, native Indians and scattered settlements were the only civilization. Before embarking on the long voyage to the new land, Reverend Dr. Samuel Seabury and Lieut. Col. B. Thompson of the Kings American Dragoons, read the following proposals and articles of supply for settlers in Nova Scotia: *(NB become a promise below)*

- 1st That they be provided with proper vessels and convoy, to carry them, their horses and cattle, as near as possible to the place appointed for their settlement.
- 2nd That besides the provisions for the voyage, one year's provision be allowed them, or money to enable them to purchase.
- 3rd That some allowance of warm clothing be made in proportion to the wants of each family.
- 4th That an allowance of medicines be granted, such as shall be thought necessary.

- 5th That pairs of mill-stones, necessary iron works for grist mills, and saws and other necessary articles for saw mills be granted them.
- 6th That a quantity of nails and spikes, hoes and axes, spades and shovels, plough irons, and such other farming utensils as shall appear necessary be provided for them, and also a proportion of window glass.
- 7th That such a tract or tracts of land, free from disputed titles and as conveniently situated as may be, be granted, surveyed and divided at the public cost so as to afford from 300 to 600 acres of useful land to each family.
- 8th That over and above 2,000 acres in every township be allowed for the support of a clergyman, and 1,000 acres for the support of school, and that these lands be unalienable forever.
- 9th That sufficient number of good muskets and cannon be allowed, with a proper quantity of powder and ball for their use, to enable them to defend themselves against any hostile invasion; also a proportion of powder and lead for hunting.

On April 26, 1783, the spring fleet of ships sailed from Sandy Hook to the mouth of the Saint John river, arriving on May 11. The passengers remained on board until enough brush was cleared to set up tents and shelters. Three thousand Loyalists were sent ashore and the ships returned to New York on May 29 leaving them behind in this wilderness. "I watched the sails disappear, and such a lonely feeling came over me that, although I had not shed a tear all through the war, I sat down on the damp moss with my baby in my lap, and cried" wrote one mother.

The second fleet arrived June 28 carrying 500 men, 335 women, 394 servants and 743 children. The Fall fleet carrying 1200 soldiers and their families arrived September 27. Tracts of land had been marked out for these soldiers from St. Anne's Point up to the Tobique River but the line had not been drawn or surveyed. By winter, over 1500 huts had been erected.

Who were these loyalists? Many were soldiers, most were just farmers but a return of those on the Union Transport which landed in April, 1783 at the mouth of the St. John, lists others also: farmers 36, blacksmiths 8, shoemakers 8, seamen 2, refiner of iron 1, mason 1, carpenters 6, wheelwright 1, joiner 1, cooper 1, and weaver 1.

In July 1783, Edward Winslow wrote upon landing at the mouth of the St. John of the soldiers in the Kings American Dragoons: "I never saw a set of men more perfectly satisfied than those of Thompson's regiment, not a murmur is heard among them and they received me in a kind of style that afforded me infinite pleasure." On August 8, 1783, Winslow wrote again Major Murray stating that the soldiers could not settle where they were presently camped without inconvenience to the many Loyalists already built settlements at the mouth of the river. That the Governor of the Province had assigned a tract of land for accommodating the Provincial Regiments

further up river and Brigadier General Fox had given permission to remove the regiment to that area. That since the procuring of timber and many articles for erecting the huts would at the same time facilitate the clearing of the land it would be no public expense. That since these men would be the first ever to hut along the river and might be exposed to peculiar inconveniences, Lieutenant Colonel Morse, Chief Engineer, would forward to Major Murray such articles that could not be procured in that place. Major Murray was not too pleased with this notice since he had fears that the soil and fertility of the river might not be the best. He made a visit to the area up river in question, and felt much more at ease about the situation when he saw the type of land. Late in August final instructions were received, and the regiments were disbanded after the final mustering and paying off. And so the men and their families were sent up river to an area above present day Fredericton (St. Anne's Point) and still further up river to a spot they later named Prince William, (also read the chapter on Gibersons in vol. 2). After erecting their log cabins and clearing the land, they were officially granted Block 4 in 1786. Today the provincial government has recreated the Kings Landing Settlement and restored some of the early homes and other buildings serving as a great attraction for tourists each season.

In the years to follow, more Loyalists and other immigrants (English, Irish, Scotch, and some Dutch) settled along these areas of the river, gradually spreading further northward. By 1788 the St. John River was dotted with small homesteads and settlements throughout its valley as far up its path as the Indian village at Hartland.

There is some controversy as to who led the first group of settlers to arrive in Carleton County. Most sources contend that there were forty-eight soldiers of Delancy's 1st Regiment to arrive in Woodstock in 1784, of which only twenty-one remained after enduring three years of great hardships

Government documents seem to indicate that Jacob Smith was the most prominent of this group; however, W. O. Raymond and a few other well known historians give credit to Benjamin Griffith as being the leader. In any case, I have listed the names of those grantees recorded on the first grant in Carleton County, dated October 16, 1784, in the appendix at the end.

Another important contributor to the history of the Woodstock area was Rev. Frederick Dibblee who started teaching Indians in that location until he entered into the ministry in 1794. At this time the Indian school was closed and the same building was used after that for teaching white children. James Yorke and John Beardsley were among those teachers who succeeded Dibblee.

One of the Kings American Dragoons, Gabriel Davenport, arrived in the Woodstock parish in 1785 and was one of the few Loyalists to remain in that area, although he later moved up river to a location near Bristol.

The population of Carleton County by 1790 was around 37 families, with another 33 families arriving between then and 1800; 45 more arrived by 1810 and another 33 by 1820. These figures do not always correspond exactly with census figures however, as census figures give numbers of men, women, and children, and not of families. I have listed some in a following chapter.

In 1809, the Wakefield Grant was given on June 20th to William Turner and 87 others, comprising 26,965 acres starting at Indian Island and running along both sides of the river up to the Big "Shiktehawk" stream. Most of the lots were sixty rods or poles along the river front and all of the land at the back of them was ungranted and vacant. I have listed the names of these men in the appendix at the end.

The giving of these grants was the first real attempt by the government at introducing settlers into the upper regions of the province. A few years later several hundred soldiers were disbanded along the river near present day Florenceville and running northward to Victoria County.

Prologue

In early 1783, the flat plain of St. Anne's Point was occupied by only three families, living in two frame houses and a log cabin. Situated in the crook of a particularly scenic bend in the St. John River, the small cleared area supported Philip Weade, Oliver Thibodeau, and Benjamin Atherton. In fact, the 1783 enumeration revealed that the entire St. John River valley was populated by a mere 500 settlers; men, women and children.

Loyalist Refugees

At the same time, the war of the American Revolution was drawing to a close. The losers whose homes were in the American colonies were obliged to rearrange their lives. Those who wished to remain British subjects had no choice but to leave. Known as the American Loyalists, these people went to Britain, Upper Canada, the West Indies, and other British colonies. Approximately 14,000 saw the nearby colony of Nova Scotia as their best option. This area, which included the present provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, was sparsely populated, rich in resources, and only a few days sail from Boston and New York.

The vast majority of Loyalists bound for Nova Scotia embarked from New York City. Sir Guy Carleton had held the city until late 1783 in order to give the Loyalists an opportunity to muster and evacuate in an organized way.

The Loyalists gathered in New York formed two distinct groups. There were those who had made their commitment to the King clear by joining Loyalist Regiments raised in the colonies and taking up arms against the rebels. They had no choice but to leave. Others were Tory sympathizers, or civilian refugees, who were either forced to leave their homes and occupations by their neighbours, or who exiled themselves voluntarily.

One traditional, romantic view of the Loyalists is that they represented the "Upper Crust" of American society. They have been described as "the most eminent ... the most learned ... the cleverest", and "the flower of the American population." Research shows that this was not the case. Some Loyalists fit this mold, but modern historians have emphasized the diversity of the Loyalist population. A broad cross section of society was represented, including farmers, labourers, slaves and free blacks.

Patterns of Settlement

While in New York, the Loyalists had banded together into associations to arrange passage and dispatch exploring committees to scout the available land in Nova Scotia. These committees went ahead of the Loyalists to choose appropriate sites for settlement. They tended to select the St. Mary's Bay area (in present day Nova Scotia) and the lower St. John River Valley.

The selection of the river valley as a Loyalist destination did not please Nova Scotia governor Col. John Parr. He was eager to have the new arrivals settle along the coast, preferably near his capital of Halifax. His administration was carried out mainly by sea, and he feared that the development of the inland areas north of the Bay of Fundy would result in the partition of his colony.

The first concentration of Loyalists was at Parrtown (now Saint John), followed by the Passamaquoddy Bay-St. Croix region to the west. Settlement then moved inland up the River Valley. Loyalists moved into the tributaries and lakes along the St. John. One of the up-river destinations was St. Anne's Point.

The Loyalist exploration committee that viewed St. Anne's Point in early 1783 found it a most appealing spot; Major-General Campbell described the situation there as "... so delightful, the country about it so extraordinarily fertile — and its natural advantages so numerous and considerable that it cannot fail to become a valuable and important place."

The St. Anne's site was not only attractive, but strategically located. As well as being the head of navigation, it was central to the entire province. For these reasons, St. Anne's was considered an ideal site for a new Loyalist settlement. The few original inhabitants were joined by an estimated 2,000 for the winter of '83. Of the actual landing of the Loyalists, very little is known. The only source of information is the account of Mary Fisher, who arrived at Parrtown from New York aboard the *Esther*.

"Soon after we landed we joined a party bound up the river in a schooner, for St. Annes. It was eight days before we arrived in Oromocto. There the captain put us ashore being unwilling, on account of the lateness of the season, to go further. He charged us each four dollars for the passage. We spent the night on shore and the next day the women and children proceeded in Indian canoes to

St. Annes with some of the party; the rest came on foot. We reached our destination on the 8th day of October, tired out with our long journey, and pitched our tents at the place now called Salamanca, near the shore."

Representatives of the following regiments lived at St. Anne's during that first winter: the 1st, 2nd and 3rd New Jersey Volunteers, King's American Regiment, Loyal American Legion, 2nd DeLancey's, Argyle Highlanders, Pennsylvania Loyalists, Royal Garrison Battalion, The New York Volunteers, and (possibly) the Queens Rangers.

The names of the units reflected, to a great extent, the home colonies of the settlers. Records of ships passengers indicate that the officers and their families would be accompanied by enlisted men and their families. Servants, some of whom would be black, were also part of the party. There is no reason to assume the St. Anne's contingent was exceptional.

Many of the St. Anne's Point Loyalists were of Dutch descent. Some surnames are VanHorn, Akerman, and Van Buskirk.

Records of the first winter, including the account of Mary Fisher and the diaries of Hanna Ingraham speak of an early and severe snowfall, and it was a time of great hardship. Bedding was in short supply, and adults spent nights heating boards by fires to keep the children warm. Most settlers lived in tents or huts.

Many perished of cold and starvation that winter, and their graves may still be seen at the Salamanca landing site, now an overgrown area by the shore at the south end of the town plat.

It appears that the settlers were poorly prepared to spend a winter in the open. Why, then did they proceed to St. Anne's so late in the fall? Indications are that the conditions in Parrtown were just as difficult. Mary Fisher described her stop in Parrtown as a "sad, sick time". The Loyalists were poorly provided for by the British government, and were not well organized. Probably, the St. Anne's settlers felt they would be no worse off up river, assuming the snow would not fall until late October.

The population of St. Anne's Point in the winter of 1783 was the largest it would be for many years. In addition to the many deaths, there was a considerable exodus from St. Anne's in the spring, as settlers left the town for their grants elsewhere in the countryside.

Therefore, the true Loyalist founders of Fredericton number much fewer than popular myth would allow.

Laying Out the Town

From the earliest days, Fredericton was a planned community. Governor Parr approved the laying out of the city in 1784. Surveyor-General Charles Morris wrote to Daniel Lyman with general instructions and appointed Lt. Dugald Campbell of the 42nd Regiment to "assist in the business".

Campbell, with the aid of Adjutant James Stratton and Lieutenant James Glennie of the Royal Engineers, surveyed the town site, and in 1785 produced a detailed map of the proposed layout. The proposal featured broad streets intersecting at right angles. Each block was to be approximately 4.5 acres, with 13 individual lots, each 66 feet wide and 165 feet deep. It is this original Campbell plot which gives downtown Fredericton its characteristic spaciousness. The Campbell map does not include street names; they were not assigned until 1819. The map indicates the limited extent of the Loyalist core, compared to present day Fredericton.

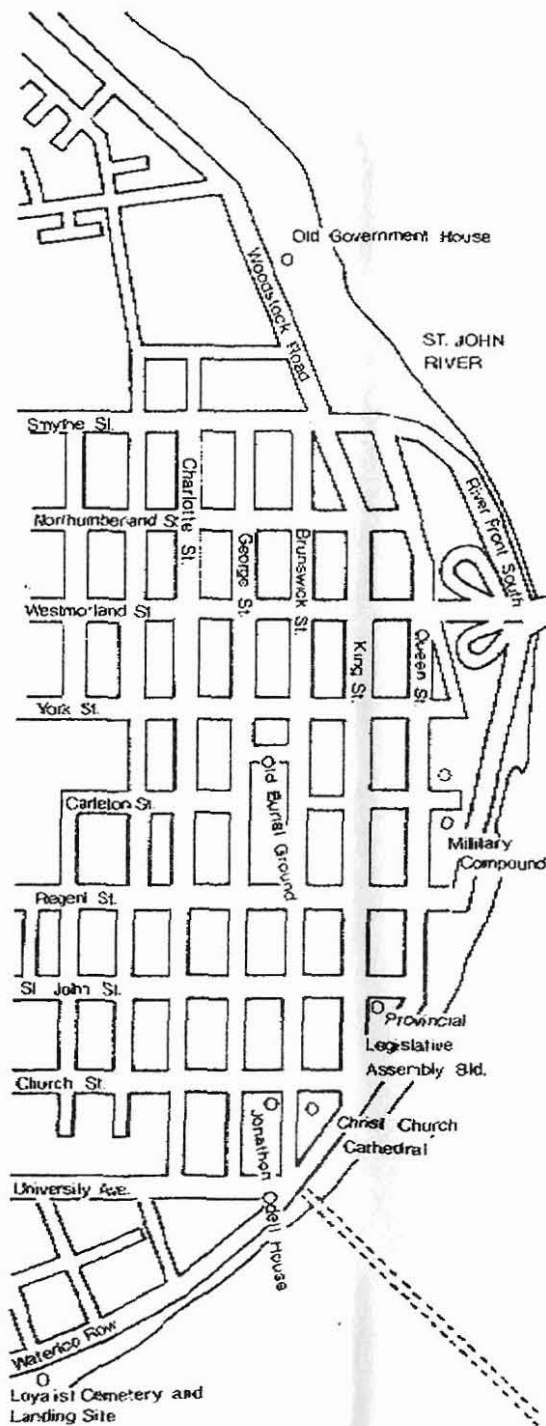
Evolution of the Capital

Just as Governor Parr had anticipated, the Loyalist settlement of the interior forced the partition of Nova Scotia and the formation of the new colony of New Brunswick.

Fredericton was chosen as the capital. However, this was not the first time a capital had been located in the area. Fort Nashwaak, directly across the river from the Loyalist landing site, had been, for a time, the capital of the French colony of Acadia. Aucpaque, the "principle village" of the Indian civilization of the area, was located some few miles up the river.

In January, 1785, Governor Carleton decided on his capital's location. "I have fixed upon St. Anne's Point ... as a station well suited for the future seat of the provincial government". Originally named Osnaburg after King George III's son, Prince Frederick, Duke of York and Bishop of Osnaburg, the name was changed to "Frederick's Town" on February 22, 1785 and officially proclaimed the capital of the province.

In less than three years, St. Anne's Point had grown from an insignificant site of three farms to the capital city of a new colony. This is the true contribution of the Loyalists. They created the foundations of the city; others have built upon them for two hundred years.



Pamphlet

Fredericton's Loyalist Legacy