
CURRICULUM

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13

THE UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS

BY W. STEWART WALLACE

Part IV

The Beginnings of British Canada

GEORGE III

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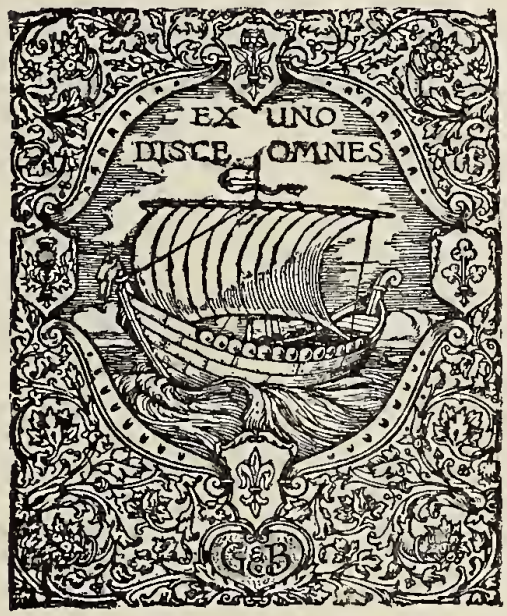
THE UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS

A Chronicle of the Great Migration

BY

W. STEWART WALLACE



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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

HE United Empire Loyalists have suffered strange fate at the hands of historians. It not too much to say that for nearly a century ıeir history was written by their enemies. nglish writers, for obvious reasons, took little easure in dwelling on the American Revolu-on, and most of the early accounts were ıerefore American in their origin. Any one ho takes the trouble to read these early :counts will be struck by the amazing manner which the Loyalists are treated. They are ther ignored entirely or else they are painted the blackest colours.

> So vile a crew the world ne'er saw before,
> And grant, ye pitying heavens, it may no more!
> If ghosts from hell infest our poisoned air,
> Those ghosts have entered these base bodies here.
> Murder and blood is still their dear delight.

sang a ballad-monger of the Revolution; ıd the opinion which he voiced persisted after m. According to some American historians

of the first half of the nineteenth century, t
Loyalists were a comparatively insignifica
class of vicious criminals, and the people
the American colonies were all but unanimo
in their armed opposition to the Briti
government.

Within recent years, however, there h
been a change. American historians of a n
school have revised the history of the Revo
tion, and a tardy reparation has been made
the memory of the Tories of that day. Tyl
Van Tyne, Flick, and other writers ha
all made the *amende honorable* on behalf
their countrymen. Indeed, some of th
writers, in their anxiety to stand straight, ha
leaned backwards; and by no one perh
will the ultra-Tory view of the Revolution
found so clearly expressed as by them.
the same time the history of the Revolut
has been rewritten by some English historia
and we have a writer like Lecky declar
that the American Revolution 'was the w
of an energetic minority, who succeeded
committing an undecided and fluctuat
majority to courses for which they had li
love, and leading them step by step t
position from which it was impossible to
cede.'

Thus, in the United States and in England, ne pendulum has swung from one extreme o the other. In Canada it has remained tationary. There, in the country where they ettled, the United Empire Loyalists are still égarded with an uncritical veneration which as in it something of the spirit of primitive ncestor-worship. The interest which Cana-ians have taken in the Loyalists has been ither patriotic or genealogical; and few ttempts have been made to tell their story the cold light of impartial history, or to stimate the results which have flowed from eir migration. Yet such an attempt is orth while making—an attempt to do the nited Empire Loyalists the honour of ainting them as they were, and of describ-g the profound and far-reaching influences hich they exerted on the history of both anada and the United States.

In the history of the United States the exodus the Loyalists is an event comparable only to e expulsion of the Huguenots from France ter the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. he Loyalists, whatever their social status nd they were not all aristocrats), repre-nted the conservative and moderate element the revolting states; and their removal,

whether by banishment or disfranchisemen
meant the elimination of a very wholeson
element in the body politic. To this were d
in part no doubt many of the early errors of t
republic in finance, diplomacy, and politi
At the same time it was a circumstance whi
must have hastened by many years t
triumph of democracy. In the tenure of lan
for example, the emigration produced a revol
tion. The confiscated estates of the great To
landowners were in most cases cut up into sm
lots and sold to the common people; and th
the process of levelling and making mo
democratic the whole social structure w
accelerated.

On the Canadian body politic the impress
the Loyalist migration is so deep that it wou
be difficult to overestimate it. It is no e
aggeration to say that the United Emp
Loyalists changed the course of the current
Canadian history. Before 1783 the clear
observers saw no future before Canada b
that of a French colony under the Briti
crown. 'Barring a catastrophe shocking
think of,' wrote Sir Guy Carleton in 1767, 't
country must, to the end of time, be peop
by the Canadian race, who have already tak
such firm root, and got to so great a height, t

ıy new stock transplanted will be totally hid, ıcept in the towns of Quebec and Montreal.' ıst how discerning this prophecy was may be dged from the fact that even to-day it holds ue with regard to the districts that were ttled at the time it was written. What ndered it void was the unexpected influx of e refugees of the Revolution. The effect of is immigration was to create two new nglish-speaking provinces, New Brunswick ıd Upper Canada, and to strengthen the nglish element in two other provinces, Lower ınada and Nova Scotia, so that ultimately e French population in Canada was out-ımbered by the English population sur-ınding it. Nor should the character of this nglish immigration escape notice. It was t only English; but it was also filled with a ssionate loyalty to the British crown. This ct serves to explain a great deal in later nadian history. Before 1783 the continu-ce of Canada in the British Empire was by means assured: after 1783 the Imperial tie ıs well-knit.

Nor can there be any doubt that the com-g of the Loyalists hastened the advent of e institutions. It was the settlement of per Canada that rendered the Quebec Act

of 1774 obsolete, and made necessary the Con
stitutional Act of 1791, which granted to th
Canadas representative assemblies. The Loyal
ists were Tories and Imperialists; but, in th
colonies from which they came, they ha
been accustomed to a very advanced type o
democratic government, and it was not to b
expected that they would quietly reconcil
themselves in their new home to the arbitrar
system of the Quebec Act. The Frenc
Canadians, on the other hand, had not bee
accustomed to representative institutions, an
did not desire them. But when Upper Canad
was granted an assembly, it was impossibl
not to grant an assembly to Lower Canad
too; and so Canada was started on tha
road of constitutional development which ha
brought her to her present position as a sel
governing unit in the British Empire.

CHAPTER II

LOYALISM IN THE THIRTEEN COLONIES

was a remark of John Fiske that the merican Revolution was merely a phase of nglish party politics in the eighteenth century. this view there is undoubtedly an element of uth. The Revolution was a struggle within e British Empire, in which were aligned on e side the American Whigs supported by e English Whigs, and on the other side the nglish Tories supported by the American ries. The leaders of the Whig party in ngland, Charles James Fox, Edmund Burke, lonel Barré, the great Chatham himself, all ampioned the cause of the American revolu- nists in the English parliament. There were ny cases of Whig officers in the English ny who refused to serve against the rebels in nerica. General Richard Montgomery, who the revolutionists in their attack on Quebec 1775-76, furnishes the case of an English cer who, having resigned his commission,

came to America and, on the outbreak of th rebellion, took service in the rebel forces. O the other hand there were thousands o American Tories who took service under th king's banner; and some of the severest de feats which the rebel forces suffered wer encountered at their hands.

It would be a mistake, however, to identif too closely the parties in England with th parties in America. The old Tory party i England was very different from the so-calle Tory party in America. The term Tory i America was, as a matter of fact, an epith of derision applied by the revolutionists to a who opposed them. The opponents of th revolutionists called themselves not Tories, bu Loyalists or 'friends of government.'

There were, it is true, among the Loyalis not a few who held language that smacked Toryism. Among the Loyalist pamphletee there were those who preached the doctri of passive obedience and non-resistance. Th the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, a clergyman Virginia, wrote:

> Having then, my brethren, thus long bee tossed to and fro in a wearisome circle uncertain traditions, or in speculations a

projects still more uncertain, concerning government, what better can you do than, following the apostle's advice, 'to submit yourselves to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the king as supreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well? For, so is the will of God, that with well-doing ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men; as free, and not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but as servants of God. Honour all men: love the brotherhood: fear God: honour the king.'

nathan Boucher subscribed to the doctrine the divine right of kings:

Copying after the fair model of heaven itself, wherein there was government even among the angels, the families of the earth were subjected to rulers, at first set over them by God. 'For there is no power, but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God.' The first father was the first king. . . . Hence it is, that our church, in perfect conformity with the doctrine here

inculcated, in her explication of the fif
commandment, from the obedience due
parents, wisely derives the congenial du
of 'honouring the king, and all that a
put in authority under him.'

Dr Myles Cooper, the president of King
College, took up similar ground. God, he sa
established the laws of government, ordain
the British power, and commanded all to ob
authority. 'The laws of heaven and earth
forbade rebellion. To threaten open dis
spect of government was 'an unpardonab
crime.' 'The principles of submission a
obedience to lawful authority' were religio
duties.

But even Jonathan Boucher and My
Cooper did not apply these doctrines witho
reserve. They both upheld the sacred rig
of petition and remonstrance. 'It is yo
duty,' wrote Boucher, 'to instruct yo
members to take all the constitutional mea
in their power to obtain redress.' Both he a
Cooper deplored the policy of the Briti
ministry. Cooper declared the Stamp Act
be contrary to American rights; he approv
of the opposition to the duties on the enume
ated articles; and he was inclined to think t

ty on tea 'dangerous to constitutional erty.'

It may be confidently asserted that the great ajority of the American Loyalists, in fact, d not approve of the course pursued by the itish government between 1765 and 1774. ey did not deny its legality; but they ubted as a rule either its wisdom or its stice. Thomas Hutchinson, the governor of assachusetts, one of the most famous and ost hated of the Loyalists, went to England, we are to believe his private letters, with the cret ambition of obtaining the repeal of the which closed Boston harbour. Joseph lloway, another of the Loyalist leaders, and author of the last serious attempt at con- iation, actually sat in the first Continental ngress, which was called with the object obtaining the redress of what Galloway him- f described as 'the grievances justly com- ined of.' Still more instructive is the case Daniel Dulany of Maryland. Dulany, e of the most distinguished lawyers of time, was after the Declaration of Inde- ndence denounced as a Tory; his property s confiscated, and the safety of his person perilled. Yet at the beginning of the volution he had been found in the ranks

of the Whig pamphleteers; and no mo damaging attack was ever made on the polic of the British government than that containe in his *Considerations on the Propriety Imposing Taxes in the British Colonies*. Whe the elder Pitt attacked the Stamp Act in th House of Commons in January 1766, he bo rowed most of his argument from this pamphle which had appeared three months before.

This difficulty which many of the Loyalis felt with regard to the justice of the positi taken up by the British government great weakened the hands of the Loyalist par in the early stages of the Revolution. It w only as the Revolution gained momentum th the party grew in vigour and numbers. variety of factors contributed to this resu In the first place there were the excesses of t revolutionary mob. When the mob took sacking private houses, driving clergymen o of their pulpits, and tarring and featheri respectable citizens, there were doubtless ma law-abiding people who became Tories in sp of themselves. Later on, the methods of t inquisitorial communities possibly made Tor out of some who were the victims of th attentions. The outbreak of armed rebelli must have shocked many into a reaction

titude. It was of these that a Whig satirist rote, quoting:

> This word, Rebellion, hath frozen them up,
> Like fish in a pond.

ıt the event which brought the greatest nforcement to the Loyalist ranks was the claration of Independence. Six months fore the Declaration of Independence was ssed by the Continental Congress, the Whig ders had been almost unanimous in re-diating any intention of severing the con-ction between the mother country and the onies. Benjamin Franklin told Lord atham that he had never heard in America e word in favour of independence 'from y person, drunk or sober.' Jonathan ucher says that Washington told him in the nmer of 1775 'that if ever I heard of his ning in any such measures, I had his leave set him down for everything wicked.' As e as Christmas Day 1775 the revolutionary gress of New Hampshire officially pro-imed their disavowal of any purpose 'aim-at independence.' Instances such as these ld be reproduced indefinitely. When, there-e, the Whig leaders in the summer of 1776 de their right-about-face with regard to

independence, it is not surprising that some
their followers fell away from them. Amon
these were many who were heartily oppose
to the measures of the British governmen
and who had even approved of the policy
armed rebellion. but who could not forget th
they were born British subjects. They dran
to the toast, 'My country, may she always
right; but right or wrong, my country.'

Other motives influenced the growth of t
Loyalist party. There were those who oppos
the Revolution because they were dependent
government for their livelihood, royal offic
holders and Anglican clergymen for instanc
There were those who were Loyalists becau
they thought they had picked the winning si
such as the man who candidly wrote from N
Brunswick in 1788, 'I have made one gre
mistake in politics, for which reason I nev
intend to make so great a blunder agai
Many espoused the cause because they w
natives of the British Isles, and had not beco
thoroughly saturated with American ideas:
the claimants for compensation before
Royal Commissioners after the war alm
two-thirds were persons who had been born
England, Scotland, or Ireland. In some of
colonies the struggle between Whig and T

llowed older party lines: this was especially ıe in New York, where the Livingston or esbyterian party became Whig and the De ncey or Episcopalian party Tory. Curi- sly enough the cleavage in many places llowed religious lines. The members of the urch of England were in the main Loyalists; e Presbyterians were in the main revolu- nists. The revolutionist cause was often ongest in those colonies, such as Connecticut, ere the Church of England was weakest. t the division was far from being a strict e. There were even members of the Church England in the Boston Tea Party; and re were Presbyterians among the exiles who nt to Canada and Nova Scotia. The Revolu- n was not in any sense a religious war; but gious differences contributed to embitter conflict, and doubtless made Whigs or ries of people who had no other interest at ke.

t is commonly supposed that the Loyalists w their strength from the upper classes in colonies, while the revolutionists drew irs from the proletariat. There is just ugh truth in this to make it misleading. s true that among the official classes and large landowners, among the clergymen,

lawyers, and physicians, the majority we
Loyalists; and it is true that the mob w
everywhere revolutionist. But it cannot
said that the Revolution was in any sense
war of social classes. In it father was array
against son and brother against broth
Benjamin Franklin was a Whig; his son,
William Franklin, was a Tory. In the vall
of the Susquehanna the Tory Colonel Jo
Butler, of Butler's Rangers, found hims
confronted by his Whig cousins, Colo
William Butler and Colonel Zeb Butl
George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Jo
Adams, were not inferior in social status
Sir William Johnson, Thomas Hutchinson, a
Joseph Galloway. And, on the other ha
there were no humbler peasants in the revo
tionary ranks than some of the Loyalist farm
who migrated to Upper Canada in 1783.
that can be said is that the Loyalists were m
numerous among those classes which had m
to lose by the change, and least numer
among those classes which had least to lose.

Much labour has been spent on the probl
of the numbers of the Loyalists. No means
numbering political opinions was resorted
at the time of the Revolution, so that sa
factory statistics are not available. Th

as, moreover, throughout the contest a good
al of going and coming between the Whig
nd Tory camps, which makes an estimate
ll more difficult. 'I have been struck,'
rote Lorenzo Sabine, 'in the course of my
vestigations, with the absence of fixed
inciples, not only among people in the
mmon walks of life, but in many of the
ominent personages of the day.' Alexander
amilton, for instance, deserted from the
ries to the Whigs; Benedict Arnold deserted
om the Whigs to the Tories.

The Loyalists themselves always maintained
at they constituted an actual majority in
e Thirteen Colonies. In 1779 they professed
have more troops in the field than the Con-
ental Congress. These statements were no
ubt exaggerations. The fact is that the
ength of the Loyalists was very unevenly
tributed. In the colony of New York they
ay well have been in the majority. They
re strong also in Pennsylvania, so strong
at an officer of the revolutionary army
scribed that colony as 'the enemies' country.'
New York and Pennsylvania,' wrote John
ams years afterwards, 'were so nearly
ided—if their propensity was not against us
that if New England on one side and Virginia

on the other had not kept them in awe, th
would have joined the British.' In Georgia t
Loyalists were in so large a majority that
1781 that colony would probably have detach
itself from the revolutionary movement h
it not been for the surrender of Cornwallis
Yorktown. On the other hand, in the Ne
England colonies the Loyalists were a sm
minority, strongest perhaps in Connecticu
and yet even there predominant only in o
or two towns.

There were in the Thirteen Colonies at t
time of the Revolution in the neighbourho
of three million people. Of these it is probab
that at least one million were Loyalists. Th
estimate is supported by the opinion of Jo
Adams, who was well qualified to form
judgment, and whose Whig sympathies we
not likely to incline him to exaggerate. H
gave it as his opinion more than once th
about one-third of the people of the Thirte
Colonies had been opposed to the measures
the Revolution in all its stages. This estim
he once mentioned in a letter to Thom
M'Kean, chief justice of Pennsylvania, w
had signed the Declaration of Independen
and had been a member of every Continen
Congress from that of 1765 to the close of t

volution; and M'Kean replied, 'You say
at . . . about a third of the people of the
onies were against the Revolution. It re-
ired much reflection before I could fix my
nion on this subject; but on mature delibera-
n I conclude you are right, and that more
n a third of influential characters were
ainst it.'

CHAPTER III

PERSECUTION OF THE LOYALISTS

In the autumn of the year 1779 an Engli
poet, writing in the seclusion of his garden
Olney, paid his respects to the Americ
revolutionists in the following lines:

Yon roaring boys, who rave and fight
On t' other side the Atlantic,
I always held them in the right,
But most so when most frantic.

When lawless mobs insult the court,
That man shall be my toast,
If breaking windows be the sport,
Who bravely breaks the most.

But oh! for him my fancy culls
The choicest flowers she bears,
Who constitutionally pulls
Your house about your ears.

When William Cowper wrote these lines,
sources of information with regard to affa
in America were probably slight; but had

een writing at the seat of war he could not ave touched off the treatment of the Loyalists y the revolutionists with more effective ony.

There were two kinds of persecution to hich the Loyalists were subjected—that which as perpetrated by 'lawless mobs,' and that hich was carried out 'constitutionally.'

It was at the hands of the mob that the oyalists first suffered persecution. Probably e worst of the revolutionary mobs was that hich paraded the streets of Boston. In 1765, the time of the Stamp Act agitation, large owds in Boston attacked and destroyed the agnificent houses of Andrew Oliver and homas Hutchinson. They broke down the oors with broadaxes, destroyed the furniture, ole the money and jewels, scattered the books id papers, and, having drunk the wines in e cellar, proceeded to the dismantling of the of and walls. The owners of the houses urely escaped with their lives. In 1768 e same mob wantonly attacked the British oops in Boston, and so precipitated what merican historians used to term 'the Boston assacre'; and in 1773 the famous band of Boston Indians' threw the tea into Boston arbour.

In other places the excesses of the mob wer nearly as great. In New York they were activ in destroying printing-presses from which ha issued Tory pamphlets, in breaking window of private houses, in stealing live stock an personal effects, and in destroying property A favourite pastime was tarring and featherin 'obnoxious Tories.' This consisted in strip ping the victim naked, smearing him wit a coat of tar and feathers, and parading hi about the streets in a cart for the contemplatio of his neighbours. Another amusement wa making Tories ride the rail. This consiste in putting the 'unhappy victims upon shar rails with one leg on each side; each rail wa carried upon the shoulders of two tall me with a man on each side to keep the poo wretch straight and fixed in his seat.'

Even clergymen were not free from th attentions of the mob. The Rev. Jonatha Boucher tells us that he was compelled preach with loaded pistols placed on the pulp cushions beside him. On one occasion he wa prevented from entering the pulpit by tw hundred armed men, whose leader warned hi not to attempt to preach. 'I returned f answer,' says Boucher, 'that there was b one way by which they could keep me out

and that was by taking away my life. At e proper time, with my sermon in one hand id a loaded pistol in the other, like Nehemiah prepared to ascend my pulpit, when one of y friends, Mr David Crauford, having got hind me, threw his arms round me and held e fast. He assured me that he had heard e most positive orders given to twenty men cked out for the purpose, to fire on me the oment I got into the pulpit.'

That the practices of the mob were not owned upon by the revolutionary leaders, ere is good reason for believing. The pro- ncial Congress of New York, in December 76, went so far as to order the committee of blic safety to secure all the pitch and tar ecessary for the public use and public ety.' Even Washington seems to have proved of persecution of the Tories by the b. In 1776 General Putnam, meeting a cession of the Sons of Liberty who were ading a number of Tories on rails up and wn the streets of New York, attempted to a stop to the barbarous proceeding. shington, on hearing of this, administered eprimand to Putnam, declaring 'that to courage such proceedings was to injure the se of liberty in which they were engaged,

and that nobody would attempt it but an enem to his country.'

Very early in the Revolution the Whi began to organize. They first formed then selves into local associations, similar to t Puritan associations in the Great Rebelli in England, and announced that they wou 'hold all those persons inimical to the liberti of the colonies who shall refuse to subscribe th association.' In connection with these associ tions there sprang up local committees.

> From garrets, cellars, rushing through the street,
> The new-born statesmen in committee meet,

sang a Loyalist verse-writer. Very soon the was completed an organization, stretching fr the Continental Congress and the provinc congresses at one end down to the petti parish committees on the other, which w destined to prove a most effective engine stamping out loyalism, and which was to c tribute in no small degree to the success of Revolution.

Though the action of the mob never entir disappeared, the persecution of the Tories w taken over, as soon as the Revolution under way, by this semi-official organizati What usually happened was that the Co

ntal or provincial Congress laid down the neral policy to be followed, and the local mmittees carried it out in detail. Thus, ien early in 1776 the Continental Con- ess recommended the disarming of the Tories, was the local committees which carried e recommendation into effect. During this rly period the conduct of the revolutionary thorities was remarkably moderate. They rested the Tories, tried them, held them at il for their good behaviour, quarantined them their houses, exiled them to other districts, t only in extreme cases did they imprison em. There was, of course, a good deal of rdship entailed on the Tories; and occasion- y the agents of the revolutionary committees ted without authority, as when Colonel yton, who was sent to arrest Sir John hnson at his home in the Mohawk valley, cked Johnson Hall and carried off Lady hnson a prisoner, on finding that Sir John hnson had escaped to Canada with many of Highland retainers. But, as a rule, in this rly period, the measures taken both by the volutionary committees and by the army icers were easily defensible on the ground of litary necessity.

But with the Declaration of Independence

a new order of things was inaugurated. Th
measure revolutionized the political situatio
With the severance of the Imperial tie, loyalis
became tantamount to treason to the sta
and Loyalists laid themselves open to all t
penalties of treason. The Declaration of I
dependence was followed by the test law
These laws compelled every one to abju
allegiance to the British crown, and swe
allegiance to the state in which he reside
A record was kept of those who took the oa
and to them were given certificates witho
which no traveller was safe from arre
Those who failed to take the oath became liab
to imprisonment, confiscation of proper
banishment, and even death.

Even among the Whigs there was a good de
of opposition to the test laws. Peter V
Schaak, a moderate Whig of New York state,
strongly disapproved of the test laws that
seceded from the revolutionary party. 'H
you,' he wrote, 'at the beginning of the wa
permitted every one differing in sentime
from you, to take the other side, or at least
have removed out of the State, with the
property . . . it would have been a condu
magnanimous and just. But, now, aft
restraining those persons from removing

nishing them, if, in the attempt, they were prehended; selling their estates if they aped; compelling them to the duties of jects under heavy penalties; deriving aid m them in the prosecution of the war . . . w to compel them to take an oath is an act severity.'

Of course, the test laws were not rigidly or versally enforced. In Pennsylvania only a all proportion of the population took the h. In New York, out of one thousand ies arrested for failure to take the oath, six dred were allowed to go on bail, and the were merely acquitted or imprisoned. On whole the American revolutionists were bloody-minded men; they inaugurated no tember Massacres, no Reign of Terror, no *gonnades*. There was a distinct aversion ng them to applying the death penalty. e shall have many unhappy persons to take r trials for their life next Oyer court,' wrote orth Carolina patriot. 'Law should be tly adhered to, severity exercised, but the s of mercy should never be shut.'

he test laws, nevertheless, and the other riminating laws passed against the Loyalists ided the excuse for a great deal of bar- sm and ruthlessness. In Pennsylvania

bills of attainder were passed against no fe
than four hundred and ninety persons. T
property of nearly all these persons was c
fiscated, and several of them were put to dea
A detailed account has come down to us
the hanging of two Loyalists of Philadelp
named Roberts and Carlisle. These two n
had shown great zeal for the king's cause w
the British Army was in Philadelphia. A
Philadelphia was evacuated, they were se
by the Whigs, tried, and condemned to
hanged. Roberts's wife and children w
before Congress and on their knees beg
for mercy; but in vain. One Noven
morning of 1778 the two men were marc
to the gallows, with halters round t
necks. At the gallows, wrote a specta
Roberts's behaviour 'did honour to hu
nature.'

> He nothing common did or mean
> Upon that memorable scene

Addressing the spectators, he told them
his conscience acquitted him of guilt; tha
suffered for doing his duty to his sovere
and that his blood would one day be req
at their hands. Then he turned to his chi
and charged them to remember the princ

which he died, and to adhere to them while
y had breath.

But if these judicial murders were few and
between, in other respects the revolutionists
wed the Tories little mercy. Both those
o remained in the country and those who
l from it were subjected to an attack on
ir personal fortunes which gradually im-
erished them. This was carried on at
t by a nibbling system of fines and special
ation. Loyalists were fined for evading
itary service, for the hire of substitutes, for
manifestation of loyalty. They were sub-
ted to double and treble taxes; and in New
k and South Carolina they had to make
d all robberies committed in their counties.
n the revolutionary leaders turned to the
edient of confiscation. From the very
t some of the patriots, without doubt, had
eye on Loyalist property; and when the
ers of the Continental Congress had been
ptied, the idea gained ground that the
olution might be financed by the confisca-
n of Loyalist estates. Late in 1777 the plan
embodied in a resolution of the Continental
gress, and the states were recommended
invest the proceeds in continental loan
ificates. The idea proved very popular;

and in spite of a great deal of corruption connection with the sale and transfer of land, large sums found their way as a res into the state exchequers. In New York alo over £3,600,000 worth of property was acqui by the state.

The Tory who refused to take the oath allegiance became in fact an outlaw. He not have in the courts of law even the rig of a foreigner. If his neighbours owed h money, he had no legal redress. He might assaulted, insulted, blackmailed, or slander yet the law granted him no remedy. relative or friend could leave an orphan ch to his guardianship. He could be the execu or administrator of no man's estate. He co neither buy land nor transfer it to another. he was a lawyer, he was denied the right practise his profession.

This strict legal view of the status of Loyalist may not have been always and eve where enforced. There were Loyalists, su as the Rev. Mather Byles of Boston, who fused to be molested, and who survived Revolution unharmed. But when all allo ance is made for these exceptions, it is difficult to understand how the great majo of avowed Tories came to take refuge wit

British lines, to enlist under the British ; and, when the Revolution had proved cessful, to leave their homes for ever and in life anew amid other surroundings. The secution to which they were subjected left n no alternative.

CHAPTER IV

THE LOYALISTS UNDER ARMS

IT has been charged against the Loyal
and the charge cannot be denied, that at
beginning of the Revolution they lacked in
tive, and were slow to organize and de
themselves. It was not, in fact, until
that Loyalist regiments began to be forme
an extensive scale. There were several rea
why this was so. In the first place a g
many of the Loyalists, as has been pointed
were not at the outset in complete symp
with the policy of the British governm
and those who might have been willing to
up arms were very early disarmed and
timidated by the energy of the revolutio
authorities. In the second place that
conservatism which made the Loyalists
back from revolution hindered them
taking arms until the king gave them
missions and provided facilities for mil
organization. And there is no fact b

ested in the history of the Revolution than failure of the British authorities to under- nd until it was too late the great advantages e derived from the employment of Loyalist es. The truth is that the British officers not think much more highly of the Loyalists n they did of the rebels. For both they had Briton's contempt for the colonial, and the fessional soldier's contempt for the armed lian.

lad more use been made of the Tories, the tary history of the Revolution might have n very different. They understood the ditions of warfare in the New World much er than the British regulars or the German cenaries. Had the advice of prominent alists been accepted by the British com- nder at the battle of Bunker's Hill, it is ly probable that there would have been e of that carnage in the British ranks which le of the victory a virtual defeat. It was that Burgoyne's early successes were ely due to the skill with which he used his alist auxiliaries. And in the latter part he war, it must be confessed that the suc- es of the Loyalist troops far outshone those he British regulars. In the Carolinas eton's Loyal Cavalry swept everything

before them, until their defeat at the Cowp
by Daniel Morgan. In southern New Y
Governor Tryon's levies carried fire and sw
up the Hudson, into 'Indigo Connecticut,'
over into New Jersey. Along the north
frontier, the Loyalist forces commanded
Sir John Johnson and Colonel Butler made
peated incursions into the Mohawk, Schoha
and Wyoming valleys and, in each case, a
leaving a trail of desolation behind them, t
withdrew to the Canadian border in good or
The trouble was that, owing to the stupi
and incapacity of Lord George Germain,
British minister who was more than any ot
man responsible for the misconduct of
American War, these expeditions were
made part of a properly concerted plan ;
so they sank into the category of isolated ra

From the point of view of Canadian hist
the most interesting of these expeditions w
those conducted by Sir John Johnson
Colonel Butler. They were carried on w
the Canadian border as their base-line. It
by the men who were engaged in them t
Upper Canada was at first largely settled ;
for a century and a quarter there have b
levelled against these men by American
even by English writers charges of barbar

inhumanity about which Canadians in icular are interested to know the truth. ost of Johnson's and Butler's men came central or northern New York. To ex- how this came about it is necessary to e an excursion into previous history. In there had come out to America a young man of good family named William son. The famous naval hero, Sir Peter ren, who was an uncle of Johnson, had tracts of land in the Mohawk valley, in hern New York. These estates he em- ed his nephew in administering; and, he died, he bequeathed them to him. In neantime William Johnson had begun to ove his opportunities. He had built up osperous trade with the Indians; he had ed their language and studied their ways; he had gained such an ascendancy over that he came to be known as 'the Indian- r,' and was appointed the British super- dent-general for Indian Affairs. In the Years' War he served with great dis- on against the French. He defeated n Dieskau at Lake George in 1755, and he ired Niagara in 1759; for the first of these ces he was created a baronet, and received nsion of £5000 a year. During his later

years he lived at his house, Johnson Hall, the Mohawk river; and he died in 1774, on eve of the American Revolution, leaving title and his vast estates to his only son, John.

Just before his death Sir William John had interested himself in schemes for colonization of his lands. In these he remarkably successful. He secured in main two classes of immigrants, Germans Scottish Highlanders. Of the Highlanders must have induced more than one thous to emigrate from Scotland, some of them late as 1773. Many of them had been Jacobi some of them had seen service at Cullo Moor; and one of them, Alexander Macdo whose son subsequently sat in the legislature of Upper Canada, had been Bonnie Prince Charlie's personal staff. T men had no love for the Hanoverians; their loyalty to their new chieftain, and t lack of sympathy with American ideals, them at the time of the Revolution true al without exception to the British cause. George had no more faithful allies in the World than these rebels of the '45.

They were the first of the Loyalists to and organize themselves. In the summe

5 Colonel Allan Maclean, a Scottish officer
he English army, aided by Colonel Guy
nson, a brother-in-law of Sir John Johnson,
ed a regiment in the Mohawk valley known
he Royal Highland Emigrants, which he
to Canada, and which did good service
inst the American invaders under Mont-
ery in the autumn of the same year. In
spring of 1776 Sir John Johnson received
d that the revolutionary authorities had
rmined on his arrest, and he was compelled
ee from Johnson Hall to Canada. With
he took three hundred of his Scottish
ndants; and he was followed by the
awk Indians under their famous chief,
ph Brant. In Canada Johnson received
lonel's commission to raise two Loyalist
alions of five hundred men each, to be
vn as the King's Royal Regiment of New
. The full complement was soon made
om the numbers of Loyalists who flocked
ss the border from other counties of
hern New York; and Sir John Johnson's
yal Greens,' as they were commonly called,
in the thick of nearly every border foray
that time until the end of the war. It
by these men that the north shore of the
awrence river, between Montreal and

Kingston, was mainly settled. As the
of refugees swelled, other regiments
formed. Colonel John Butler, one of Sir J
Johnson's right-hand men, organized his L
Rangers, a body of irregular troops
adopted, with modifications, the Indian met
of warfare. It was against this corps
some of the most serious charges of bruta
and bloodthirstiness were made by Ameri
historians; and it was by this corps that
Niagara district of Upper Canada was set
after the war.

It is not possible here to give more tha
brief sketch of the operations of these tro
In 1777 they formed an important part of
forces with which General Burgoyne, by
of Lake Champlain, and Colonel St Le
by way of Oswego, attempted, unsuccessfu
to reach Albany. An offshoot of the
battalion of the 'Royal Greens,' known
Jessup's Corps, was with Burgoyne at Sa
toga; and the rest of the regiment was
St Leger, under the command of Sir J
Johnson himself. The ambuscade of Oriska
where Sir John Johnson's men first met t
Whig neighbours and relatives, who were
fending Fort Stanwix, was one of the blood
battles of the war. Its 'fratricidal butche

uded the Mohawk valley of most of its le population; and it was said that if on county 'smiled again during the war, miled through tears.' The battle was inclusive, so bitterly was it contested; but vas successful in stemming the advance of eger's forces.

he next year (1778) there was an outbreak sporadic raiding all along the border. xander Macdonell, the former aide-de-camp Bonnie Prince Charlie, fell with three dred Loyalists on the Dutch settlements he Schoharie valley and laid them waste. donell's ideas of border warfare were ved from his Highland ancestors; and, ne expected no quarter, he gave none. nel Butler, with his Rangers and a party Indians, descended into the valley of oming, which was a sort of debatable nd between Connecticut and Pennsyl-a, and carried fire and sword through the ements there. This raid was commemor- by Thomas Campbell in a most unhis- al poem entitled *Gertrude of Wyoming*:

> On Susquehana's side, fair Wyoming!
> Although the wild-flower on thy ruined wall
> And roofless homes a sad remembrance bring
> Of what thy gentle people did befall.

Later in the year Walter Butler, the son
Colonel John Butler, and Joseph Brant, wit
party of Loyalists and Mohawks, made
similar inroad on Cherry Valley, south
Springfield in the state of New York. On
occasion Brant's Indians got beyond cont
and more than fifty defenceless old m
women, and children were slaughtered in
blood.

The Americans took their revenge the foll
ing year. A large force under General Sulli
invaded the settlements of the Six Nat
Indians in the Chemung and Genesee vall
and exacted an eye for an eye and a tooth
a tooth. They burned the villages, destr
the crops, and turned the helpless women
children out to face the coming winter.
of the Indians during the winter of 177
were dependent on the mercy of the Br
commissaries.

This kind of warfare tends to perpetuate i
indefinitely. In 1780 the Loyalists and Ind
returned to the attack. In May Sir
Johnson with his 'Royal Greens' mad
descent into the Mohawk valley, fell upo
'rebellious birthplace,' and carried off
booty and many prisoners. In the
autumn, with a force composed of his

iment, two hundred of Butler's Rangers, d some regulars and Indians, he crossed er to the Schoharie valley, devastated it, and n returned to the Mohawk valley, where he npleted the work of the previous spring. attempts to crush him failed. At the tle of Fox's Mills he escaped defeat or ture by the American forces under General n Rensselaer largely on account of the dense oke with which the air was filled from the rning of barns and villages.

How far the Loyalists under Johnson and tler were open to the charges of inhumanity d barbarism so often levelled against them, is ficult to determine. The charges are based nost wholly on unsubstantial tradition. The ater part of the excesses complained of, is safe to say, were perpetrated by the lians; and Sir John Johnson and Colonel tler can no more be blamed for the excesses the Indians at Cherry Valley than Montcalm n be blamed for their excesses at Fort William nry. It was unfortunate that the military nion of that day regarded the use of savages necessary, and no one deplored this use more an men like Haldimand and Carleton; but ashington and the Continental Congress re as ready to receive the aid of the Indians

as were the British. The difficulty of
Americans was that most of the Indians w
on the other side.

That there were, however, atrocities co
mitted by the Loyalists cannot be doubt
Sir John Johnson himself told the revolution
that 'their Tory neighbours, and not hims
were blameable for those acts.' There are w
authenticated cases of atrocities committed
Alexander Macdonell: in 1781 he ordered
men to shoot down a prisoner taken n
Johnstown, and when the men bungled th
task, Macdonell cut the prisoner down with
broadsword. When Colonel Butler return
from Cherry Valley, Sir Frederick Haldima
refused to see him, and wrote to him that 'su
indiscriminate vengeance taken even upon t
treacherous and cruel enemy they are engag
against is useless and disreputable to the
selves, as it is contrary to the disposition a
maxims of their King whose cause they a
fighting.'

But rumour exaggerated whatever atrociti
there were. For many years the America
believed that the Tories had lifted scalps li
the Indians; and later, when the America
captured York in 1813, they found what th
regarded as a signal proof of this barbaro

actice among the Loyalists, in the speaker's
g, which was hanging beside the chair in
e legislative chamber! There may have
en members of Butler's Rangers who bor-
wed from the Indians this hideous custom,
st as there were American frontiersmen who
re guilty of it; but it must not be imagined
at it was a common practice on either side.
cept at Cherry Valley, there is no proof that
y violence was done by the Loyalists to
men and children. On his return from
yoming, Colonel Butler reported: 'I can
h truth inform you that in the destruction
this settlement not a single person has been
rt of the inhabitants, but such as were armed;
those indeed the Indians gave no quarter.'
In defence of the Loyalists, two considera-
ns may be urged. In the first place, it must
remembered that they were men who had
en evicted from their homes, and whose
perty had been confiscated. They had been
ced under the ban of the law: the payment
their debts had been denied them; and they
l been forbidden to return to their native
d under penalty of death without benefit
clergy. They had been imprisoned, fined,
jected to special taxation; their families
l been maltreated, and were in many cases

still in the hands of their enemies. They wou
have been hardly human had they waged
mimic warfare. In the second place, th
depredations were of great value from a milita
point of view. Not only did they preve
thousands of militiamen from joining t
Continental army, but they seriously threaten
the sources of Washington's food supply. T
valleys which they ravaged were the grana
of the revolutionary forces. In 1780 Sir Jo
Johnson destroyed in the Schoharie valley alo
no less than eighty thousand bushels of grai
and this loss, as Washington wrote to t
president of Congress, 'threatened alarmi
consequences.' That this work of destructi
was agreeable to the Loyalists cannot
doubted; but this fact does not diminish
value as a military measure.

CHAPTER V

PEACE WITHOUT HONOUR

E war was brought to a virtual termination the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown October 19, 1781. The definitive articles peace were signed at Versailles on September 1783. During the two years that inter- ned between these events, the lot of the yalists was one of gloomy uncertainty. ey found it hard to believe that the British vernment would abandon them to the mercy their enemies; and yet the temper of the olutionists toward them continued such that re seemed little hope of concession or con- ation. Success had not taught the rebels grace of forgiveness. At the capitulation Yorktown, Washington had refused to treat h the Loyalists in Cornwallis's army on the ne terms as with the British regulars; and rnwallis had been compelled to smuggle his yalist levies out of Yorktown on the ship that ried the news of his surrender to New York.

As late as 1782 fresh confiscation laws had be
passed in Georgia and the Carolinas; and
New York a law had been passed cancelling a
debts due to Loyalists, on condition that on
fortieth of the debt was paid into the sta
treasury. These were straws which show
the way the wind was blowing.

In the negotiations leading up to the Pea
of Versailles there were no clauses so long a
bitterly discussed as those relating to t
Loyalists. The British commissioners sto
out at first for the principle of comple
amnesty to them and restitution of all they ha
lost; and it is noteworthy that the Fren
minister added his plea to theirs. B
Benjamin Franklin and his colleagues r
fused to agree to this formula. They to
the ground that they, as the representativ
merely of the Continental Congress, had n
the right to bind the individual states in su
a matter. The argument was a quibbl
Their real reason was that they were w
aware that public opinion in America wou
not support them in such a concession. A fe
enlightened men in America, such as Joh
Adams, favoured a policy of compensation
the Loyalists, 'how little soever they deser
it, nay, how much soever they deserve t

LORD CORNWALLIS

From the painting in the National Portrait Gallery

trary'; but the attitude of the great jority of the Americans had been clearly nonstrated by a resolution passed in the slature of Virginia on December 17, 1782, he effect that all demands for the restitution confiscated property were wholly inadmiss-. Even some of the Loyalists had begun ealize that a revolution which had touched perty was bound to be permanent, and that American commissioners could no more back to them their confiscated lands n Charles II was able to give back to his er's cavaliers the estates they had lost in Civil War.

he American commissioners agreed, finally, no future confiscations should take place, imprisoned Loyalists should be released, no further persecutions should be per-ed, and that creditors on either side should et with no lawful impediment' to the re-ry of all good debts in sterling money. with regard to the British demand for tution, all they could be induced to sign a promise that Congress would 'earnestly mmend to the legislatures of the respective s' a policy of amnesty and restitution.

making this last recommendation, it is ult not to convict the American com-

missioners of something very like hypocr
There seems to be no doubt that they knew
recommendation would not be complied wi
and little or no attempt was made by them
persuade the states to comply with it.
after years the clause was represented by
Americans as a mere form of words, necess
to bring the negotiations to an end, and
save the face of the British government.
this day it has remained, except in one
two states, a dead letter. On the other h
it is impossible not to convict the Bri
commissioners of a betrayal of the Lo
ists. 'Never,' said Lord North in the Ho
of Commons, 'never was the honour,
humanity, the principles, the policy o
nation so grossly abused, as in the deser
of those men who are now exposed to e
punishment that desertion and poverty
inflict, because they were not rebels.'
ancient or in modern history,' said
Loughborough in the House of Lords, 't
cannot be found an instance of so shamef
desertion of men who have sacrificed a
their duty and to their reliance upon
faith.' It seems probable that the Br
commissioners could have obtained, on p
at any rate, better terms for the Loyalists.

ery doubtful if the Americans would have e to war again over such a question. In the position of Great Britain was relatively weaker, but stronger, than in 1781, when ilities had ceased. The attitude of the ich minister, and the state of the French nces, made it unlikely that France would her support to further hostilities. And e is no doubt that the American states e even more sorely in need of peace than Great Britain.

hen the terms of peace were announced, t was the bitterness among the Loyalists. of them protested in *Rivington's Gazette* ' even robbers, murderers, and rebels are ful to their fellows and never betray each r,' and another sang,

> 'Tis an honour to serve the bravest of nations,
> And be left to be hanged in their capitulations.

e terms of the peace had been observed, the t of the Loyalists would have been bad gh. But as it was, the outcome proved worse. Every clause in the treaty relato the Loyalists was broken over and over . There was no sign of an abatement of opular feeling against them; indeed, in places, the spirit of persecution seemed to

blaze out anew. One of Washington's bitte
sayings was uttered at this time, when he s
of the Loyalists that 'he could see noth
better for them than to commit suici
Loyalist creditors found it impossible to
cover their debts in America, while they w
themselves sued in the British courts by t
American creditors, and their property
still being confiscated by the American legi
tures. The legislature of New York publ
declined to reverse its policy of confiscat
on the ground that Great Britain had offe
no compensation for the property which
friends had destroyed. Loyalists who ventu
to return home under the treaty of peace w
insulted, tarred and feathered, whipped,
even ham-strung. All over the cou
there were formed local committees or asso
tions with the object of preventing rene
intercourse with the Loyalists and the rest
tion of Loyalist property. 'The proceed
of these people,' wrote Sir Guy Carleton, '
not to be attributed to politics alone—it se
as a pretence, and under that cloak they
more boldly, but avarice and a desire of ra
are the great incentives.'

The Loyalists were even denied civil ri
in most of the states. In 1784 an act

sed in New York declaring that all who had
d office under the British, or helped to fit
vessels of war, or who had served as
ates or officers in the British Army, or who
left the state, were guilty of 'misprision
treason,' and were disqualified from both
franchise and public office. There was in
hardly a state in 1785 where the Loyalist
allowed to vote. In New York Loyalist
yers were not allowed to practise until
il 1786, and then only on condition of
ng an 'oath of abjuration and allegiance.'
he same state, Loyalists were subjected to
h invidious special taxation that in 1785
of them confessed that 'those in New
k whose estates have not been confiscated
so loaded with taxes and other grievances
there is nothing left but to sell out and
e into the protection of the British govern-
t.'

was clear that something would have to
done by the British government for the
alists' relief. 'It is utterly impossible,'
te Sir Guy Carleton to Lord North, 'to
e exposed to the rage and violence of these
ple [the Americans] men of character
se only offence has been their attach-
t to the King's service.' Accordingly the

British government made amends for it betrayal of the Loyalists by taking them unde its wing. It arranged for the transportatio of all those who wished to leave the revolte states; it offered them homes in the province of Nova Scotia and Quebec; it granted hal pay to the officers after their regiments wer reduced; and it appointed a royal commissio to provide compensation for the losses sus tained.


UPPER CANADA
LOWER CANADA
River St. Lawrence
GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE
Gaspé Peninsula
Paspebiac
Chaleur Bay
Quebec
Three Rivers
Machiches
Sorel
Montreal
Chambly
Ottawa R.
LAKE HURON
LAKE ONTARIO
LAKE ERIE
Burlington Bay
Niagara
Oswego
Kingston
Cataraqui
Bay of Quinte
R. Trent
R. Thames
Long Pt.
Grand R.
Detroit
HESSE (WESTERN)
NASSAU (HOME)
MECKLENBURG (MIDLAND)
LUNENBURG (EASTERN)
St. Lawrence R.
Lake Champlain
Ft. Stanwix
Oriskany
Cherry Valley
Mohawk R.
Saratoga
Ft. George
Ly George
Schenectady
Albany
Schoharie
Chemung
NEW YORK
VERMONT
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MASSACHUSETTS
Boston
CONNECTICUT
RHODE ISLAND
Osnaburg
PENNSYLVANIA
Wyoming Valley
Susquehanna R.
New York
Philadelphia
NEW JERSEY
MARYLAND
R. St. John
NEW BRUNSWICK (ACADIE)
Fredericton (St Annes)
St John (Parr-town)
I. OF ST JOHN (Prince Edward I.)
CAPE BRETON ISLAND
C. Breton
MASSACHUSETTS (MAINE)
Bay of Fundy
NOVA SCOTIA
Granville
Annapolis
Digby
Halifax
Shelburne
(Roseway)
UPPER AND LOWER CANADA
AND THE MARITIME PROVINCES AT THE TIME OF
THE LOYALISTS SETTLEMENTS
English Miles
0 50 100 200
80 75 70 65 60
45 40
Bartholomew, Edin.

CHAPTER VI

THE EXODUS TO NOVA SCOTIA

HEN the terms of peace became known, tens thousands of the Loyalists shook the dust their ungrateful country from their feet, ver to return. Of these the more influential rt, both during and after the war, sailed for ıgland. The royal officials, the wealthy erchants, landowners, and professional men, e high military officers—these went to ıgland to press their claims for compensation d preferment. The humbler element, for e most part, migrated to the remaining itish colonies in North America. About two ndred families went to the West Indies, a v to Newfoundland, many to what were erwards called Upper and Lower Canada, d a vast army to Nova Scotia, New Bruns- ck, and Prince Edward Island.

The advantages of Nova Scotia as a field for migration had been known to the people of w England and New York before the Revolu-

tionary War had broken out. Shortly a
the Peace of 1763 parts of the Nova Scot
peninsula and the banks of the river St J
had been sparsely settled by colonists fr
the south ; and during the Revolutionary W
considerable sympathy with the cause of
Continental Congress was shown by th
colonists from New England. Nova Sco
moreover, was contiguous to the New Engla
colonies, and it was therefore not surpris
that after the Revolution the Loyalists sho
have turned their eyes to Nova Scotia as
refuge for their families.

The first considerable migration took pl
at the time of the evacuation of Boston
General Howe in March 1776. Boston was
that time a town with a population of abo
sixteen thousand inhabitants, and of th
nearly one thousand accompanied the Brit
Army to Halifax. 'Neither Hell, Hull, n
Halifax,' said one of them, 'can afford wo
shelter than Boston.' The embarkation w
accomplished amid the most hopeless co
fusion. 'Nothing can be more divertin
wrote a Whig, 'than to see the town in
present situation; all is uproar and confusio
carts, trucks, wheelbarrows, handbarrow
coaches, chaises, all driving as if the ve

il was after them.' The fleet was com-
ed of every vessel on which hands could
aid. In Benjamin Hallowell's cabin 'there
e thirty-seven persons—men, women, and
dren; servants, masters, and mistresses—
ged to pig together on the floor, there being
berths.' It was a miracle that the crazy
lla arrived safely at Halifax; but there it
ved after tossing about for six days in the
ch tempests. General Howe remained with
army at Halifax until June. Then he set sail
New York. Some of the Loyalists accom-
ied him to New York, but the greater number
passage for England. Only a few of the
pany remained in Nova Scotia.

rom 1776 to 1783 small bodies of Loyalists
inually found their way to Halifax; but
as not until the evacuation of New York
he British in 1783 that the full tide of
migration set in. As soon as news leaked
that the terms of peace were not likely to
avourable, and it became evident that the
nus of the Whigs showed no signs of abat-
the Loyalists gathered in New York looked
t for a country in which to begin life
. Most of them were too poor to think of
g to England, and the British provinces
e north seemed the most hopeful place of

resort. In 1782 several associations w
formed in New York for the purpose of furth
ing the interests of those who proposed to se
in Nova Scotia. One of these associations h
as its president the famous Dr Seabury, a
as its secretary Sampson Salter Blowers, aft
wards chief justice of Nova Scotia. Its offic
waited on Sir Guy Carleton, and received
approval of their plans. It was arranged t
a first instalment of about five hund
colonists should set out in the autumn of 17
in charge of three agents, Amos Botsfo
Samuel Cummings, and Frederick Haus
whose duty it should be to spy out the land a
obtain grants.

The party sailed from New York, in n
transport ships, on October 19, 1782, a
arrived a few days later at Annapolis Roy
The population of Annapolis, which was o
a little over a hundred, was soon swamped
the numbers that poured out of the transpo
'All the houses and barracks are crowde
wrote the Rev. Jacob Bailey, who was then
Annapolis, 'and many are unable to proc
any lodgings.' The three agents, leaving
colonists at Annapolis, went first to Halif
and then set out on a trip of exploration thro
the Annapolis valley, after which they cros

ıe Bay of Fundy and explored the country
ljacent to the river St John. On their
turn they published glowing accounts of the
)untry, and their report was transmitted to
eir friends in New York.

The result of the favourable reports sent in
these agents, and by others who had gone
ıead, was an invasion of Nova Scotia such
no one, not even the provincial authorities,
d begun to expect. As the names of the
ousands who were anxious to go to Nova
otia poured into the adjutant-general's office
New York, it became clear to Sir Guy Carleton
at with the shipping facilities at his disposal
could not attempt to transport them all at
ce. It was decided that the ships would
ve to make two trips; and, as a matter of
:t, most of them made three or four trips
fore the last British soldier was able to leave
e New York shore.

On April 26, 1783, the first or 'spring' fleet
sail. It had on board no less than seven
)usand persons, men, women, children, and
vants. Half of these went to the mouth of
river St John, and about half to Port Rose-
y, at the south-west end of the Nova Scotian
ıinsula. The voyage was fair, and the ships
ived at their destinations without mishap.

But at St John at least, the colonists fou
that almost no preparations had been ma
to receive them. They were disembarked
a wild and primeval shore, where they h
to clear away the brushwood before th
could pitch their tents or build their shanti
The prospect must have been dishearteni
'Nothing but wilderness before our eyes, t
women and children did not refrain fro
tears,' wrote one of the exiles; and t
grandmother of Sir Leonard Tilley used
tell her descendants, 'I climbed to the top
Chipman's Hill and watched the sails d
appearing in the distance, and such a feeling
loneliness came over me that, although I h
not shed a tear through all the war, I sat do
on the damp moss with my baby in my lap a
cried.'

All summer and autumn the ships ke
plying to and fro. In June the 'summ
fleet' brought about 2500 colonists to St Jo
River, Annapolis, Port Roseway, and Fo
Cumberland. By August 23 John Parr, t
governor of Nova Scotia, wrote that 'upwa
of 12,000 souls have already arrived from Ne
York,' and that as many more were expecte
By the end of September he estimated th
18,000 had arrived, and stated that 10,000 mo

e still to come. By the end of the year computed the total immigration to have ounted to 30,000. As late as January 15, 4, the refugees were still arriving. On t date Governor Parr wrote to Lord North nouncing the arrival of 'a considerable nber of Refugee families, who must be vided for in and about the town at extra- inary expence. as at this season of the r I cannot send them into the country.' cannot,' he added, 'better describe the tched condition of these people than by osing your lordship a list of those just ved in the Clinton transport, destitute of ost everything, chiefly women and children, till on board, as I have not yet been able to any sort of place for them, and the cold ng in severe.' There is a tradition in ifax that the cabooses had to be taken off ships, and ranged along the principal street, rder to shelter these unfortunates during winter.

ew York was evacuated by the British ps on November 25, 1783. Sir Guy eton did not withdraw from the city until vas satisfied that every person who desired protection of the British flag was embarked he boats. During the latter half of the

year Carleton was repeatedly requested Congress to fix some precise limit to his occupation of New York. He replied briefly, but courteously, that he was doing the best he could, and that no man could do more. When Congress objected that the Loyalists were not included in the agreement with regard to evacuation, Carleton replied that he had opposite views; and that in any case it was a point of honour with him that no troops should embark until the last person who claimed protection should be safely on board a British ship. As time went on, his replies to Congress grew shorter and more incisive. On being requested to name an outside date for the evacuation of the city, he declared that he could not even guess when the last ship would be loaded, but that he was resolved to remain until it was. He pointed out, moreover, that the more the uncontrolled violence of the citizens drove refugees to his protection, the longer would evacuation be delayed. 'What should show,' he said, 'an indifference to the feelings of humanity, as well as to the honour and interest of the nation whom I serve, to leave any of the Loyalists that are desirous to quit the country, a prey to the violence they conceive they have so much cause to apprehend

fter the evacuation of New York, therefore, number of refugee Loyalists who came to a Scotia was small and insignificant. In and 1785 there arrived a few persons who tried to take up the thread of their former in the colonies, but had given up the mpt. And in August 1784 the *Sally* sport from London cast anchor at Halifax three hundred destitute refugees on board. if there was not a sufficiency of such ess'd objects already in this country,' e Edward Winslow from Halifax, 'the people of England have collected a whole load of all kinds of vagrants from the ts of London, and sent them out to Nova a. Great numbers died on the passage arious disorders—the miserable remnant anded here and have now no covering but . Such as are able to crawl are begging proportion of provisions at my door.'

t the increase of population in Nova a from immigration during the years diately following 1783 was partly counter- ced by the defections from the pro- . Many of the refugees quailed before rospect of carving out a home in the rness. 'It is, I think, the roughest land r saw'; 'I am totally discouraged';

'I am sick of this Province'—such expressio
as these abound in the journals and diari
of the settlers. There were complaints th
deception had been practised. 'All our gold
promises,' wrote a Long Island Loyalist, 'a
vanished in smoke. We were taught to belie
this place was not barren and foggy as had be
represented, but we find it ten times wor
We have nothing but his Majesty's rotten po
and unbaked flour to subsist on. . . . It is t
most inhospitable clime that ever mortal
foot on.' At first there was great distr
among the refugees. The immigration of 17
had at one stroke trebled the population
Nova Scotia; and the resources of the provi
were inadequate to meet the demand on the
'Nova Scarcity' was the nickname for t
province invented by a New England w
Under these circumstances it is not surpris
that some who had set their hand to the plou
turned back. Some of them went to Up
Canada; some to England; some to the sta
from which they had come; for within a f
years the fury of the anti-Loyalist feeling d
down, and not a few Loyalists took advanta
of this to return to the place of their birth.

The most careful analysis of the Loya
immigration into the Maritime Provinces

ced the total number of immigrants at about
000. These were in settlements scattered
adcast over the face of the map. There was
olony of 3000 in Cape Breton, which afforded
ideal field for settlement, since before 1783
governor of Nova Scotia had been precluded
m granting lands there. In 1784 Cape
ton was erected into a separate government,
h a lieutenant-governor of its own; and
lers flocked into it from Halifax, and even
n Canada. Abraham Cuyler, formerly mayor
Albany, led a considerable number down
St Lawrence and through the Gulf to Cape
ton. On the mainland of Nova Scotia
e were settlements at Halifax, at Shelburne,
Fort Cumberland, at Annapolis and Digby,
Port Mouton, and at other places. In what
ow New Brunswick there was a settlement
Passamaquoddy Bay, and there were other
lements on the St John river extending
n the mouth up past what is now the city
Fredericton. In Prince Edward Island,
n called the Island of St John, there was
ettlement which is variously estimated
ize, but which was comparatively unim-
ant.

he most interesting of these settlements
that at Shelburne, which is situated at the

south-west corner of Nova Scotia, on one of th finest harbours of the Atlantic seaboard. Th name of the harbour was originally Port Razoi but this was corrupted by the English settle into Port Roseway. The place had been settle previous to 1783. In 1775 Colonel Alexand M'Nutt, a notable figure of the pre-Loyali days in Nova Scotia, had obtained a grant 100,000 acres about the harbour, and ha induced about a dozen Scottish and Iris families to settle there. This settlement had dignified with the name of New Jerusalem In a short time, however, New Jerusalem languished and died, and when the Loyalis arrived in May 1783, the only inhabitants the place were two or three fishermen and the families. It would have been well if th Loyalists had listened to the testimony of o of these men, who, when he was asked how came to be there, replied that 'poverty ha brought him there, and poverty had kept hi there.'

The project of settling the shores of Po Roseway had its birth in the autumn of 178 when one hundred and twenty Loyalist familie whose attention had been directed to that pa of Nova Scotia by a friend in Massachusett banded together with the object of emigrati

ither. They first appointed a committee seven to make arrangements for their re- oval; and, a few weeks later, they com- ssioned two members of the association, seph Pynchon and James Dole, to go to lifax and lay before Governor Parr their sires and intentions. Pynchon and Dole, their arrival at Halifax, had an interview h the governor, and obtained from him y satisfactory arrangements. The governor reed to give the settlers the land about t Roseway which they desired. He pro- sed them that surveyors should be sent to out the grants, that carpenters and a supply 400,000 feet of lumber should be furnished building their houses, that for the first r at least the settlers should receive army ions, and that they should be free for ever n impressment in the British Navy. All se promises were made on the distinct lerstanding that they should interfere in no r with the claims of the Loyalists on the tish government for compensation for losses tained in the war. Elated by the reception r had received from the governor, the agents te home enthusiastic accounts of the pro- cts of the venture. Pynchon even hinted t the new town would supersede Halifax.

'Much talk is here,' he wrote, 'of capital
Province. . . . Halifax can't but be sensib
that Port Roseway, if properly attended to
encouraging settlers of every denominatio
will have much the advantage of all suppli
from the Bay of Fundy and westward. Wh
the consequence will be time only will revea
Many persons at Halifax, wrote Pyncho
prophesied that the new settlement wou
dwindle, and recommended the shore of t
Bay of Fundy or the banks of the river St Jo
in preference to Port Roseway; but Pyncho
attributed their fears to jealousy. A few yea
experience must have convinced him that h
suspicions were ill-founded.

The first instalment of settlers, about fo
thousand in number, arrived in May 178
They found nothing but the virgin wilderne
confronting them. But they set to work with
will to clear the land and build their hous
'As soon as we had set up a kind of ten
wrote the Rev. Jonathan Beecher in his Journa
'we knelt down, my wife and I and my t
boys, and kissed the dear ground and thank
God that the flag of England floated there, a
resolved that we would work with the rest
become again prosperous and happy.'
July 11 the work of clearing had been so

vanced that it became possible to allot the
ds. The town had been laid out in five
g parallel streets, with other streets crossing
m at right angles. Each associate was
en a town lot fronting on one of these
eets, as well as a water lot facing the harbour,
l a fifty-acre farm in the surrounding
ntry. With the aid of the government
sans, the wooden houses were rapidly run
; and in a couple of months a town sprang
where before had been the forest and some
ermen's huts.

At the end of July Governor Parr paid the
n a visit, and christened it, curiously enough,
n the name of Shelburne, after the British
esman who was responsible for the Peace
Versailles. The occasion was one of great
mony. His Excellency, as he landed from
sloop *Sophie*, was saluted by the booming
annon from the ships and from the shore.
proceeded up the main street, through a
of armed men. At the place appointed
his reception he was met by the magistrates
principal citizens, and presented with an
ress. In the evening there was a dinner
n by Captain Mowat on board the *Sophie*;
the next evening there was another dinner
he house of Justice Robertson, followed

by a ball given by the citizens, which w
'conducted with the greatest festivity and c
corum,' and 'did not break up till five the ne
morning.' Parr was delighted with Shelbur
and wrote to Sir Guy Carleton, 'From eve
appearance I have not a doubt but that it w
in a short time become the most flourishi
Town for trade of any in this part of the wor
and the country will for agriculture.'

For a few years it looked as though Shelbu
was not going to belie these hopes. T
autumn of 1783 brought a considerable
crease to its population; and in 1784 it see
to have numbered no less than ten thousa
souls, including the suburb of Burchto
in which most of the negro refugees in N
York had been settled. It became a place
business and fashion. There was for a ti
an extensive trade in fish and lumber w
Great Britain and the West Indies. Sh
yards were built, from which was launc
the first ship built in Nova Scotia after
British occupation. Shops, taverns, church
coffee-houses, sprang up. At one time
less than three newspapers were published
the town. The military were stationed th
and on summer evenings the military b
played on the promenade near the bri

election day the main street was so crowded
t ' one might have walked on the heads of
people.'

Then Shelburne fell into decay. It ap-
red that the region was ill-suited for farm-
and grazing, and was not capable of
porting so large a population. The whale
ery which the Shelburne merchants had
blished in Brazilian waters proved a failure.
regulations of the Navigation Acts thwarted
ir attempts to set up a coasting trade.
lure dogged all their enterprises, and soon
glory of Shelburne departed. It became
a city of the dead. ' The houses,' wrote
iburton, ' were still standing though un-
nted. It had all the stillness and quiet
a moonlight scene. It was difficult to
gine it was deserted. The idea of repose
e readily suggested itself than decay. All
new and recent. Seclusion, and not death
emoval, appeared to be the cause of the
nce of inhabitants.' The same eye-witness
helburne's ruin described the town later :

The houses, which had been originally
uilt of wood, had severally disappeared.
ome had been taken to pieces and re-
noved to Halifax or St John ; others had

been converted into fuel, and the rest ha
fallen a prey to neglect and decomposition
The chimneys stood up erect, and marke
the spot around which the social circl
had assembled; and the blackened fire
places, ranged one above another, bespok
the size of the tenement and the means
its owner. In some places they had sun
with the edifice, leaving a heap of ruin
while not a few were inclining to their fa
and awaiting the first storm to repose aga
in the dust that now covered those wh
had constructed them. Hundreds of ceila
with their stone walls and granite partition
were everywhere to be seen like uncovere
monuments of the dead. Time and dec
had done their work. All that was perish
able had perished, and those numerou
vaults spoke of a generation that ha
passed away for ever, and without the a
of an inscription, told a tale of sorrow a
of sadness that overpowered the heart.

Alas for the dreams of the Pynchons a
the Parrs! Shelburne is now a quaint a
picturesque town; but it is not the city whi
its projectors planned.

CHAPTER VII

THE BIRTH OF NEW BRUNSWICK

HEN Governor Parr wrote to Sir Guy leton, commending in such warm terms advantages of Shelburne, he took occasion the same time to disparage the country ut the river St John. 'I greatly fear,' wrote, 'the soil and fertility of that part of province is overrated by people who have lored it partially. I wish it may turn out erwise, but have my fears that there is rce good land enough for them already sent re.'

How Governor Parr came to make so egregi- a mistake with regard to the comparative its of the Shelburne districts and those of St John river it is difficult to understand. vard Winslow frankly accused him of ousy of the St John settlements. Possibly was only too well aware of the inadequacy the preparations made to receive the alists at the mouth of the St John, and

wished to divert the stream of immigration elsewhere. At any rate his opinion was in direct conflict with the unanimous testimony of the agents sent to report on the land. Botsford, Cummings, and Hauser had reported 'The St John is a fine river, equal in magnitude to the Connecticut or Hudson. At the mouth of the river is a fine harbour, accessible at all seasons of the year—never frozen or obstructed by ice. . . . There are many settlers along the river upon the interval land, who get their living easily. The interval lies on the river, and is a most fertile soil, annually matured by the overflowing of the river and produces crops of all kinds with little labour, and vegetables in the greatest perfection, parsnips of great length, etc.' Late Lieutenant-Colonel Isaac Allen and Edward Winslow, the muster-master-general of the provincial forces, were sent up as agents for the Loyalist regiments in New York, and they explored the river for one hundred and twenty miles above its mouth. 'We have returned,' wrote Winslow after his trip, 'delighted beyond expression.'

Governor Parr's fears, therefore, had little effect on the popularity of the St John river district. In all, no less than ten thousand

ople settled on the north side of the Bay of ndy in 1783. These came, in the main, in ee divisions. With the spring fleet arrived ut three thousand people ; with the summer t not quite two thousand ; and with the umn fleet well over three thousand. Of se who came in the spring and summer st were civilian refugees ; but of those who ived in the autumn nearly all were dis- ded soldiers. Altogether thirteen distinct ps settled on the St John river. There were King's American Dragoons, De Lancey's st and Second Battalions, the New Jersey unteers, the King's American Regiment, Maryland Loyalists, the 42nd Regiment, Prince of Wales American Regiment, the y York Volunteers, the Royal Guides and neers, the Queen's Rangers, the Pennsyl- ia Loyalists, and Arnold's American Legion. these regiments were reduced, of course, fraction of their original strength, owing he fact that numbers of their men had been harged in New York, and that many of the ers had gone to England. But neverthe- with their women and children, their bers were not far from four thousand.

he arrangements which the government Nova Scotia had made for the reception of

this vast army of people were sadly inadequat
In the first place there was an unpardonab
delay in the surveying and allotment of land
This may be partly explained by the i
sufficient number of surveyors at the dispos
of the governor, and by the tedious and difficu
process of escheating lands already grante
but it is impossible not to convict the govern
and his staff of want of foresight and expeditio
in making arrangements and carrying the
into effect. When Joseph Aplin arrived
Parrtown, as the settlement at the mouth
the river was for a short time called, he fou
1500 frame houses and 400 log huts erecte
but no one had yet received a title to the lan
on which his house was built. The case of th
detachment of the King's American Dragoo
who had settled near the mouth of the riv
was particularly hard. They had arrived i
advance of the other troops, and had settle
on the west side of the harbour of St John, i
what Edward Winslow described as 'one
the pleasantest spots I ever beheld.' The
had already made considerable improvemen
on their lands, when word came that th
government had determined to reserve th
lands about the mouth of the river for th
refugees, and to allot blocks of land farthe

the river to the various regiments of provincial troops. When news of this decision reached the officers of the provincial regiments, there was great indignation. 'This is so notorious a forfeiture of the faith of government,' wrote Colonel De Lancey to Edward Winslow, 'that it appears to me almost indible, and yet I fear it is not to be doubted. uld we have known this a little earlier it uld have saved you the trouble of exploring country for the benefit of a people you are connected with. In short it is a subject disagreeable to say more upon.' Winslow, o was hot-headed, talked openly about the vincials defending the lands on which they 'squatted.' But protests were in vain; the King's American Dragoons were comed to abandon their settlement, and to ove up the river to the district of Prince liam. When the main body of the Loyalist ments arrived in the autumn they found t the blocks of land assigned to them had yet been surveyed. Of their distress and plexity there is a picture in one of Edward slow's letters.

I saw [he says] all those Provincial Regiments, which we have so frequently

mustered, landing in this inhospitabl climate, in the month of October, withou shelter, and without knowing where t find a place to reside. The chagrin o the officers was not to me so truly affect ing as the poignant distress of the me Those respectable sergeants of Robinson' Ludlow's, Cruger's, Fanning's, etc.—onc hospitable yeomen of the country—we addressing me in language which almo murdered me as I heard it. 'Sir, we hav served all the war, your honour is witne how faithfully. We were promised land we expected you had obtained it for us. W like the country—only let us have a spot our own, and give us such kind of regulatio as will hinder bad men from injuring us.'

Many of these men had ultimately to go u the river more than fifty miles past what now Fredericton.

A second difficulty was that food and buil ing materials supplied by government prov inadequate. At first the settlers were giv lumber and bricks and tools to build the houses, but the later arrivals, who had as a ru to go farthest up the river, were compelled find their building materials in the fore

ren the King's American Dragoons, evicted om their lands on the harbour of St John, were dered to build their huts 'without any public pence.' Many were compelled to spend the nter in tents banked up with snow; others eltered themselves in huts of bark. The vations and sufferings which many of the ugees suffered were piteous. Some, especiy among the women and children, died m cold and exposure and insufficient food.

In the third place there was great inequality the area of the lands allotted. When the t refugees arrived, it was not expected that many more would follow; and consequently earlier grants were much larger in size n the later. In Parrtown a town lot at gth shrank in size to one-sixteenth of what nad originally been. There was doubtless o some favouritism and respect of persons the granting of lands. At any rate the quality of the grants caused a great many vances among a certain class of refugees. ef Justice Finucane of Nova Scotia was sent Governor Parr to attempt to smooth matters ; but his conduct seemed to accentuate the eeling and alienate from the Nova Scotia horities the good-will of some of the better s of Loyalists.

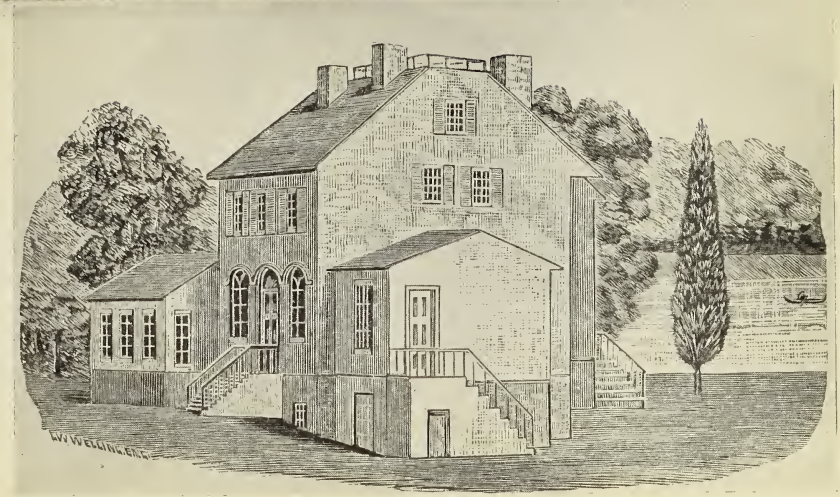
It was not surprising, under these circu
stances, that Governor Parr and the office
of his government should have become ve
unpopular on the north side of the Bay
Fundy. Governor Parr was himself much d
tressed over the ill-feeling against him amo
the Loyalists; and it should be explained th
his failure to satisfy them did not arise fro
unwillingness to do anything in his power
make them comfortable. The trouble w
that his executive ability had not been sufficie
to cope with the serious problems confronti
him. Out of the feeling against Governor Pa
arose an agitation to have the country no
of the Bay of Fundy removed from his jurisd
tion altogether, and erected into a separa
government. This idea of the division of t
province had been suggested by Edwa
Winslow as early as July 1783: 'Think wh
multitudes have and will come here, and th
judge whether it must not from the nature
things immediately become a separate gove
ment.' There were good reasons why such
change should be made. The distance of Pa
town from Halifax made it very difficult a
tedious to transact business with the gove
ment; and the Halifax authorities, being
inhabitants, were not in complete sympa

h the new settlers. The erection of a new vince, moreover, would provide offices for ny of the Loyalists who were pressing their ims for place on the government at home. e settiers, therefore, brought their influence bear on the Imperial authorities, through ir friends in London ; and in the summer of 4 they succeeded in effecting the division y desired, in spite of the opposition of vernor Parr and the official class at Halifax. vernor Parr, indeed, had a narrow escape n being recalled.

he new province, which it was intended first to call New Ireland, but which was ntually called New Brunswick, was to in- le all that part of Nova Scotia north of a running across the isthmus from the mouth ne Missiquash river to its source, and thence ss to the nearest part of Baie Verte. This ndary was another triumph for the Loyalists, placed in New Brunswick Fort Cumberland the greater part of Cumberland county. government of the province was offered to General Fox, who had been in command Halifax in 1783, and then to General grave ; but was declined by both. It eventually accepted by Colonel Thomas eton, a brother of Sir Guy Carleton, by

whom it was held for over thirty years. Th chief offices of government fell to Loyalis who were in London. The secretary of th province was the Rev. Jonathan Odell, a wit New Jersey divine, who had been secretary Sir Guy Carleton in New York. It is interestin to note that Odell's son, the Hon. W. F. Ode was secretary of the province after him, a that between them they held the office for tw thirds of a century. The chief justice was former judge of the Supreme Court of Ne York; the other judges were retired office of regiments who had fought in the wa The attorney-general was Jonathan Bliss, Massachusetts; and the solicitor-general w Ward Chipman, the friend and correspond of Edward Winslow. Winslow himself, who charming letters throw such a flood of lig on the settlement of Nova Scotia and Ne Brunswick, was a member of the coun New Brunswick was indeed *par excellence* t Loyalist province.

The new governor arrived at Parrtown November 21, 1784, and was immediately pr sented with an enthusiastic address of welco by the inhabitants. They described themsel as 'a number of oppressed and insulted Loy ists,' and added that they had formerly be

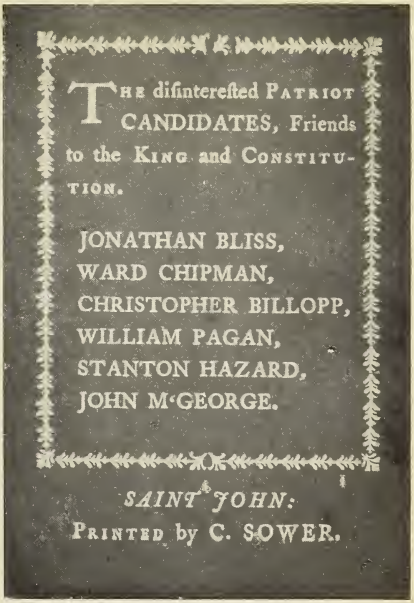


THE FIRST GOVERNMENT HOUSE, FREDERICTON—BUILT 1787

freemen, and again hoped to be so under his government. Next spring the governor granted to Parrtown incorporation as a city under the name of St John. The name Parrtown had been given, it appears, at the request of Governor Parr himself, who explained apologetically that the suggestion had arisen out of 'female vanity'; and in view of Governor Parr's unpopularity, the change of name was very welcome. At the same time, however, Colonel Carleton greatly offended the people of St John by removing the capital of the province up the river to St Anne's, to which he gave the name Fredericktown (Fredericton) in honour of the Duke of York.

On October 15, 1785, writs were issued for the election of members to serve in a general assembly. The province was divided into eight counties, among which were apportioned twenty-six members. The right to vote was given by Governor Carleton to all males of twenty-one years of age who had been three months in the province, the object of this very democratic franchise being to include in the voting list settlers who were clearing their lands, but had not yet received their grants. The elections were held in November, and lasted for fifteen days. They passed off without

incident, except in the city of St John. There a struggle took place which throws a great deal of light on the bitterness of social feeling among the Loyalists. The inhabitants split into two parties, known as the Upper Cove and the Lower Cove. The Upper Cove represented the aristocratic element, and the Lower Cove the democratic. For some time class feeling had been growing; it had been aroused by the attempt of fifty-five gentlemen of New York to obtain for themselves, on account of their social standing and services during the war, grants of land in Nova Scotia of five thousand acres each; and it had been fanned into flame by the inequality in the size of the lots granted in St John itself. Unfortunately, among the six Upper Cove candidates in St John there were two officers of the government, Jonathan Bliss and Ward Chipman; and thus the struggle took on the appearance of one between government and opposition candidates. The election was bitterly contested, under the old method of open voting; and as it proceeded it became clear that the Lower Cove was polling a majority of the votes. The defeat of the government officers, it was felt, would be such a calamity that at the scrutiny Sheriff Oliver struck off over eighty votes, and returned the



FACSIMILE OF CARD USED IN THE FIRST NEW BRUNSWICK ELECTION, 1785

per Cove candidates. The election was pro-
ted, but the House of Assembly refused, on a
hnicality, to upset the election. A strangely
worded and ungrammatical petition to have
assembly dissolved was presented to the
vernor by the Lower Cove people, but
vernor Carleton refused to interfere, and the
per Cove candidates kept their seats. The
ident created a great deal of indignation in
John, and Ward Chipman and Jonathan
ss were not able for many years to obtain a
jority in that riding.

t is evident from these early records
t, while there were members of the oldest
l most famous families in British America
ong the Loyalists of the Thirteen Colonies,
majority of those who came to Nova Scotia,
w Brunswick, and especially to Upper
nada, were people of very humble origin.
the settlers in Nova Scotia, Governor Parr
ressed his regret 'that there is not a
ficient proportion of men of education and
lities among the present adventurers.' The
tion in St John was a sufficient evidence of
strength of the democratic element there;
their petition to Governor Carleton is a
ficient evidence of their illiteracy. Some of
settlers assumed pretensions to which they

were not entitled. An amusing case is th of William Newton. This man had been t groom of the Honourable George Hanger, major in the British Legion during the wa Having come to Nova Scotia, he began to pa court to a wealthy widow, and introduced hi self to her by affirming 'that he was pa ticularly connected with the hono'ble Maj Hanger, and that his circumstances we rather affluent, having served in a mone making department, and that he had left considerable property behind him.' The wido applied to Edward Winslow, who assured h that Mr Newton had indeed been connect —very closely—with the Honourable Maj Hanger, and that he had left a large proper behind him. 'The nuptials were immediate celebrated with great pomp, and Mr Newto is at present,' wrote Winslow, 'a gentleman consideration in Nova Scotia.'

During 1785 and subsequent years, t work of settlement went on rapidly in Ne Brunswick. There was hardship and priv tion at first, and up to 1792 some indige settlers received rations from the governmer But astonishing progress was made. 'T new settlements of the Loyalists,' wrote Colon Thomas Dundas, who visited New Brunswi

the winter of 1786-87, 'are in a thriving ay.' Apparently, however, he did not think ghly of the industry of the disbanded soldiers, r he avowed that 'rum and idle habits con- acted during the war are much against em.' But he paid a compliment to the half- y officers. 'The half-pay provincial officers,' wrote, 'are valuable settlers, as they are abled to live well and improve their lands.'

It took some time for the province to settle wn. Many who found their lands disap- inting moved to other parts of the pro- nce; and after 1790 numbers went to Upper nada. But gradually the settlers adjusted emselves to their environment, and New unswick entered on that era of prosperity nich has been hers ever since.

CHAPTER VIII

IN PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

NOT many Loyalists found their way to Prin Edward Island, or, as it was called at the tir of the American Revolution, the Island of John. Probably there were not many mo than six hundred on the island at any o time. But the story of these immigrants forn a chapter in itself. Elsewhere the refuge were well and loyally treated. In No Scotia and Quebec the English officials stro to the best of their ability, which was pe haps not always great, to make provisi for them. But in Prince Edward Isla they were the victims of treachery a duplicity.

Prince Edward Island was in 1783 owned b a number of large landed proprietors. Whe it became known that the British governme intended to settle the Loyalists in Nova Scoti these proprietors presented a petition to Lo North, declaring their desire to afford asylu

o such as would settle on the island. To this nd they offered to resign certain of their lands or colonization, on condition that the governnent abated the quit-rents. This petition was avourably received by the government, and a roclamation was issued promising lands to ettlers in Prince Edward Island on terms imilar to those granted to settlers in Nova cotia and Quebec.

Encouraged by the liberal terms held forth, number of Loyalists went to the island irect from New York, and a number went ter from Shelburne, disappointed by the rospects there. In June 1784 a muster of oyalists on the island was taken, which owed a total of about three hundred and ghty persons, and during the remainder of e year a couple of hundred went from elburne. At the end of 1784, therefore, is safe to assume that there were nearly six ndred on the island, or about one-fifth of the tal population.

These refugees found great difficulty in obining the grants of land promised to them. ey were allowed to take up their residence certain lands, being assured that their titles ere secure ; and then, after they had cleared e lands, erected buildings, planted orchards,

and made other improvements, they were tol
that their titles lacked validity, and they wer
forced to move. Written title-deeds were with
held on every possible pretext, and when the
were granted they were found to contai
onerous conditions out of harmony with th
promises made. The object of the proprietors
in inflicting these persecutions, seems to hav
been to force the settlers to become tenant
instead of freeholders. Even Colonel Edmun
Fanning, the Loyalist lieutenant-governor, wa
implicated in this conspiracy. Fanning wa
one of the proprietors in Township No. 50. Th
settlers in this township, being unable to obtai
their grants, resolved to send a remonstranc
to the British government, and chose as the
representative one of their number who ha
known Lord Cornwallis during the war, hopin
through him to obtain redress. This agent wa
on the point of leaving for England, when new
of his intention reached Colonel Fanning. Th
ensuing result was as prompt as it was signif
cant: within a week afterwards nearly all th
Loyalists in Township No. 50 had obtaine
their grants.

Others, however, did not have friends in hig
places, and were unable to obtain redress. Th
minutes of council which contained the record

f many of the allotments were not entered
n the regular Council Book, but were kept
n loose sheets; and thus the unfortunate
ettlers were not able to prove by the Council
ook that their lands had been allotted them.
When the rough minutes were discovered years
ter, they were found to bear evidence, in
asures and the use of different inks, of having
een tampered with.

For seventy-five years the Loyalists con-
nued to agitate for justice. As early as
790 the island legislature passed an act
mpowering the governor to give grants to
ose who had not yet received them from the
roprietors. But this measure did not entirely
dress the grievances, and after a lapse of
fty years a petition of the descendants of the
oyalists led to further action in the matter.
n 1840 a bill was passed by the House of
ssembly granting relief to the Loyalists, but
as thrown out by the Legislative Council. As
te as 1860 the question was still troubling
e island politics. In that year a land com-
ission was appointed, which reported that
ere were Loyalists who still had claims on
e local government, and recommended that
ee grants should be made to such as could
ove that their fathers had been attracted to

the island under promises which had neve been fulfilled.

Such is the unlovely story of how th Loyalists were persecuted in the Island of S John, under the British flag.

CHAPTER IX

THE LOYALISTS IN QUEBEC

It was a tribute to the stability of British rule in the newly-won province of Quebec that at the very beginning of the Revolutionary War loyal refugees began to flock across the border. As early as June 2, 1774, Colonel Christie, stationed at St Johns on the Richelieu, wrote to Sir Frederick Haldimand at Quebec notifying him of the arrival of immigrants; and it is interesting to note that at that early date he already complained of 'their unreasonable expectations.' In the years 1775 and 1776 large bodies of persecuted Loyalists from the Mohawk Valley came north with Sir John Johnson and Colonel Butler; and in these years was formed in Canada the first of the Loyalist regiments. It was not, however, until the defeat of Burgoyne at Saratoga in 1778 that the full tide of immigration set in. Immediately thereafter Haldimand wrote to Lord George Germain, under date of October 14, 1778, re-

porting the arrival of 'loyalists in great distress,' seeking refuge from the revolted provinces. Haldimand lost no time in making provision for their reception. He established a settlement for them at Machiche, near Three Rivers, which he placed under the superintendence of a compatriot and a protégé of his named Conrad Gugy. The captains of militia in the neighbourhood were ordered to help build barracks for the refugees, provisions were secured from the merchants at Three Rivers and everything in reason was done to make the unfortunates comfortable. By the autumn of 1778 there were in Canada, at Machiche and other places, more than one thousand refugees, men, women, and children, exclusive of those who had enlisted in the regiments. Including the troops, probably no less than three thousand had found their way to Canada

With the conclusion of peace came a great rush to the north. The resources of government were strained to the utmost to provide for the necessities of the thousands who flocked over the border-line. At Chambly, St Johns, Montreal, Sorel, Machiche, Quebec, officers of government were stationed to dole out supplies. At Quebec alone in March 1784 one thousand three hundred and thirty-eight 'friends of

government' were being fed at the public expense. At Sorel a settlement was established similar to that at Machiche. The seigneury of Sorel had been purchased by the government in 1780 for military purposes, and when the war was over it was turned into a Loyalist reserve, on which huts were erected and provisions dispensed. In all, there must have been nearly seven thousand Loyalists in the province of Quebec in the winter of 1783-84.

Complete details are lacking with regard to the temporary encampments in which the Loyalists were hived; but there are evidences that they were not entirely satisfied with the manner in which they were looked after. One of the earliest of Canadian county histories,[1] a book partly based on traditionary sources, has some vague tales about the cruelty and malversation practised by a Frenchman under whom the Loyalists were placed at 'Mishish.' 'Mishish' is obviously a phonetic spelling of Machiche, and 'the Frenchman' is probably Conrad Gugy. Some letters in the Dominion Archives point in the same direction. Under date of April 29, the governor's secretary writes to Stephen De Lancey, the inspector of the

[1] *Dundas, or a Sketch of Canadian History*, by James Croil, Montreal, 1861.

Loyalists, referring to 'the uniform discontent of the Loyalists at Machiche.' The discontent, he explains, is excited by a few ill-disposed persons. 'The sickness they complain of has been common throughout the province, and should have lessened rather than increased the consumption of provisions.' A Loyalist who writes to the governor, putting his complaints on paper, is assured that 'His Excellency is anxious to do everything in his power for the Loyalists, but if what he can do does not come up to the expectation of him and those he represents, His Excellency gives the fullest permission to them to seek redress in such manner as they shall think best.'

What degree of justice there was in the complaints of the refugees it is now difficult to determine. No doubt some of them were confirmed grumblers, and many of them had what Colonel Christie called 'unreasonable expectations.' Nothing is more certain than that Sir Frederick Haldimand spared no effort to accommodate the Loyalists. On the other hand, it would be rash to assert that in the confusion which then reigned there were no grievances of which they could justly complain.

In the spring and summer of 1784 the great majority of the refugees within the limits of

ıe province of Quebec were removed to what as afterwards known as Upper Canada. ut some remained, and swelled the number f the 'old subjects' in the French province. onsiderable settlements were made at two laces. One of these was Sorel, where the eigneury that had been bought by the crown as granted out to the new-comers in lots; ıe other was in the Gaspé peninsula, on the ıores of the Gulf of St Lawrence and of haleur Bay. The seigneury of Sorel was ell peopled, for each grantee received only xty acres and a town lot, takirg the rest his allotment in some of the newer settle- ents. The settlement in the Gaspé peninsula as more sparse; the chief centre of popula- on was the tiny fishing village of Paspebiac. addition to these settlements, some of the iles took up land on private seigneuries; ese, however, were not many, for the govern- ent discouraged the practice, and refused pplies to all who did not settle on the king's nd. At the present time, of all these Loyalist oups in the province of Quebec scarce a ce remains: they have all been swallowed in the surrounding French population.

The Eastern Townships in the province of ebec were not settled by the United Empire

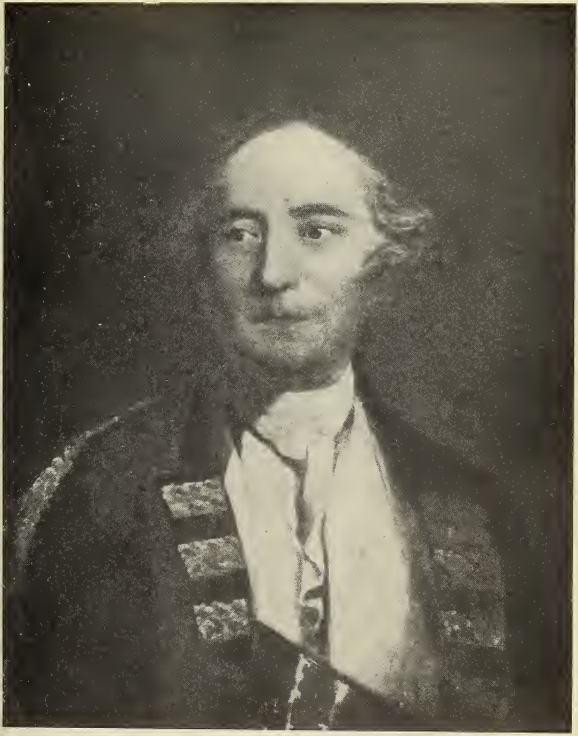
Loyalists. In 1783 Sir Frederick Haldimand set his face like flint against any attempt on the part of the Loyalists to settle the lands lying along the Vermont frontier. He feared that a settlement there would prove a permanent thorn in the flesh of the Americans, and might lead to much trouble and friction. He wished that these lands should be left unsettled for a time, and that, in the end, they should be settled by French Canadians 'as an antidote to the restless New England population.' Some of the more daring Loyalists, in spite of the prohibition of the governor, ventured to settle on Missisquoi Bay. When the governor heard of it, he sent orders to the officer commanding at St Johns that they should be removed as soon as the season should admit of it; and instructions were given that if any other Loyalists settled there, their houses were to be destroyed. By these drastic means the government kept the Eastern Townships a wilderness until after 1791, when the townships were granted out in free and common socage, and American settlers began to flock in. But, as will be explained, these later settlers have no just claim to the appellation of United Empire Loyalists.

CHAPTER X

THE WESTERN SETTLEMENTS

r FREDERICK HALDIMAND offered the Loyalists vide choice of places in which to settle. He s willing to make land grants on Chaleur y, at Gaspé, on the north shore of the Lawrence above Montreal, on the Bay of inté, at Niagara, or along the Detroit river; d if none of these places was suitable, he ered to transport to Nova Scotia or Cape eton those who wished to go thither. At all se places settlements of Loyalists sprang That at Niagara grew to considerable im- tance, and became after the division of the vince in 1791 the capital of Upper Canada. t by far the largest settlement was that which ldimand planned along the north shore of St Lawrence and Lake Ontario between western boundary of the government of ebec and Cataraqui (now Kingston), east of Bay of Quinté. Here the great majority of Loyalists in Canada were concentrated.

As soon as Haldimand received instructio
from England with regard to the granting
the lands he gave orders to Major Samu
Holland, surveyor-general of the king's ter
tories in North America, to proceed with t
work of making the necessary surveys. Maj
Holland, taking with him as assistants Lie
tenants Kotté and Sutherland and deputy-su
veyors John Collins and Patrick M'Nish, set o
in the early autumn of 1783, and before t
winter closed in he had completed the surv
of five townships bordering on the Bay
Quinté. The next spring his men returne
and surveyed eight townships along the nor
bank of the St Lawrence, between the Bay
Quinté and the provincial boundary. The
townships are now distinguished by name
but in 1783-84 they were designated merely b
numbers; thus for many years the old i
habitants referred to the townships of Osnabur
Williamsburg, and Matilda, for instance, as t
'third town,' the 'fourth town,' and t
'fifth town.' The surveys were made in gre
haste, and, it is to be feared, not with gre
care; for some tedious lawsuits arose out
the discrepancies contained in them, and
generation later Robert Gourlay wrote th
'one of the present surveyors informed m



SIR FREDERICK HALDIMAND

After a contemporary painting

at in running new lines over a great extent the province, he found spare room for a ole township in the midst of those laid out an early period.' Each township was sub-ided into lots of two hundred acres each, and own-site was selected in each case which was odivided into town lots.

The task of transporting the settlers from ir camping-places at Sorel, Machiche, and Johns to their new homes up the St wrence was one of some magnitude. neral Haldimand was not able himself to ersee the work; but he appointed Sir John hnson as superintendent, and the work of tlement went on under Johnson's care. On iven day the Loyalists were ordered to strike mp, and proceed in a body to the new tlements. Any who remained behind with-t sufficient excuse had their rations stopped. teaux took the settlers up the St Lawrence, d the various detachments were disembarked their respective destinations. It had been cided that the settlers should be placed on e land as far as possible according to the rps in which they had served during the war, d that care should be taken to have the otestant and Roman Catholic members of a rps settled separately. It was this arrange-

ment which brought about the grouping o
Protestant and Roman Catholic Scottish High
landers in Glengarry. The first battalion o
the King's Royal Regiment of New Yor
was settled on the first five townships west o
the provincial boundary. This was Sir Joh
Johnson's regiment, and most of its membe
were his Scottish dependants from the Mohaw
valley. The next three townships were settle
by part of Jessup's Corps, an offshoot of S
John Johnson's regiment. Of the Cataraqu
townships the first was settled by a band o
New York Loyalists, many of them of Dutc
or German extraction, commanded by Captai
Michael Grass. On the second were part o
Jessup's Corps; on the third and fourth wer
a detachment of the second battalion of th
King's Royal Regiment of New York, whic
had been stationed at Oswego across the lak
at the close of the war, a detachment o
Rogers's Rangers, and a party of New Yor
Loyalists under Major Van Alstine. Th
parties commanded by Grass and Van Alstin
had come by ship from New York to Quebe
after the evacuation of New York in 1783. O
the fifth township were various detachment
of disbanded regular troops, and even a handfu
of disbanded German mercenaries.

As soon as the settlers had been placed on
ıe townships to which they had been assigned,
ıey received their allotments of land. The
ırveyor was the land agent, and the allot-
ents were apportioned by each applicant
awing a lot out of a hat. This democratic
ethod of allotting lands roused the indigna-
on of some of the officers who had settled
ith their men. They felt that they should
ıve been given the front lots, unmindful of
e fact that their grants as officers were from
re to ten times as large as the grants which
eir men received. Their protests, contained
a letter of Captain Grass to the governor,
used Haldimand to a display of warmth to
nich he was as a rule a stranger. Captain
rass and his associates, he wrote, were to get
special privileges, 'the most of them who
me into the province with him being, in fact,
echanics, only removed from one situation
practise their trade in another. Mr Grass
ould, therefore, think himself very well off
draw lots in common with the Loyalists.'
good deal of difficulty arose also from the
ct that many allotments were inferior to
e rest from an agricultural point of view;
t difficulties of this sort were adjusted by
hnson and Holland on the spot.

By 1784 nearly all the settlers were destitute and completely dependent on the generosity of the British government. They had no effects; they had no money; and in many cases they were sorely in need of clothes. The way in which Sir Frederick Haldimand came to their relief is deserving of high praise. If he had adhered to the letter of his instructions from England, the position of the Loyalists would have been a most unenviable one. Repeatedly, however, Haldimand took on his own shoulders the responsibility of ignoring or disobeying the instructions from England, and trusted to chance that his protests would prevent the government from repudiating his actions. When the home government, for instance, ordered a reduction of the rations Haldimand undertook to continue them in full; and fortunately for him the home government, on receipt of his protest, rescinded the order.

The settlers on the Upper St Lawrence and the Bay of Quinté did not perhaps fare as well as those in Nova Scotia, or even the Mohawk Indians who settled on the Grand river. They did not receive lumber for building purposes and 'bricks for the inside of their chimneys and a little assistance of nails,' as did the

ormer; nor did they receive ploughs and hurch-bells, as did the latter. For building umber they had to wait until saw-mills were onstructed; instead of ploughs they had at rst to use hoes and spades, and there were ot quite enough hoes and spades to go round. till, they did not fare badly. When the ifficulty of transporting things up the St awrence is remembered, it is remarkable that ey obtained as much as they did. In the rst place they were supplied with clothes for ree years, or until they were able to provide othes for themselves. These consisted of arse cloth for trousers and Indian blankets r coats. Boots they made out of skins or avy cloth. Tools for building were given em: to each family were given an ax and hand-saw, though unfortunately the axes ere short-handled ship's axes, ill-adapted to tting in the forest; to each group of two milies were allotted a whip-saw and a cross-t saw; and to each group of five families as supplied a set of tools, containing chisels, gers, draw-knives, etc. To each group of e families was also allotted 'one fire-lock . . intended for the messes, the pigeon and ldfowl season'; but later on a firelock as supplied to every head of a family.

Haldimand went to great trouble in obtaining seed-wheat for the settlers, sending agents down even into Vermont and the Mohawk valley to obtain all that was to be had; he declined, however, to supply stock for the farms, and although eventually he obtained some cattle, there were not nearly enough cows to go round. In many cases the soldiers were allowed the loan of the military tents and everything was done to have saw-mills and grist-mills erected in the most convenient places with the greatest possible dispatch. In the meantime small portable grist-mills, worked by hand, were distributed among the settlers.

Among the papers relating to the Loyalists in the Canadian Archives there is an abstract of the numbers of the settlers in the five townships at Cataraqui and the eight townships on the St Lawrence. There were altogether 1568 men, 626 women, 1492 children, and 90 servants, making a total of 3776 persons. These were, of course, only the original settlers. As time went on others were added. Many of the soldiers had left their families in the States behind them, and these families now hastened to cross the border. A proclamation had been issued by the British governmen

inviting those Loyalists who still remained in the States to assemble at certain places along the frontier, namely, at Isle aux Noix, at Sackett's Harbour, at Oswego, and at Niagara. The favourite route was the old trail from the Mohawk valley to Oswego, where was stationed a detachment of the 34th regiment. From Oswego these refugees crossed to Cataraqui. 'Loyalists,' wrote an officer at Cataraqui in the summer of 1784, 'are coming in daily across the lake.' To accommodate these new settlers three more townships had to be mapped out at the west end of the Bay of Quinté.

For the first few years the Cataraqui settlers had a severe struggle for existence. Most of them arrived in 1784, too late to attempt to sow fall wheat; and it was several seasons before their crops became nearly adequate for food. The difficulties of transportation up the St Lawrence rendered the arrival of supplies irregular and uncertain. Cut off as they were from civilization by the St Lawrence rapids, they were in a much less advantageous position than the great majority of the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick settlers, who were situated near the sea-coast. They had no money, and as the government refused to send them specie, they were compelled to fall back on barter as

a means of trade, with the result that all trade was local and trivial. In the autumn of 1787 the crops failed, and in 1788 famine stalked through the land. There are many legends about what was known as 'the hungry year.' If we are to believe local tradition, some of the settlers actually died of starvation. In the family papers of one family is to be found a story about an old couple who were saved from starvation only by the pigeons which they were able to knock over. A member of another family testifies: 'We had the luxury of a cow which the family brought with them, and had it not been for this domestic boon, all would have perished in the year of scarcity.' Two hundred acre lots were sold for a few pounds of flour. A valuable cow, in one case, was sold for eight bushels of potatoes; a three-year-old horse was exchanged for half a hundredweight of flour. Bran was used for making cakes; and leeks, buds of trees, and even leaves, were ground into food.

The summer of 1789, however, brought relief to the settlers, and though, for many years, comforts and even necessaries were scarce, yet after 1791, the year in which the new settlements were erected into the province of Upper Canada, it may be said that most of the settlers

had been placed on their feet. The soil was fruitful; communication and transportation improved; and metallic currency gradually found its way into the settlements. When Mrs Simcoe, the wife of the lieutenant-governor, passed through the country in 1792, she was struck by the neatness of the farms of the Dutch and German settlers from the Mohawk valley, and by the high quality of the wheat. 'I observed on my way thither,' she says in her diary, 'that the wheat appeared finer than any I have seen in England, and totally free from weeds.' And a few months later an anonymous English traveller, passing the same way, wrote: 'In so infant a settlement, it would have been irrational to expect that abundance which bursts the granaries, and lows in the stalls of more cultivated countries. There was, however, that kind of appearance which indicated that with economy and industry, there would be enough.'

Next in size to the settlements at Cataraqui and on the Upper St Lawrence was the settlement at Niagara. During the war Niagara had been a haven of refuge for the Loyalists of Pennsylvania and the frontier districts, just as Oswego and St Johns had been havens of refuge for the Loyalists of northern and

western New York. As early as 1776 there arrived at Fort George, Niagara, in a starving condition, five women and thirty-six children, bearing names which are still to be found in the Niagara peninsula. From that date until the end of the war refugees continued to come in. Many of these refugees were the families of the men and officers of the Loyalist troops stationed at Niagara. On September 27, 1783, for instance, the officer commanding at Niagara reports the arrival from Schenectady of the wives of two officers of Butler's Rangers, with a number of children. Some of these people went down the lake to Montreal; but others remained at the post, and 'squatted' on the land. In 1780 Colonel Butler reports to Haldimand that four or five families have settled and built houses, and he requests that they be given seed early in the spring. In 1781 we know that a Loyalist named Robert Land had squatted on Burlington Bay, at the head of Lake Ontario. In 1783 Lieutenant Tinling was sent to Niagara to survey lots, and Sergeant Brass of the 84th was sent to build a saw-mill and a grist-mill. At the same time Butler's Rangers, who were stationed at the fort, were disbanded; and a number of them were induced to take up land. They took up land on

the west side of the river, because, although, according to the terms of peace, Fort George was not given up by the British until 1796, the river was to constitute the boundary between the two countries. A return of the rise and progress of the settlement made in May 1784 shows a total of forty-six settlers (that is, heads of families), with forty-four houses and twenty barns. The return makes it clear that cultivation had been going on for some time. There were 713 acres cleared, 123 acres sown in wheat, and 342 acres waiting to be sown; and the farms were very well stocked, there being an average of about three horses and four or five cows to each settler.

With regard to the settlement at Detroit, there is not much evidence available. It was Haldimand's intention at first to establish a large settlement there, but the difficulties of communication doubtless proved to be insuperable. In the event, however, some of Butler's Rangers settled there. Captain Bird of the Rangers applied for and received a grant of land on which he made a settlement; and in the summer of 1784 we find Captain Caldwell and some others applying for deeds for the land and houses they occupied. In 1783 the commanding officer at Detroit reported the arrival from

Red Creek of two men, 'one a Girty, the other M'Carty,' who had come to see what encouragement there was to settle under the British government. They asserted that several hundred more would be glad to come if sufficient inducements were offered them, as they saw before them where they were nothing but persecution. In 1784 Jehu Hay, the British lieutenant-governor of Detroit, sent in lists of men living near Fort Pitt who were anxious to settle under the British government if they could get lands, most of them being men who had served in the Highland and 60th regiments. But it is safe to assume that no large number of these ever settled near Detroit, for when Hay arrived in Detroit in the summer of 1784, he found only one Loyalist at the post itself. There had been for more than a generation a settlement of French Canadians at Detroit; but it was not until after 1791 that the English element became at all considerable.

It has been estimated that in the country above Montreal in 1783 there were ten thousand Loyalists, and that by 1791 this number had increased to twenty-five thousand. These figures are certainly too large. Pitt's estimate of the population of Upper Canada in 1791 was

only ten thousand. This is probably much nearer the mark. The overwhelming majority of these people were of very humble origin. Comparatively few of the half-pay officers settled above Montreal before 1791 ; and most of these were, as Haldimand said, ' mechanics, only removed from one situation to practise their trade in another.' Major Van Alstine, it appears, was a blacksmith before he came to Canada. That many of the Loyalists were illiterate is evident from the testimony of the Rev. William Smart, a Presbyterian clergyman who came to Upper Canada in 1811 : ' There were but few of the U. E. Loyalists who possessed a complete education. He was personally acquainted with many, especially along the St Lawrence and Bay of Quinté, and by no means were all educated, or men of judgment ; even the half-pay officers, many of them, had but a limited education.' The aristocrats of the ' Family Compact ' party did not come to Canada with the Loyalists of 1783 ; they came, in most cases, after 1791, some of them from Britain, such as Bishop Strachan, and some of them from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, such as the Jarvises and the Robinsons. This fact is one which serves to explain a great deal in Upper Canadian history.

CHAPTER XI

COMPENSATION AND HONOUR

THROUGHOUT the war the British governmen had constantly granted relief and compensatio to Loyalists who had fled to England. In th autumn of 1782 the treasury was paying ou to them, on account of losses or services, a annual amount of £40,280 over and abov occasional payments of a particular or extra ordinary nature amounting to £17,000 o £18,000 annually. When peace had been con cluded, and it became clear that the American had no intention of making restitution to th Loyalists, the British government determine to put the payments for their compensation o a more satisfactory basis.

For this purpose the Coalition Governmen of Fox and North appointed in July 1783 royal commission "to inquire into the losse and services of all such persons who hav suffered in their rights, properties, and pro fessions during the late unhappy dissension

n America, in consequence of their loyalty o His Majesty and attachment to the British Government.' A full account of the proceedings of the commission is to be found in the *Historical View of the Commission for Inquiry into the Losses, Services, and Claims of the American Loyalists*, published in London in 815 by one of the commissioners, John ardley Wilmot. The commission was originlly appointed to sit for only two years; but ne task which confronted it was so great nat it was found necessary several times to enew the act under which it was appointed; nd not until 1790 was the long inquiry brought) an end. It was intended at first that the aims of the men in the Loyalist regiments ould be sent in through their officers; and r John Johnson, for instance, was asked to ansmit the claims of the Loyalists settled in nada. But it was found that this method d not provide sufficient guarantee against audulent and exorbitant claims; and eventuly members of the commission were comlled to go in person to New York, Nova otia, and Canada.

The delay in concluding the work of the mmission caused great indignation. A tract nich appeared in London in 1788 entitled *The*

Claim of the American Loyalists Reviewed an Maintained upon Incontrovertible Principle of Law and Justice drew a black picture of th results of the delay:

> It is well known that this delay of justic has produced the most melancholy an shocking events. A number of sufferer have been driven into insanity and becom their own destroyers, leaving behind ther their helpless widows and orphans to subsis upon the cold charity of strangers. Othe have been sent to cultivate the wilderne for their subsistence, without having th means, and compelled through want t throw themselves on the mercy of th American States, and the charity of forme friends, to support the life which migh have been made comfortable by the mone long since due by the British Government and many others with their families a barely subsisting upon a temporary allow ance from Government, a mere pittanc when compared with the sum due them.

Complaints were also made about th methods of the inquiry. The claimant wa taken into a room alone with the commissioner

was asked to submit a written and sworn statement as to his losses and services, and was then cross-examined both with regard to his own losses and those of his fellow claimants. This cross-questioning was freely denounced as an 'inquisition.'

Grave inconvenience was doubtless caused in many cases by the delay of the commissioners in making their awards. But on the other hand it should be remembered that the commissioners had before them a portentous task. They had to examine between four thousand and five thousand claims. In most of these the amount of detail to be gone through was considerable, and the danger of fraud was great. There was the difficulty also of determining just what losses should be compensated. The rule which was followed was that claims should be allowed only for losses of property through loyalty, for loss of offices held before the war, and for loss of actual professional income. No account was taken of lands bought or improved during the war, of uncultivated lands, of property mortgaged to its full value or with defective titles, of damage done by British troops, or of forage taken by them. Losses due to the fall in the value of the provincial paper money were thrown out, as were

also expenses incurred while in prison or while living in New York city. Even losses in trade and labour were discarded. It will be seen that to apply these rules to thousands of detailed claims, all of which had to be verified, was not the work of a few days, or even months.

It must be remembered, too, that during the years from 1783 to 1790 the British government was doing a great deal for the Loyalists in other ways. Many of the better class received offices under the crown. Sir John Johnson was appointed superintendent of the Loyalists in Canada, and then superintendent of Indian Affairs; Colonel Edmund Fanning was made lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia; Ward Chipman became solicitor-general of New Brunswick. The officers of the Loyalist regiments were put on half-pay; and there is evidence that many were allowed thus to rank as half-pay officers who had no real claim to the title. 'Many,' said the Rev. William Smart of Brockville, 'were placed on the list of officers, not because they had seen service, but as the most certain way of compensating them for losses sustained in the Rebellion'; and Haldimand himself complained that 'there is no end to it if every man that comes in is to be

considered and paid as an officer.' Then every Loyalist who wished to do so received a grant of land. The rule was that each field officer should receive 5000 acres, each captain 3000, each subaltern 2000, and each non-commissioned officer and private 200 acres. This rule was not uniformly observed, and there was great irregularity in the size of the grants. Major Van Alstine, for instance, received only 1200 acres. But in what was afterwards Upper Canada, 3,200,000 acres were granted out to Loyalists before 1787. And in addition to all this, the British government clothed and fed and housed the Loyalists until they were able to provide for themselves. There were those in Nova Scotia who were receiving rations as late as 1792. What all this must have cost the government during the years following 1783 it is difficult to compute. Including the cost of surveys, official salaries, the building of saw-mills and grist-mills, and such things, the figures must have run up to several millions of pounds.

When it is remembered that all this had been already done, it will be admitted to be a proof of the generosity of the British government that the total of the claims allowed by the royal commission amounted to £3,112,455.

The grants varied in size from £10, the compensation paid to a common soldier, to £44,500, the amount paid to Sir John Johnson. The total outlay on the part of Great Britain, both during and after the war, on account of the Loyalists, must have amounted to not less than £6,000,000, exclusive of the value of the lands assigned.

With the object possibly of assuaging the grievances of which the Loyalists complained in connection with the proceedings of the royal commission, Lord Dorchester (as Sir Guy Carleton was by that time styled) proposed in 1789 'to put a Marke of Honor upon the families who had adhered to the unity of the empire, and joined the Royal Standard in America before the Treaty of Separation in the year 1783.' It was therefore resolved that all Loyalists of that description were 'to be distinguished by the letters U. E. affixed to their names, alluding to their great principle, the unity of the empire.' The land boards were ordered to preserve a registry of all such persons, 'to the end that their posterity may be discriminated from future settlers,' and that their sons and daughters, on coming of age, might receive grants of two hundred acre lots. Unfortunately, the land boards carried out

these instructions in a very half-hearted manner, and when Colonel John Graves Simcoe became lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, he found the regulation a dead letter. He therefore revived it in a proclamation issued at York (now Toronto), on April 6, 1796, which directed the magistrates to ascertain under oath and to register the names of all those who by reason of their loyalty to the Empire were entitled to special distinction and grants of land. A list was compiled from the land board registers, from the provision lists and muster lists, and from the registrations made upon oath, which was known as the 'Old U. E. List'; and it is a fact often forgotten that no one, the names of some of whose ancestors are not inscribed on that list, has the right to describe himself as a United Empire Loyalist.

CHAPTER XII

THE AMERICAN MIGRATION

FROM the first the problem of governing th settlements above Montreal perplexed th authorities. It was very early proposed t erect them into a separate province, as Nev Brunswick had been erected into a separat province. But Lord Dorchester was oppose to any such arrangement. 'It appears to me, he wrote to Lord Sydney, 'that the wester settlements are as yet unprepared for an organization superior to that of a county. In 1787, therefore, the country west of Montrea was divided into four districts, for a tim named Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Nassau, an Hesse. Lunenburg stretched from the wester boundary of the province of Quebec to th Gananoqui; Mecklenburg, from the Gananoqu to the Trent, flowing into the Bay of Quinté Nassau, from the Trent to a line drawn du north from Long Point on Lake Erie; an Hesse, from this line to Detroit. We do no

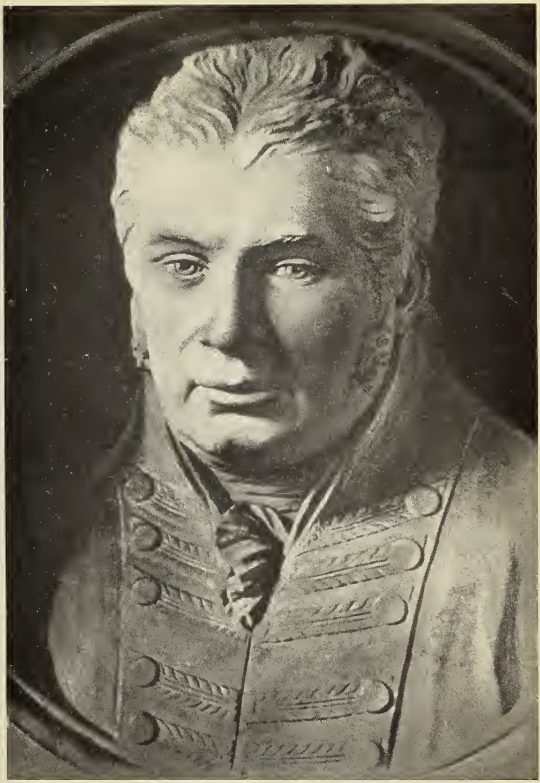
know who was responsible for inflicting these names on a new and unoffending country. Perhaps they were thought a compliment to the Hanoverian ruler of England. Fortunately they were soon dropped, and the names Eastern, Midland, Home, and Western were substituted.

This division of the settlements proved only temporary. It left the Loyalists under the arbitrary system of government set up in Quebec by the Quebec Act of 1774, under which they enjoyed no representative institutions whatever. It was not long before petitions began to pour in from them asking that they should be granted a representative assembly. Undoubtedly Lord Dorchester had underestimated the desire among them for representative institutions. In 1791, therefore, the country west of the Ottawa river, with the exception of a triangle of land at the junction of the Ottawa and the St Lawrence, was erected by the Constitutional Act into a separate province, with the name of Upper Canada; and this province was granted a representative assembly of fifteen members.

The lieutenant-governor appointed for the new province was Colonel John Graves Simcoe. During the war Colonel Simcoe had been the

commanding officer of the Queen's Rangers, which had been largely composed of Loyalists, and he was therefore not unfitted to govern the new province. He was theoretically under the control of Lord Dorchester at Quebec; but his relations with Dorchester were somewhat strained, and he succeeded in making himself virtually independent in his western jurisdiction. Though he seemed phlegmatic, he possessed a vigorous and enterprising disposition, and he planned great things for Upper Canada. He explored the country in search of the best site for a capital; and it is interesting to know that he had such faith in the future of Upper Canada that he actually contemplated placing the capital in what was then the virgin wilderness about the river Thames. He inaugurated a policy of building roads and improving communications which showed great foresight; and he entered upon an immigration propaganda, by means of proclamations advertising free land grants, which brought a great increase of population to the province.

Simcoe believed that there were still in the United States after 1791 many people who had remained loyal at heart to Great Britain, and who were profoundly dissatisfied with their



JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE

From the bust in Exeter Cathedral

lot under the new American government. It was his object to attract these people to Upper Canada by means of his proclamations; and there is no doubt that he was partly successful. But he also attracted many who had no other motive in coming to Canada than their desire to obtain free land grants, and whose attachment to the British crown was of the most recent origin. These people were freely branded by the original settlers as 'Americans'; and there is no doubt that in many cases the name expressed their real sympathies.

The War of the Revolution had hardly been brought to a conclusion when some of the Americans showed a tendency to migrate into Canada. In 1783, when the American Colonel Willet was attempting an attack on the British garrison at Oswego, American traders, with an impudence which was superb, were arriving at Niagara. In 1784 some rebels who had attempted to pose as Loyalists were ejected from the settlements at Cataraqui. And after Simcoe began to advertise free land grants to all who would take the oath of allegiance to King George, hundreds of Americans flocked across the border. The Duc de la Rochefoucauld, a French *émigré* who travelled through Upper Canada in 1795, and who has given us the best

account of the province at that time, asserted that there were in Upper Canada many who 'falsely profess an attachment to the British monarch and curse the Government of the Union for the mere purpose of getting possession of the lands.' 'We met in this excursion, says La Rochefoucauld in another place, 'an American family who, with some oxen, cows and sheep, were emigrating to Canada. "We come," said they, "to the governor," whom they did not know, "to see whether he will give us land." "Aye, aye," the governor replied, "you are tired of the federal government; you like not any longer to have so many kings; you wish again for your old father" (it is thus the governor calls the British monarch when he speaks with Americans) "you are perfectly right; come along, we love such good Royalists as you are; we will give you land."'

Other testimony is not lacking. Writing in 1799 Richard Cartwright said, 'It has so happened that a great portion of the population of that part of the province which extends from the head of the Bay of Kenty upwards is composed of persons who have evidently no claim to the appellation of Loyalists.' In some districts it was a cause of grievance that person

from the States entered the province, petitioned for lands, took the necessary oaths, and, having obtained possession of the land, resold it, pocketed the money, and returned to build up the American Union. As late as 1816 a letter appeared in the Kingston *Gazette* in which the complaint is made that 'people who have come into the country from the States, marry into a family, and obtain a lot of wild land, get John Ryder to move the landmarks, and instead of a wild lot, take by force a fine house and barn and orchard, and a well-cultivated farm, and turn the old Tory (as he is called) out of his house, and all his labor for thirty years.'

Never at any other time perhaps have conditions been so favourable in Canada for land-grabbing and land-speculation as they were then. Owing to the large amount of land granted to absentee owners, and to the policy of free land grants announced by Simcoe, land was sold at a very low price. In some cases two hundred acre lots were sold for a gallon of rum. In 1791 Sir William Pullency, an English speculator, bought 1,500,000 acres of land in Upper Canada at one shilling an acre, and sold 700,000 acres later for an average of eight shillings an acre. Under these cir-

cumstances it was not surprising that many Americans, with their shrewd business instincts, flocked into the country.

It is clear, then, that a large part of the immigration which took place under Simcoe was not Loyalist in its character. From this it must not be understood that the new-comers were not good settlers. Even Richard Cartwright confessed that they had 'resources in themselves which other people are usually strangers to.' They compared very favourably with the Loyalists who came from England and the Maritime Provinces, who were described by Cartwright as 'idle and profligate.' The great majority of the American settlers became loyal subjects of the British crown; and it was only when the American army invaded Canada in 1812, and when William Lyon Mackenzie made a push for independence in 1837, that the non-Loyalist character of some of the early immigration became apparent.

CHAPTER XIII

THE LOYALIST IN HIS NEW HOME

THE social history of the United Empire Loyalists was not greatly different from that of other pioneer settlers in the Canadian forest. Their homes were such as could have been seen until recently in many of the outlying parts of the country. In Nova Scotia and New Brunswick some of the better class of settlers were able to put up large and comfortable wooden houses, some of which are still standing. But even there most of them had to be content with primitive quarters. Edward Winslow was not a poor man, as poverty was reckoned in those days. Yet he lived in rather meagre style. He described his house at Granville, opposite Annapolis, as being 'almost as large as my log house, divided into two rooms, where we are snug as pokers.' Two years later, after he had made additions to it, he proposed advertising it for sale in the following terms: 'That elegant House now occupied by the Honourable

E. W., one of His Majesty's Council for the Province of New Brunswick, consisting of four beautiful Rooms on the first Floor, highly finished. Also two spacious lodging chambers in the second story—a capacious dry cellar with arches &c. &c. &c.' In Upper Canada owing to the difficulty of obtaining building materials, the houses of the half-pay officers were even less pretentious. A traveller passing through the country about Johnstown in 1792 described Sir John Johnson's house as 'a small country lodge, neat, but as the grounds are only beginning to be cleared, there was nothing of interest.'

The home of the average Loyalist was a log cabin. Sometimes the cabin contained one room, sometimes two. Its dimensions were as a rule no more than fourteen feet by eighteen feet, and sometimes ten by fifteen. The roofs were constructed of bark or small hollowed basswood logs, overlapping one another like tiles. The windows were as often as not covered not with glass, but with oiled paper. The chimneys were built of sticks and clay or rough unmortared stones, since bricks were not procurable; sometimes there was no chimney, and the smoke was allowed to find its way out through a hole in the bark roof

Where it was impossible to obtain lumber, the doors were made of pieces of timber split into rough boards; and in some cases the hinges and latches were made of wood. These old log cabins, with the chinks between the logs filled in with clay and moss, were still to be seen standing in many parts of the country as late as fifty years ago. Though primitive, they seem to have been not uncomfortable; and many of the old settlers clung to them long after they could have afforded to build better. This was doubtless partly due to the fact that log-houses were exempt from the taxation laid on frame, brick, and stone structures.

A few of the Loyalists succeeded in bringing with them to Canada some sticks of furniture or some family heirlooms. Here and there a family would possess an ancient spindle, a pair of curiously-wrought fire-dogs, or a quaint pair of hand-bellows. But these relics of a former life merely served to accentuate the rudeness of the greater part of the furniture of the settlers. Chairs, benches, tables, beds, chests, were fashioned by hand from the rough wood. The descendant of one family has described how the family dinner-table was a large stump, hewn flat on top, standing in the middle of the

floor. The cooking was done at the open fire place; it was not until well on in the nineteenth century that stoves came into common use in Canada.

The clothing of the settlers was of the most varied description. Here and there was one who had brought with him the tight knee breeches and silver-buckled shoes of polite society. But many had arrived with only what was on their backs; and these soon found their garments, no matter how carefully darned and patched, succumb to the effects of time and labour. It was not long before the settlers learnt from the Indians the art of making clothing out of deer-skin. Trousers made of this material were found both comfortable and durable. 'A gentleman who recently died in Sophiasburg at an advanced age, remembered to have worn a pair for twelve years, being repaired occasionally, and at the end they were sold for two dollars and a half.' Petticoats for women were also made of deer-skin. 'My grandmother,' says one descendant, 'made all sorts of useful dresses with these skins, which were most comfortable for a country life, and for going through the bush [since they] could not be torn by the branches.' There were, of course, some

articles of clothing which could not readily be made of leather; and very early the settlers commenced growing flax and raising sheep for their wool. Home-made linen and clothing of linsey-woolsey were used in the settlements by high and low alike. It was not until the close of the eighteenth century that articles of apparel, other than those made at home of flax and wool, were easily obtainable. A calico dress was a great luxury. Few daughters expected to have one until it was bought for their wedding-dress. Great efforts were always made to array the bride in fitting costume; and sometimes a dress, worn by the mother in other days, amid other scenes, was brought forth, yellow and discoloured with the lapse of time.

There was little money in the settlements. What little there was came in pay to the soldiers or the half-pay officers. Among the greater part of the population, business was carried on by barter. In Upper Canada the lack of specie was partly overcome by the use of a kind of paper money. 'This money consists of small squares of card or paper, on which are printed promissory notes for various sums. These notes are made payable once a year, generally about the latter end of

September at Montreal. The name of the merchant or firm is subscribed.' This was merely an extension of the system of credit still in use with country merchants, but it provided the settlers with a very convenient substitute for cash. The merchants did not suffer, as frequently this paper money was lost, and never presented; and cases were known of its use by Indians as wadding for their flint-locks.

Social instincts among the settlers were strongly marked. Whenever a family was erecting a house or barn, the neighbours as a rule lent a helping hand. While the men were raising barn-timbers and roof-trees, the women gathered about the quilting-frames or the spinning-wheels. After the work was done, it was usual to have a festival. The young men wrestled and showed their prowess at trials of strength; the rest looked on and applauded. In the evening there was a dance, at which the local musician scraped out tuneless tunes on an ancient fiddle; and there was of course hearty eating and, it is to be feared, heavy drinking.

Schools and churches were few and far between. A number of Loyalist clergy settled both in Nova Scotia and in Upper Canada,

and these held services and taught school in the chief centres of population. The Rev. John Stuart was, for instance, appointed chaplain in 1784 at Cataraqui; and in 1786 he opened an academy there, for which he received government aid. In time other schools sprang up, taught by retired soldiers or farmers who were incapacitated for other work. The tuition given in these schools was of the most elementary sort. La Rochefoucauld, writing of Cataraqui in 1795, says: 'In this district are some schools, but they are few in number. The children are instructed in reading and writing, and pay each a dollar a month. One of the masters, superior to the rest in point of knowledge, taught Latin; but he has left the school, without being succeeded by another instructor of the same learning.' 'At seven years of age,' writes the son of a Loyalist family, 'I was one of those who patronized Mrs Cranahan, who opened a Sylvan Seminary for the young idea in Adolphustown; from thence, I went to Jonathan Clark's, and then tried Thomas Morden, lastly William Faulkiner, a relative of the Hagermans. You may suppose that these graduations to Parnassus was [*sic*] carried into effect, because a large amount of know-

ledge could be obtained. Not so; for Dilworth's Spelling Book, and the New Testament, were the only books possessed by these academies.'

The lack of a clergy was even more marked. When Bishop Mountain visited Upper Canada in 1794, he found only one Lutheran chapel and two Presbyterian churches between Montreal and Kingston. At Kingston he found 'a small but decent church,' and about the Bay of Quinté there were three or four log huts which were used by the Church of England missionary in the neighbourhood. At Niagara there was a clergyman, but no church; the services were held in the Freemasons' Hall. This lack of a regularly-ordained clergy was partly remedied by a number of itinerant Methodist preachers or 'exhorters.' These men were described by Bishop Mountain as 'a set of ignorant enthusiasts, whose preaching is calculated only to perplex the understanding, to corrupt the morals, to relax the nerves of industry, and dissolve the bands of society.' But they gained a very strong hold on the Loyalist population; and for a long time they were familiar figures upon the country roads.

For many years communications both in New Brunswick and in Upper Canada were mainly

by water. The roads between the settlements were little more than forest paths. When Colonel Simcoe went to Upper Canada he planned to build a road running across the province from Montreal to the river Thames, to be called Dundas Street. He was recalled, however, before the road was completed; and the project was allowed to fall through. In 1793 an act was passed by the legislature of Upper Canada 'to regulate the laying out, amending, and keeping in repair, the public highways and roads.' This threw on the individual settler the obligation of keeping the road across his lot in good repair; but the large amount of crown lands and clergy reserves and land held by speculators throughout the province made this act of little avail. It was not until 1798 that a road was run from the Bay of Quinté to the head of Lake Ontario, by an American surveyor named Asa Danforth. But even this government road was at times impassable; and there is evidence that some travellers preferred to follow the shore of the lake.

It will be seen from these notes on social history that the Loyalists had no primrose path. But after the first grumblings and discontents, poured into the ears of Governor Haldimand

and Governor Parr, they seem to have settled down contentedly to their lot; and their life appears to have been on the whole happy. Especially in the winter, when they had some leisure, they seem to have known how to enjoy themselves.

> In the winter season, nothing is more ardently wished for, by young persons of both sexes, in Upper Canada, than the setting in of frost, accompanied by a fall of snow. Then it is, that pleasure commences her reign. The sleighs are drawn out. Visits are paid, and returned, in all directions. Neither cold, distance, or badness of roads prove any impediment. The sleighs glide over all obstacles. It would excite surprise in a stranger to view the open before the Governor's House on a levée morning, filled with these carriages. A sleigh would not probably make any great figure in Bond street, whose silken sons and daughters would probably mistake it for a turnip cart, but in the Canadas, it is the means of pleasure, and glowing healthful exercise. An overturn is nothing. It contributes subject matter for conversation at the next house that is visited, when a

pleasant raillery often arises on the derangement of dress, which the ladies have sustained, and the more than usual display of graces, which the tumble has occasioned.

This picture, drawn in 1793 by a nameless traveller, is an evidence of the courage and buoyancy of heart with which the United Empire Loyalists faced the toils and privations of life in their new home.

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.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

It is astonishing how little documentary evidence the Loyalists left behind them with regard to their migration. Among those who fled to England there were a few who kept diaries and journals, or wrote memoirs, which have found their way into print; and some contemporary records have been published with regard to the settlements of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. But of the Loyalists who settled in Upper and Lower Canada there is hardly one who left behind him a written account of his experiences. The reason for this is that many of them were illiterate, and those who were literate were so occupied with carving a home for themselves out of the wilderness that they had neither time nor inclination for literary labours. Were it not for the state papers preserved in England, and for a collection of papers made by Sir Frederick Haldimand, the Swiss soldier of fortune who was governor of Quebec at the time of the migration, and who had a passion for filing documents away, our knowledge of the settlements in the Canadas would be of the most sketchy character.

It would serve no good purpose to attempt

here an exhaustive account of the printed sources relating to the United Empire Loyalists. All that can be done is to indicate some of the more important. The only general history of the Loyalists is Egerton Ryerson, *The Loyalists of America and Their Times* (2 vols., 1880); it is diffuse and antiquated, and is written in a spirit of undiscriminating admiration of the Loyalists, but it contains much good material. Lorenzo Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution* (2 vols., 1864), is an old book, but it is a storehouse of information about individual Loyalists, and it contains a suggestive introductory essay. Some admirable work on the Loyalists has been done by recent American historians. Claude H. Van Tyne, *The Loyalists in the American Revolution* (1902), is a readable and scholarly study, based on extensive researches into documentary and newspaper sources. The Loyalist point of view will be found admirably set forth in M. C. Tyler, *The Literary History of the American Revolution* (2 vols., 1897), and *The Party of the Loyalists in the American Revolution* (American Historical Review, I, 24). Of special studies in a limited field the most valuable and important is A. C. Flick, *Loyalism in New York* (1901); it is the result of exhaustive researches, and contains an excellent bibliography of printed and manuscript sources. Other studies in a limited field are James H. Stark, *The Loyalists of Massachusetts and the Other Side of*

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See also in this Series: *The Father of British Canada*; *The War Chief of the Six Nations.*

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	MAR 27 RETURN
	RETURN OCT 13 '82
NOV 8 RETURN	DUE EDUC OCT 6 '83
NOV 9 RETURN	RETURN OCT 7 '83
	DUE EDUC NOV 14 '83
MAR 27 RETURN	RETURN NOV 21 '83
	DUE EDUC SEP 23 '84
OCT 31 RETURN	SEP 28 RETURN
	NOV 02 '84
NOV 23 RETURN	NOV - 3 RETURN
OCT 21 RETURN