Despite the fact that many, if not most, of the Loyalists considered themselves to be both American and British, when the American War of Independence began, they felt obliged to offer their allegiance to the duly constituted British government. In return, they expected that authority to protect their property and their persons. They further expected the British army to triumph over the revolutionary forces which talked so glibly of liberty while seeming to practise anarchy. Instead, the “friends of government,” as they were sometimes known, saw their property confiscated, their beliefs vilified as treasonous, and found themselves forced to stand by helplessly while the British government signed a preliminary peace treaty which did little to ensure their safety. In fact, the months following the treaty of January 1783 were, perhaps, the worst for the Loyalists.

Seeking protection, they poured into New York City which had been serving as British headquarters. There, they made hasty plans to depart their native land, mainly by ship, and seek refuge elsewhere. So many of them seemed to pour into the Maritime area of British North America, that one Loyalist, Joshua Upham, wrote to a friend, Edward Winslow, “We shall all soon be with you—every body, all the World moves on to Nova Scotia”.

Not surprisingly, the influence on the area was incredible. In total, almost 35,000 people moved into the Maritime region. Nearly 15,000 of that number went to Sunbury and portions of Cumberland Counties. These counties, which formed part of Nova Scotia at that time, were separated and incorporated into a new province named New Brunswick by an Order-in-Council on June 18, 1784. A short while later, Thomas Carleton, brother of Sir Guy Carleton, was appointed the first Lieutenant-Governor of the province.

What kind of people were the New Brunswick Loyalists? Characterizing them is not an easy task. Most of them were native-born Americans from New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, though there were small groups from the Southern and various New England States. It has been frequently assumed that, like such prominent figures as Edward Winslow, Ward Chipman, and John Coffin, large numbers of New Brunswick Loyalists came from Massachusetts. In actual fact, only about 6% were from that colony. Some of them had what might be called an “aristocratic” background, but many of them were farmers, disbanded soldiers of British-American regiments, or small merchants.

The majority of the Loyalists reached their new land via the Spring, Summer, and Autumn Fleets which anchored at the mouth of the St. John River. There, the Pre-Loyalists, or “old-comers” had established a military presence, represented by Fort Frederick and Fort Howe, and a small trading settlement. A number of Loyalists elected to stay in this trading settlement even though they had been granted land farther up river. It was not long before the tiny community had grown into two bustling towns, known as Parr and Carleton. The increase in population and trade led to the eventual incorporation of the City of Saint John - Canada’s Loyalist City - by Thomas Carleton in 1785.

Other of the Loyalists preferred to seek their homes away from Saint John. When the leader of the Spring Fleet, the ship Union, loaded with Connecticut Loyalists, arrived at Partridge Island in Saint John harbour on May 10, 1783, its passengers, unlike some who were “precipitated” ashore by impatient captains, “remained comfortable aboard” until a suitable place for settlement was found. They
Loyalists of the Maritimes

shortly disembarked onto a small sloop and set sail up the St. John River to Belleisle Bay. Despite their caution in looking for a good place to settle, when they first arrived they found “nothing but wilderness” and the “women and children did not refrain from tears!” Nevertheless, it was not long before an area at the head of Belleisle Creek was laid out by a surveyor who reserved land for a Church and a school, as well as setting out lots. The Loyalists named their new village Kingston. By the time winter set in, according to Walter Bates’ account, “every man in the district found himself and family covered under his own roof... enjoying in unity the blessings which God had provided... in the country into whose coves and wild woods we were driven through persecution.”

Other Loyalists were not so lucky. At St. Anne’s Point (later to become Fredericton, the capital of New Brunswick), some 90 miles from Saint John, most of the settlers did not arrive until late in the fall of 1783. Although a few of them managed to build small log huts before the snow fell, a number of them were obliged to spend the winter in tents with only the ground serving as the floor. Not until the following July was the first real house constructed. It was also not until the early summer of 1784 that supply ships arrived and a King’s Provision Store was opened to serve the needs of St. Anne’s surrounding areas.

Nearly 1/3 of the New Brunswick Loyalists chose to reside in what is now called Charlotte County in southwestern New Brunswick. As a result of the relocation of the border between Maine and New Brunswick in that area, the Loyalists had to evacuate their initial settlement. With the border being established at the St. Croix River, the Penobscot Loyalists, as they were called, moved by ship to settle in what is now the town of Saint Andrews. Some of the families moved their houses, as well as their household effects, by ship, a sailing distance of about 200 miles.

Late in 1783, they acquired as neighbours, “such persons discharged from the several Departments of the Army and Navy as... agreed to form a joint settlement at Port Matoon... “ The group headed first for Nova Scotia but under the leadership of Nehemiah Marks, Thomas Grimmer, and William Murchie, those who sailed with the Autumn Fleet laid out the town of St. Stephen.

There were, of course, many other areas of New Brunswick which were settled by the Loyalists. Of these, a number were granted to disbanded regiments. Along the Saint John, the King’s American Dragoons inhabited Prince William, above them was the King’s American Regiment, and nearer to Woodstock was Delancey’s Brigade. On the banks of the Nashwaak, the Maryland Loyalists and the Forty-Second Highlanders received land. Although it was not mandatory that regiments be granted land all in one block, many of the soldiers preferred to stay together. In all, the Loyalists spread up the St. John River nearly as far as Grand Falls and even in a period of re-adjustment following 1785, into the valley of the Miramichi, locating in Newcastle, Chatham, and other settlements in eastern New Brunswick.

There are many tales of the hardships faced by New Brunswick Loyalists. After that first hard winter of 1783, however, most New Brunswick Loyalists probably took the attitude expressed by Edward Winslow, just being pleased not to be “in danger of starving, freezing, or being blown into the Bay of Fundy.”

The architecture of St. Andrews is a distillation of pre and post revolutionary styles. This 1770 house was shipped from Castine and reassembled at St. Andrews in 1783. Dormer, Porch and rear wing are additions.
Loyalists of the Maritimes

THE CREST OF THE CITY OF SAINT JOHN

Although the first mayor of Saint John, Gabriel Ludlow was directed to have a corporate seal designed, traditionally it is thought that Ward Chipman actually designed the seal. The city motto is taken from Virgil's *Aeneid*, one of Chipman's favourite readings in Latin. It reads: *O Fortunati Quorum Jam Moeinia Surgunt*—"O Happy They, Whose Promised Walls Already Rise". Chipman compared the building of Saint John to the building of the ancient city of Carthage.

SAINT JOHN

Based on material from *The Loyalists* by Christopher Moore

The city which today is called Saint John is located at the mouth of the river of the same name. Samuel Champlain visited the spot on the feast of St. John the Baptist and gave the river its name in his honour. Acadians were deported from a primitive fort located at the site and in 1758 the British rebuilt it and christened it Fort Frederick. The Americans destroyed this fort in 1775 and the British erected Fort Howe on a hill above Portland Point in 1778.

In the 1760's James Simonds and James White arrived from Boston and built structures below Fort Howe. They traded with the natives and the garrison and established ties with the government at Halifax. By 1783 there was a small settlement at the mouth of the river and it had become a trading centre and outlet for timber and masts from the river valley.

Sir Guy Carleton supported Loyalist settlement and encouraged New York Loyalists to go there. In June 1783, 55 prominent Loyalists at New York City, including Ward Chipman, sent a petition to Carleton asking for grants of 5,000 acres each and suggesting that they would be happy to create, and form the elite of, a new social order on the shores of the Bay of Fundy.

The first Loyalists, numbering approximately 3,000, arrived in May, 1783. Throughout the summer and fall roughly 14,000 more refugees poured in. Governor Parr put Major Gilbert Studholme and Lieutenant Samuel Street in charge of organizing and settling the newcomers. They arranged for some to travel up the river and others to go to the Passamaquoddy area. The remainder stayed near the mouth of the river in Parr Town on the east side of the harbour, Carleton on the west side, and Portland on the north.

In the meantime, Edward Winslow, a Loyalist from Massachusetts, arrived from Halifax where he had been serving as a Loyalist agent. He thought that there was more opportunity in the new settlement and soon became a promoter of Loyalist society on the St. John River. He envisioned a great colony which would promote the interests of the British Empire, along with those of himself and his friends. His ideas meshed nicely with those of the 55 petitioners but were greatly resented by the rank and file of the Loyalists. New Jersey Loyalist Robert Campbell was appointed to oversee activities at the community below Fort Howe. On his arrival in August, 1783 he found chaos and disputes among the refugees as they competed for land and supplies. Winslow was quick to blame Halifax authorities for incompetence, while the arrivals from New York accused New Englanders, including Winslow, of acquiring favoured positions.

In spite of the turmoil, the town grew rapidly. Fifteen hundred houses had been framed and finished by the end of 1783. Wharves, warehouses, and ships were built to supply the growing community with goods. Town meetings were held, a newspaper opened, and church services began. The prosperity, along with the problems in dealing with Halifax, served to support the idea that the needs of the settlers in the Saint John valley would be best served by a separate government. Such leaders as Winslow believed that only a division of responsibility would ease the tensions and eliminate friction; at the same time, they would be on hand to assume responsibility for the new colony. They launched a vigorous campaign for the separation of Nova Scotia into two colonies. In 1784 their proposal was adopted and the colony of New Brunswick came into existence with Thomas Carleton, younger brother of Sir Guy, as the first Lieutenant-Governor. The best-placed Loyalists in London and the Saint John valley were awarded titles, salaries, and responsibilities for administering the colony. Unfortunately for the Loyalists at the mouth of the St. John River, Fredericton, up the river and less vulnerable to attack from the sea, was to be the seat of government.
The settlements at the mouth of the river continued to prosper, nevertheless. In 1785 Carleton and Parr Town were incorporated into the city of Saint John, making it the oldest incorporated city in what was to become Canada. While Fredericton came to be known as the centre for government and culture for New Brunswick, Saint John was the centre of trade.

**THE LOYALISTS' FIRST WINTER IN FREDERICTON**

Based on an article by Earle Thomas

Loyalists built the town which would be later named Fredericton at a site called St. Ann's (also spelled St. Anne and St. Anne's) in a clearing on a point created by a bend in the St. John River, just before the first rapids and shallows that inhibited further travel upstream.

On the site of the present-day Old Government House stood the trading post of Benjamin Atterton from Massachusetts, established in 1769. Philip Weade from Ireland had set himself up on a farm with his house located near the site of the modern Christ Church Cathedral. A few miles down river at Burton and, on the other side, at Maugerville, were settlements of New Englanders, who had been there about 20 years and came to be known as the Pre-Loyalists. Consequently, when the Loyalists arrived at St. Ann's in the fall of 1783, they were not entirely alone.

The Fall Fleet from New York carried the officers and men, with their families, of the Loyalist regiments, bound for land on the River St. John above the Reversing Falls since Parr Town (now Saint John) was entirely taken up by Associated Loyalists and their families who had arrived on the Spring and Summer Fleets. Here they assembled their belongings and set up their Government-issue tents to live in for the time being. Conditions were deplorable. It was the wettest September and coldest October on record as they waited to be transported up the river to grants promised them near St. Ann's.

A substantial number, perhaps as many as 2,000, tired of waiting for Government transportation and fed up with the turmoil and frustration of life in the tent settlement above the Falls, hired schooners to carry them up the river. The terrain near St. Ann's looked pleasant enough but the advanced season worried them. They could see that winter was about to set in, a winter, they were to learn, of a severity none of them had ever experienced.

The winter of 1783-84 wasted no time getting started. "Snow fell," Mary Fisher said in her reminiscences, "on the second day of November to a depth of six inches." All the Loyalists started the winter in tents; many spent the entire season in them. These families faced death by freezing and exposure and all were in danger of starving to death. Although they were entitled to Government rations which, while not exactly luxurious, would certainly keep a person alive—the problem was they did not always get them. There were many problems involved in the distribution of provisions. These came all the way from Britain and were dispensed at Parr Town, 90 miles distant, by way of a river covered with ice and snow. The Loyalists were often hungry, even on the verge of starvation, during that winter of 1783-84. In desperation the men made the trip to Parr Town on snowshoes and hauled supplies back on hand sleds or toboggans. They fished through holes in the ice; they hunted moose and deer. Even so, many did not live until spring. When spring finally came most had survived, but a substantial number lay in their graves on the river bank.

In the spring, those who stayed at St. Ann's laid out a town, and their choice of site soon proved astute. The town was laid out with two streets along the river bank, intersected at intervals, and a common behind. In 1784, the new Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, Thomas Carleton, gave the town a vital boost. Fearing that a concentration at Saint John would leave New Brunswick with no more than a thin strip of
coastal settlement, Lieutenant-Governor Carleton was determined to place his capital inland.

Either in January, or early February, 1785, Governor Carleton, William Hazen, Jonathan Odell, and Thomas Knox went up the river, looked over the site, and decided to make St. Ann's the capital, bypassing an older, but flood-prone, site at Maugerville. The town was now to be called Frederick's Town after Frederick, a son of King George III.

With a garrison, government offices, and eventually a cathedral church and college to support its commercial role as a market town and lumbering centre, the growth of Fredericton was assured. The officers of the King’s American Regiment, the New Jersey Volunteers, the American Legion, The Loyal American Regiment, The DeLancey’s and the New York Volunteers, the Pennsylvania Loyalists, and other regiments found themselves well-placed to acquire militia commissions, minor appointments, and other marks of the Lieutenant-Governor's favour.

**KINGSTON**

Based on an article by Doris Calder

The first Loyalists to settle in what became the parish of Kingston arrived in the spring of 1783. Most of them came from south-western Connecticut where their families had lived for up to five generations. As a result they had a strong sense of community since they had known each other for a long time. They were farmers, merchants, and artisans and tradespeople of all kinds, whose loyalty to the king had resulted in their being driven from their homes, frequently early in the war. Some of them joined Loyalist regiments or served the British in assorted capacities behind the lines, others made their way to Long Island, often after hiding in the woods for varying lengths of time.

The first group left Sandy Hook, Long Island on April 26, 1783 on the *Union*. Most of those chose not to disembark at the mouth of the St. John River but rather went upstream and camped at Belleisle Bay. On the second night of their stay they saw a fleet of 10 canoes, carrying Mi'kmaq, coming toward them. The visitors told them not to be afraid and brought them presents, including moose meat. Shortly, most of the passengers on the *Hope* and some from the *Aurora* joined them.

The village of Kingston was built near the end of the portage between the Saint John and the Kennebecasis Rivers, placing it on one of the major routes between the Bay of Fundy and its hinterland. It became a main stopping point between Fredericton and Saint John when travelling by water or by ice in the winter.

The settlers first chose a site for their church and a school and then drew lots for their grants. They elected their church wardens on Easter Sunday, 1784, and in 1788 the Reverend James Scovil, a missionary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), his wife and nine children came from Waterbury Connecticut. The rectory that they built is now a historic site. James’ son, Elias, succeeded him as rector at Kingston and Elias’ son William, became the third generation of the family to minister to the parish. The framework for Trinity Anglican Church was raised in June 1789 and the church was consecrated in November of that same year, making it the oldest Anglican church in New Brunswick. In 1787 they built the first school house.

The farms in the parish were laid out along the rivers. They were long and narrow so that everyone would have access to the river.

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*Trinity Church at Kingston*
Loyalists of the Maritimes

ST. CROIX SETTLEMENTS

ST. ANDREWS

One of the most flourishing Loyalist settlements, located at the mouth of the St. Croix River, St. Andrews, was settled first by members of the Penobscot Association. Families totalling 649 persons, of whom 178 were men, had gathered around Fort George on the Penobscot River. They established town lots at the mouth of the river and farm lots that stretched along the river. They were joined by 125 men and officers from the 74th Association of the Argyll Highlanders who had been stationed at Fort George. They brought with them 32 wives and 48 children. They set up saw mills and, by May, 1784, they were shipping lumber to the West Indies and Nova Scotia. They also fished, farmed, traded, and smuggled.

ST. STEPHEN

Initially sent from Derby Connecticut to Port Mouton, Nova Scotia, by way of New York, these Loyalists were men employed by the Civil Departments of the Army and of Armed Boatsmen. Heberiah Marks was the leader of the group who called themselves the Port Matoon Association. When they had spent some time in Nova Scotia, they were disappointed in their area and sent Marks to find them a better place. It was he who selected this site upriver from St. Andrews. By 1784 there were 201 settlers, and lumbering became one of the major enterprises in this settlement.

BELLEVUE

Situated on Beaver Harbour an inlet on Passamaquoddy Bay east of the St. Croix, Bellevue was established by a group of Quakers and Anabaptists who arrived on the Camel in September 1784 after having first stopped off at the mouth of the St. John River. Their town was laid out according to a very elaborate design and the excellent harbour and good fishing promised prosperity. The hinterland was very rocky and unattractive for farming, however. Their agent, Samuel Fairlamb reported that 192 settlers along with 60 women and 112 children were in residence in 1784. The numbers dwindled until a forest fire destroyed much of the town and the survivors moved to a plateau that they called Pennfield Ridge. On at least two occasions, the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends in Philadelphia sent gifts and members to minister to these, and other, Quaker settlements in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, but the missionaries reported that the meetings were not kept up, and the children were not trained in the thought and discipline of Friends.
Born in Ireland, the youngest of his family, and overshadowed by his brother Guy, Thomas joined the army in 1753. After serving in various parts of Europe he was made governor of the newly-created New Brunswick in 1784, in spite of his hopes that he would be made Governor of Quebec. What he saw as a temporary appointment was to last for the rest of his life.

One of his first acts was to arrange for supplies to the Loyalists to continue until 1787. The close cooperation between Carleton and the Loyalist elite strongly shaped the colony whose characteristics included a powerful ruling class, an established church, and a tightly-controlled parliament. He chose St. Anne’s Point, later named Fredericton to honour the King’s son, as the capital, and appointed the colonial officials who would direct the colony from there. He also was responsible for creating the counties and parishes throughout the colony, and for incorporating the city of Saint John. He encouraged the establishment of the College (later University) of New Brunswick.

As a military man, he saw a strong military presence as a necessity and established garrisons at Saint John, Fort Cumberland, Grand Falls, Presque Isle, and Fredericton. It was at his instigation that the King’s New Brunswick Regiment be formed as part of the expanded preparedness for the Napoleonic wars. This regiment was disbanded in 1802.

The first provincial election took place in 1785 and was accompanied by riots which required the calling out of the army. Disputed seats were given to friends of the Lieutenant-Governor. The government moved to Fredericton 1788 and matters settled down considerably when the Assembly began meeting and cooperating with each other and with the other branches of government. Matters improved even further when his brother, Sir Guy, became Governor of British North America and gave him the added support that he needed. His enemies accused him of incompetence and blamed him for the economic problems which the colony suffered from the beginning.

In 1803 he asked for a leave of absence to attend to affairs in England and he left New Brunswick, never to return, in October. He left such friends as Gabriel and George Ludlow in control of the government. In theory he continued as Lieutenant-Governor until his death on February 2, 1817 and continued to maintain an interest in the colony.

He was a key figure in the early development of New Brunswick in spite of being overshadowed by his brother. The economic problems for which he was often blamed were colonial realities, and not his fault.
Edward Winslow was descended from a long line of illustrious and courageous public servants. His great-great-grandfather, for whom he was named, was a printer of religious tracts for the exiled English Pilgrims in Leyden, Holland. In 1620, Winslow, his wife Elizabeth, and his brother Gilbert, sailed for the New World, landing in Plymouth to establish a new colony. Edward and Gilbert were the first of five brothers to begin a new life in the wilderness of North America. Edward was three times elected governor of the colony and proved a skilled diplomat in dealing with the Indians.

On February 2, 1746 another Edward Winslow was born to another Edward Winslow and his wife, Hannah. Young Edward spent most of his youth living in the beautiful mansion that his father had built in 1754, and which is now headquarters of the Mayflower Society.

The younger Winslow attended Harvard University, graduating in 1765. In conjunction with his father he held such offices at Plymouth as Surveyor of Highways, Naval Officer for the Port, Justice of the Peace, Clerk of the County of General Sessions, and Registrar of Wills for Plymouth County.

At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, Winslow guided Lord Percy’s troops in an expedition to relieve Major Pitcairn at Lexington. Then General Gage appointed him collector of the Port of Boston and Registrar of Probate for Suffolk County. In 1776 he took the Records and the Royal Coat of Arms from the Council Chamber in Boston. The Records were returned in good order at the end of the war but the Coat of Arms was sent to New York where it remained until 1783. It was taken to Halifax, and two years later, Winslow sent it to Saint John where, eventually, it was installed in Trinity Church.

Winslow then travelled to New York where he received a commission of Lieutenant-Colonel from General Gage, who also appointed him Muster-Master General of the Loyalist forces from Nova Scotia to West Florida. His task was, with the help of deputies in strategic places, to draw up a muster roll for each provincial regiment and ensure that the troops were properly paid. This job entailed a great deal of travelling and close contact with the troops. In 1779, he served in two campaigns as commander of the Associated Refugees at Rhode Island. At the close of the war, Sir Guy Carleton appointed Col. Winslow, Col. Isaac Allen, and Col. Stephen DeLancey to arrange for the disbanding and settlement of the Loyalist Regiments along the St. John River. In a letter written in July, 1783, Winslow described the experience:

We cut yesterday with about 120 men—more than a mile thro’ a forest hitherto deemed impenetrable. When we emerged from it, there opened a prospect superior to anything in the world, I believe. A perfect view of the immense Bay of Fundy on one side, a very extensive view of the river St. John’s with the Falls, Grand Lake (or Bay) and islands on the other—in front of the Fort, which is a beautiful object on a high hill and all settlements about the town with the ships, boats, &c., in the harbour—twas positively the most magnificent and romantic scene I have ever beheld. Our town is to be on the slope of this hill.

In addition to his work along the St. John River, Winslow became secretary to the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Nova Scotia. In April, 1783, he brought his wife, Mary, nicknamed Polly, their three children, and their servants to settle in Granville, near Annapolis, in a rented house which he called, “Mount Necessity”. His parents and two
Edward Winslow was devoted to his family, loved by his friends, respected by his acquaintances, kind and compassionate to those who sought his help, an entertaining conversationalist, and a prolific letter writer whose voluminous correspondence yields a great deal of valuable information about the Loyalist origins of the Province of New Brunswick.
Ward Chipman arrived at Saint John in May, 1784. He had been born in Massachusetts in 1754, graduated from Harvard in the 1770's, and practiced law briefly in Boston. In 1776, he fled to London but later returned to America, landing at New York where Sir Guy Carleton appointed him Commissariat for the settlement of British Refugees.

Upon arriving at Saint John, Chipman set up a law practice and became involved in the affairs of the colony. He drew up the charter for the city of Saint John which was made up of the original settlement, Parr Town, as well as the settlement named Carleton across the harbour. On February 1, 1785, Chipman was appointed Attorney General for the colony of New Brunswick.

On October 24, 1786 Chipman married Elizabeth Hazen. Elizabeth father, William Hazen, was a New England trader who foresaw trouble in the Thirteen Colonies as early as the 1760's. In 1771, planning ahead for an uncertain future, he arranged to have a house built at the mouth of the St. John River. This house stood at the corner of Simonds and Brooks Streets in Saint John, New Brunswick.

When the Hazen family left Massachusetts in 1775, their household consisted of four men, three boys, and three women. Eventually there would be 16 children in the family. William Hazen prospered in his new surroundings, making a fortune with his trading post in partnership with Richard Simonds and James White.

Elizabeth was a celebrated hostess who frequently entertained Governor Thomas Carleton and other prominent citizens. In 1794, she entertained the Duke of Kent, father of Queen Victoria. She was a close friend of Peggy (Shippen) Arnold and continued to keep in touch with her when she and her husband, Benedict, left Saint John for the last time. It is from their correspondence that we can learn about social life in Loyalist New Brunswick in the early years.
Jonathan Odell's (1737-1818) family probably arrived in America in 1635 and settled in New Jersey where he was born in 1737. He was educated at Princeton University and served with the British in a medical capacity in the West Indies. He was ordained into the Church of England in 1767 and then returned to New Jersey. He married Anne DeCou and their son, William Franklin (1774-1844) was born in Burlington, Vermont.

Jonathan did not think that the American Revolution was justified and showed his disapproval by writing satire in poetry and prose attacking the rebels and encouraging the Loyalists. As a result he was forced to flee to New York, leaving his family behind. In 1779 he was occupied with coding and decoding messages from Benedict Arnold. Eventually his property was confiscated and the family were reunited and fled to Nova Scotia where they were living by March 1783. He supported the separation of New Brunswick from Nova Scotia. He was appointed assistant secretary to Sir Guy Carleton on July 1, 1783 and accompanied him to England, perhaps in the hope that he would be appointed Bishop. Instead, he was appointed Secretary Registrar and Clerk of Council for Thomas Carleton, newly-appointed Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick. He was actively involved in the choice of Fredericton as capital of the colony and lived there for the rest of his life.

Although he was poor and could not afford to send his children to University, Jonathan had access to patronage, and his son, William, was named Deputy Clerk of Pleas of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick in 1793 and Clerk of the Legislative Council in 1802. William read law with Ward Chipman and was called to the bar in 1806. While Jonathan continued to hold the position of Provincial Secretary, William carried out his duties unofficially until 1815 when he was given the appointment. William became the principal surveyor for the British in determining the boundary between Maine and New Brunswick after the Treaty of Ghent in 1814. He led survey parties through the border areas from 1818 to 1820. He was a member of the Board of Governors of the College of New Brunswick and the Council of King's College.

Jonathan wrote songs and odes for such special occasions as the one to his wife on their 39th wedding anniversary, and personal tributes such as the one for Thomas Carleton on his departure for England in 1803. A collection of his work is contained in The New Brunswick Poems of Jonathan Odell: a Selection (Kingston, 1982).
Loyalists of the Maritimes

DR. AZOR AND GLORIANA PURDY BETTS

From an article by Mary Jane Perkins Galer their great-great-great-granddaughter

Dr. Azor Betts, his wife Gloriana (Purdy) Betts, and their six children arrived at the mouth of the St. John River with the Spring Fleet on May 18, 1783. They left New York on board the Littledale River with the Spring Fleet they lived in tents until land was cleared for Parr Town. It was 14 months before Azor's petition for a land grant in compensation for his services to the king was granted. He received 200 acres of rocky, forested land on the East side of the Kennebecasis River, 12 miles from Parr Town. The family bravely cleared land and built a log cabin, only to find the acreage had been awarded to someone else. Rallying support from friends, Azor took his family to the west side of the Kennebecasis River to live on 25 acres there. The family again cleared land and built another log cabin in Kingston where they lived for 20 years.

Azor Betts was a pioneer in the medical treatment of small-pox and devoted his life to trying to cure the deadly disease. The method of treatment used in the 18th century was considered a heathen practice and was forbidden in many colonies. When the colony of New York outlawed the practice, he still continued to treat people who wanted to avoid the disease. Since more soldiers were dying from small-pox than bullets during the Revolutionary War, Continental officers pleaded with him to treat them and he did so.*

Azor was sent to jail twice in 1776 for defying the law and treating Continental officers against small-pox. He was also charged with calling the Continental Congress "a set of rascals" adding that "they had shut up his shop and he hoped to see the day when he would shut them up." In July, 1776, he was among the prisoners who left jail in New York City after British war ships arrived. He welcomed the arrival of the British and vowed he would do everything in his power to suppress the rebellion.

After serving with the Queen's Rangers for some time, he answered a call from James Delancey to serve as a surgeon for his Refugees, a Loyalist unit. With Delancey's Refugees he raided the Westchester countryside, sabotaged Continental cannons, and in addition cared for the sick and wounded.

We can only suspect that Betts was using a 'traditional' technique. The ancient Chinese recognized that those who recovered from a case of "the pox" were immune to smallpox. They took material from a dried scab and scratched it into an uninfected person. It worked and the process was repeated by others, with the technique eventually reaching India. From India it traveled by various routes to Europe in the 17th century. The only problem was that the scab from a victim contains fully virulent virus capable of producing the disease. Thus, while a person might have only a mild case and become immune, he shed the virulent virus and was capable of starting another epidemic.

Knowing of the folklore that milkmaids were generally immune, Betts may have been using the technique with cowpox or some other version of the virus. Edward Jenner administered the first effective vaccine for smallpox in 1796 from killed cowpox virus.

*We can only suspect that Betts was using a 'traditional' technique. The ancient Chinese recognized that those who recovered from a case of "the pox" were immune to smallpox. They took material from a dried scab and scratched it into an uninfected person. It worked and the process was repeated by others, with the technique eventually reaching India. From India it traveled by various routes to Europe in the 17th century. The only problem was that the scab from a victim contains fully virulent virus capable of producing the disease. Thus, while a person might have only a mild case and become immune, he shed the virulent virus and was capable of starting another epidemic.

Dr. Azor Betts was 35 years old when the Revolutionary War started. He was an established doctor when he married Gloriana Purdy, daughter of a wealthy farmer from White Plains, New York. They owned a fine home in New York City. Their ancestors had come to America to settle in Connecticut and New York 150 years earlier. Azor and Gloriana chose to support King George III during the American Revolution.

Although he lacked material success, he lived to see the achievement of his cherished goal, the defeat of small-pox.

Azor Betts died in 1809 and is buried at Trinity Anglican Church in Digby, Nova Scotia. He was a man with passionate loyalties and beliefs, willing to exchange a comfortable life for one of deprivation and poverty. Although he lacked material success, he lived to see the achievement of his cherished goal, the defeat of small-pox.