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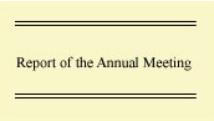

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EDWARD WINSLOW, JUNIOR: LOYALIST PIONEER IN THE MARITIME PROVINCES

By CLARENCE W. RIFE

Among the colonial aristocracy of New England prior to the Revolution, few came of better lineage or occupied a more honourable place in colonial society than the Winslows. The ancestor of the family in America, Edward Winslow—a name perpetuated in the families of admiring descendants—was one of the most highly esteemed Pilgrims of the intrepid band of 1620. His disinterested industry for the good of the colony, coupled with his many excellent qualities, marked him for public honours. Three times he served as governor and in 1655 he was appointed by Cromwell as one of a commission to direct operations in the West Indies against the Spaniards. Every generation of Winslows from this time to the Revolution supplied worthy members for positions of executive, military or judicial responsibility.

At the time when the storm clouds of revolution were beginning to gather, shortly to break with intensified fury over New England, Edward Winslow, a great-grandson of the above mentioned governor, and his son Edward, Jr. were probably the most outstanding members of the house. The elder Winslow was a gentleman of finished culture, impressive personality and charming affability. His stately mansion in Plymouth was opened frequently to the most distinguished members of the colonial aristocracy. In loyalist writings of later years, when the *habitués* of this colonial mansion were widely scattered by adverse fortune, one frequently hears an echo of former days when "the good old man" proved so generous a host.

The Winslows, father and son, like so many others of the colonial aristocracy, were graduates of Harvard. They were royalists of the old school; their whole environment, conditioned by descent, education, social and official connections, naturally turned them to the side of government. Until the momentous year 1775 they held conjointly the offices of Collector of the Port of Plymouth, Registrar of Probate, and Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas. The storm, which soon broke around them, restricted the elder to narrow confinement at his home in Plymouth for seven troubled years, and drew his son into the tempest of civil strife. For both it involved eventually, banishment, confiscation of property and exile to a cheerless wilderness.

At the outbreak of the Revolution Edward Winslow, Jr., the subject of this paper, enjoyed almost as great popularity in circles well disposed to government as did his father. He was then in his thirtieth year. Many of the younger men of the official class had been his classmates at Harvard. Among them there was a community of social and political interests. Although the Revolution divided the Winslow social and family group, many of the friendships were cemented more firmly by the vicissitudes of civil war and exile. The younger Winslow was a brilliant member of his circle. In 1770 he delivered the first anniversary address at the Old Colony Club, of which he was one of the founders. As a *raconteur* he was

highly esteemed; and as a correspondent, in that age when letter-writing was still an art, he was considered by his friends to be without a peer. Generous and sympathetic in spirit, cultivated in outlook, without the vindictiveness which so many of his loyalist contemporaries exhibited, he was an able representative of the better class of loyalist.

Edward Winslow, Jr. early undertook active measures on behalf of the royal cause. He organized the Tory Company of Plymouth which preserved order in that community long after other towns of Massachusetts were in an uproar.[1] This activity incurred the vindictive opposition of the popular party. The disastrous contest at Lexington beheld him acting as a guide to Lord Percy in advancing to the relief of the hard pressed regulars. His conduct on that memorable occasion evidently did him much credit as Lord Percy commented upon it favourably.[2] Coming to the attention of General Gage, he was appointed Collector of the Port of Boston and Registrar of Probate for Suffolk County.[3] The evacuation of the city by the British in 1776 necessitated the withdrawal of about fifteen hundred loyalists, especially those who had given active support to the royal cause. Winslow, with a multitude of others, took temporary refuge in Halifax. Departure from the scenes of youth, perhaps never to return, was poignantly felt by the young loyalist.

When General Howe's reinforcements were assembling at Staten Island in July, 1776, for a descent on New York, Winslow was appointed to be "Muster-Master-General to the Provincial Troops taken into His Majesty's pay within the Colonies lying on the Atlantic Ocean from Nova Scotia to West Florida inclusive." For the young enterprising loyalist, the appointment was a challenge to his best services. At that time there was only one loyalist corps in His Majesty's service, apart from the ones at Halifax. In spite of the skepticism of the British command of the value of colonial troops, the number of corps increased so that deputy muster-masters had to be appointed. These rendered frequent reports to Winslow. All provincial corps were required to be mustered six times a year. Winslow mustered in person all the troops within reach of his headquarters, and not infrequently rode a distance of two hundred and sixty miles in the ordinary round of duties.

The destitution of worthy loyalists who had sacrificed their all for what they regarded as the nobler cause always excited the commisseration of Edward Winslow. "When I cast an eye on some venerable figures," he writes, "and consider their services, and their sufferings, and I know that they are unnoticed and forgotten, by Heaven I feel a noble indignation." His parents and sisters had remained at the old home in Plymouth when many of the loyalists withdrew, hoping that a happy change of fortune might restore the old régime. The lot of the family, formerly "habituated to affluence," was not an enviable one. But for remittances from Edward Winslow's scanty allowance as Muster-Master-General, the old gentleman would have been forced to sell his stately residence.[4] He was subject to many of the indignities devised especially for loyalists, and his sixty odd years and former respected position seem not to have saved him from extreme treatment. Edward Winslow, Jr., in a communication from

[1] Winslow to Joshua Loring, 2 Dec., 1788, *Winslow Papers, A.D. 1776-1826*, ed. by W. O. Raymond, (St. John, 1901), p. 363.
[2] Sir John Wentworth to Sir John Sherbrooke, 9 Aug., 1815, *ibid.*, p. 698.
[3] *Winslow Papers*, p. 503.
[4] Winslow to Robt. Hallowell, 2 May, 1778, *ibid.*, pp. 25f.

his cousin, is informed that his "father has been called upon to turn out as a common soldier, hire a man in his room, or go to gaol." In 1781, the elder Winslow with his wife and daughters escaped to the friendly shelter of the great loyalist stronghold, New York. A friend, into whose heart the bitterness of exile had entered years before, rejoices that " that good man is at last free from the brutish insults of an ignorant set of D——ls where he last resided."[5] In the light of such venomous remarks one can visualize the rigorous treatment which almost certainly would have been accorded to the "Sons of Liberty" if the loyalists had been permitted to return victorious.

The ill considered attitude of patronizing condescension on the part of English statesmen and generals toward the colonial troops was not calculated to attract loyalist volunteers to the King's standard. Early in the struggle, eager requests to serve were rejected with scant courtesy. The lessons of the French Wars, in which the value of colonials had been ably demonstrated, seem to have been lost along with the rather effective generalship of the Pitt régime. Furthermore, the indignities heaped upon the loyalist population by the regular troops alienated great numbers whose active assistance otherwise would have been enlisted in the royal cause.

Edward Winslow, Jr. and several fellow loyalists of distinction long cherished a desire to be commissioned to enlist loyalist battalions, but the general distrust of colonials, and the tendency to give priority to regular officers proved an insuperable obstacle. " I would not detract one iota from the respect due to veterans," writes Winslow in 1781 to his friend John Wentworth, late governor of New Hampshire, "but, in Heaven's name, when a state is in danger should men of capability, liberal education and extensive knowledge remain unemployed until all the serjeants of the [regular] army are provided for?"[6] He resented the predominance of English officers in the colonial corps, especially when some of them did not represent the best British traditions. "Coxcombs—Fools—and Blackguards," he exclaims in a letter to Major Barry, "have been provided as officers in the Provincial Line. The soldiers, unaccustomed to severity, have been made miserable and unhappy. I really am no advocate for indulgencies to soldiers; but I cannot think it below the dignity of an officer who wishes well to the service in general to consult the disposition of his men."[7] To Governor Wentworth, Winslow does not hesitate to affirm "that the British have gained near as much from their observations of the Provincial and American Troops as the latter have acquired from them." Toward the close of the war the value of the loyalist troops was better understood by the command. If the fifty loyalist corps which were raised eventually had been organized quite early in the struggle, ably officered and tolerably well treated, the outcome of some of the campaigns might easily have been different.

In 1779 Winslow saw some active service. The Loyal Associated Refugees, composed of various loyalist corps in Rhode Island, were placed under his command and he was given the rank of lieutenant-colonel. This body was employed in desultory operations along the coast, but it does not appear that it was heavily engaged while Winslow was in command.

When the Revolutionary War drew to a close, the failure of British arms was clearly apparent. Hopeless indeed was the future of the loyalists. For nearly eight years they had followed the varying fortunes

[5] Capt. Robert Bethel to Winslow, 20 Apr., 1782, *ibid.*, p. 72.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 68.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

of war, sometimes elated at the prospect of victory, more frequently chagrined at mismanagement and failure. Although admitting that the system of colonial government required readjustment, they had opposed violent means of effecting it. As a consequence, they had been driven from comfortable homes to cheerless exile. The realization of defeat was bitter. Of all kinds of warfare, civil war engenders the most relentless animosities. In the face of confiscation acts and charges of treason, there was no other course open for many unhappy loyalists but final exile.

Winslow was a man of action. As an officer of the Provincials he had proved his worth; and when the exodus of loyalists from New York drew near, he was assigned new responsibilities. Nova Scotia, with its sparse population and vast unoccupied area, was the goal of many. Men of the loyalist corps applied for blocks of land where they might settle with their families and keep up a semblance of the old organizations. To explore and lay out tracts of land for the Provincials was the task alloted by Sir Guy Carleton to Winslow and two other officers, Colonel Isaac Allen, and Colonel Stephen DeLancey. Carleton's parting instructions are of interest: "You are to provide an asylum for your distressed countrymen. Your task is arduous; execute it as men of honour. The season for fighting is over, bury your animosities and persecute no man. Your ship is ready and God bless you."[8] The appointment was a turning point in Winslow's career: the old ties were severed; pioneer experiences were ahead.

In April, 1783, Winslow with his wife and small family sailed for Nova Scotia. At Annapolis where hundreds of loyalists were already living, he established a temporary home on a rented farm. Although supplies were short and living conditions were rather primitive, he was able by July to leave his family in tolerably comfortable circumstances.

Crossing to the northwest shore of the Bay of Fundy, Winslow joined his two colleagues and commenced official operations. On the river St. John, where the population had been sparse before the Revolution, new settlements had sprung up and the encampments of loyalists were already in evidence. Pioneer conditions prevailed: the towns were overcrowded; building operations were progressing hurriedly; artisans were constructing rough boats for use on the river; and an axe brigade of the King's American Dragoons, under command of Major Murray, was opening roads through the forest. The distance of the new settlements from the administrative centre, Halifax, made effective control difficult. Moreover the Governor, John Parr, had never visited, and was not favourably disposed to the St. John valley.[9] The agents, previously sent to superintend settlement among the advance guard of loyalists, had proved incompetent. Thousands of refugees had been allowed to congregate without certain information of the lands which they were to occupy. "They are at present crowded into one spot without covering," writes Winslow, "and totally ignorant where they are eventually to settle, altho' two townships containing near three hundred thousand acres of the best land on the River St. John's has been long ago escheated at their application."[10] Winslow and his fellow agents were soon busily engaged, inspecting new townships, hastening the allocation of lands, and making tours of inspection with a view to later development. A trip of one hundred and twenty miles

[8] W. O. Raymond, "New Brunswick: general history, 1758-1867" in *Canada and its provinces*, ed. by A. Shortt and A. G. Doughty, (Toronto, 1914), XIII, p. 148. Winslow was not the first of his family to serve in Nova Scotia. In 1755 his uncle, Colonel John Winslow, while serving in the province, had been called upon to aid in expelling the Acadians.

[9] Parr to Sir Guy Carleton, 25 July, 1783, *Winslow Papers*, p. 110.

[10] To Joshua Upham, n.d. [1783], *ibid.*, p. 102.

up the St. John Winslow considered the most agreeable tour he had ever experienced. As agent for the Provincials, he was a man of consequence in the new settlement. No one, he thought, ventured to appeal to headquarters without his recommendation. As a result of his businesslike arrangements, many trying difficulties were overcome and many a friend among the Provincials had reason to thank him.

The problem of a livelihood in pioneer communities is always serious. At times Winslow was in despair. His work as agent brought small financial returns, and the duties could not last long. But loyalist friends at New York were not unmindful and they succeeded in having him appointed Military Secretary to General Fox,[11] the new commander of the forces in Nova Scotia and a brother of the distinguished Whig statesman. Winslow was overjoyed. On August 1, 1783, he arrived at Halifax, a town bustling with unusual energy owing to the constant arrival and departure of troops and refugees. To inspect the chief settlements within his jurisdiction was General Fox's first care. The possibilities of the St. John River district impressed him favourably and confirmed Winslow's good opinion of that country. Between general and secretary a close friendship soon developed. During the day the general was the formal man of affairs; in the evening, the agreeable companion. But Fox's term of office was short. Early in 1784 he returned to England, much to Winslow's regret, and was succeeded in Nova Scotia by Major General Campbell.

The evacuation of New York by the British, necessitated the withdrawal of all prominent loyalists. The elder Winslow, since his flight from Plymouth, had lived with his family in the suburbs. The previous confiscation of his property and the prospect of persecution at the hands of his republican enemies precluded a return to his old home. His son proposed that he go to England; but fearing so long a voyage, he sought refuge in Halifax. There a house was obtained for the family opposite the Parade Ground. In spite of limited finances and restricted quarters, the Winslow residence displayed at times the hospitality of the old colonial days. We read of General Fox and sixteen other friends being entertained at dinner, and of loyalist officers as constant visitors. "The old folks are delighted with Halifax," writes Edward Winslow; "they receive every civility and attention." Better times had indeed come but the venerable loyalist was not long to enjoy them. In June, 1784, he passed away suddenly at the age of seventy-one. "He died as he lived," ran his epitaph, "beloved by his friends and respected by his enemies."

Scenes of privation and hardship are always observable in pioneer communities. Even Halifax, the capital of the province, was thronged at times with multitudes for whom adequate preparation had not been made. In a voluminous communication to his wife at Annapolis, Winslow describes the wretchedness and destitution of the poorer immigrants. "This is what we call a board day," he writes, "& the yard in front of my House has been crowded since eight o'clock with the most miserable objects that ever were beheld. As if there was not a sufficiency of such distressed objects already in this country the good people of England have collected a whole ship load of all kinds of vagrants from the streets of London, and sent them out to Nova Scotia. Great numbers died on the passage of various disorders—the miserable remnant are landed here and have now no cover but tents. Such as are able to crawl are begging for a proportion of provisions at my door . . . . . As soon as we get rid of such a sett

[11] Ward Chipman to Winslow, 25 June, 1783, *Winslow Papers*, pp. 911.

as these, another little multitude appears of old crippled Refugees, men and women who have seen better days. Some of 'em tell me they formerly knew me, they have no other friend to depend upon and they solicit in language so emphatical and pathetic, that 'tis impossible for any man whose heart is not callous to every tender feeling, to refuse their requests. . . . . I am illy calculated for such services," continues Winslow, "These applications make an impression on my mind which is vastly disagreeable. I cannot forget them. It is not possible to relieve all their distresses. I long to retreat from such scenes. My views are humble, I ask no more than a competency to support myself, my wife, and children decently and to live and enjoy them I care not where."[12] Alas for poor Winslow; his disinterested efforts for the good of others were to remain unrewarded for many years. In fact he never attained the competence which he desired so ardently.

The influx of multitudes of loyalists into Nova Scotia naturally taxed to the utmost the administrative system. By the summer of 1784 the population of the province had trebled, the loyalist settlers numbering nearly thirty thousand.[13] The number of immigrants was so greatly in excess of Governor Parr's expectations that arrangements for their reception were wholly inadequate. From May until December, 1783, the refugees kept arriving at the St. John River. At the end of the year the population of Parrtown and Carleton was estimated at five thousand. Other districts on the same side of the Bay of Fundy had received as many more. Delay in the survey and allocation of lands, inequality in the area of lots in the towns, and inadequate supplies of food and building materials, caused general distrust of Governor Parr and the administration at Halifax.

The antagonism between Whigs and Tories which had risen to such a fury in the colonies during the late war had some echoes in Nova Scotia. Prior to the arrival of the loyalists the province had been largely under the control of the settlers who had come from New England after the Seven Years War. Between these people and their friends in the older colonies very close relations still existed. During the late war the republican sentiments of some of the Nova Scotians were openly expressed. Most of the public offices were held by this class, and the legislature was largely under their control. It was not surprising, therefore, that the arrival of an overwhelming number of aggressive loyalists should be regarded by them with concern. Governor Parr, like many other colonial governors of the period, found himself more or less dependent for advice upon those who were entrenched in high official position. This reliance upon the old inhabitants brought him into disfavour with the newcomers. The loyalists soon showed their contempt of those whom they regarded as a republican bureaucracy. "All the great people of Halifax, men and women," writes Winslow to his wife in September, 1784, "have been and are still flocking to the states to visit their rebel brethren, and I dare say their congratulations and embraces are very cordial." Representation in the Assembly was now sought by the loyalists of the new settlements. Governor Parr admitted the justice of their plea, but pointed out certain technical restrictions which could only be removed by the home government.

[12] *Winslow Papers*, p. 233.

[13] "Report on Nova Scotia by Colonel Robert Morse, R.E., 1784," *Canadian Archives Report*, 1884, p. xli; B. Murdock, *History of Nova Scotia or Acadia*, (3 vols., Halifax, 1865–67), III, p. 34.

But the loyalists would go further. They advocated the creation of a new province north of the Bay of Fundy. The great distance from Halifax, the administrative centre, the general dislike of the officials there, and the phenomenal growth of the settlements on the St. John—all combined to strengthen their demand. The idea may have originated with Edward Winslow at the time of his first visit to the St. John, in July, 1783. To his friend Chipman he wrote: "Think what multitudes have and will come here, and then judge whether it must not from the nature of things immediately become a separate government, and if it does"—thinking no doubt of the loyalist aristocracy who would be in control—" it shall be the most Gentlemanlike one on earth".[14] The pitiable condition of the loyalist corps at the St. John seemed to him an additional reason for separation.

From this time forward, he used his utmost endeavour to effect the desired change by correspondence with influential loyalists in England. General Fox entertained the same views as his military secretary and gave the project his active support. On his return to England in January, 1784, he took up the matter in official quarters with enthusiasm. Extracts from Winslow's letters to Chipman were shown to Lord Sydney, one of the secretaries of state, and to others in high places. These seem to have had considerable influence.[15]

The erection of part of Nova Scotia into a new province was a subject of keen interest to the loyalist refugees in London. If the project succeeded, General Fox, who had influential connections in London, was likely to be appointed governor. Prominent loyalists would find places in the administration. Ward Chipman hoped for the appointment of attorney-general. Winslow, chief propagandist in Halifax, expected through Fox's influence the place of provincial secretary. But changes in the British ministry, caused countless delays. Rumours of impending action were eagerly received by the loyalists in Nova Scotia. In March, 1784, the Reverend Charles Mongan, then in London, reported to Winslow that Governor Parr was likely to be recalled; and that the "Council & Assembly . . . . [were] to be thoroughly purged and the outcasts [were] to be succeeded by honest Loyalists."[16] Within that coterie of interested refugees the wish doubtless was father of the thought.

The rigours of a severe winter had increased the discontent of the loyalists in Nova Scotia. The situation as Winslow saw it, is graphically described in a letter to his friend Chipman: "Not a packet arrived," he writes ruefully in May, 1784, "a General without Commission or Instructions—37,000 people crying for provisions—Magazines empty—& no provisions at Market. That's the situation of the Country at present. Add to this a Governor without abilities—a Council of Republicans—combating within every weapon in their reach the whole corps of Loyalists, & embarrassing them by every possible impediment. This is a pretty picture, but alas it is a true one."[17] In July, John Wentworth, whose judgment is hardly open to question, wrote from Halifax: "As to public business here—I fear it progresses from bad to worse. Every succeeding day, furnishes new cause of astonishment to me—of complaint and resentment to others. I cordially wish the arrangement for St. Johns was effected."[18]

[14] *Winslow Papers*, p. 100.
[15] Chipman to Winslow, 7, 13 Mar., 1784; Brig. Gen. H. E. Fox to Winslow, 14 Apr., 1784, *ibid.*, pp. 169, 170f, 176ff.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 172.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 205.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 213.

In the more remote settlements authority was breaking down. "If an immediate government is not established at St. Johns," wrote Major Barclay to Winslow in April, 1784, "every species of disorder and confusion will ensue. The Justices, unexceptionable as their Characters are, do not command sufficient respect; and superior Courts are so remote, they laugh at the Idea of a citation from them."[19] In order to investigate the unequal distribution of land grants, Chief Justice Finucane of Nova Scotia had been deputed by Governor Parr to go to the St. John district. His actions seem to have alienated the goodwill of the more prominent loyalists. The bureaucrats at Halifax meanwhile were becoming alarmed. In order to checkmate the loyalist agitation for the division of the province, a delegate was commissioned by the Governor and Council to proceed to England. But it was too late: the decision was made before his arrival. Great was the joy of the loyalists of the St. John district at the prospect of escaping from the jurisdiction of "the Nabobs of Nova Scotia," who—to quote from one of Winslow's letters—had "affected to ridicule the idea of a separate government as absurd and romantic."

The new loyalist province of New Brunswick comprised all that part of Nova Scotia northwest of the isthmus. Much to Winslow's disappointment, General Fox refused the governorship, not wishing to serve under any other governor-general than Sir Guy Carleton. Eventually Colonel Thomas Carleton, a younger brother of Sir Guy, was appointed. From the prominent loyalists in England were selected most of the administration. George Duncan Ludlow, a former judge of the Supreme Court in New York, became chief justice; Sampson S. Blowers was made attorney-general, but was soon succeeded by Jonathan Bliss. To Ward Chipman went the office of solicitor-general to which there was attached only a trivial income. The position of provincial secretary, so eagerly desired by Edward Winslow, was given to the Reverend Jonathan Odell who was formerly secretary to Sir Guy Carleton. Had General Fox accepted the governorship, Odell's office almost certainly would have gone to Winslow,[20] who had to be content with the unimportant position of surrogate-general and with a seat in the Council. On November 21st, 1784, Governor Carleton arrived at Parrtown, the largest settlement, which was incorporated next year as St. John. His reception was hearty although an echo of the old discord was heard. In an address of welcome the inhabitants referred to themselves as "a number of oppressed and insulted loyalists."[21] The royal commission[22] was duly read, the governor took the oaths of office and the Council held its first meeting. Thus began officially a new loyalist government which connected Nova Scotia with the more recently acquired French province on the St. Lawrence, thereby strengthening British influence and providing a solid obstruction to American encroachment.

The principal administrative officials of New Brunswick were Tories of the old school. Consequently all tendencies toward democracy were discouraged, and the advocates were stigmatized as republicans. The Governor and Council deliberated behind closed doors. A journal of their

[19] *Winslow Papers*, p. 199.
[20] Brig. Gen. H. E. Fox to Winslow, 14 Apr., 1784; Winslow to E. G. Lutwyche, 26 Aug., 1806, *ibid.*, pp. 177, 560.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 251, note.
[22] The commission and instructions are in *New Brunswick Historical Society Collections*, No. 6 (St. John, 1905), pp. 394ff.

proceedings was not published in fact until 1830. In order that the prerogative powers might meanwhile be strengthened, the Assembly was not summoned for a year. The Governor, Thomas Carleton, considered "that the American Spirit of innovation should not be nursed among the Loyal Refugees by the introduction of Acts of the Legislature" in cases where the Crown could effect the necessary measures. "These several steps," writes the Governor to Lord Sydney, "have been taken with the unanimous advice of the Council; . . . they must, if properly supported, be immediately productive of a firm and orderly Government."[23] In November, 1785, the first provincial election was held. Excitement ran high. As lands had not yet been allocated to many worthy immigrants the Governor ventured to give the franchise temporarily to all men over twenty-one, a concession which later brought a sharp rebuke from the Colonial Secretary. In St. John there were two political factions based chiefly on class distinctions. The democratic candidates secured a majority; but as the sheriff somewhat arbitrarily disallowed many of their votes at the scrutiny, the aristocratic candidates were declared elected. For the aristocrats, however, this and similar questionable triumphs in other constituencies proved to be a Pyrrhic victory as it prejudiced the democratic element against the new administration. The second legislature, elected in 1793, witnessed the beginning of a controversial period which later resulted in deadlock. Certainly the American Revolution had produced no marked change in the methods of colonial administration.

Winslow's failure to secure the office of provincial secretary of New Brunswick was to him a keen disappointment. To support two families on his half-pay allowance and small salary as military secretary was difficult. Hope of securing a position of consequence, however, was not gone. Sir Brook Watson, writing from London, assured him that Governor Thomas Carleton and Mr. Odell would be transferred shortly to Canada and that he would be appointed secretary of New Brunswick. In the spring of 1785 a financial difficulty confronted him. The Secretary of State announced that, while receiving a salary as military secretary, he could not also draw half-pay. He decided consequently to resign the secretaryship and remove from Halifax to New Brunswick.

His new home was established at Kingswood, a short distance from Fredericton, the new capital. Here he had secured a grant of land. All the difficulties of pioneer life confronted him; but vigorous efforts soon made his new residence, "Kingsclear," the centre of fairly extensive farming operations. Winslow's eager expectations of securing the provincial secretaryship with its handsome salary were doomed to disappointment. As surrogate-general of the province he had seven deputies under him, but the remuneration was trivial. During the early years the office only produced twenty pounds per annum. In his case, however, a scanty income put few limitations upon his general service to the community. When an Inferior Court of Common Pleas was established in York County, he was appointed presiding magistrate. Most of the inhabitants of the district were soldiers of the disbanded regiments, a class sometimes difficult to control. Winslow's good judgment and unfailing tact, supported by his former experience as Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas at Plymouth, enabled him to discharge his judicial duties with credit. The absence of legal advisers, however, was regretted. In May, 1786, he wrote to his

[23] W. O. Raymond, "A sketch of the life and administration of General Thomas Carleton", *ibid.*, p. 450.

friend Chipman: "I have serious thoughts of soliciting the Governor that a crown lawyer should be requested to attend. There literally is not a man of Law in the County, and there is a variety of business to be performed."[24] Winslow was an energetic member of the Legislative Council. His acquaintance with the country and its inhabitants caused much of the distribution of crown lands to be assigned to him. Between the two houses of the legislature disputes were frequent, and, as was to be expected, he was a firm supporter of the prerogatives of the crown.[25]

The quiet tenor of life in pioneer communities provides little scope for genius. Winslow and his friend Chipman, seldom free from financial embarrassments, frequently deplored the narrow restrictions of life in the new province. But in 1796 came a challenge to action which infused new life into both. The arena suddenly became international. Doubts having arisen as to the identity of the River St. Croix mentioned in the Treaty of Paris of 1783, a Boundary Commission was appointed. Thomas Barclay of Nova Scotia represented Great Britain; Daniel Howell, the United States. These selected, as a third member, Judge Egbert Benson of the Supreme Court of New York. Ward Chipman, Solicitor-General of New Brunswick, acted as counsel for the Crown. To Winslow's unbounded joy, the appointment of secretary went to him. The proceedings lasted for two years, sittings of the Commission being held at Halifax, St. Andrew's and Boston. A decision not unfavourable to British interests, was finally reached. Winslow was indefatigable in his secretarial duties. In later years he reflected with pleasure that the work was executed to the entire satisfaction of both the American and the British Commissioners. For his services he was paid at the rate of five hundred pounds per annum, a salary none too remunerative considering the heavy expenses.[26]

As Military Secretary to Governor Thomas Carleton, Winslow was able to do a service both for the Governor and the province. The Governor contemplated a trip to England. Winslow pointed out the necessity of being amply provided with statistics of the economic development of New Brunswick and with full information of the important executive acts since the province was erected. The suggestion was welcomed, and Winslow was commissioned to compile a suitable statement. With the assistance of his deputies and others a very complete record was made which proved of great service to the Governor while in England.[27] In earlier years Winslow had written a sketch descriptive of the province of Nova Scotia which had been of service to intending immigrants.[28]

In 1804 occurred an incident which caused Winslow grave anxiety, intensified by the certainty that he was in no way culpable. Eighteen years before he had been requested by Major-General Campbell to become Paymaster of Contingencies in order "to assist in correcting the abuse in the military expenditures at the posts on the River St. John." With characteristic efficiency, Winslow instituted a Board of Accounts and carried out the General's intentions. Complete vouchers and records of all transactions were forwarded to Halifax where they were approved by the Board. The records should then have been sent to England whither Winslow was assured repeatedly they had gone. Through clerical laxity

[24] *Winslow Papers*, p. 707.
[25] Raymond, "A sketch of the life.....of General Thomas Carleton," *loc. cit.*, p. 463.
[26] Winslow to E. G. Lutwyche, n.d. [1799]; 28 Aug., 1806, *Winslow Papers*, pp. 435f, 561.
[27] Winslow to Chipman, 20 Nov., 1802; Lieut. Gov. Carleton to Winslow, 1 Oct., 1803, *ibid.*, pp. 479ff, 507.
[28] "A sketch of the Province of Nova Scotia and chiefly such parts as are settled, 1783." Reprinted with introduction and notes by W. O. Raymond in *New Brunswick Historical Society Collections*, No. 5, (St. John, 1904), pp. 142ff. *Cf.* Winslow to Chipman, 7 July, 1783, *Winslow Papers*, p. 99.

only a few abstracts went forward. Great was Winslow's surprise, after so many years had elapsed, to receive letters of complaint from the Auditor's Office in London, followed by a peremptory "precept" which was served upon him by the attorney-general of New Brunswick. Although Winslow's health was poor, he found a trip to England necessary. At Halifax he discovered all the missing records. There his old enemy the gout assailed him, and the attack was renewed with great intensity in England. His position was soon vindicated. "Already I have completely removed every imputation which can possibly arise from a mistaken and unwarranted prosecution" he wrote to his anxious sons on New Year's, 1805.[29]

The rush of life in the great metropolis, although somewhat subdued by the terrible struggle with Napoleon, was in marked contrast with the uneventful tenor of the pioneer settlements. Winslow renewed old friendships.[30] Sir Brook Watson gave him "unequivocal proofs of his kindness." William Franklin, formerly Governor of New Jersey, invited him to be a member of his party on a trip to Windsor Castle. From Sir William Pepperell he "received every possible attention and civility." Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Carleton, then resident in England, cordially invited him to pay him a visit at Bath. The Duke of Northumberland, formerly Lord Percy, under whom he had commenced his military career at Lexington, showed him marked attention. Lord Sheffield, with whom he had business relations, took a kindly interest in him, and held out some hope of official preferment. "Many other friends," wrote Winslow, "welcomed me to their hospitable tables; and a crowd of military acquaintances . . . whisked me into a circle of jollity and dissipation that 'twas impossible for me to get out of." The trip to England gave the needy loyalist a chance to seek a position of emolument in some part of the British dominions. But openings were few. "Seeking for employment without any specific object in view is a forlorn undertaking," he writes, "and, crippled as I am, it is impossible for me to accept an active situation." As an indemnity for expenses incurred through no fault of his own, the Crown allowed him a warrant of one hundred and fifty pounds. This was hardly adequate, as his departure was delayed considerably by "the most violent and spiteful fit of the gout" he had ever experienced. In the summer of 1806 he reached New Brunswick after an absence of nearly two years. His financial condition was now so precarious as to threaten the loss of his property.[31]

But better times were at hand. In the year of Winslow's return a vacancy occurred on the Supreme Court Bench of New Brunswick. There was the usual speculation as to who would succeed. To the surprise of Bench and Bar, Edward Winslow received the judicial post. The manner of his appointment illustrated the prevailing methods of distributing patronage. The influence of Lord Sheffield and the Duke of Northumberland was directly responsible for this belated recognition of the old loyalist's services.[32] The appointment of Winslow, however, was not in conformity with the recommendations of the two highest officials of the province. Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Carleton paid a tribute to Winslow's general ability, but pointed out, not without reason, that he had never been called to the Bar and that talents would not atone for lack

[29] *Winslow Papers*, p. 529. *Cf.* W. O. Raymond, "Edward Winslow and the Audit Office," *ibid.*, p. 517f.
[30] Winslow to S.S. Blowers, 7 June, 1806, *ibid.*, pp. 551f and *passim*.
[31] Winslow to Duke of Northumberland, 10 Apr., 1807, *ibid.*, p. 578.
[32] Winslow to Major Gordon, 1 Oct., 1807, *ibid.*, p. 594.

of legal knowledge. He was aware "that many persons had seats on the Benches of the Supreme Courts both in Nova Scotia & Canada who had not been regularly bred to the profession, but the credit of these Courts suffered in consequence."[33] Gabriel G. Ludlow, the President of the Council in the absence of the Governor, favoured Jonathan Bliss, the attorney-general, for the vacancy; but had reason to think that neither Bliss nor Ward Chipman, the solicitor-general, would take the seat with a salary limited to three hundred pounds. The Gentlemen of the Bar in New Brunswick, including Chipman, naturally resented the appointment of one who was not of their number, but otherwise there was general satisfaction. The incident in no way affected the old friendship between Edward Winslow and Ward Chipman; and when judicial duties took Winslow to St. John, he was a welcome visitor at the Chipman residence. In 1809 Messrs. Bliss and Chipman were both elevated to the Supreme Court.

For a short time Judge Winslow administered the government of New Brunswick. The absence of Governor Carleton from the province after 1803 left the administration in the hands of the senior member of the Council who took the title of President and Commander-in-Chief. The death of President Ludlow in 1808 caused Winslow, the next in seniority, to succeed. Although his term of office was confined to a single quarter, he displayed his customary zeal and effected a number of important changes. Fear of American aggression had caused the former President to keep a thousand of the militia in constant training. Winslow expected no trouble with the United States at that time, and sent the men back to their farms.[34] In anticipation of a possible outbreak, however, the home government decided that the senior military commander should be head of the administration. War came eventually, but fortunately the New Brunswick frontier was immune from invasion.

The career of this eminent loyalist came to an end in May, 1815, at the age of seventy, when an apoplectic fit proved fatal. For years he had been subject to the most distressing attacks of gout, so that toward the last he could with difficulty attend to his judicial duties. His death was widely regretted. Probably no one had a greater share in the formation and early development of the loyalist province than Edward Winslow; and in the long list of loyalists who suffered exile because of devotion to what they considered the worthier cause his name deserves to occupy a prominent place.

[33] To Lord Sheffield, 29 Nov., 5 Dec., 1806, *ibid.*, pp. 570f.
[34] Winslow to Sir James Craig, 4 Apr., 1808, *ibid.*, p. 616.