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Résumé de l'article

Des soldats britanniques démobilisés s'établirent dans tout l'empire britannique après les guerres napoléoniennes, y compris en Nouvelle-Écosse. À la suite de la guerre de 1812, un groupe d'anciens militaires furent établis le long de la route d'Annapolis pour assurer une voie terrestre entre Halifax et Annapolis Royal. Malgré l'échec global du projet de colonisation, les anciens soldats restés sur leurs concessions purent le faire grâce à leurs liens avec le régiment, à leurs relations familiales et confessionnelles et au soutien de l'État par l'entremise des pensions de retraite de l'armée britannique. En permettant la réalisation des revendications impériales, ces colons soldats contribuèrent à la perturbations des collectivités mi'kmaq de l'intérieur de la colonie.

"Located on Land in Nova Scotia": British Soldier Settlement after the Napoleonic Wars

WILLIAM R. MILES AND MICHAEL E. VANCE

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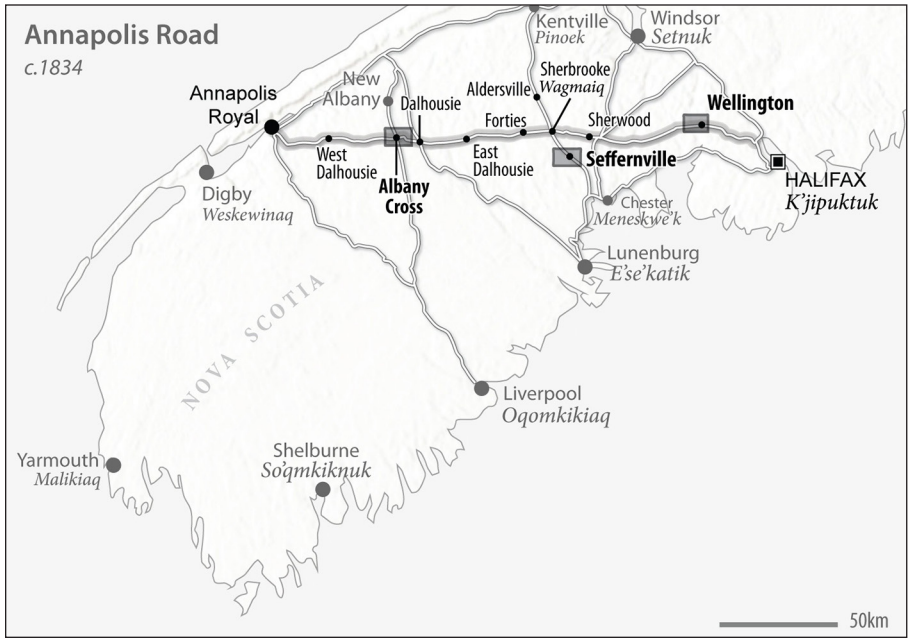
Demobilized British soldiers settled throughout the British Empire after the Napoleonic Wars, including Nova Scotia. In the aftermath of the War of 1812, a group of veterans were located along the Annapolis Road to provide a land route between Halifax and Annapolis Royal. Despite the overall failure of the settlement scheme, the veterans who remained on their land grants were able to do so because of regimental links, family and denominational ties, and state support through British Army pensions. In realizing imperial claims, these soldier settlers contributed to the disruption of Mi'kmaw communities in the interior of the colony.

IN THE SUMMER OF 1834, AN INDIGNANT "SOLDIER TURNED SETTLER" wrote to the *Times* of Halifax to dispute the editor's claim that, given their "previous habits," disbanded soldiers were "unfit for the prosecution of Agriculture." Fourteen years earlier, the anonymous veteran of the Napoleonic Wars had been "located on land" in the Wellington military settlement near the Halifax end of a proposed road that was to stretch diagonally across the interior of the colony in order to provide a land route to Annapolis Royal (see Map 1). While admitting that the settlement had indeed "failed in a great degree," the author laid the blame on the inaction of the colonial government. The settlers had been "located in the wilderness on indifferent soil," he wrote, yet they had persevered and established three sawmills even though they had to carry "provisions seven or eight miles on their backs" because of the government's

William R. Miles and Michael E. Vance, "'Located on Land in Nova Scotia': British Soldier Settlement after the Napoleonic Wars," *Acadiensis* 52, no. 1 (Spring/printemps 2023): 36-64.



Map 1 – Route of the Annapolis Road showing settlement locations and cross-roads.
Source: Indigenous placenames in italics from *Ta'n Weji-sqalia'tiek: Mi'kmaw Place Name*, http://mikmawplacenames.ca/ (cartographer: Will Flanagan).

failure to complete the promised road. Although numerous requests were made, the colonial legislature had also refused to fund the construction of an alternate route from the settlement to St. Margaret's Bay. The veteran believed that, had a secondary road been constructed to the ocean, "the settlement, instead of being almost ruined, would now have been in a rather flourishing condition, . . . we being enabled to take to the Halifax market our surplus produce, besides shingles, staves, hoop-poles, boards, plank, barrels, and as the shopkeepers say, many other articles too numerous to mention."[1]

The frustrated letter writer was granted his land in Wellington by a British state that had been encouraging the settlement of army veterans in North America throughout the 18th century. Indeed, as early as the 1740s, the Board

1 *The Times* (Halifax) 15 July 1834. "Soldier Turned Settler" was responding to an editorial published on 8 July. We are grateful to John G. Reid for this reference. William R. Miles and Michael Vance's collaboration on soldier settlers began with a paper entitled "Nova Scotia Soldier Pensioners in their British Imperial Context, 1812–1827," presented at the Atlantic Canada Studies Conference, "Knowledge in Action," 3–5 May 2007, at Saint Mary's University. The primary research for the present article was completed while Bill was engaged in his doctoral studies at Memorial University. After his sudden untimely death in 2017, Michael Vance undertook the task of writing up the research for publication. The three anonymous readers have aided that effort. It is hoped that Bill would have appreciated this posthumous publication. He is greatly missed.

of Trade had received proposals to settle demobilized soldiers in Nova Scotia to secure the colony only formally acquired from France by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.[2] It was not, however, until the King's Royal Proclamation of 7 October 1763, that clear regulations were established for granting land to former officers and their men in order to populate newly acquired territories in British North America. In the aftermath of the Seven Years War, veterans were given land under the proclamation's terms in colonies on the former frontier with New France, such as New York and New Hampshire, as well as in Nova Scotia.[3] The majority of the military land grants in Nova Scotia, nevertheless, were awarded later, after the American Revolution. During the Loyalist era, block land grants were typically given to officers who then assigned individual holdings to their rank-and-file soldiers. These soldiers were expected to provide some labour on their former commander's holdings, an expectation that often remained unfulfilled.[4]

Late-19th-century county histories and later genealogical studies identify some of the common soldiers who settled in Nova Scotia prior to the Napoleonic Wars, but the records for these earlier arrivals are fragmentary.[5] In contrast, the British "warfare state," as historian John Cookson has termed it, produced a wide, rich range of records to keep track of its military manpower during the Napoleonic era that includes regimental entry books, pay lists, discharge papers, and pension ledgers that together present an opportunity to uncover much greater detail on the rank-and-file soldiers who would otherwise remain

2 Donald B. Smith, "From Swords to Ploughshares: The Context for Highland Soldier Settlement in Nova Scotia, 1710–1775" (unpublished MA, Saint Mary's University, 2003), 91; Matthew P. Dziennik, *The Fatal Land: War, Empire, and the Highland Soldier in British America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 133.

3 Dziennik, *Fatal Land*, 131, 134, 139, 145.

4 The settlement of soldiers in Nova Scotia during the Loyalist era has received attention from scholars, although the tendency has been to focus on officers. Much of the work has centred on the settlements in Colchester and Hants counties. For the challenges officers faced, see Jo Currie, Keith Mercer, and John G. Reid, eds., *Hector McLean: The Writings of a Loyalist-Era Military Settler in Nova Scotia* (Kentville, NS: Gaspereau Press, 2015) and Dziennik, *Fatal Land*, 141–5. For further discussion of Loyalist-era military settlement in British North America, which has tended to focus on Highland Scots, see Marianne McLean, *The People of Glengarry: Highlanders in Transition, 1745–1820* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991) and Christopher Moore, "The Disposition to Settle: The Royal Highland Emigrants and Loyalist Settlement in Upper Canada, 1784," in *Historical Essays on Upper Canada: New Perspectives*, ed. J.K. Johnson and Bruce Wilson (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991), 53–79.

5 See, for example, George Patterson, *History of the County of Pictou* (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1877), 458–63 and John Victor Duncanson, *Rawdon and Douglas: Two Loyalist Townships in Nova Scotia* (Belleville, ON: Mika Publishing, 1989).

anonymous individuals.[6] This article examines the British Army veterans who, like "Soldier Turned Settler," were located along the Annapolis Road at the end of the conflict and expected to become self-sustaining independent settlers securing the land route between the two vital colonial garrisons in Nova Scotia.[7] While the road was never fully completed, the settlements that were undertaken along its route reflected post-war imperial strategic thinking that further disrupted the lives of the Mi'kmaq residing on unceded territory in the interior of the colony. Close analysis of the records reveals that the soldiers had been recruited, and had served, throughout the British Atlantic World before being granted land in the Nova Scotia. While a great many settlers abandoned their lots when a completed road failed to materialize, the settlement of veterans in regimental groupings, often reinforced by ethnic, familial, and denominational ties, created the community links that supported the veterans who stayed on their grants. A high proportion of those remaining along the road had the additional support of an army pension. Although some settlers appeared to fit the stereotype of the dissolute former soldier, many others proved remarkably resilient and assimilated easily into all levels of the settler community. For a few, these supports allowed for considerable social advancement that often obscures their early careers as soldiers.

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6 During the Napoleonic Wars recruitment peaked in periods of economic uncertainty and recruits were just as likely to be drawn from the ranks of the skilled artisans as they were to be members of the general labouring population. Most were young men and, while the Scots and Irish are disproportionately represented in the ranks, soldiers were recruited from across the British Isles. As John Cookson has pointed out, the demand for soldiers was so great that almost all communities had contributed recruits by the end of hostilities and this unprecedented level of mobilization would not be matched until the First World War. See Kevin Linch and Matthew McCormack, "Wellington's Men: The British Soldier of the Napoleonic Wars," *History Compass* 13, no. 6 (June 2015): 288–96; Kevin Linch, *Britain and Wellington's Army: Recruitment, Society and Tradition* (Houndmills, UK: Palgrave, 2011); Edward J. Coss, *All For the King's Shilling: The British Soldier under Wellington, 1808–1814* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010); and John E. Cookson, *The British Armed Nation, 1793–1815* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997). Army pay lists can be found in WO 12, regimental entry books in WO 25, discharge papers in WO 97, and pension ledgers in WO 23 & WO 120, The National Archives (TNA), Kew Gardens, London, UK. Although soldier colonial settlement is not discussed, the overall political and economic impact of the conflict beyond Europe is thoroughly examined by Alexander Mikaberidze in *The Napoleonic Wars: A Global History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).

7 James Stuart Martell's essay "Military Settlements in Nova Scotia after the War of 1812," *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society* 24 (1938): 75–105 remains the most thorough and detailed account of the construction of the Annapolis Road, the thinking behind the settlement of soldiers along the route, and the difficulties faced in funding the project.

Soldier settlers

The plan to settle former soldiers along the Annapolis Road was formulated in the context of American incursions into British North America during the War of 1812. Prior to the conflict, the aim of military settlement had been to control newly acquired territory and that idea was revived during the Napoleonic Wars elsewhere in the empire. As early as 1813, Lieutenant-Colonel John Graham of the 93rd Sutherland Highlanders proposed settlement of men from the Scottish estate, including veterans, to secure territory on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony in the wake of resistance mounted by the Indigenous amaXhosa in what was derogatorily termed the "Caffer Wars."[8] In contrast, the post-war military settlement in Nova Scotia sought to address the specific need for a land route through the interior by lining it with former soldiers.[9] In this regard, it echoed the imperial strategic planning behind contemporaneous military settlement in Upper Canada. Lord Bathurst, the Secretary for War and the Colonies, had taken Col. Graham's plan for securing recently acquired territory in southern Africa and applied it to Upper Canada, where American attacks had highlighted the vulnerability of the communication route between York (later Toronto) and Montreal. Bathurst, in consultation with military commanders in Upper and Lower Canada, supported military settlement along the proposed route of the Rideau Canal designed to link Kingston and Bytown (later Ottawa), where the veteran soldiers would be expected to defend the new inland waterway against any future invasion. Lord Bathurst approved the military settlement along both the projected Rideau Canal and Annapolis Road routes just as the Napoleonic Wars were ending.[10]

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8 While Graham's plan to settle 500 men and their families from the regiment's home estate in southern Africa was not acted upon, a scheme of assistance designed to settle emigrants from the British Isles in the eastern Cape frontier was undertaken in 1820. For Graham, see Ben Maclennan, *A Proper Degree of Terror: John Graham and the Cape's Eastern Frontier* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1986), 161–2 and James Hunter, *Set Adrift Upon the World: The Sutherland Clearances* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2015), 182–3, 403–4; see also H.J.M. Johnson, *British Emigration Policy, 1815–183: 'Shoveling out Paupers'* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1972). Johnson's discussion remains the most thorough analysis of the Colonial Office records for the post-war assisted emigration scheme to the Cape Colony. For the origins of the derogatory term "Caffer," or "Kaffir," see *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "Kaffir, n., sense 1."

9 Martell, "Military Settlements in Nova Scotia," 79–82.

10 For soldier settlement along the Rideau Canal, see Ron W. Shaw, *First We Were Soldiers: The Long March to Perth* (Victoria, BC: Friesen Press, 2015) and Michael E. Vance, *Imperial Immigrants: Scottish Settlers in the Upper Ottawa Valley, 1815–1840* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2012), 33–47, 49–62. While post-Napoleonic soldier settlers have received little attention from scholars, considerable work has been undertaken on soldier settlement schemes in the British Empire following the First World War; see, for example, Kent

Although most veterans who served in overseas theatres during the conflict returned to the British Isles, significant numbers remained in the colonies. One indicator of this imperial dispersal is the large number of former soldiers entitled to a Royal Chelsea Hospital out-pension who elected to receive their payments in locations distributed across the British Empire. Nova Scotia was heavily represented with veterans there, comprising 16 per cent of the 1,752 overseas pensioners listed between June 1817 and December 1826.[11] The concentration in the colony can be attributed to Halifax's central role in defending the triangular imperial trade between Britain's commercial ports, the West Indian sugar plantations, and the Atlantic colonies of British North America. During the War of 1812, Halifax also served as the port of entry and embarkation for many troops who were deployed in Upper and Lower Canada – colonies that between them accounted for a further 35 per cent of the overseas Chelsea pensioners.[12]

At least 270 former rank-and-file members of the British Army would participate in the Annapolis Road settlement scheme. Nearly half of these were Chelsea out-pensioners, while the rest were common soldiers who did not qualify for state support but who were also offered land in return for their service.[13] While a few veterans demobilized in Britain did journey to Halifax to

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Fedorowich, *Unfit for Heroes: Reconstruction and Soldier Settlement in the Empire Between the Wars* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995) and Marilyn Lake, *The Limits of Hope: Soldier Settlement in Victoria, 1915–38* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1987).

11 Royal Chelsea Hospital, Admission Book: Pensions Payable in the Colonies, 1817 June–1826 Dec., WO 23/147, TNA. For a thorough discussion of the operation of the Chelsea pension and a complete list of colonies where they were received, see William R. Miles, "Irish Soldiers, Pensions, and Imperial Migration during the Early Nineteenth Century," *Britain and the World*, VI/II (September 2013): 243–57. John Cookson rightly notes that the vast majority of pension payments were received in the British Isles, but this does not diminish the significance of those received in the colonies; see J.E. Cookson, "Early Nineteenth-Century Scottish Military Pensioners as Homecoming Soldiers," *Historical Journal* 52, no. 2 (June 2009): 319–41.

12 In total, the British North American colonies accounted for 41 per cent of the overseas pensioners. Veterans in Britain's South Asian colonies represented 25 per cent of the total, while the Cape Colony and New South Wales were home to 11 per cent and 3 per cent respectively. These figures are derived from WO 23/147, TNA and Miles, "Irish Soldiers, Pensions, and Imperial Migration," 246.

13 It has been possible to confirm the identity of 135 Chelsea pensioners settled along the road – they represent 48 per cent of 279 pensioners in Nova Scotia recorded in WO 23/147, TNA. The remaining soldiers were identified using the War Office records at TNA. Lists providing details on each of the confirmed veterans in the Wellington, Sherbrooke, and Dalhousie settlements, along with the sources consulted, are available electronically at https://library2.smu.ca/handle/01/30977.

Table 1 – Regimental Affiliation and Known Marital Status for Soldier Settlers on the Annapolis Road

Regiment Name	Number Identified	Known Married c.1827	Known with Children
98th Regiment of Foot	65	49	46
Nova Scotia Fencibles	44	28	22
Royal Newfoundland Fencible Infantry	27	17	15
60th Regiment (3rd Battalion)	14	10	10
60th Regiment (7th Battalion)	15	9	9
Royal Artillery (various units)	35	21	21
Various Others (or unknown)	70	20	19
Totals:	270	154	142

Sources: WO 12, WO 23, WO 25, WO 97, WO 121, TNA; 1827 & 1838 Census Returns for Nova Scotia, NSA; Returns of Military Settlers 1820-22, NSA; Nova Scotia Church Records, NSA.

avail themselves of the offer of free land, most of the soldier settlers were rank-and-file members of regiments discharged in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick after the end of the hostilities. Veterans of the Royal Artillery, the 60th and 98th Regiments, along with former soldiers from the Nova Scotia Regiment of Fencibles and Royal Newfoundland Regiment of Fencible Infantry were the most predominant along the Annapolis Road (see Table 1). Royal Artillery veterans had performed garrison duty in Halifax and Annapolis Royal, while those in the 98th Regiment had defended the Channel Island of Jersey before being deployed to the West Indies in 1806 as part of Britain's wartime campaign to secure advantage in the sugar trade by capturing French plantation colonies. Members of the third battalion of the 60th Regiment had also served in the Caribbean, including Martinique, while soldiers from the regiment's 7th

battalion, formed in 1813, briefly garrisoned Guernsey in the Channel Islands and performed the same duty in Halifax before being disbanded in 1817. The Nova Scotia Fencibles and the Royal Newfoundland Fencibles, both raised in the colonies in 1804, exchanged stations in 1805, with the Newfoundland Fencibles headquartered in Halifax and the Nova Scotia Fencibles in St. John's where both regiments continued to sign up recruits. The Newfoundland regiment was subsequently stationed in Upper and Lower Canada, where they saw considerable action during the War of 1812 while the Nova Scotia regiment served at the Quebec garrison from the summer of 1812.[14]

The pay lists for both Fencible regiments identified the men who had been "located on land in Nova Scotia" upon being disbanded shortly after returning to Halifax in 1816. The 98th regimental entry book also identifies each of the men who were similarly "located" after their demobilization in New Brunswick in 1818.[15] Almost all the men can be found among the settlers along the Annapolis Road. The names selected for places where the veterans settled, Wellington, at the Halifax end, Sherbrooke (later New Ross), near the centre above Chester, and Dalhousie, toward the Annapolis Royal end, also reflected their military character. All three locations were named after men who had commanded British troops in Europe during the Napoleonic Wars, including the Nova Scotia lieutenant governors Sir John Sherbrooke and Lord Dalhousie.[16] A high proportion of the settler soldiers were Irish-born, and this reflected the disproportionate number of Irish soldiers in the British Army as

14 Details of deployment of can be found in Nesbit Willoughby Wallace, *A Regimental Chronicle and List of Officers of the 60th, or the King's Royal Rifle Corps, formerly the 62nd, or the Royal American Regiment of Foot* (London: Harrison, 1879); Harry Piers, "The Fortieth Regiment, Raised at Annapolis Royal in 1717; and 5 Regiments Subsequently Raised in Nova Scotia," *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society* 21 (1927): 115–83; and Rodney T. Lee, *Officers and Men of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment & Royal Newfoundland Regiment of Fencible Infantry* (Guelph, ON: R.T. Lee, 2009) as well the pay lists of the 60th, 98th, Nova Scotia Fencibles, and Newfoundland Fencible Infantry in WO 12, TNA. The deployment of the Royal Artillery along with other regiments in British North America can be found in the Army Monthly returns, WO 17, TNA.

15 From 1811 the 98th was stationed in Halifax and transferred to Fort Cumberland shortly before demobilization; see WO 12/9787, WO 17/2365, TNA.

16 W0 12/11027, WO 12/11034, WO 25/458, TNA. Both Sherbrooke and Dalhousie had held commands under the Duke of Wellington during the Peninsula campaign in Spain and Portugal; see Peter Burroughs, "Sir John Coape Sherbrooke," *DCB Online* XI, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/sherbrooke_john_coape_6E.html and "George Ramsay, 9th Earl of Dalhousie," *DCB Online* XI, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/ramsay_george_7E.html.

Table 2: Known Place of Birth and Occupational Category by Regiment Settled along the Annapolis Road

Regiment	Place of Birth					Occupation	
	Ireland	England	Scotland	Germany	Other	With Trade	Labourer
98th	57	6	-	-	-	33	32
Nova Scotia Fencibles	10	7	2	1	6	8	10
Newfoundland Fencibles	9	6	-	2	4	3	15
60th 3rd Battalion		-	-	3	-	3	-
60th 7th Battalion	[no information recorded in extant WO records – the battalion was recruited from Prisoners of War]						
Royal Artillery (various units)	4	12	14	2	-	14	3
Others	1	6	4	-	1	10	7
Totals	81	37	20	8	11	71	67

Sources: WO 12, WO 23/147, WO 23/148, WO 12, WO 25, WO 97, WO 121, TNA. For sources for individual soldiers, see https://library2.smu.ca/handle/01/30977.

a whole and in the regiments disbanded in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick (see Table 2).[17]

The 98th regiment supplied the largest number of veterans to the military settlements and its entry book – listing all the recruits, age at recruitment, their place of birth, occupation, and date of discharge – reveals that the former soldiers settled along the Annapolis Road were drawn from across 25 counties in Ireland, with recruits from Tipperary, Limerick, and Roscommon being the most numerous.[18] The entry books for the Nova Scotia Fencibles and Newfoundland Fencibles have not survived, and only the origins of the

17 The Irish were also over-represented among the overseas Chelsea pensioners; see Miles, "Irish Soldiers, Pensions, and Imperial Migration," 251.

18 98th Regiment Description Book, WO 25/548, TNA. Soldier settlers came from all regions of Ireland including Ulster, but the counties in the south and west dominated. Fourteen veterans were from Tipperary, seven from Limerick, and six from Roscommon.

men receiving Chelsea pensions are known. That limited sample, however, also reveals a high number of Irish-born veterans. While the 98th recruited in Ireland, the Fencible regiments were raised locally for the defence of the colonies. A considerable number of recruits in both the Nova Scotia and Newfoundland Fencibles had previous military experience. Soldiers of various origins also joined while the regiments were on deployment, but Newfoundland's long-standing connections to the west country of England and Ireland through the Grand Banks fishery was reflected in the origins of most of those who signed on in St. John's. Of the known 40 Newfoundland Fencible settler soldiers, 15 were from Ireland and 14 were from the west of England. Only two were Newfoundland-born. Similarly, of the 80 Annapolis Road settlers who served with the Nova Scotia Fencibles, 24 can be identified as Irish-born and another 24 as originating in England – mostly Devon. Only six can be verified as Nova Scotia-born, the same number identified with Newfoundland origins – reflecting the regiment's deployment to St. John's.[19]

The disbandment of the Loyal Surrey Ranger Regiment of Fencible Infantry in Halifax in 1804 provided further recruits for the Nova Scotia Fencibles who would later settle in Sherbrooke. Although fencible regiments raised in Britain, as in the colonies, were originally intended for home defence, the demand for soldiers resulted in a few fencible units serving overseas – including the Surrey Rangers, who were sent to Halifax as soon as the regiment had been raised, revealing the strong link between the port and the imperial homeland.[20] The 7th battalion of the 60th Regiment was also almost immediately sent to garrison Halifax after its formation in 1813, largely as a consequence of the nature of its composition. Other battalions of the regiment, including the 3rd, had extensively recruited German-speaking soldiers from continental Europe to meet the demand created by the extremely high death toll, largely from

19 In the wake of a supposed United Irish-inspired mutiny by members of the Newfoundland Regiment in April 1800, the loyalty the Newfoundland Fencibles was suspect for the British command; stations were switched with the Nova Scotia Fencibles in June 1805 as a precaution; see Bernard D. Fardy, *Before Beaumont Hamel: The Royal Newfoundland Regiment, 1775-1815* (St. John's: Creative Book Publishing, 1995), 78. The context for the "mutiny" is examined in Christopher English, "The Official Mind and Popular Protest in a Revolutionary Era: The Case of Newfoundland, 1789-1819," in *Canadian State Trials. Volume 1: Law, Politics, and Security Measures, 1608-1837*, ed. F. Murray Greenwood and Barry Wright (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996): 307-11.

20 W.Y. Carman, "The Loyal Surry Fencibles, 1798-1802," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 62, no. 250 (Summer 1984): 118-19. Many "genteel" visitors to Halifax during the early 19th century saw it as equivalent to an English provincial town; see Jeffrey L. McNairn, "'Everything was new, yet familiar': British Travelers, Halifax, and the Ambiguities of Empire," *Acadiensis* 36, no. 2 (Spring 2007): 28-54.

tropical disease, experienced during Britain's West Indian campaigns. The 7th battalion consisted of similar recruits, although these men were volunteers from among the prisoners of war captured from Napoleon's army who had been held in Portsmouth.[21]

Despite the anglicization of many of their names, the German origins of the soldiers who served in the 60th and subsequently settled along the Annapolis Road are clear from their pension records. The 3rd battalion veteran, Adam Schepp, a tailor from Osthoven in the Palatinate, had served nine years in the West Indies before being discharged in Halifax with a "fractured sternum." He was later recorded as Adam Schoop, John Ship, and John A. Ship. Whether this was a deliberate strategy of assimilation or due to the actions of various record keepers is unknown, but the transformation of his name in the colony could have fully obscured Schepp's German origins if not for the survival of his Chelsea pension record.[22] The service of the men in the 7th battalion had been too short to qualify them for pensions, but the unit pay lists illustrate that a similar anglicization occurred after the soldiers were discharged. Franz DeWinter, who had joined as a prisoner of war in 1813, was transformed into Francis DeWinter, while Maximilian Brauenschwig, also a prisoner of war, had become Maximilian Brunswick by the time both men settled near Sherbrooke (see Map 2).[23]

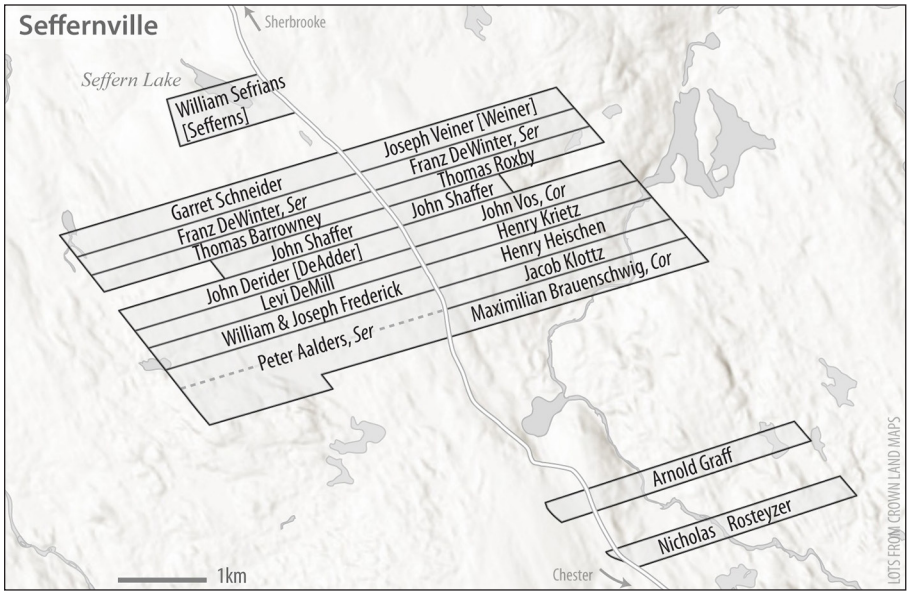
The act of Parliament that authorized the creation of the 7th battalion of the 60th regiment indicated that the intent was to recruit "Foreign Protestants" for service in the Americas, and the Anglican church in Chester, Nova Scotia, solemnized the marriages of several former soldiers of the regiment.[24] These unions may have encouraged the process of anglicization in the colony,

21 Pay list 30 August–24 September 1813, 7th battalion 60th Regiment, WO 12/7088, TNA. A few companies of the 7th battalion participated in the August 1814 expedition to Penobscot, Maine, led by Sherbrooke, but otherwise the men of the battalion were stationed in Halifax and Annapolis Royal; see Wallace, *Regimental Chronicle*, 3, 16, 25. For the "Penobscot Expedition," see George F.W. Young , *The British Capture & Occupation of Downeast Maine, 1814–15, 1818* (Stonington, ME: Penobscot Books, 2014) and Joshua M. Smith, *Making Maine: Statehood and the War of 1812* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2022), 161–89. For the high mortality among troops stationed in the Caribbean, see Roger Norman Buckley, *The British Army in the West Indies: Society and the Military in the Revolutionary Age* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1998): 272–322.

22 WO 97/741/68, TNA.

23 WO 12/7088, TNA; Land Grant Index Sheet No. 46, http://novascotia.ca/natr/land/grantmap.asp.

24 Act of George III cap. 104 (12 July 1799), reprinted in Wallace, *Regimental Chronicle*, 39; "St. Stephens Anglican Church Records, Chester, NS," MG 4, vol. 13, Nova Scotia Archives (NSA), Halifax.



Map 2 – Seffernville.

Source: Map based on Land Grant Index Map, Sheet 49, Nova Scotia Department of Natural Resources and Renewables, http://novascotia.ca/natr/land/grantmap.asp (cartographer: Will Flanagan).

although it appears that many of the men were already married before they settled along the Annapolis road (see Table 1). The number of married men among all the veterans settled in Nova Scotia is striking given the British Army's official position limiting the number of wives among the common soldiers. Despite the regulations, many soldiers had married while on active service and their families had accompanied them on postings. As the 98th regiment prepared to depart Jersey for Bermuda in June 1806, the pay list noted in its "Contingent Accounts" that £121 5s had been paid "for the Passage of Soldiers Wives and Children from Jersey to Ireland" as well as a "gratuity to themselves on being sent home by order of [the commander] Lieutenant General Gordon."[25] It is not known how many families were reunited when the regiment was transferred to Nova Scotia, but the fact that significant numbers

25 May–June 1806 "Contingent Accounts," WO 12/9785, TNA. Throughout the 18th century the British Army had officially discouraged marriage in the ranks, ostensibly limiting the number of wives to eight for every 100 men for regiments "on strength." For a thorough discussion of marriage regulations and their avoidance, see Jennine Hurl-Eamon, *Marriage and the British Army: "The Girl I left Behind Me"* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 1–60.

of children were among the settlers along the Annapolis Road indicates that this was the case.[26]

While it is often difficult to trace the movements of common soldiers' dependants, there is no doubt that the family of Lieutenant William Ross, commander of the Nova Scotia Fencibles and the officer in charge of the soldier settlement at Sherbrooke, had been accompanied by his wife, Mary, and their children on all his postings. Originally from Cork, Ross had served in Surinam in the West Indies, Sunderland in England, and Montreal in Lower Canada, and family members had been born in all these locations.[27] In June 1816, the Ross family, along with most of the six companies of Nova Scotia Fencibles who travelled with them from Quebec, survived the wreck of the *Archduke Charles* transport ship when it struck rocks off the northeast coast of Nova Scotia. William Ross, who had joined the Nova Scotia Fencibles from the 16th Regiment of Foot in the fall of 1815, was appointed to supervise the soldier settlers on 25 July 1816, and by the end of August the Ross family were at their new residence – Rosebank Cottage in Sherbrooke.[28] The wives and children of the common soldiers also made the trek to the location on the Gold River above Chester, and by the following year rations were being provided for a party of 61 men, 15 women, and 31 children from the Nova Scotia Fencibles.[29]

Sherbrooke settlers at Waqmiaq

Waqmiaq, the place of clean flowing water, is the Mi'kmaw name for the site selected for the Sherbrooke settlement along the banks of the Amaqapskekek (i.e., rocky river). For millennia the Mi'kmaq had practiced seasonal mobility along what the Europeans called the Gold River, from the Atlantic shoreline inland, to exploit the local berries and game. As the name Waqmaiq would indicate, the abundant salmon and trout in the river and nearby lakes were

26 At the time of their settlement in Dalhousie, a least one of the sons of Mary and Francis Walker, a carpenter from Dublin, had been born before his father was discharged, while Sarah, the daughter of Jane and George Taylor, a smith from Wicklow, married the 98th veteran James Toole in 1830 – only 12 years after the family's settlement in Dalhousie. For other 98th soldier families, see Eileen Casey and Rhonda Norton, *The History of East Dalhousie* (self-published, c. 2018), 284, 376, 401, 432. We are grateful to Anthony Matthews for drawing this genealogical study to our attention.

27 Deborah Trask, "The Edward Ross Diaries," *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society* 9 (2006): 33.

28 Trask, "Edward Ross Diaries," 34–5; Charles Morris to William Ross, 28 August 1816, Ross Family Fonds, MG 1, vol. 794, item 3, NSA.

29 G. Damerum to William Ross, 2 September 1817, Ross Fonds, MG 1, vol. 794, item 28, NSA. Damerum specified full rations for the men, half rations for the women, and quarter rations for the children.

an important food source. The arrival of the soldier settlers and their families disrupted traditional land use, but the Mi'kmaq remained in the area. In 1820, Nova Scotia officials created two "Indian" reserves on either end of Wallaback Lake to the northeast of the new settlement.[30] Nevertheless, the continued Indigenous use of traditional hunting territory in Sherbrooke was confirmed in the diaries kept by Edward Ross, son of William and Mary, who from 1835 ran a shop at Rosebank. Ross referred specifically to Joseph Pennal, as well as four other Mi'kmaw men – Joe Philips, Joe Pictou, Tom Paul, and Johnny Pennal – who led the sons of settlers, such as the Ross brothers, on moose hunts. The Indigenous hunting companions were able to use their traditional knowledge to identify the most favourable places to locate the moose and successfully track, kill, and butcher them. Ross's diary also reveals that while settlers imitated Indigenous practice, they were far less adept without Mi'kmaw assistance – sometimes with fatal results.[31]

Edward Ross was contemptuous of the colony's original inhabitants, calling them "lazy" and "savage," but it is also clear that he relied on Mi'kmaw hunters to supply his shop with furs, hides, and moose meat.[32] There is further evidence that such assistance was essential from the outset. William Ross had solicited the services of an Indigenous guide to track the route from the Halifax end to Sherbrooke as part of his efforts to encourage colonial authorities to properly complete the Annapolis Road as originally planned. The surveyors had reported that the "swampy, barren tract" that characterized the section

30 *Ta'n Weji-sqalia'tiek: Mi'kmaw Place Names*, http://mikmawplacenames.ca/. Judge Mather DesBrisay, the 19th-century historian of Lunenburg County, noted the continued presence of the Pennal family in the region; see DesBrisay, *History of the County of Lunenburg*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: W. Briggs, 1895): 322, 349. The modern reserves are identified as No. 19 Pennal and No. 20 New Ross. Both are administered by the Sipekne'katik First Nation while No. 21 Gold River reserve near Chester, and part of the Pennal family's traditional territory, is administered by the Acadia First Nation.

31 The Mi'kmaw men are mentioned in Ross's diary entries for 17 Oct 1835, 16 March 1837, and 16 Nov 1838. For moose hunting, see, for example, the diary entries, from 13 March to 27 March 1837. See Edward Ross Diaries, https://archives.novascotia.ca/ross/. One of the sons of Peter Aalders, veteran of the 60th regiment, was killed by his brother in a moose hunting accident in 1844; see St. Stephens Anglican Church Records, Chester, NS, MG 4, vol. 13, NSA.

32 Derogatory comments can be found in the Ross diary entries for 17 March 1837 and 14 June 1839. Purchases for Ross's store are mentioned in the 30 September 1837 and 3 October 1837 entries. The commercial exchanges with Ross reflect the adaptation of the Mi'kmaw to the colonization of their territory also seen elsewhere in the Nova Scotia. See Julian Gwyn, "The Mi'kmaq, Poor Settlers, and the Nova Scotia Fur Trade, 1783–1853, *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 14, no.1 (2003): 65–91 and Andrew Parnaby, "The Cultural Economy of Survival: The Mi'kmaq of Cape Breton in the Mid-19th Century," *Labour/Le Travail* 61 (Spring 2008): 69–98.

of the road from Wellington was the most difficult terrain in the entire route, and Ross needed Mi'kmaw help to find his way. It is likely that colonial survey parties, under the direction of Surveyor General Charles Morris, had also employed Mi'kmaw guides when the route for the road was plotted in 1814.[33]

The surveyor general also oversaw the laying out of the 100-acre lots assigned to the soldier settlers as they arrived along the road route. As an officer, William Ross received 500 acres for his Rosebank farm while sergeants received 200 acres; while some privates and corporals received extra lots for "improvements" on their original grants, most were given a single 100-acre land grant. All were expected to meet minimum conditions for forest clearance and cultivation before title was given, and Morris's 1819 map of the title holders reveals that the veterans had largely been grouped together by regiment. Sherwood, on the crossroad from Chester to Windsor, the only one existing at the time, was occupied first by men and officers from the Newfoundland Fencibles, but most of the veterans of the regiment had carried on to the Sherbrooke site. There they were located to the north of the projected Annapolis route along a road paralleling the Gold River that would eventually be taken all the way to Kentville in the Annapolis Valley. After they arrived, William Ross and some of the Nova Scotia Fencibles were placed to the south along another road that would be connected to Chester long before the road to Kentville was completed. Most of the veterans from the regiment were, however, located further to the west along the Annapolis Road route – where an additional 40 lots, the "Forties Settlement" – were subsequently laid out to accommodate later arrivals (see Map 1).[34]

Historians of the Victorian British Army have observed that frequent redeployments meant that soldiers and their families were isolated from both the communities in which they served and from the supports that relatives could otherwise provide. It was the regiment that served as the extended

33 DesBrisay, *History of the County of Lunenburg*, 327; Martel, "Military Settlements in Nova Scotia," 82-3. C.B. Owen refers to "Indian" informants in his 1835 report on the state of the Annapolis Road; see *Nova Scotia Assembly Journals* (1838), Appendix 8, p. 38. For the contemporary use of Indigenous guides and surveyors in New England, see Micah A. Pawling, ed. *Wabanaki Homeland and the New State of Maine: The 1820 Journal and Plans of Survey of Joseph Treat* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts, 2007), 57-66.

34 DesBrisay, *History of the County of Lunenburg*, 324; "Return of military settlers located at Sherbrook . . .," 29 September 1819, RG 20, ser. "A," vol. 78, NSA; "Map of land grant made by Charles Morris, 1819," map 2015-038, Land Papers, https://archives.novascotia.ca/ross/archives/?ID=264; "Return of military settlers located at Sherbro . . .," 24 January 1822, RG 1, vol. 230, NSA. For the chronology of settlement, see Martell, "Military Settlements in Nova Scotia," 89-91.

family. When misfortune struck, commanding officers would often assume a paternalistic role.[35] This was the case in Sherbrooke when William Ross became guardian for two boys, William and Joseph Frederick, left orphaned by the sudden death of their father. Ross also ensured that the boys were assigned their father's lot in the settlement (see Map 2).[36] The grouping by regiment, however, also allowed the rank-and-file soldiers to maintain their unit's familial bonds.

Some soldiers were members of the same family. Moses and Thomas Brown, both from Corfe Castle, Dorset, and veterans of the Nova Scotia Fencibles, were assigned adjacent lots in the Forties. While both men married women from outside the community, others reinforced their regimental connections through marriages within their regiments. One was John O'Neil, another Forties settler and veteran of both the Surrey Rangers and Nova Scotia Fencibles, who married Jane Gray, the daughter of John Gray, who was a shoemaker from Ayr, a Chelsea pensioner, and a fellow fencible veteran.[37] Remarriages also served to reinforce regimental ties between the families of veterans. After the death of his first wife, Bridget, widower Matthew Hazlett's remarriage to Eliza Evans, the daughter of Lieutenant Evans, his commanding officer in the Newfoundland Fencibles, entailed some social mobility as he took over his father-in-law's much larger Sherwood farm in 1840.[38] Regimental connections were further maintained among many settler children. Edward, the son of Patrick Cogley, a Newfoundland Fencible veteran who had spent a year as a prisoner of war in the United States, married Eliza Ann Hunt – the daughter of John Hunt, the Quarter Master Sergeant of his old regiment.[39] The marriage, which made

35 Janet Padiak, "The 'serious evil of marching regiments': The Families of the British Garrison of Gibraltar," *History of the Family* 10, no. 2 (2005): 149. For examples of regimental paternalism, see Katherine M.J. McKenna, "'My own character is thank God above suspicion': Soldier's Wives with The Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment and Social Values in Mid-Nineteenth-Century British North America," *Histoire sociale / Social History* 49, no. 100 (November 2016): 497-9.

36 The boys' father may have been Carle Frederick of the Newfoundland Fencibles, and the Frederick brothers remained in the settlement into adulthood; see entries throughout the Edward Ross Diaries, https://archives.novascotia.ca/ross/.

37 O'Neill married Jane Gray on 6 January 1828, at St. Stephens Anglican Church, Chester, NS, MG4, vol. 13, NSA.

38 Hazlett did not enjoy his new status long as he was found a few years later frozen to death under the tree where he had rested while returning home from Chester; see H.D. Levy, *A History of Sherwood in the County of Lunenburg* (self-published, 1953), 29, 34-6. Remarriages within the regiments of the British Army were common; see Hurl-Eamon, *Marriage and the British Army*, 131, 146-8. The practice continued well into the 19th century; see McKenna, "Soldier's Wives with The Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment," 495-6.

39 The marriage took place on 28 April 1822 at St. Stephens Anglican Church, Chester. MG4, vol. 13, NSA.

in-laws of Patrick Cogley, a native of Old Ross, Wexford, and Hunt, a Bristol-born labourer, reflected both the Irish and West Country origins of the men in the regiment and the role of family alliances in reinforcing soldier settler community ties.

John Hunt, who issued rations and agricultural tools to the settlers in Sherbrooke, was able to engineer a dramatic rise in social status partly through advantageous marriages outside the settlement. He had arrived in Sherbrooke with his first wife Mary Ann, daughter Eliza, and son John Jr., and turned his position as issuer of rations to his advantage by selling alcohol to the veterans from the government "store" on his centrally located lot.[40] By 1820, he was adding to his property holdings through extra grants for "improvements" in Sherbrooke for a total of 500 acres as well as by purchasing lots in Sherwood from fellow Newfoundland Fencible veterans.[41] By the time of Mary Ann Hunt's death, John Hunt's property holdings were on a par with those of his former officers, and William Ross would serve as witness to his second marriage to Sophia Zwicker in 1821. The Zwickers were an established family in Chester, where the couple were residing by 1825 when Hunt submitted his report on the state of the Annapolis Road in his new capacity as a commissioner of roads.[42] In Chester, he also bought property and, following Sophia's death, was listed as a "merchant" on his marriage to his third wife Frances Peech. She was the daughter of a prominent family in Lunenburg, where Hunt was later listed as a Justice of the Peace. By the time of his own death in 1849, John Hunt had cemented his elite status with an appointment as judge on the Court of Common Pleas.[43] The former quartermaster's rise through the ranks of the Newfoundland Fencibles had been equally dramatic, and Hunt's pension for that service had supplemented his income.[44]

Soldier settlers without Hunt's advantages who remained in Sherbrooke would find it difficult to sustain themselves. Edward Ross was continually

40 As result, Hunt's occupation was listed as "publican" on the baptismal record of his second son James born in 1818; but by 1820, when son Thomas was born, he had risen to the status of "gentleman." See St. Stephens Anglican Church Records, Chester, NS, MG 4, vol. 13, NSA.

41 Levy, *History of Sherwood in the County of Lunenburg*, 32.

42 Shelburne County Marriage Record # 4605, NSA; Martell, "Military Settlements in Nova Scotia," 85. Sometime before her death, Sophia Zwicker had given birth to a daughter, also Sophia, who would herself marry into another prominent Lunenburg family – the Schmidts.

43 Hunt family headstone, Hillcrest Cemetery, Lunenburg, plot number 351.

44 John Hunt discharge papers, WO 97/1173/98, TNA.

importing flour to sell to settlers and, aside from subsistence crops such as oats, barley, potatoes, peas, cabbage, and turnip, it was only by raising livestock that he and many of the others who chose to remain on their lots were able to keep possession of their land grants.[45] That much of the land was unsuitable for arable agriculture was recognized once clearing of the woodland began, but this did not prevent the further expansion of the Sherbrooke site with two new settlements established nearby – one to the north and one to the south – to accommodate soldier settlers from the 60th regiment when they began to arrive in the summer of 1817. Aldersville and Seffernville, the latter also known as the German or Dutch Settlement, derived their names from the soldiers who settled in each. Sergeant Peter Aalders first settled in Seffernville on the road to Chester along with other former prisoners of war from the 7th battalion. The family name was later applied to the northern community on the road that eventually led to Kentville. Since the surveyors considered much of the land of poor quality, most of Aalder's comrades received two 100-acre lots with several receiving a lot in each location; and this included William Sefferns, who elected to reside on his southern-most property lending his name to the community (see Map 2).[46] While none of the veterans of the 7th battalion qualified for pensions, their shared experience and linguistic affinity encouraged many to remain, raising livestock and producing sauerkraut to sell occasionally to Edward Ross or to buyers further afield.[47] As with their counterparts in the fencible regiments, the presence of wives and children was common among most of the settlers who remained on their grants into the 1830s. Of the 17 men from the 60th in Seffernville, 13 can be confirmed as having families. Some, such as William Sefferns, Franz DeWinter, and Thomas Barony, linked themselves to earlier settlers by marrying women connected to Nova Scotia Fencible veterans. Thomas Barony's wife Mary, for example, was the widow of Hugh Riley of the Fencibles, and when Thomas himself died she married Peter Moran, also a widower and Fencibles veteran, in 1829. Settlers who lacked

45 Miles Russell, "The Edward Ross Store in New Ross, Nova Scotia, c.1835–1845," Nova Scotia Museum: Curatorial Report #72 (1992), p. 30; Martell, "Military Settlements in Nova Scotia," 85–6, 92–3.

46 Only one veteran in Seffernville, Thomas Roxby, had not served in the 60th regiment, and he quickly abandoned his lot. A career soldier of the 1st Veteran Battalion from Suffolk, Roxby had received a pension but without any other ties to the community or family members to rely upon he planned to return to England only making it as far as Halifax where he died in 1855; see Roxby discharge papers, WO 97/1116/144, WO 121/207/7, WO 23/55, TNA.

47 For purchases from the German settlers, see 30 June 1838, 1 Oct 1839, and 28 June 1841, Edward Ross Diaries, https://archives.novascotia.ca/ross/.

family support were at a disadvantage, and it is not surprising that it was single men who were the most likely to be the first to leave the settlements.[48]

Mary Riley's third husband, Peter Moran, was also a Chelsea pensioner, and that state support was undoubtedly crucial for her and many other families trying to subsist on their marginal farms. Moran was able to collect his pension without leaving Sherbrooke since the community served as the administrative centre for the quarterly payments in January, April, July, and October. Forms were sent from Halifax via Chester for the veterans to fill out and sign, and the local justice of the peace, first William Ross and then later his son Edward, would issue their pay. Pensioners from the Dalhousie settlement also travelled to Sherbrooke quarterly and some would stay with former comrades while others resided in the schoolhouse until the process was completed. Edward Ross reported filling out pensioners' "blank" forms, reflecting the illiteracy of many veterans and, although Mary Ross regularly hosted pensioners at her home, Edward characterized them as "a cursed set of rogues." One Dalhousie pensioner, John Lewis, a native of Amsterdam and a Nova Scotia Fencibles veteran, was singled out for particular criticism, although it appears that this was the consequence of an unpaid debt owed to Ross.[49] The clash, however, indicates the significance of pension income for both Edward Ross's shop and the viability of soldier settlements along the Annapolis Road.[50]

The Dalhousie settlement

Unlike Sherbrooke the Dalhousie settlement was stretched along the route, and over time names developed to distinguish districts. Closest to the Forties was East Dalhousie, followed by Dalhousie and Albany Cross – after the crossroad that ran to New Albany in the Annapolis Valley – with West Dalhousie at

48 Sefferns and DeWinter married daughters of Nova Scotia Fencible veterans; see Marriage Register, St. Stephens Anglican Church Records, Chester, NS, MG 4, vol. 13, NSA. Soldiers with no known spouse who appear to have abandoned their Seffernville holdings include Arnold Gaff and Nicholas Rusteiser (Ruslinger).

49 The forms have not survived in the WO files and the only reference we have been able to find to them is in Ross's diary; see, for example, the entries for 12 January 1836, 28 December 1838, and 6 October 1839. References to hosting veterans at Rosebank are found in entries for 18 August 1838, 4 January 1839, and 17 July 1839. The clash with Lewis is recounted in entries for 1 April to 15 April 1837; see Edward Ross Diaries, https://archives.novascotia.ca/ross/. We are grateful to Deborah Trask for drawing our attention to these entries. John Lewis was one of a small number of Fencible veterans who were granted land in Dalhousie, and his lot was near the Annapolis Royal end of the road.

50 Based on the War Office pension register and individual service records, the annual value of the pensions distributed to Sherbrooke settlers in 1826 was £303/8s./1½ d.; see WO23/147, WO 120, WO 97, and WO 12, TNA.

the far end (see Map 1). Irish-born soldier settlers from the 98th Regiment were predominant from the Forties to Albany Cross. The veterans in West Dalhousie, which was settled first in the late autumn of 1817, were drawn from several regiments; but those with long army experience tended to be placed on the section of the road nearest Annapolis Royal, including a large number from the Royal Artillery. The garrison at Annapolis Royal included the Royal Artillery, and pensioners from its various units along the road were paid there rather than in Sherbrooke.[51]

Two artillery veterans collecting their pensions in the town were involved in a fatal encounter that would have reinforced the prevailing stereotype of the dissolute soldier. James Gormley, a former weaver from County Tyrone, struck Christopher Jackson, a blacksmith from St. Bees, Cumberland, with an "iron instrument."[52] According to his petition for clemency, Gormley was in a "state of intoxication" and had no memory of delivering the blow or its deadly consequences. In June 1829, Gormley was found guilty of manslaughter and sentenced to seven years of hard labour in the Annapolis County Bridewell, but, according to the testimonials attached to his petition, he had been a model prisoner and was full of remorse for his actions. Gormley, in pleading his case, stressed that his wife of 31 years was forced to "do all out[-]door work" to provide for their five children without the crucial aid of his Chelsea pension, which he asked to be restored. He neglected to mention that Jackson's wife of 25 years, Jane Noble, also had a family of three to support without a husband's pension. Gormley was released with his pension restored in 1832, and he continued to receive it until his death in 1858. In contrast, Mrs. Jackson only had the support of her adult daughter Eleanor. Her eldest son, John, was just nine years old at the time of the trial and only later was the family's West Dalhousie land grant transferred to him.[53]

As the Gormley case highlights, many Dalhousie settlers were also dependent on soldiers' pensions and, as in Sherbrooke, many of the artillery

51 "Return of Military Settlers located at Dalhousie Settlement . . .," 16 October 1820, RG 1, vol. 229, NSA; Register of Ordnance Pensioners, 1834, WO 23/143, ff.1-4, TNA.

52 Martell, "Military Settlements in Nova Scotia," 94-6; WO 23/143, TNA; William Arthur Calneck, *History of the County of Annapolis, including Old Port Royal and Acadia* (Toronto: W. Briggs, 1897), 267. Family tradition suggests that Jackson was trying to correct a loose saddle strap as Gormley mounted his horse when the blow occurred; see https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Jackson-11588.

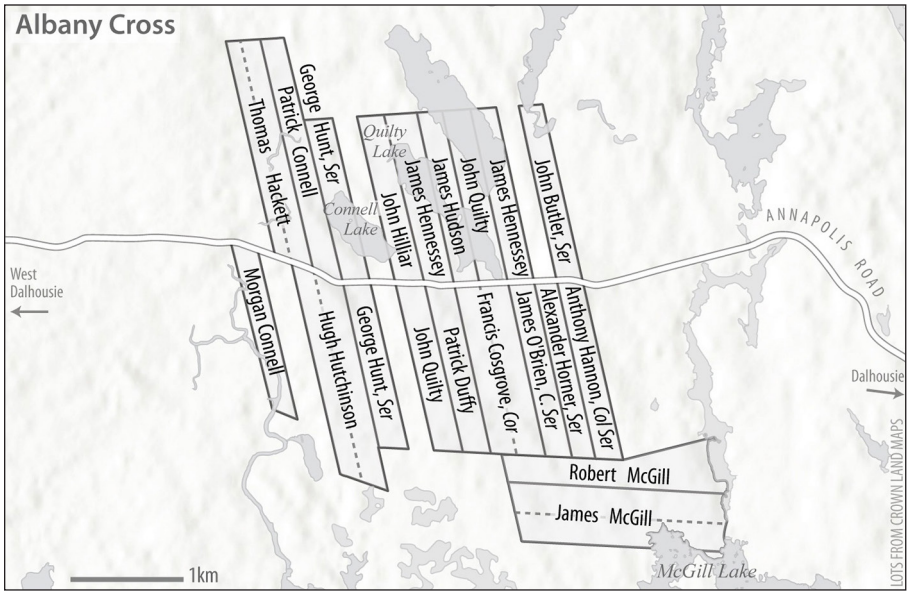
53 Petition of James Gormley, Corp, Royal Artillery, April 1831, RG 5, vol. 1, GP #53, NSA; WO 22/243, TNA; Sheet 29, Land Grant Index Maps, http://novascotia.ca/natr/land/grantmap.asp.

veterans' families further reinforced their regimental ties through marriage. All the children of Judith and Joseph Buckler, a 26-year veteran of the Royal Artillery Sappers and Miners from Cornwall, would marry into families connected with the Royal Artillery. In 1826 daughter Elizabeth married Daniel Gillis, son of Archibald, a widower from Argyll with three children, who had also served with the Sappers and Miners, and in 1827 son John was wed to Mary Aull, the daughter of another long-serving member of the artillery James Aull. The later marriages of sons Thomas and Joseph Jr. to Jane Anderson and Joanna Cummings, respectively, provided the Buckler siblings with additional fathers-in-law who were also Royal Artillery pensioners – Thomas Anderson, a carpenter from Berwick, England, and Robert Cummings, a labourer from Devonshire. Joseph Buckler Sr. had been a sawyer by trade, and the Bucklers would play an important role in developing the lumbering business in West Dalhousie. Rather than merely subsisting on their lots, sawmilling, along with the additional support obtained through marriage alliances, allowed the Buckler family to become one of the most prosperous in the soldier settler community.[54]

Proximity to Annapolis Royal had contributed to the success of lumbering along the section of the road nearest the port. Further east, settlers, as in Sherbrooke, relied primarily on subsistence agriculture and, from Albany Cross to the Forties, they were drawn almost exclusively from the 98th Regiment of Foot. Since the regiment was not disbanded until 1818, these soldier settlers were among the last to arrive at their land grants. While the marriages of Royal Artillery veterans had been solemnized by the Anglican church in Annapolis Royal, most settlers from the 98th whose faith can be identified were Roman Catholic.[55] A few, however, were Protestants, such as the Albany Cross settlers Robert McGill and Hugh Hutchison who were Presbyterians from Ulster (See Map 3). Regimental identity would have been common to all the 98th veterans regardless of religious affiliation, but the shared faith of the Catholic

54 Marriages, Annapolis Township Book, MG 4, vol. 5, NSA. Joseph Buckler Sr. died in 1823 aged 59; see WO 54/310, TNA and Calneck, *History of the County of Annapolis*, 268. Joseph Buckler's descendant, Ernest, would use his family's South Mountain location for the climax of his modernist novel, *The Mountain and the Valley*, which explored the darker side of the personal relationships of a thwarted novelist in the more prosperous Annapolis Valley. The novel includes a tree-felling expedition on the South Mountain with the protagonist's father – Joseph; see André Dodeman, "The Ascent of the Artist in Ernest Buckler's *The Mountain and the Valley* (1952)," *Journal of Alpine Research / Revue degéographie alpine* 104, no. 2 (2016): 4.

55 The incomplete 1827 census for Nova Scotia identified heads of households and their faith.



Map 3 – Albany Cross.

Source: Map based on Land Grant Index Maps, Sheets 29 and 30, Nova Scotia Department of Natural Resources and Renewables, http://novascotia.ca/natr/land/grantmap.asp (cartographer: Will Flanagan).

majority also served to reinforce their attachment to former comrades. By the end of the 18th century, the shortage of men during the wars with France had encouraged the official acceptance of Irish Catholics into the British Army despite continuing civil restrictions in the homeland. Anthony Hannan, a Catholic labourer from Limerick who settled in Albany Cross, found no such impediments in Nova Scotia as he would become a magistrate in his adopted land – reflecting the relative freedom enjoyed by Catholics in the colony years before Emancipation was fully obtained in Britain itself.[56]

Hannan's judicial appointment, which provided Anthony and his wife Martha with the means to employ two male labourers on their 390-acre land grant, frequently entailed work at the courthouse in Annapolis Royal, and when he died, in 1836 at age 57, the former soldier turned magistrate was interred in the cemetery beside the town's newly built Roman Catholic Church of St.

56 Thomas Bartlett, "'A weapon of war yet untried': Irish Catholics and the Armed Forces of the Crown, 1760–1830," in *Men, Women, and War,* ed. T.G. Fraser and Keith Jeffery (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1993), 66–85; S. Karly Kehoe, "Catholic Relief and the Political Awakening of Irish Catholics in Nova Scotia, 1780–1830," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 46, no. 1 (February 2018): 1–20. For the limits on civic participation in Nova Scotia, despite emancipation, see Terrence Murphy, "Emancipation vs. Equity: Civic Inclusion of Halifax Catholics, 1830–1865," *Historical Studies* 83 (2017): 7–24.

Louis. As with John Hunt, Anthony Hannan's military service and subsequent settlement in the colony had been the route to a level of social advancement largely unattainable in the homeland; but his grave's location alongside numerous other Irish-born co-religionists reveals how the 98th soldiers were part of a wider pre-Famine movement from Ireland into both the Annapolis Valley and the Roman Catholic Church in Nova Scotia. The St. Louis cemetery, however, also contains several graves of the Mi'kmaw Pennal family, whose traditional territory was further disrupted by the arrival of Irish veterans along the Annapolis Road.[57] In addition, Hannan's burial site illustrates how Irish Catholics settled along the Annapolis Road were drawn in opposite directions in their search for pastoral care. The magistrate was attracted to the parish initially established by French-speaking Acadians, but fellow Albany Cross settler John Butler sought services at St. Patrick's (established in 1827). Irish Catholics in the Newfoundland Fencibles had anticipated those connected to the 98th regiment and the name of their Sherbrooke church reflected that shared origin. Edward Ross's diary contains several references to Catholic settlers from East Dalhousie, Dalhousie, and Albany Cross coming together in Sherbrooke for weddings, funerals, and religious services conducted by visiting Irish priests. Indeed, John Butler and Alexander Horner from Albany Cross, like many of their former comrades from 98th regiment, combined quarterly visits to collect their pensions with the observance of mass at St. Patrick's.[58]

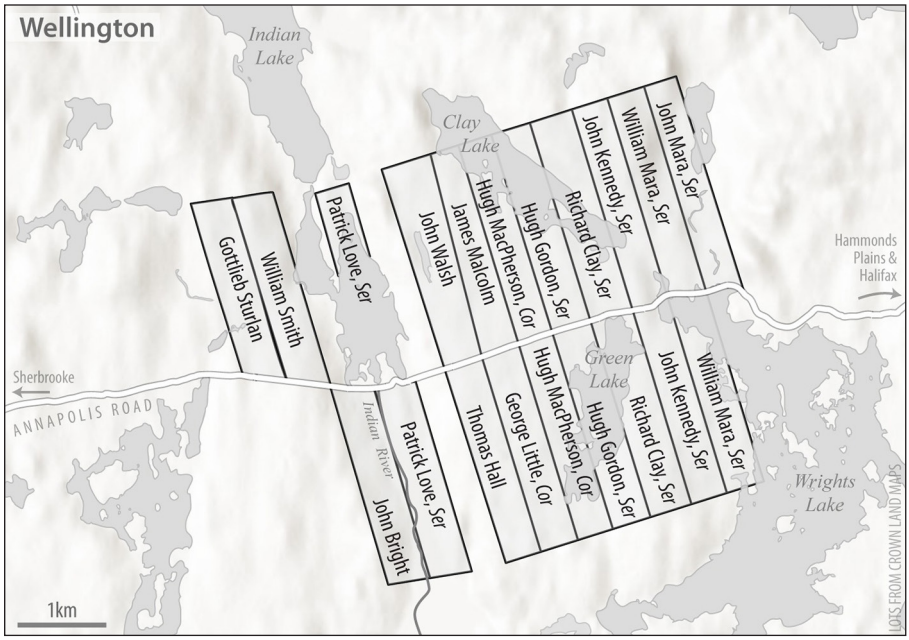
Abandonment and persistence in Wellington settlement

Shared faith, in addition to marriage alliances and military pensions, supported the significant number of 98th veteran families who stayed on their holdings despite the poor farming conditions.[59] Military service had created the opportunity to own land, for many an impossibility in the homeland, undoubtedly encouraging those who were able to obtain support – familial,

57 Terrence Murphy, "The Emergence of Maritime Catholicism, 1781-1830," *Acadiensis* 13, no. 2 (Spring 1984): 29-49. St. Louis Roman Catholic Cemetery burial listings can be found at https://sites.rootsweb.com/~nsannapo/cemeteries/annapolis_royal_st_louis.html.

58 Father O'Reilly was one Irish priest identified by name; see Edward Ross Diaries, 6 June 1841, https://archives.novascotia.ca/ross/. See also entries for 12-13 December 1835, 22-23 July 1837, and 16-17 November 1838 as well as DesBrisay, *History of the County of Lunenburg*, 330.

59 98th veterans without families or pensions, such as Thomas Hackett and James Hennessey, appear to have abandoned their Albany Cross lots altogether. Pensioner James O'Brien chose to switch his lot for another in Cape Breton, joining a small group of Fencible veterans who saw better prospects in the neighbouring colony. See WO 121/209 and WO 23/31, TNA as well as Map 3.



Map 4 – Wellington Settlement.

Source: Map based on Land Grant Index Map, Sheet 55, Nova Scotia Department of Natural Resources and Renewables, http://novascotia.ca/natr/land/grantmap.asp (cartographer: Will Flanagan).

financial, or spiritual – to remain on their lands along the Annapolis Road. Many, however, while staying long enough to obtain title to the grants, soon abandoned their lots – as was the case with two 98th pensioners, John Mara and William Mara, who were allotted grants in Wellington near the Halifax end of the road (see Map 4). A regular draw to nearby Halifax was the pastoral care available to Roman Catholics at St. Peter's Church (renamed St. Mary's in 1833), and its proximity likely encouraged permanent resettlement. Richard Clay, an English-born sergeant from the 60th regiment, despite lending his name to Clay Lake, appears to have left Wellington after the death of his wife and established himself as a tavern keeper and then grocer in the port. His eleven-year-old daughter Sarah was buried in St. Mary's graveyard in 1839 and, after his own death in 1851, Clay was interred in Halifax's newly established Holy Cross Catholic Cemetery.[60] St. Peter's cemetery also contains burials of

60 Richard Clay had sent a party of four men to trace the Annapolis Road route to Sherbrooke to encourage the colonial government to complete the project. The government's reluctance to invest any more resources in the road likely encouraged the move to Halifax sometime before 1827 as Clay does not appear among the Wellington settlers in the census of that year. Clay appears to have retained his land in Wellington as

several soldiers, wives, and children linked to the 74th regiment including Susanna, the daughter of John Walsh and Susanna Costello. Although Walsh was an Anglican from Herefordshire, his daughter's burial record reveals that his wife was an Irish Catholic. Susanna Costello's faith may have encouraged the couple to avail themselves of St. Peter's services in a time of sorrow, but it failed to draw them away from their land grant in Wellington.[61] The family of John Walsh was one of only three that remained in the settlement by the time of the 1838 census.[62]

Anglican George Little, a former Armagh weaver and 74th pensioner, and his family also stayed, but the longest surviving veteran of the original Wellington grant holders was his co-religionist John Bright who was still on his 100-acre lot in 1875. Like Walsh and Little, Bright had served in Portugal and Spain during the Napoleonic Wars and had witnessed some of the fiercest fighting experienced by the British Army in the Peninsula Campaign. As a member of the Royal Artillery Drivers, Bright, an illiterate farm labourer from Laidlaw, Herefordshire, served in major engagements in Spain, including the pivotal battle at Vittoria, as well as in France after Wellington's army crossed the Pyrenees. Through all these conflicts Bright "was never wounded" and in 1816, shortly after his transfer to Halifax, he was discharged. He refused the 100-acre grant originally offered to him in Dalhousie and, instead, squatted on lot 12S at the western end of the Wellington Settlement beside two German veterans of the Royal Sappers and Miners, Gottlieb Sturlan and William Smith. After successfully petitioning the colonial governor for permission to occupy the lot, Bright obtained title to it in 1822. Bright, despite his dangerous army duty, was not entitled to a pension since he had only signed up for limited

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his farm is mentioned in C.B. Owen's Road Report, *Nova Scotia Assembly Journals* (1838), Appendix 8, pp. 38–9.

61 The 18-month-old Susana Walsh was buried on 14 September 1823, and the burial records for St. Peter's/St. Mary's can be found online at https://www.halifaxyarmouth.org/pastoral-services/archives-and-research. For the establishment of Holy Cross and the 19th Irish Catholic community, see Mark G. McGowan and Michael E. Vance, eds., *Irish Catholic Halifax: From the Napoleonic Wars to the Great War*, *Historical Studies,* Occasional Paper 81 (2015).

62 "Return of Settlers at the Military Settlement beyond Hammonds Plains on the New Annapolis Road . . .," 1 November 1822, RG 1, vol. 230, NSA. Gone by 1838 were the German-born former Royal Sappers and Miners Gottlieb Sturlan and William Smith, as well as the Scottish 74th veteran James Malcolm, the Newfoundland-born Fencible pensioner John Kennedy, and the English soldier settler Thomas Hall, a veteran of the 1st Royal Veteran Battalion. Scots Hugh Gordon and Hugh McPherson of the 74th appear to have died before the 1838 census. No trace of Patrick Love can be found in either the War Office Records or the Nova Scotia census of 1827 or 1838 (see Map 4).

service, but he was accompanied in Wellington by his new wife Mary Ann Green.[63] By the 1838 census the couple had seven children, six under the age of 14, but it was only sometime after the death of Mary Ann that Bright, at the age of 81, successfully petitioned for a Chelsea pension.

Bright's 1875 pension application, marked urgent, included a medical report stating that veteran had "a small clearing in an out of the way place about 22 miles from Halifax" and that he was "a hale man but must get weaker." According to the medical examiner's evaluation, Bright was "just able to live on his clearing" but in bad weather "it was a struggle for him" and that his children were taking care of him. His determination to remain on his 100-acre grant was remarkable, but the attraction to the lot "on the new Annapolis Road near the Indian River" is difficult to explain.[64] Like Richard Clay, John Bright may have hoped to benefit from being near the Halifax end of a fully completed road, but when that failed to materialize, unlike his neighbours Sturlan and Smith, he remained with his family on the stony, densely forested lot. As the settler placenames indicate, Indigenous people had canoed the watershed from Indian Lake along the Indian River to St. Margaret's Bay for millennia and Bright's family must have also hunted and fished to survive.[65] The 1851 census indicates that in addition to a house, the Bright's also had two outbuildings and A.F. Church's 1864 map of Halifax County lists one of these as a cooper's shop. The map also identifies cooperages on the land allocated to George Little, then occupied by his sons, as well as in the nearby settlement of Hammonds Plains that included Black veterans who had fled the United States and joined the British forces during the War of 1812.[66]

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63 Bright married Mary Ann Green on 22 March 1819 at St. Paul's Anglican Church, Halifax; see Saint Paul's Parish (Anglican): 1749-1954, Marriage Registers 1791-1876, NSA. Soldiers enlisted for life but were often granted discharges when regiments were disbanded, for long service, or because of a disability. During the Napoleonic Wars, the army introduced service "limited" to a specified number of years to deal with the high demand for soldiers. Recruits who signed on for such "limited service" were not normally entitled to a pension. For the war in Iberia, see Charles Esdaile, *The Peninsular War: A New History* (London: Palgrave, 2003).

64 Bright's pension was awarded 2 Feb 1875 at a daily rate of 1s/6d; see WO 97/1771/27, TNA as well as Bright to Kempt, 7 May 1821, RG 20, ser. A, vol. 84-86, NSA.

65 Archeological evidence indicates at least 3,000 years of human activity in the region; see *Saint Margarets Bay Lakes Archeological Assessment*, October 1996, submitted to Nova Scotia Power, Heritage Permit # A1996NS2, Nova Scotia Museum, Halifax.

66 Census of 1851 (Canada East, Canada West, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia), Halifax, Halifax County, p. 16, RG 31, Library and Archives Canada. See also A.F. Church & Company, *Topographical Township Map of Halifax County, Nova Scotia from Actual Surveys Made, Drawn, & Engraved by and under the Direction of H.F. Walling* (Halifax: Author, 1864). Black veterans were not included in the soldier settlement scheme. Several of the so-

In his "sportsman's" account published in 1869, Captain Campbell Hardy of the Royal Artillery reported that the inhabitants of Wellington, and their neighbours in the Black community, were making their living by producing barrels for the salt fish trade that sold for a shilling each in Halifax. In his 1834 letter to the *Times*, "Soldier Turned Settler" had already indicated that the Wellington veterans were exploiting forest resources and the large number of cooperages on the A.F. Church map illustrates how the Bright and Little soldier settler families were able to remain in Wellington well into the 19th century. John Bright's tenacity also reflected the limited options available to an illiterate demobilized soldier that would have encouraged a former farmhand to remain on his own 100 acres well into old age. Like his neighbours in Hammonds Plains, Bright had to eke out a living by exploiting the forest as well as raising what little subsistence he could. He did so alongside the Mi'kmaq, who continued to inhabit their traditional territory. Indeed, the family of Joseph Cope, who regularly supplied Halifax markets with moose meat and who guided hunters such as Campbell Hardy, had reoccupied a settler's "two-storey frame-house" and barn on Indian Lake as a base for traditional land use long after the buildings had been abandoned by the original owner. By that time, most of John Bright's fellow veterans in the Wellington Settlement had also joined the settler exodus.[67]

Legacy

Abandonment was a phenomenon along the entire route of the Annapolis Road. Often the consequence of the unsuitability of the land for agriculture, it was also due to attractions elsewhere rather than to an innate inability

called "Black Refugees," who were generally only allotted 10 acres of land, worked on the construction of the Halifax end of the road. Although William Mara had petitioned Lord Dalhousie in 1818 for a lot "on the New Road to Annapolis between the Black and Sherbrooke settlements," evidence for relations with the neighbouring community is difficult to find. The 98th had served in two slave-holding West Indian colonies, but only one Black soldier, John Adams from Philadelphia, is known to have joined the regiment. Adams, who enlisted in Waterford, was discharged with a pension in Halifax in 1818 at age 35 but does not appear in later pension lists. To date, we have not found any evidence of soldier settler encounters with slavery in Nova Scotia; see Martell, "Military Settlements in Nova Scotia," 84; Mara to Dalhousie, 6 November 1818, RG 20, ser. "A," vol. 84-86, NSA; Harvey Amani Whitfield, *Blacks on the Border: The Black Refugees in British North America, 1815-1860* (Burlington, VT: University of Vermont Press, 2006): 51-67; and John Adams discharge, WO 97/1052/1 and WO 23/147, f. 87, TNA.

67 Campbell Richard Hardy, *Forest Life in Acadie: Sketches of Sport and Natural History in the Lower Provinces of the Canadian Dominion* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1869), 89-93. We are grateful to cartographer Will Flanagan for drawing our attention to the A.F. Church map and Harding's account.

of former soldiers to become settlers as the editor of the Halifax *Times* had argued.[68] The impracticality of the route, particularly between Wellington and Sherwood, ultimately encouraged the colonial authorities to undermine the rationale for the military settlements by abandoning the idea of a land route from Halifax to Annapolis Royal. To survive, and in a few cases thrive, veterans established local markets for the products from their grants. For Wellington it was barrels for Halifax, and in West Dalhousie it was timber for Annapolis Royal. Only in Sherbrooke was it possible to engage in the limited export of agricultural products to Chester and beyond, by sea, to Halifax. Even in that community, imports appear to have far outweighed exports.[69] Given the absence of any regular traffic along the projected Annapolis Road, it is remarkable that any of the original soldier settler families stayed on their grants. For those who did remain, regimental affiliation, familial and ethnic ties, and denominational fellowship all provided support and reinforced community links. The regular pension payments from imperial authorities were also a key element that allowed families to survive, but, as John Bright's case illustrates, the determination to hold on to land unattainable in the homeland played a role as well.

Whether permanent or transient, the rank-and-file made a lasting impression by redefining the land and by the placenames they left behind, which help record the colonization of Mi'kma'ki. While a good number of the land grants reverted to wilderness as large sections of the road were abandoned, the legacy of this cartographic imperialism remains. A few names coined by the colonizers, such as Indian River, acknowledged the continued Indigenous presence, but Mi'kmaw names were supplanted. Many roads, communities, and natural features named for individual soldiers are still found on contemporary maps of Nova Scotia, including Clay Lake in Wellington, Seffern Lake near New Ross, and McGill Lake in Albany Cross.[70] It was not merely the commanders, like Sherbrooke and Dalhousie, who oversaw the settlement scheme, but also the families of the common soldiers, who had served in the British Army from continental Europe to the West Indies, who made a reality of imperial claims in

68 This was also Martell's view, see Martell, "Military Settlements in Nova Scotia," 75-7, 101.

69 Russell, "Edward Ross Store," 28-38.

70 Among other surviving placenames linked to rank-and-file soldiers are Stoddarts in East Dalhousie, Quilty and Connell Lakes at Albany Cross, and Gibson Lake in West Dalhousie. Recently, concerted efforts have been made to record Mi'kmaw placenames in their traditional territory, but the places named after Napoleonic-era soldiers remain on Nova Scotia maps.

Nova Scotia. The names recorded on Nova Scotia maps recall their occupation, if for some only briefly, of the interior of the colony along the Annapolis Road. The veterans' identities were transformed in the process, from soldiers into farmers, lumbermen, judges, merchants, tavern-keepers, and coopers, in their adopted communities on and off the road – transformations enabled through the colonization of "land in Nova Scotia."[71]

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71 See WO 12/9787, WO 17/2365, TNA.