

Record Keeping in a Provincial Regiment: The Strange Case of the Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers, 1775-1783

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As Shirley Spragge makes clear in her review article in a recent *Archivaria*, the bicentenary of the Loyalists inspired a renewal of scholarly interest in their history.¹ Among the special aspects of Loyalist history to which little attention had been paid for many years was the provincial loyalist corps, the more than fifty regiments raised in the Thirteen Colonies and elsewhere to fight on the side of the British in the American Revolutionary War. It is now almost ninety years since the Reverend William Odber Raymond published in the *Collections* of the New Brunswick Historical Society his comprehensive and still authoritative essay, "Loyalists in Arms ... A.D. 1775-1783."² Apart from special studies of particular regiments, however, little work was done after Archdeacon Raymond's time until the bicentenary year 1983,³ which saw a travelling exhibition, "The Loyal Americans," sponsored by the Canadian War Museum in collaboration with the New Brunswick Museum.⁴

Though the British American regiments varied widely among themselves in size, and in intensity and variety of military activity, the greater part of them had been raised and manned by loyal Americans in New York and New Jersey for service in their colony of origin. Successive British commanders-in-chief, however, tended to view them either as jumped-up militia or as cannon-fodder, and to treat them at best as adjuncts to regular troops wherever they might be required. In order to establish a broad working definition for the study of military Loyalists, Archdeacon Raymond noted "The Provincial forces in Nova Scotia as well as those of the colonies in rebellion were considered as Loyalist corps."⁵ The generic term "loyalist provincial corps" therefore includes three regiments which were not raised in America, were senior to most of those which were, and were mainly fencible (that is, liable only for home service) in purpose. These three units were, in order of precedence, the Second Battalion of the Royal Highland Emigrants, the Royal Fencible Americans, and the Loyal (or "Royal") Nova Scotia Volunteers.

Of the three regiments raised in Nova Scotia during the American Revolution — they all came into existence in 1775 — the Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteer Regiment was the least conventional. It was originally a civilian enterprise in which the British high command in America was not directly involved. That fact alone makes its history and more particularly, its records, interesting and significant to the military archivist. Administratively, the regiment was not typical of its contemporaries, and the paucity and

complexity of the surviving records contrast with those of other provincial corps existing at the same time as part of the British Army in America. The aim of this paper is to examine briefly the historiography of the regiment, and to trace in some detail the evolution of its records from recruitment to disbandment. This necessarily involves an attempt to explain how and by whom the records were kept or, in some cases, not kept.

In popular history, the Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteer Regiment has often been confused with its later, more distinguished, and far better documented successor, the Royal Nova Scotia Regiment (1793-1802), raised by Lieutenant-Governor John Wentworth for the defence of Nova Scotia during the first French war. Indeed, the earlier regiment set a precedent for raising the latter, in which at least four of the officers disbanded from the former again held commissions. The history of the Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers properly begins in July 1775, when the governor of Nova Scotia, Francis Legge, proposed to the Secretary of State the raising of a provincial regiment of one thousand men, with himself as colonel, for the defence of the province, then in a nearly defenceless state.⁶ In October the proposal was accepted, and in December the first commissions were issued and the first recruits enlisted.⁷ The two battalions of the Royal Highland Emigrants were so highly regarded that they were placed on the regular army establishment as the 84th Regiment of Foot. The Royal Fencible Americans distinguished themselves at the siege of Fort Cumberland in November 1776. Unlike its two predecessors, however, the Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers was ultimately able to claim few accomplishments greater than doing garrison duty and working the coal mines of Cape Breton. It was bedeviled for the first two years of its existence by the unpopularity of its founder and first Colonel-in-Chief, Governor Legge. This was a handicap from which the regiment would never fully recover, as Legge's appointees were to be prominent among the officers from beginning to end.⁸

The Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteer Regiment, in any case, was always "fencible" in fact, if not in name. It had been raised to defend Nova Scotia against the anticipated invasion from Massachusetts. British strategy for Nova Scotia, after the outbreak of war in the spring of 1775, was to encourage the raising of a provincial regiment in order to relieve regiments of the line from the necessity of garrison duty when they were needed at the front. No attack materialized, and the Volunteers spent the war doing garrison duty, mostly in and about Halifax. Their military service was insignificant. They occasionally, and under protest, did duty as marines aboard armed vessels cruising coastal waters on the look-out for American privateers. It seems doubtful whether any member of the corps ever heard a shot fired in anger. The regiment was far enough away from the principal theatres of war, and from the headquarters bureaucracy, that its record-keeping suffered by comparison with that of the regiments more closely influenced by general headquarters.

The types of records kept by the Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers, and the rate of survival of these records, seem to have depended not so much on the fortunes of war as on those of the regiment's Colonel Commandant, Governor Legge. His stock at Whitehall fell rapidly over the winter of 1775-76. Undermanning and recruiting difficulties — two other regiments were being raised in Nova Scotia at the same time — prompted the new Secretary of State, Lord George Germain, in February 1776 to reduce the colony's establishment from one thousand men in ten companies, as originally projected, to five hundred men in five companies.⁹ In the spring of 1776, however, the regiment was so overmanned with officers (especially captains) that the Commander-in-Chief, General Sir William

Howe, decided further to reduce their number in proportion to the number of recruits enlisted by them.¹⁰

The only integrated study of the Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers exists as part of a longer work in Volume 21 of the *Collections* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, published in 1927. Harry Piers, Curator of the Provincial Museum and Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, contributed a paper to this publication entitled “The Fortieth Regiment, Raised at Annapolis Royal in 1717; and Five Regiments Subsequently Raised in Nova Scotia.” Piers’ “concise account” of the inception and progress of the Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers is valuable not only for its narrative history of the corps, but also for its biographical sketches of the officers. At the end of his chronicle, Piers provided a footnote on sources:

This account of the Royal Regiment of N.S. volunteers [*sic*] is based on material from the following sources: Murdoch, *Hist. of N.S.*, vol. 2, pp. 551-559, 568, 570, 573, 581 (interesting particulars), 587, 594, 606, etc.; Rept. on Can. Archives for 1894, pp. 335-404, *passim*; General Orders, 1783 (*Pub. Rec. of N.S.*, vol. H.Q. 1¹¹); MS. Record of Regts. in N.S. (*Pub. Rec. of N.S.*, vol. H.Q. 0¹²).

Piers conflated different types of sources, archival and secondary. The purpose of this paper is to focus on contemporary manuscripts which document the eight-year history of the Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers from recruitment to disbandment — to expand on those cited by Piers, and to elucidate those which were not known to him.

It was perfectly natural for Piers to mention in the first instance the *Report on Canadian Archives* for 1894, which incorporates a calendar of the Nova Scotia State Papers to the end of 1801. The documents calendared there include CO 217 (Nova Scotia dispatches), CO 218 (Whitehall dispatches), and certain special collections such as the Dartmouth Papers, which now repose at the National Archives of Canada (hereafter NA).¹³ For the years 1775 and 1776, the State Papers and the semi-official Dartmouth Papers have numerous documents concerning the regiment, while it was being recruited and Governor Legge was in personal command. Though the Earl of Dartmouth ceased to be Secretary of State for the Colonies in January 1776, and Governor Legge was recalled the next month, papers of various kinds continued to pass through the governor’s hands and into those of his noble patron, who remained influential in the cabinet as Lord Privy Seal.

Documents among the State Papers which concern the Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers include not only correspondence, but also memorials, petitions, returns of officers and of the regiment, and even one of the regiment’s three known muster rolls. Fewer such documents occur after Legge departed for England in May 1776. Legge remained *ex officio* colonel-in-chief of the regiment until he was superseded as governor in August 1782; at his departure, actual command of the regiment devolved not on the elderly and ill Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Denny Denson, but on Lieutenant-Governor Marriot Arbuthnot. As the acting governor was a commodore in the Royal Navy, he could scarcely remain in command of a provincial regiment — despite the absence of the governor-cum-colonel. This anomalous state of affairs lasted for hardly a month before the Commander-in-Chief, Howe, placed the Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers directly under the officer commanding the Nova Scotia military district, Major-General Eyre Massey.¹⁴ Discontinuities such as this may help to explain why comparatively few

official records of the regiment appear to have survived (if indeed they ever existed) and why those which are extant tend to be in such places as late eighteenth-century papers of families and individuals.

The reason why documents illustrating the history of the Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers are to be found among the State Papers is simply that the governor of the province was the colonel of the regiment.¹⁵ An identical pattern would be repeated in the 1790s with Lieutenant-Governor Wentworth and the Royal Nova Scotia Regiment. But what of official administrative records of the regiment, such as the monthly returns and bi-monthly muster rolls? It was the responsibility of a staff officer — the adjutant — to prepare and submit such documents to garrison or general headquarters; in his absence the senior captain might be held responsible for discharging this duty. Indeed, by January 1781 — the colonel being absent, the lieutenant-colonel dead, and the majority vacant — actual command of the regiment had devolved on the senior captain, George Henry Monk.¹⁶ The return of Governor Legge to England in the spring of 1776 had created confusion as to which records were to be kept, who was to keep them, and to whom they were to be entrusted. Governor Legge, though intending and endeavouring to act as colonel from afar, may not have known that his regiment had been placed directly under the general officer commanding in Nova Scotia, and that the official returns had to be submitted to Major-General Massey for transmission to headquarters at Philadelphia or New York. The only returns received by Governor Legge after he left Halifax were both dated 1 February 1780, and were no doubt sent to him by Captain Monk, who was his political friend and protégé.¹⁷ It seems clear that the standard and frequency of record-keeping in the Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers declined after Governor Legge left Nova Scotia, and his regiment was in effect deprived of its commanding officer at a difficult time in the first year of its life.

The earliest example of a “form return” is in a set of recruiting instructions, dated 25 December 1775, the day on which the first commissions were issued. Captains of companies being raised were to state for each new recruit vital statistics, including name; age; height in feet and inches; where enlisted; and where born. This return was then to be submitted either to Governor Legge or to Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Denny Denson.¹⁸ Alas, no such returns are known to have survived — an indication, perhaps, of the extreme reluctance of the so-called “neutral Yankees” in the Planter townships to enlist. Apart from the regular monthly returns of the regiment (none of which, incidentally, are to be found in WO 17 at the Public Record Office¹⁹) a few of the extant returns are of officers, always giving their rank by order of seniority and the dates of their commissions. The earliest return is dated 10 January 1776;²⁰ others are dated 23 February 1776,²¹ 12 May 1776²², and 23 May 1778.²³

Unlike the returns of officers, the monthly returns give detailed statistical information about the size, composition, and disposition of the regiment, but no names except those of officers. The earliest extant monthly return is dated 13 May 1776 — the day after Governor Legge sailed for England — and was enclosed in a dispatch from Lieutenant-Governor Arbutnot to the Secretary of State.²⁴ Another monthly return, dated 1 February 1780, was forwarded to the Secretary of State by Governor Legge, to whom it had doubtless been sent by Captain Monk.²⁵ A comparable return dated 1 January 1781, is in the Monk Papers at NA; it was compiled at a time when Captain Monk, the senior officer present, was temporarily in command.²⁶

The Loyalist Regiment Muster Rolls, 1777-1783 in NA, Record Group 8, "C" Series, which cover thirty-one provincial corps including the Royal Fencible Americans, show nothing for the Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers. Another regimental document in the Monk Papers, however, is a volunteer muster roll dated 9 January 1781. It is an unofficial muster, taken at Point Pleasant (Halifax), one of the stations of the corps, on the orders of the acting major, Captain Monk; 145 names are given.²⁷ This is the latest of the three muster rolls known to have been taken and to have survived. The others date from about February 1780, and from 13 March 1778, the latter being the only standard muster roll extant. The February 1780 document entitled "A List of the Men enlisted to Serve in Governor Legges [*sic*] Regiment ..." and gives some 475 names.²⁸ The 1778 muster roll occurs among the papers of Ward Chipman, Senior, who was deputy to Edward Winslow as muster-master-general of provincial forces in America.²⁹ Fortunately it includes all four companies then active: Daniel Cunningham's, Thomas Green's, Monk's, and George Vanputt's. The formal muster roll yields personal information for both officers and men under ten different heads: rank; name; date of commission or enlistment; by whom enlisted; absent and "by what means"; promoted; discharged; dead; deserted; prisoner. If one were to collate the various returns and official and unofficial musters, one could draw up an authoritative list of names of officers and men serving in the Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers to augment and supersede that given by W.O. Raymond in his "Loyalists in Arms."³⁰

After returns and muster rolls, the third type of regimental record for which a few samples are extant is the financial record. As Colonel Legge had originally been given leave to draw on the Treasury for pay and subsistence for his regiment, the paymaster was obliged to draw up a periodic statement of account.³¹ In the Dartmouth Papers there are three such documents, entitled "Distribution of 61 days [*sic*] Subsistence" All three are dated 6 May 1776, and are signed by the paymaster, Lieutenant Charles Morris, Junior.³² They reckon from the date of commission, the earliest being 25 December 1775, and are meant to coincide with the bi-monthly muster: December to February, February to April, and April to June (entries in the last of the three periods are in part anticipatory). All of the commissioned, field and company, as well as staff officers are named. Another document dated 6 May 1776, in the same file, is a statement of contingent expenses for the regiment from 25 December 1775.³³ It is probably no coincidence that all of these documents are dated six days before the recalled governor, Colonel Legge, sailed for England. They were doubtless taken with him and therefore ended up among the papers of his kinsman and patron, Lord Dartmouth.

Financial documents of a volunteer regiment would have reached the Secretary of State or the Lords of the Treasury only through general headquarters. It was the view of the commander-in-chief that military administration should be centralized. More particularly, that all the British American regiments should be treated alike, and should all be directly responsible to him and his staff. As to the internal regimental accounts, they seem to have been kept by Captain Monk, whose extensive ledger for the years 1776 to 1778 is in the Monk Papers at NA.³⁴

Bearing in mind the distinction between the official records of the regiment itself — returns, musters, etc. — and the official records of organizations in which it was subsumed, one turns next to the British Headquarters Papers. Before these can be used, however, some further basic distinctions must be made. When Harry Piers, in the article

quoted above, made mention of headquarters papers, he was not referring to the headquarters of the British Army in "America," whether at Boston, New York, or Philadelphia — nor to that of the British Army in "Canada" at Quebec. Instead he was referring to the headquarters at Halifax of the Nova Scotia military district, which comprised all four of the present-day Atlantic provinces and which naturally assumed much greater importance from 1775 onwards. Garrison orders do not exist for the years before 1783, excepting those for the period April-June 1776 when Sir William Howe was in Halifax with his whole army as a result of the evacuation of Boston. Wherever the commander-in-chief was, there also was general headquarters.

The British Headquarters Papers (the American command extended from Florida to Nova Scotia) exist in three instalments, representing three of the four successive commanders-in-chief: Thomas Gage, 1763-1775; Sir Henry Clinton, 1778-1782; and Sir Guy Carleton, 1782-1783. They are also cumulative, those of each commander-in-chief containing a greater or lesser number of documents which had originated during the régime of his predecessor. The Gage and Clinton Papers are in the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor).³⁵ The Carleton Papers are in the Public Record Office.³⁶ The papers of Sir William Howe, Commander-in-Chief, 1775-1778 must be presumed lost.³⁷ The Clinton and Carleton Papers in particular contain valuable information about the Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers, in the form of commissions, correspondence, memorials, orders, petitions, returns, warrants, etc. Though the former cover more than twice as long a period as the latter, they are accessible only by means of an index to surnames of writers of letters and authors of documents, whereas the Carleton Papers were calendared in four volumes and comprehensively indexed by the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts.³⁸ An annotated copy of this calendar has been incorporated into Finding Aid No. 784 at NA, where the Carleton Papers are available on microfilm.³⁹ There are hints in the British Headquarters Papers (Carleton series) that the re-establishment of the Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers as an integral part of the American command structure was the subject of garrison orders in Halifax in June 1776, alas, now lost.⁴⁰ It is certain, however, that Major-General Massey, "agreeable to the Regulations," not only issued new commissions but also reissued or cancelled old ones, as the original commissions from Legge — colonel in name only from May 1776 onwards — had been superseded.⁴¹

The documentary remains of the Howe regime consist mainly of order books, one of which is now in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia (hereafter PANS), having been donated by Dr. William Inglis Morse some twelve years after Harry Piers published his essay on regiments raised in Nova Scotia.⁴² It runs from June 1774 — Howe did not succeed Gage until November 1775 — to September 1776, some three months after Howe had departed from Halifax, and contains numerous references to the Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers. Another, more extensive version of the same document is among the papers of Lieutenant-Colonel Stephen Kemble, Deputy Adjutant-General, and was published in the *Collections* of the New York Historical Society.⁴³ Yet another is in the Clements Library.⁴⁴ As for garrison orders distinct from those issued for general headquarters, the earliest surviving order book commences only in May 1783; nevertheless it also contains various items on the regiment.⁴⁵ Under the date 19 October 1783, for example, one reads Brigadier-General Henry Edward Fox's order, "The Royal Nova [Scotia] Volunteers will be disbanded on Monday [the 20th] at 12 o'Clock by the Muster Master Genl. of Provincial Forces. The Regiment to parade for the above purpose."⁴⁶ At

this point the eight-year official history of the regiment comes to an end. The officers were granted half-pay and permanent provincial rank in America, and both officers and men had the option of taking up grants of land in accordance with the terms of the Royal Proclamation of October 1763. Many of them did so. The “posthistory” of the regiment can therefore be traced through the land papers at PANS,⁴⁷ and through the muster of civilians and disbanded provincials which was taken at the various Loyalist settlements in the summer of 1784.⁴⁸

There can be no doubt that the incidence of the records of the regiment, and their survival, were influenced by certain events in history. Had it been raised not in Nova Scotia but in New England or one of the middle Atlantic colonies; had it been raised by a secure, popular, and effective governor; had it continued to operate on the basis of its original establishment; had it retained the confidence of General Howe and Secretary of State Germain; had its colonel, who was, after all, an experienced professional soldier, remained resident and in actual command of the regiment; had it been properly officered and manned for the duration of the war; had it seen active service in one of the principal theatres; had it been stationed in closer physical proximity to general headquarters — then more and probably better records would have been kept and might have survived. The incompleteness of the records may be the result of accidents in transmission, but also — perhaps more often — may be attributed to deficiencies in contemporary local record-keeping. In March 1782, for example, the Inspector-General of Provincial Forces, Colonel Alexander Innes,⁴⁹ complained to the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Henry Clinton, that the rules and regulations governing provincial troops were being paid little regard by the Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers. Clinton promptly wrote to the officer commanding in Nova Scotia, Brigadier-General John Campbell, telling him that the rules were to be strictly obeyed in future.⁵⁰ The regiment’s reputation stood about as high in New York as did Governor Legge’s in London, after he had been recalled.

The records and papers of the regiment are the most important source for its history; conversely, however, their variety, extent, and location were determined by that very history. The fact that Legge was governor, that the regiment originated in a proposal by Legge, and that Legge was a protégé and kinsman of Secretary of State Lord Dartmouth, resulted in some regimental documents being preserved which might otherwise have been lost, and being dispersed among special manuscript collections in which one might not expect to find military papers. The fact that Legge was recalled in February 1776 and, in effect, deprived of his command, that the regiment was both reduced and re-established within a month of his departure, and that it was placed squarely on the same footing as the other British American corps⁵¹ resulted in an increasing scarcity over time of regimental papers among the Nova Scotia State Papers and other non-military collections, and a corresponding increase in their incidence among the British Headquarters Papers. In order to delineate and interpret the records of the regiment allowance must be made for the special circumstances of its birth and development. The origin and transmission of its records are a critical feature of the history of the Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers. These documents merit perusal and analysis by an historian⁵² who is willing to pay close attention to *all* the surviving records, however incomplete and widely dispersed they may be.⁵³

Notes

- 1 Shirley Spragge, "The 'Good Americans' Two Hundred Years Later," *Archivaria* 21 (Winter 1985-86), pp. 191-97.
- 2 New Brunswick Historical Society Collections, 4, pp. 189-272. The subtitle reads, "A short account of the 'Provincial Troops' — otherwise known as British American regiments or Loyalists Corps — that served on the side of the King during the war of the American Revolution."
- 3 Notable exceptions include C.T. Atkinson, "British Forces in North America, 1774-1781: Their Distribution and Strength," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 16 (1937), pp. 3-23 [part i]; 19 (1940), pp. 163-66 [part ii]; 20 (1941), pp. 190-92 [part iii]; Philip R.N. Katcher, *The American Provincial Corps, 1775-1784* (Reading, England, 1973), and Mary Beacock Fryer, *King's Men: The Soldier Founders of Ontario* (Toronto and Charlottetown, 1980).
- 4 It focused attention on both the military role of the "provincial troops," or Loyalist corps, and their settlement in what remained of British North America after the end of the war. The exhibition catalogue was edited by Robert S. Allen under the title *The Loyal Americans: The Military Rôle of the Loyalist Provincial Corps and Their Settlement in British North America, 1775-1784* (Ottawa, 1983). A recent example of scholarly oversight is J.M. Bumsted's otherwise salutary *Understanding the Loyalists* (Sackville, N.B., 1986), pp. 46-47. In a paragraph devoted to "provincial regiments ... raised and manned in loyal British North America," he omits even to mention the Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers. In fairness to Bumsted, however, his statements are based on Philip R.N. Katcher, *Encyclopedia of British, Provincial and German Army Units, 1775-1783* (Harrisburg, PA, 1973). This work, which in any case is inferior to Atkinson, "British Forces," has now been superseded for the provincial regiments by Allen with which Bumsted presumably was not acquainted; hence his statement, "no one has yet attempted to focus in detail on these local regiments" (p. 47). I also query Bumsted's misleading assertion that "there is much information" about the provincial regiments "buried in the files of the War Office records in London" (*ibid.*). Quite apart from the fact that the North American commanders-in-chief during the American Revolution reported directly not to the commander-in-chief of the Army or to the "secretary at war," but to the Secretary of State for the Colonies ("American Department") and then the Home Department, Bumsted seems unaware of the fundamental distinction between the "American" and the "Canadian" commands, which influenced both contemporary record-keeping and records retention and disposal. "Buried in the files of the Colonial Office" would therefore be closer to the truth — which is by no means to say that the War Office Papers in the Public Record Office do not contain material on the provincial regiments. See below, where this subject is treated in greater detail.
- 5 Raymond, p. 196.
- 6 National Archives of Canada (hereafter NA), MG 11, CO 217/51/274, Legge to Dartmouth, 31 July 1775.
- 7 NA, MG 11, CO 217/51/326, Suffolk [*vice* Dartmouth] to Legge, 16 October 1775.
- 8 The original roll of officers reads like a "who's who" of the official and professional class in Halifax, or rather those members of it who were partisans of Governor Legge, in whose gift lay commissions in the new regiment. The most striking feature of the ethnic composition of the rank and file is their Irishness — an effect of Governor Legge's policy that preference should be given to recruiting native or immigrant Irish in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland.
- 9 NA, MG 11 CO 217/52/89, 91, Germain to Legge; Germain to Arbuthnot, both 24 February 1776.
- 10 "Plan on which the Corps of Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers are now formed," 6 June 1776; copy enclosed in NA, Dartmouth Papers, MG 23 A1, p. 798, Howe to Legge, 19 January 1778. The original is in NA, MG 11, CO 5/93/206.
- 11 Now Public Archives of Nova Scotia (hereafter PANS), MG 12, Series "HQ," Vol. 1.
- 12 Now PANS, MG 12, Series "HQ," Vol. 0. Piers composed or at least annotated this list, which commences in 1783.
- 13 NA, Dartmouth Papers, Finding Aid No. 588.
- 14 NA, MG 12, CO 217/52/156, Series "HQ," Vol. 0(a), 22 May 1776; Arbuthnot to Germain, 6 June 1776.
- 15 That is, Legge, 1775-1782; Arbuthnot, May 1776, John Parr, 1782-1783. Parr, a retired army colonel, arrived in Nova Scotia as governor in October 1782 and assumed command of the Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers in November.
- 16 NA, Monk Papers, MG 23, GII-9, p. 1321.
- 17 NA, MG 11, CO 217/55/39-41.
- 18 NA, Dartmouth Papers, pp. 447-50.

- 19 NA, MG 13, WO 17/1570-1577, are monthly returns of British, Provincial, and German troops in "Canada" (commanded by Sir Guy Carleton and then Sir Frederick Haldimand as Governor of Quebec), 1776-1783. Concerning monthly returns of provincial troops, Atkinson ("British Forces," 3ⁱⁱ) states "there are very few and ... for the forces in Canada only." But what of the American command, which ran the length of the Atlantic seaboard? Those monthly returns which have survived are for the most part to be found either in the British Headquarters Papers (see below) or in NA, MG 11, CO 5/7.
- 20 NA, Dartmouth Papers, p. 2925.
- 21 *Ibid.*, p. 546.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 619.
- 23 NA, MG 11, CO 217/54/48.
- 24 NA, MG 11, CO 217/52/152.
- 25 NA, MG 11, CO 217/55/39-41.
- 26 NA, Monk Papers, p. 1317.
- 27 NA, Monk Papers, p. 1321.
- 28 NA, CO 217/55/41.
- 29 NA, MG 23, D1, Series 1, Vol. 26, pp. 189-96. For the provenance of the muster rolls, see Raymond, p. 197.
- 30 Toward the end of that ground-breaking study (Raymond, pp. 227-72), Archdeacon Raymond furnished a comprehensive, though by no means complete, nominal roll of officers, with regiment and date of commission, grouped in descending order of rank from major-general through ensign; and then alphabetically within each group. His main source of information about the Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers was presumably the 1778 muster roll.
- 31 NA, MG 11, CO 217/51/326. This was later disputed, and Legge's bills protested: see PANS, RG 1, Vol. 368, No. 1-3.
- 32 NA, Dartmouth Papers, pp. 3014ff.
- 33 *Ibid.*, p. 3023; cf. NA, MG 11, CO 217/52/153, "Abstract of Account Current ... To the 23d June 1776."
- 34 NA, Monk Papers, Vol. 9.
- 35 For a description and nominal index, see Howard H. Peckham, *Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the William L. Clements Library* (Ann Arbor, 1942), pp. 82ff. (Gage) and pp. 46ff. (Clinton). See also Randolph G. Adams, *The Headquarters Papers of the British Army in North America during the War of the American Revolution. A Brief Description of Sir Henry Clinton's Papers ...* (Ann Arbor, 1926), *passim*.
- 36 PRO 30/55; cf. PANS, RG 1, Vols. 368 (1776-1781), 369 (1782-1783) "Dorchester (*sic*) Transcripts," 1884, for a selection of miscellaneous regimental papers. The documents are calendared at the beginning of each volume.
- 37 Peckham, *Guide*, p. 140.
- 38 *Report on American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution of Great Britain*, 4 vols. (London, 1904-1909).
- 39 NA, MG 23, B1, "British Headquarters Papers [*sic*]," reels M-341 to M370. See also PANS, Micro. Biography. Carleton, Sir Guy Carleton Papers.
- 40 PANS, MG 12, Series "HQ," Vol. 0(a).
- 41 NA, MG 11 CO 217/54/48, "A Return ...," 23 May 1778.
- 42 See, for example, PANS, RG 1, Vol. 368, No. 125, 126.
- 43 PANS, MG 12, Series "HQ," Vol. 1.
- 44 Peckham, *Guide*, p. 140. Yet another version is in the Carleton Papers: PRO 30/55/106 [No. 10437], 107 [No. 10438], and in PRO, War Office Papers: WO 36/1, 3 ("Boston Order Books").
- 45 "Order Books of Lieut.-Col. Stephen Kemble Adjutant General and Deputy Ajudant General to the British Forces in America 1775-1778," *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, 16 (1884) [Kemble Papers, Vol. 1], pp. [251]-626.
- 46 PANS, MG 12, Series "HQ," Vol. 1, p. 104[a].
- 47 See, for example, PANS, RG 20, Series "A," Box 5 (1784), No. 98: draft grant of 21,600 acres at Antigonish to Lieutenant-Colonel Timothy Hierlihy and eighty-eight others. In 1782, Hierlihy's Corps were amalgamated with the Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers, and Hierlihy became Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment.
- 48 See, for example, NA, MG 23, D 1, Series 1, Vol. 24, pp. 231-39, "List of the Men, Women and Children of the Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers under the Command of Capt. Thomas Green Settled at Ship Harbour, June 2d., 1784." The Deputy Commissary of Musters, incidentally, was Captain William Shaw, himself an officer disbanded from the Volunteers. For a statement of his services, see PANS, RG 1, Vol. 369, No. 213. The Loyalist musters, transcribed from the Chipman Papers, are in RG 1, Vol. 376.
- 49 NA, MG 11, CO 217/52/30, Legge to Dartmouth, 5 December 1775.

- 50 Colonel Innes was the headquarters staff officer principally responsible for the administration of the British American regiments. His deputy for Nova Scotia was Ebenezer Bridgham. Bridgham, a civilian loyalist refugee from Boston, had been deputy to Edward Winslow as Muster-Master-General of Provincial Forces before resigning to accept the appointment of Deputy Inspector-General in November 1777: E. Alfred Jones, *The Loyalists of Massachusetts: Their Memorials, Petitions and Claims* (London, 1930), pp. 53-55. There was much bad blood between Bridgham and Massey's successor but one, Brigadier-General John Campbell, who disapproved of Bridgham's unfavourable report on the provincial corps in Nova Scotia, whither the Deputy Inspector-General had been sent in November 1779 to deal with "irregularities and abuses"; NA, Carleton Papers, 4437, 10326. Campbell no doubt feared that the report would reflect badly on him, since the Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers, of which Bridgham was particularly critical, were under the general's direct command. If the records of the Inspector-General's Office exist as a series (either apart from or within the British Headquarters Papers or CO5) then they have not yet been identified as such.
- 51 PANS, RG 1, Vol. 368, No. 123, 148, Innes to Captain Smith (Military Secretary), 26 March 1782; Clinton to Campbell, 26 March 1782.
- 52 NA, MG 11, CO 5/94/251, Howe to Germain, 5 July 1777.
- 53 A striking example of regimental ephemera is NA, Dartmouth Papers, 3008-3013, "Proceedings of a Court of Enquiry held in His Majesty's Loyal Regiment of Nova Scotia Volunteers by Order of His Excellency Colonel Legge Commanding the said Regiment ... Relative to the Circumstances of an Accusation which occurred yesterday Evening between Captains [George] Vanputt and [Richard] Gibbons," 11 April 1776.