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A Loyalist Life: John Bond of South Carolina and Nova Scotia

JAMES CARY, A SOUTH CAROLINA LOYALIST adrift in Nova Scotia in the summer of 1786, mused to a friend in Jamaica:

I am now sitting in Company with a young Gentleman lately from South Carolina who informs me that he was lately at my Mannor Plantation there and conversed with the Man who had purchased it, he says it sold very high, it had fine Crop of Indigo growing on it, the Purchaser told this Gentleman it was a fine Place, he wished he could know what I thought of myself now, with all my Loyalty.¹

What do I think of myself now, *with all my loyalty*? After the American Revolution, that question challenged former loyalists, both those who were trying to incorporate themselves into the new nation and, perhaps especially, those who had voluntarily or involuntarily left it. The upheaval and hardship of starting a new life, usually in an unfamiliar environment and often in the absence of one's family and friends, forced such questioning on exiles, whether they had owned thousands of acres, as Cary had, or had been landless, as was the subject of this work. Studying the migration of loyalists involves pursuing a range of linkages between their prewar and postwar experiences. On a personal level, could a loyalist look back at his opposition to the Revolution with self-confirming pride or only with regret? Did his postwar experiences confirm his decision to support the imperial tie, a decision commonly made in haste and distress and often inconsistently? Since such questions are weighed on the side of regret, at least immediately after the war, by the fact of displacement and exile, it is the exiled loyalists' entire lifetime which needs to be surveyed.

The vast majority of those loyalists from the southern backcountry who found themselves in Nova Scotia at the end of the war had been small farmers before

1 James Cary to John Jackson, 17 August 1786, James Cary Letterbook, Cary Papers, Thomas Pittman Collection, North Carolina Archives (hereafter NCA); for Cary's holdings in Camden District, to which the letter referred, see Confiscated Estates Papers, Plats, South Carolina Archives (hereafter SCA). For Cary's post-war life, see Robert S. Lambert, "A Loyalist Odyssey: James and Mary Cary in Exile, 1783-1804", *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, LXXIX (1978), pp. 167-81.

the Revolution and neither kept records nor attracted the attention of those who did. At best, only particles of their lives can be recovered, largely from the public records which survived the hectic period of loyalist settlement in Nova Scotia. The following reconstruction of the life of John Bond will focus on his leadership of Rawdon, Nova Scotia, a settlement of southern backcountry loyalists. As a southern backcountryman in Nova Scotia, Bond was both typical and exceptional: perhaps it is not too simplistic to characterize him as typical before the war but exceptional afterwards, owing largely to the rank of militia captain which he held when the war ended. While his rank did not guarantee success in Nova Scotia, it did give him access to official favor during the settlement period, a status which, combined with his own leadership ability and personal skills, produced a relative prosperity which held Bond at Rawdon while many others settlers, even men sharing his favored status, left.

Like most southern backcountrymen who went to Nova Scotia as loyalist exiles, before the war Bond had been a subsistence and livestock farmer of no particular political importance. Also typically, it was his military service with the British which led to his departure from the Upcountry, from South Carolina, and from the new nation. Unlike many of his fellow loyalists, Bond lived close enough to a British installation to shepherd his young family there at the height of the fighting and ensure their departure with him. After the war, Bond's militia rank gave him an advantage over most of the southern backcountrymen in Nova Scotia. As a captain, he was entitled to a larger land allotment than most men, and he was in a pool of former militia officers to whom the Nova Scotia governor and council distributed local responsibilities at a time when refugees were pouring into the province. When he settled in Nova Scotia, then, Bond was in a favorable position: a young man, accompanied by his immediate family, with more land and public influence than most of his comrades.

Bond's loyalist compensation claim provides the only details for his early life. Born in Baltimore County, Maryland in 1758, as a child he moved with his family to settle near Ninety-Six in southwestern South Carolina. There is no indication that he ever owned land there, but he rented a farm and raised livestock, oats and wheat. Later he claimed to have owned 26 horses, nine sheep and 70 hogs. Bond seems to have been married with one child at the start of the war; by 1781 he definitely had a wife and at least one child.²

When hostilities broke out in the South Carolina Upcountry, Bond kept quiet. In contrast, most of the loyalists from western Ninety-Six District who would

2 An outpost against the Cherokees, Ninety-Six was 96 miles from the nearest Cherokee town. Bond claimed losses totaling £257.5 and was allowed £75. John Bond claim, Audit Office Papers 12/49, p. 227, Public Record Office, microfilm copy in National Archives of Canada (hereafter A.O., PRO and NAC); *ibid.* 12/68, p. 44; *ibid.* 12/109; *ibid.* 13/138; Return of the Loyalists from So Carolina settled near Windsor [1784], RG 1, vol. 359, p. 63, Public Archives of Nova Scotia (hereafter PANS), gives a young man John Bond in addition to Captain John Bond.

make postwar homes in Nova Scotia participated in the November 1775 loyalist rising at Ninety-Six. Theirs was an impressive display of backcountry disapproval of the activities of the Lowcountry revolutionaries. When reinforcements arrived to aid the local revolutionaries in the final weeks of 1775, they broke the loyalist resistance, and those men who had taken part in the rising were hunted down and captured. Some captives were sent to Charles Town for a time, while others were made to swear they would not resist the revolutionaries, on the pain of confiscation of their property. Bond had refused to join the revolutionary militia at the outset of the campaign, and so he was captured in its concluding dragnet “but was released on agreeing to remain Neuter”.³ In the absence of documentation, one supposes that loyalists also had tried to get Bond to participate in their campaign and that he had refused them as well.

The little that is known about Bond’s life before the war and at its outbreak gives no certain explanation of why he took a neutral position at the beginning of the war or a loyalist stand four and one-half years later, when neutrality in his locale was no longer an option. It is, however, possible to conjecture a religious explanation for his initial neutrality. In Nova Scotia in 1812, an observer characterized Bond as “a very religious man of the Baptist persuasion”.⁴ How long Bond had been a Baptist is not known. When the quoted observation was made, there was an active Baptist congregation at Rawdon, though apparently there was no Baptist building to rival the Anglican structure very near Bond’s home. Following the American Revolution, the Anglican Church in Nova Scotia aggressively, but unsuccessfully, attempted to outrace the growth of Dissenting churches among the new loyalist settlers of the province. For a man of Bond’s local prominence to be Baptist rather than Anglican suggests that his religious identity was not casually borne.⁵

- 3 John Bond claim (quotation, A.O. 12/49, p. 227); Richard Pearis claim, A.O. 12/49, p. 300, A.O. 12/68, p. 50, A.O. 13/138; Joseph Robinson claim, A.O. 12/49, p. 332, A.O. 12/68, p. 63, A.O. 13/92, A.O. 13/138; John Drayton, *Memoirs of the American Revolution as Relating to the State of South Carolina* (1821, reprinted New York, 1969), I, pp. 376-430; David Ramsay, *The History of the Revolution of South Carolina, from a British Province to an Independent State* (Trenton, New Jersey, 1785), I, pp. 308-12; John Richard Alden, *The South in the Revolution 1763-1789* (Baton Rouge, 1959), p. 200; Edward McCrady, *South Carolina in the Revolution 1775-1780* (New York, 1901), pp. 95-6; Robert Wilson Gibbes, comp., *Documentary History of the American Revolution* (New York, 1971), pp. 225-47. The 1775 rising is lucidly examined in Robert S. Lambert, *South Carolina Loyalists in the American Revolution* (Columbia, S.C., 1987), pp. 33-58.
- 4 Walter Bates, *Henry More Smith, the Mysterious Stranger* (Saint John, 1979), p. 10. Baptist persuasion was conspicuous to Bates, whom a New Brunswick historian recently described as having been aggressively Anglican. David G. Bell, “Religious Liberty and Protestant Dissent in Loyalist New Brunswick”, *University of New Brunswick Law Journal*, XXXVI (1987), p. 154.
- 5 The earliest church at Rawdon was the “handsome small Church” which Zachariah Gibbs built on his land between 1786 and 1791. An Anglican Church was built at Rawdon between 1794 and

Bond may have been a Baptist before the war as well; if so, he was a Separatist Baptist and, as such, strongly exposed to pacifism. The names John Bond, John Bond, Jr., and Martha Bond appear on the 1784 roll of the Baptist Church at Padgett's Creek, a southern tributary of the Tyger River.⁶ The roll was drawn up after the revolutionaries won the war. The 1778 constitution of South Carolina specified that "Christian Protestant" churches would be all on an equal footing but that each church must provide a list of members and a statement of principles in order to be incorporated by the legislature.⁷

The various church rolls, made at the close of the bitter civil war, may well be inclusive lists, bearing names of worshippers who had become divided and scattered during the hostilities. The charter statement of the church where the Bond names appear is remarkable for its inclusive and conciliatory language: when it wrote its statement of principles in 1784, the church looked back with sympathies sensitive to the recent suffering. It attempted to hold onto its pacifist principles, even as it acknowledged their loss in the realities of a civil war:

As to war we dont hold it right to be forward or active in any such cases, but if our Members are Drafted and sho'd go and answer their draft with that Spirit of Meekness as becomes a Christian and returns in the Same [spirit], is in our fellowship.... We do hold to open our doors to any orderly minister or Church of the **Separate Order, that doth not tolerate War.⁸**

Although the John Bond of this study was not present in his South Carolina community when this church drafted a charter and professed obedience to the law of the new state, the three names still may be those of his family, carried over from prewar membership in a conciliatory spirit.

One of the characteristics delineating the Separatist from the Regular Baptists

1802. *Royal Gazette and Nova-Scotia Advertiser*, 15 February-22 March 1791; Hants County Deed Book 6, pp. 172-4, 535, Windsor, Nova Scotia; Plan of the Town of Rawdon, no. 32, Hants County Portfolio (hereafter Hants Portfolio), Nova Scotia Department of Lands and Forests, Halifax; Judith Fingard, *The Anglican Design in Loyalist Nova Scotia 1783-1816* (London, 1972), p. 51, 205; David G. Bell, ed., *Newlight Baptist Journals of James Manning and James Innis* (Saint John, 1984); Newport United Baptist Church, Miscellaneous Records, 1799-1820, Baptist Collection, Acadia University, Wolfville, Nova Scotia; *Report of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel* for 1826, pp. 75-6 indicates that by 1826 there was a Baptist structure, which Presbyterians also used.

6 November 1784 entry, Padgett's Creek Baptist Church Book, 1784-1832, Baptist Collection, Furman University, Greenville, South Carolina.

7 Leah Townsend, *South Carolina Baptists, 1670-1805* (Florence, South Carolina, 1935), p. 278; Thomas Cooper and David J. McCord, eds., *Statutes at Large of South Carolina* (Columbia, 1836-1841), vol. I; Jerome Nadelhaft, *The Disorders of War: The Revolution in South Carolina* (Orono, Maine, 1981), p. 38.

8 Italics added. November 1784 entry, Padgett's Creek Baptist Church Book.

at the start of the war had been the pacifism of the Separatist churches. One of their most active ministers was a noted pacifist preacher. Few Separatist Baptist churches survived the war, at least as Separatist Baptist churches, for those which organized or reorganized in compliance with the state law did so as Regular Baptist Churches, or simply as “Baptist” churches. Their neutralist past was downplayed or forgotten; the statement made by the Padgett’s Creek Baptist Church is conspicuous for its implied denigration of military activities.⁹

After satisfying local revolutionaries with his promise to “remain Neuter”, young Bond stayed out of the war until the British entered the Upcountry following their capture of Charles Town in 1780. At this point neutrality was virtually impossible. Bond and his family sought the protection of the British at Fort Ninety-Six, in common with hundreds of other non-revolutionaries in the area. Some of the men coming into the fort had been neutral so far, while others had actively opposed the Revolution; still others had supported it but now changed sides, gambling on a British victory.¹⁰ All of the men coming into the fort were expected to serve in the loyal militia, and Bond did so. In the earliest muster rolls listing him, his rank is private. He rose to the rank of captain at Fort Ninety-Six.¹¹ When the British built Fort Ninety-Six as their lynchpin for occupying the Upcountry, it was their most distant post from Charles Town and the main training center for loyalists who participated in the defeat on King’s Mountain. In his loyalist compensation claim after the war, Bond made no reference to fighting at King’s Mountain or elsewhere, suggesting that his militia service was entirely non-lethal. His rank as captain may have resulted from recruiting efforts among his acquaintances. Likely he scouted or drove cattle or

9 Townsend, pp. 163, 169, 178-81; “A Sketch of the late Reverend Thomas Norris”, in Henry Holcomb, *Georgia Analytical Repository* (Savannah, 1802), pp. 131-2; David Benedict, *A General History of the Baptist Denomination in America and other Parts of the World* (Boston, 1813), II, p. 157; John Belton O’Neill and John A. Chapman, *The Annals of Newberry* (Newberry, South Carolina, 1892), pp. 141-2. Townsend shows that the membership of Padgett’s Creek Baptist Church was drawn in part from the Separatist Baptist Church at nearby Fairforest Creek, and Rachel Klein has noted that the latter congregation had been harassed by Regulators during the late 1760s. Rachel Klein, “The Rise of the Planters in the South Carolina Backcountry, 1767-1808”, Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, 1979.

10 For example, William Cunningham, after settling near Bond in Nova Scotia, acknowledged that he had joined the British in 1780 after serving in the revolutionary militia because he “then thought the British would get the better”. A.O. 12/49, p. 16. Others who would be close neighbors with Bond in Nova Scotia had opposed the revolutionaries since 1775. Gibbes, *Documentary History*, pp. 247-53; Carole Watterson Troxler, “Origins of the Rawdon Loyalist Settlement”, *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, VIII (1988), pp. 63-76.

11 Colonel Richard King’s Company of Ninety-Six District Militia, Pay Abstract no. 62, Treasury Papers 50/3, PRO, microfilm at North Carolina Collection, Wilson Research Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; John Bond claim, A.O. 12/49, p. 227.

wagons, activities commonly performed by militia. He and his neighbors did experience Nathanael Greene's month-long siege of the fort in the spring of 1781. The defenders understood that death would be the price of defeat, and they held out until they were rescued by a 26 year old British general already known for his dramatic strategy, Lord Francis Rawdon.

Rawdon was at Fort Ninety-Six only long enough to order its abandonment. The regular troops, loyalist militia and refugees withdrew first to Orangeburgh and then to Charles Town. There behind British lines in the closing months of the war, militia were paid and encouraged to return to their homes. Many other refugees received relief payments as well, usually enough to return them to their homes.¹² There is a hostile description of backcountry loyalist refugees, written by a New England revolutionary who was shocked or amused by almost everything he observed during his Charles Town visit:

Just for a change of intelligence, I can describe to you some of the Back Countrymen of South Carolina. They call them here *Johnny Gwaughers*: There were plenty in *Charlestown* when I was there, many of them had good Estates in the Country; but, 'come in from the R-e-b-e-l- s' because they did not like their 'oppression', & so they, 'come in to serve their king & shew their loyalty' & there for such proofs of Loyalty they. . . were dam'd for a parcel of wounded wretches that were worse than Rebels. They were great tall strapping women & Men, the former generally dressing in one single Petticoat that dropp'd to the ground & a short wrapper & man's hat — lopp'd — the latter's dress was compos'd of a hat, a jacket, a shirt a Pr of short Britches & some woolen Cloth roll'd round their Leggs, & call'd by the British soldiers *Shin=Curtains* & very few of them, any shoes — You see I am very particular in description, as people are so fond of Novelty I dont know but the fashion might be adopted, maugre the appearance. — But these above mentioned poor Devils thin'd fast when I came away [i.e., late summer 1782] — some came to their senses & returned to Genl. Greene & were forgiven with the penance of a six months duty in the field. Others would make excursions in the Country in plundering partys where many had the satisfaction of being knock'd in head & hung for their Loyalty to their Starve Gut King.¹³

People who had fled from the Upcountry with the British could risk return to their homes, or they could go to any of the places where transport ships would take them when the British evacuated Charles Town during the autumn of 1782:

¹² Treasury Papers 50/1-5.

¹³ Z. Waterman to "Dear Sister", 1 September 1782, High Court of Admiralty Papers, 32, p.459, PRO, copy in British Records, NCA.

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Britain, Jamaica or other West Indies islands, East Florida or Nova Scotia. For the most part, backcountrymen with few or no slaves, such as Bond, went to East Florida or Nova Scotia. Bond was among the 501 persons who went directly to Nova Scotia. They left early in the evacuation period, indicating that their choice of a destination was indeed a choice. Moreover, as compared with refugees going to the other destinations, the 191 white men, 132 white women, 122 white children, and 56 blacks included a higher proportion of women and children.¹⁴ The group accompanied the heavy ordnance and other military supplies to Halifax. There they were the first large group of loyalists to enter Nova Scotia at the end of the war. Eventually, more than 30,000 loyalist refugees would go to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, most of them after the British evacuation of New York. The refugees from Charles Town had received some clothing there and the militiamen had been paid through the end of 1782. In addition, Sir Guy Carleton had ordered six months provisions from military stores for all refugees.¹⁵ The Nova Scotia governor John Parr nonetheless contrasted the Charles Town refugees with those who were beginning to arrive from New York: “those from Charlestown are in a much more miserable situation than those from New York coming almost naked from the burning sands of South Carolina, to the frozen Coast of Nova Scotia, destitute of almost every necessary of life”.¹⁶

The 501 refugees from Charles Town did not remain together. A few, including the ranking militia leader, Colonel Samuel Campbell from Wilmington, North Carolina, moved to Shelburne, the new settlement which was becoming a loyalist boom town; Campbell would live there the rest of his life. Another group, under the leadership of Lieutenant Colonel John Hamilton of Ninety-Six District militia, moved across the Bay of Fundy and settled in New Brunswick. Hamilton assertively obtained provisions and land for them, and they eventually settled at Belle Isle Bay and on the Kennebecasis and Petitcodiac rivers.¹⁷

14 British Headquarters Papers (hereafter B.H.P.), nos. 5938, 5951, 10316, NAC. A 1782 evacuation return was printed in *Year Book of the City of Charleston, 1883* (Charleston, 1883), p. 416. See also “A Return of Refugees with their Families and Negroes, who came to the Province of East Florida on the Evacuation of the Province of Carolina”, C.O. 5/560, pp. 406-11.

15 Bond and the other Charles Town refugees received six months’ provisions at Halifax. Roger Johnson to Brook Watson, 24 January 1783, War Office 60/27, copy in British Records, NCA; Treasury Papers 50/1-5.

16 Governor John Parr to Evan Nepean, 22 January 1783, Colonial Office Papers 217/59, p. 15, PRO (hereafter C.O.); H[enry] Chads, “List of transports, appointed to receive the Garrison of Charles Town”, 19 November 1782, Shelburne Papers, 67, p. 213 (transcript in NAC); Major General Paterson to Thomas Townshend, 23 January 1783, C.O. 217/35, p. 331. For Nova Scotia during the loyalist period, see Neil MacKinnon, *This Unfriendly Soil: The Loyalist Experience in Nova Scotia 1783-1791* (Kingston and Montreal, 1986).

17 D. C. Harvey, ed., *The Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1780-1789* (Toronto, 1958), p. 186; Samuel Campbell claim, A.O. 12/35, p. 4, A.O. 12/65, p. 2, A.O. 13/97, p. 171, A.O. 13/138; Memorial of

Bond remained with the largest single group of Charles Town refugees, and he emerged as their leader. At least his leadership was acknowledged in Halifax, for in June 1783 he was made deputy surveyor for the purpose of laying out a grant to the settlers who were referred to in the warrant as “John Bond and other Associated Loyalists from South Carolina”.¹⁸ Bond could write, albeit inelegantly, and he either knew how to use surveyor’s equipment by 1783 or learned very quickly. The land to be surveyed lay some 40 miles north of Halifax in the wilderness between the upper reaches of the Herbert and Kennetcook rivers. In February 1783 Bond and his family, along with 28 other families and 27 single men, moved out of Halifax to be as near as possible to their future home. Most of them went to the town of Newport on Minas Basin and a few went to the larger town of Windsor where they stayed for over a year while they cut a road to the tract. They moved onto their land before the survey report was completed in July 1784. The name they chose for their new home in the Nova Scotia wilderness indicates a source of their group identity. They called it Rawdon. Regardless of Bond’s leadership, the central fact of the group’s relative cohesiveness — their more basic “bond” — was the experiences they had shared before and during the war.

More than one-half of the original settlers at Rawdon had been at Fort Ninety-Six when Lord Francis Rawdon had relieved the siege. They also had been neighbors, and in a few cases relatives, before the war, so that the nucleus of the settlement already were a community when they arrived in Halifax. The 28 families and 27 single men at Rawdon were joined in the summer of 1784 by six families and four single men from their same home area; the recent arrivals had gone from Charles Town to East Florida but had left East Florida following the British cession to Spain. Most of the newcomers were personally known to the Rawdon residents, and Bond and a few other leaders energetically assisted their applications for land at the settlement. Thereafter, Rawdon continued to attract exiles from the southern backcountry, most of them arriving by 1788. They gathered from various parts of Nova Scotia, many of them leaving warrants to survey or actual grants in places less desirable to them. The southern backcountry people made up almost the entire Rawdon settlement. By 1788, 74 southern backcountry men and widows had received grants, but these grants included only 53 surnames, since several young boys received grants. Bond’s own son, also named John, cannot have been much older than ten years when his name appeared on the 1783 warrant to survey.

John Hamilton, 7 February 1783, B.H.P., no. 6922; [Sir Guy Carleton] to Brook Watson, 4 March 1783, *ibid.*, no. 7054.

18 “Return of the Loyalists from South Carolina settled near Windsor”, RG 1, vol. 359, p. 63, PANS (copy in MG 100, vol. 179, no. 12d), PANS shows the warrant to survey was approved June 1783. John Sanderson claim, A.O. 13/135. For the background and pre-1784 experiences of the Rawdon settlers, see Troxler, pp. 63-76.

Prior to the war, most of the original Rawdon settlers had lived in southwestern Ninety-Six District, within a network of eastern tributaries of the Savannah River, 35 of them between Turkey Creek and Long Cane Creek and another 13 just east of that area, between the middle reaches of the Broad and Saluda rivers. The northern section of Camden district provided four more men, and four came from elsewhere in the South Carolina Upcountry. From Georgia there were five grantees, in four families, and from North Carolina, there were two grantees in the same family. The prewar locations of 11 men have not been determined beyond their statement that they were from South Carolina. For the 74 grantees, birthplaces are known for 30: 14 in northern Ireland, 14 in America, and two in England. The Irish-born had arrived in the backcountry at a fairly even rate between 1757 and 1773. Some of the American natives had moved in during that time as well, coming from the western parts of Pennsylvania, Virginia and North Carolina. One Yorkshireman had arrived in Georgia in 1774 as an indentured servant. Thus the Rawdon settlers had been part of the general migration pattern which had populated the southern backcountry during the quarter century prior to the Revolution. The high proportion of northern Irish natives at Rawdon reflected the numerous Ulster Scots in the prewar southern backcountry. Some loyalists from German communities in western Ninety-Six District also settled in Nova Scotia, but Rawdon included only two families with German surnames, and they were related by marriage to a Rawdon family from northern Ireland. At the outbreak of the Revolution, most of the men of Rawdon had been farmers, owning 100 to 200 acres, livestock and farm implements.¹⁹

19 Recruiting list, Duke of Cumberland's Regiment, State Papers 41, p. 29, PRO; claims of Robert Alexander, George Bond, John Brison, William Brison, James Carter, William Cunningham, David Dunsmore, Adam Fralick, Henry Green, Reuben Lively, Samuel McAllister, William Meek, John Murphy, James Nickles, Thomas Pearson, George Snell, Thomas Thornton, William Wallace, John Brown and Margaret (Evans) Fitzsimmons, in A.O. 12/49, A.O. 12/68 and A.O. 13/138; claims of Henry Martindale, John Lewis in A.O. 12/40, A.O. 12/66, A.O. 13/57; claim of Darius Pace, A.O. 13/26; claim of Samuel Proctor, A.O. 12/92, A.O. 13/26; claim of Charlotte Pollock, A.O. 12/99; claim of John Sanderson, A.O. 13/135; claim of Thomas Thornton, A.O. 13/136; claim of John Brown, A.O. 12/5, A.O. 12/59, A.O. 13/90; list of Thomas Brown's servants (for Richard Fenton), A.O. 13/34; MG 100, vol. 179, no. 12c, PANS; land petitions of John Bond (1784), Thomas McKey *et al.* (1784), John Sterling *et al.* (1787), RG 20 "A", PANS. For pre-Revolutionary property ownership, see also: returns of property of dead or absent loyalists, May-June 1783, Historical Commission of South Carolina, copies in South Caroliniana Library and published in Robert W. Barnwell, Jr., ed., "Reports on Loyalist Exiles from South Carolina, 1783", *Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association* (1937), pp. 43-6; South Carolina General Assembly, "An Ordinance for appointing a new Jury List for the district of Ninety-Six... ", 20 February 1779, published in Thomas H. Pope, *The History of Newberry County, South Carolina* (Columbia, 1973), pp. 287-302; Colonial Plats, Surveyor General, Secretary of State, *passim*, SCA; Royal Grants, Secretary of State, *passim*, SCA; Recorded Instruments, Land Grants, Colonial Series, *passim*, SCA; Memorials, Auditor General, *passim*, SCA; Conveyances, Public Register, *passim*, SCA; Conveyances, 1776-1780, Register of Mesne Conveyances, *passim*, SCA.

As deputy surveyor, Bond headed the list of grantees in the original and largest Rawdon grant, and “by virtue of his office” he decided who got which tract. In this particular grant, individuals received significantly larger acreage than what was granted at most other loyalist settlements in Nova Scotia. One assumes that Bond’s initiative as deputy surveyor for the grant was responsible for the Rawdon settlers’ obtaining the larger allotments. In Newport, Nova Scotia, where most of the Rawdon settlers had temporarily lived, the original township grants were 250 acres for a single man and 500 acres for a family. This was the allotment in the original Rawdon grant headed by Bond. Curiously, a Newport man of some prominence, Shubael Dimock, was listed for 500 acres in Bond’s warrant to survey. Dimock’s family had moved from Connecticut prior to the American Revolution. They were conspicuously Baptist, providing two Baptist ministers who were contemporaries of Bond. One surmises that Bond used the local precedent of 250 and 500 acre allotments, perhaps with Dimock’s assistance, to obtain the larger than usual tracts. The fact that his loyalist warrant to survey was one of the earliest to come before the governor and council must have made it easier to obtain approval for the oversized allotments.²⁰ The wilderness to which Bond and the other settlers were directed lay more than 15 miles from Newport. Only recently, land along the lower reaches of the Kennetcook River nearer Newport, 30,000 acres of it, had been granted to a Windsor lawyer and so was not available. The creek upland between the Kennetcook and Herbert Rivers was, however, reminiscent of the hills and creeks of the South Carolina Upcountry, and there was enough land there to leave the wet, low-lying, stretches untouched.

Bond made recommendations to Governor Parr on land matters at Rawdon. He managed the petitions for the newcomers who arrived from East Florida in 1784, personally vouching for the industry and honesty of his own acquaintances and citing good reputations of others known in the community. One or two other local magistrates usually added their signatures or notes of approval to Bond’s, but it was Bond who consistently approved land petitions in the Rawdon area. He did not limit his approval to southern backcountrymen. He energetically endorsed efforts to obtain land at Rawdon by several persons who had lived in the Newport area prior to the war but who had never obtained land grants. Referring always to the industry, honesty and good character of the petitioners, Bond appreciated that the settlement’s success would depend on the numbers and quality of its population, regardless of their background.²¹

20 Hants County Deed Book 4, p. 190 (quotation). Joseph Churchill Cox, “History of Hants County” [1865], County Histories, PANS. The sparse militia records for early 19th century Nova Scotia show that during 1810-1813 Dimock served as a captain in the Hants County militia along with either Bond or his son, John. Commissions, Militia Papers 1778-1850, Nova Scotia Military Records, PANS. For information about Newport lots, the author is grateful to Mr. John V. Duncanson of Falmouth, Nova Scotia.

21 Hants County Deed Book 4, pp. 144-5; land petitions of Thomas McKey *et al.* (1784), John

82 *Acadiensis*

Bond was not only the chief organizer of the loyalist settlement, but also he maintained a key leadership role there for the rest of his life, in contrast with the three other men with whom he shared leadership during Rawdon's settlement period: Zachariah Gibbs, William Meek and Thomas Pearson. At the inception of the settlement Bond was appointed justice of the peace as were Meek and Pearson. Like Bond, Meek had ended the war as a militia captain; he became a justice of the peace soon after Bond, and they worked closely at Rawdon for nearly a decade. The ranking militia leaders in the original Rawdon grant were, however, not Captains Bond and Meek but the two colonels, Zachariah Gibbs and Thomas Pearson. Gibbs was significantly older than the other three leaders, who were in their twenties.²²

The senior militia officer at the Rawdon settlement, Gibbs went to Nova Scotia initially by accident. From Charles Town in December 1782 he and his wife took several slaves to Jamaica and the following May embarked for England. The ship's captain later said he had been "obliged to put into Halifax" en route, thereby giving Gibbs the opportunity to contact his fellow backcountrymen in Nova Scotia and learn of the plans for Rawdon.²³ The Gibbises spent June and July in Nova Scotia and reached London in September. While the Rawdon survey was underway and the settlement was being made, Gibbs was for a time in London and later in Ireland. Had Gibbs remained in Nova Scotia during 1783-1784, it is reasonable to think that he, and not Bond, might have been the deputy surveyor and first justice of the peace. Indeed, when one of the Rawdon grantees sold his land just weeks after the tract was granted, he referred to the original Rawdon tract as having been "granted to Colonel Zachariah Gibbs Willm Meek John Bond and others".²⁴

Gibbs lived at Rawdon for about five years, and he and Bond seem to have worked well together, but Gibbs's leadership role never approached Bond's.

Sterling *et al.* (1787), John Hockehull *et al.* (1798), RG 20 "A", PANS.

22 Meek and Pearson each had been described as a "youth" in 1775, when Bond in fact was 17. Gibbs's relative age is indicated by his having been active in the 1760s in the county court of Tryon County, North Carolina, which had initial jurisdiction over his Fairforest lands. See Tryon County Court Minutes, 1769, NCA; Grant to Zachariah Gibbs, Tryon County, no. 4, 1768, North Carolina Land Grant Office, Raleigh.

23 Zachariah Gibbs claim, A.O. 13/ 129, pp. 46, 54-5; *ibid.* 13/79, pp. 205-9.

24 Gibbs was in County Down as late as 15 December 1785, when he made a statement for Alexander Chesney's claim, A.O.13/126. The seller quoted above, Captain George Bond, was living at New London in Hants County when he sold his tract, but he later lived at Rawdon. A cattle drover in the militia, he had lost the use of a hand in the battle at Eutaw Springs. Having been born in Baltimore County, Maryland, like John Bond, he likely was Bond's brother. George Bond petition in Land Papers of John Hockehull, RG 20 "A", 1798, PANS (quotation); George Bond petition, 12 April 1782, Treasury Papers 50/ 2; Hants County Deed Book 4, p. 326; George Bond claim, A.O. 12/49, p.122; Rawdon poll tax, 1791, RG 1, vol. 444, pp. 26-7, PANS.

Gibbs built a small church on his land, presumably a Dissenting one, as he did not use the glebe and as an Anglican Church was built on another lot a few years later. Gibbs left Rawdon late in 1792 and never returned.²⁵ William Meek disappeared from Rawdon at about the same time as Gibbs. Meek sold all his land in September and October of 1792 and, except for being listed as a Rawdon township officer for 1793, his name thereafter ceases its appearance in both the deed books and the county court minutes.²⁶ Thomas Pearson, on the other hand, remained in Nova Scotia, though not at Rawdon. Pearson may have been a surveyor before the war, for he claimed to have lost two sets of surveyors' instruments in South Carolina; if so, it is likely that he worked with Bond in laying out the Rawdon tract.²⁷

Clearly, Bond's initial leadership of the loyalist settlement was not based on military seniority or achievement, as he had performed no militia service prior to 1780 and in his loyalist compensation claim listed no overt battles other than the siege of Fort Ninety-Six. Meek, Pearson and Gibbs, on the other hand, had fought in the 1775 loyalist uprising at Ninety-Six; so also had four of the remaining

25 Early in 1794 in Gibbs's backcountry South Carolina neighborhood, a Zachariah Gibbs executed an estate for a relative of the Zachariah Gibbs who had lived at Rawdon. Later in 1794, Bond sued Gibbs for debt in the Nova Scotia Supreme Court and received a deed for the unsold portion of Gibbs's Rawdon land as a result. Bond never redeemed the deed, suggesting that he thought Gibbs might return and was protecting Gibbs's land against other creditors. In 1806, after Bond's equity of redemption expired, the Windsor attorney W. H. O. Haliburton bought Gibbs's land at a sheriff's sale. Gibbs had mortgaged his 1,000 acre grant in 1788 and again in 1790, redeeming the mortgage both times, but he sold the land outright to a Windsor blacksmith in June 1791. At that time he still owned 700 acres in three tracts, which he had bought from his neighbors. He sold one tract in the autumn of 1792, and the remaining 500 acres was the land "held" by Bond until 1806. The memory of Gibbs's church was preserved in an early 19th century map of Rawdon which locates the "glebe lot" at the site of Gibbs's former holdings, even though the "glebe lot" of the 1784 Rawdon grant was at the opposite end of Rawdon. Brent Holcomb, ed., *Union County, South Carolina, Minutes of the County Court, 1785-1799* (Easley, S.C., 1979), pp. 375, 398; Hants County Deed Book 5, pp. 14, 280, 284, 377, 429; *ibid.*, 7, p. 350; *ibid.*, 9, pp. 194-8. Plans of Rawdon, nos. 32, 33, Hants Portfolio; Gibbs advertised his lands for sale for six weeks beginning 15 February 1791 in *The Royal Gazette and Nova-Scotia Advertiser*.

26 Samuel and John Meek and their families remained at Rawdon. Rawdon poll tax, RG 1, vol. 444, pp. 26-7; *ibid.*, vol. 4442, pp. 11, 43, 81, PANS. "General Sessions of the Peace held at Windsor, in the county of Hants October 1787 to April 1812", Windsor, Nova Scotia, 1931 transcript, RG 34, vols. 21- 23, PANS (hereafter Hants General Sessions), *passim*; Rawdon, Hants County, Township Book, 1810-1859, PANS (hereafter Rawdon Township book), *passim*.

27 In 1787 and 1788 Pearson bought the Rawdon lots of three of his neighbors, but by 1796 he sold all except 100 acres of this land as well as his own grant. He lived briefly at Halifax in 1790 but later lived variously at Newport, Windsor and Rawdon before settling as a merchant at Truro in adjacent Colchester County. Hants County Deed Book 4, p. 321; *ibid.*, 5, pp. 8, 17, 55, 193, 402; *ibid.*, 6, pp. 219, 243, 273; [Supreme Court], September 1798, Hants General Sessions; Thomas Pearson claim, A.O. 12/ 49, pp. 119-21; 1792 Halifax poll tax, RG 1, vol. 444, p.47, PANS.

seven militia captains in the original settlement at Rawdon.²⁸ Both Pearson and Gibbs had distinguished themselves as effective militia commanders. Well before they left Charles Town, the other Rawdon settlers were aware of the relative stature of the militia leaders within their community. Fortunately, further insight on the nature of Bond's leadership can be gleaned from the minutes of the General Sessions of the Peace for Hants County. Bond occasionally served as foreman of a grand jury, and the presentments brought by grand juries under his foremanship are strikingly different from other presentments in the court. His presentments are strictly to the point; no vague issues are raised in them, but every matter is specified. Moreover, some of the presentments made under his leadership show evidence of having been corrected in minor ways later, with his signature attesting the correction. Between 1787 and 1814, he served on a grand jury 11 times and was chosen foreman six times. These court records convey a strong impression of leadership and organizational skills which help account for Bond's prominence from the inception of the Rawdon community.²⁹

With the rush of refugees clamoring for land and a settled life in Nova Scotia, provincial officials relied on the convenient and socially familiar militia structure in distributing land and local authority. Thus Gibbs's pre-eminence as the senior colonel was registered in his 1,000 acre allotment, while Pearson with equal rank received 500 acres but was made a justice of the peace alongside captains Bond and Meek, who each got 1,000 acres. Once the community settled at Rawdon, however, personal qualities reinforced and extended Bond's leadership. So also did his relative prosperity, to which his leadership contributed. Able to choose the location of his 1,000 acre allotment, he quickly built a sawmill and gristmill on the Herbert River. In January 1785 he estimated that his sawmill would provide more than 100,000 feet of lumber during the year. Bond supplied lumber for the first houses in the settlement; in March 1785 the provincial government paid him £126 for 42,000 feet of boards, which Pearson certified had been "delivered for the use of the Loyalists & a at Rawdon".³⁰ In addition, Bond was a

28 The other militia captains who had fought in the 1775 rising were James Nichols, Adam Fralick, Henry Green, and Samuel Proctor. Daniel Phillips of Georgia (via East Florida and Shelburne) joined them in 1787. Another militia captain who settled at Rawdon, John Sanderson, had fought in the revolutionary militia early in the war. The remaining militia captains at Rawdon were William Meek and George Bond. RG1, vol. 359, p. 63, PANS; claim of Daniel Phillips, A.O. 13/26, pp. 352-3; claims of John Sanderson, James Nichols, Adam Fralick, Thomas Pearson; Township of Rawdon, St. Paul's (Anglican) Church, Baptisms, Marriages, Burials, 1793-1890, MG 5, no.15, PANS (hereafter St. Paul's Church); Phillips' petition in John Sterling Land Papers, 1787, RG 20 "A", PANS; Gibbes, *Documentary History*, p. 250.

29 Hants General Sessions, *passim*. The extant portion of the Rawdon Township Book opens with the 5 November 1810 meeting, at which time Bond was chairman.

30 John Bond Account, 22 March 1785, RG 1, vol. 223, p. 88, PANS. John Bond Report [to Edward Winslow], 15 January 1785, MG 1, vol. 1898, p. 9, PANS; warrant to survey, Grant to John Bond

blacksmith, and the skills of that trade further added to his income and his utility in the community. Bond's home served as a focal point in its immediate vicinity, the neighborhood which in the 19th century would be known as "Center Rawdon". A similar settlement cluster, eventually called "South Rawdon", grew up around Meek's land.³¹

The pre-eminence of Bond, Gibbs, Meek and Pearson is reflected in the location of their land allotments in the original grant and in the routes of the earliest roads in the settlement. When the settlers entered the wilderness tract, the nearest road was the one connecting Windsor and Halifax, one of the two recognizable roads in Nova Scotia at the time. The southwest corner of the Rawdon grant lay about two and one-half miles north of the Halifax-Windsor road. Colonel Thomas Pearson took the tract nearest that road. The northwestern corner of the Rawdon grant was the closest point to Newport, and it was into that portion of the grant that most of the settlers entered. They used the Kennetcook River as far as they could and then cut their way through the woods. In 1786 John Sanderson recalled that at first "there was very little communication between the Township of Newport & Rawdon till the new settlers made a sort of Road".³² This "sort of road" from Newport was cut to enter the Rawdon grant on land belonging to Meek; indeed, the road bisected Meek's lot.³³ Gibbs's land, on the Kennetcook River, was also near the settlement trail from Newport, which continued past Gibbs's place to Bond's mill on the Herbert River. At Gibbs's the road intersected Rawdon's main thoroughfare. Thus Gibbs, who had lived at "the Three Cross Roads" in Ninety-Six District, installed himself at Rawdon's crossroads.³⁴

Rawdon's thoroughfare was a cross-settlement road which traversed the western portion of the grant from north to south; it linked the lands of the two ranking settlers, Gibbs at the northern end and Pearson at the southern end, and continued on to reach the all-important Halifax-Windsor road. By 1786 the

et al., RG 20 "A", 1784, PANS; Plans of Township of Rawdon, nos. 31, 32, 33, 35, Hants Portfolio; Benjamin Smith, "The County of Hants" (1865), PANS; Petition of Caleb Burgess *et al.*, RG 5, series "P", vol. 89 (1819), PANS.

- 31 1954 map showing structures at Rawdon in D.B. Cann, *et al.*, *Soil Survey of Hants County Nova Scotia* (Truro, Nova Scotia, 1954); St. Paul's Church, Burials, p. 1, PANS; Bond's son, John, also was a blacksmith. Hants County Deed Book 9, p. 261; *ibid.*, 10, p. 501; Plan no. 33, Hants Portfolio.
- 32 Claim of John Sanderson, A.O. 13/135; Alexander Fraser, comp., *Second Report of Ontario Bureau of Archives* (Toronto: 1905), p. 679. For a description of roads in 1783, see *Halifax Gazette* 4 November 1783.
- 33 This lot was one-half of Meek's 1,000 acre allotment; the other half, at what would become South Rawdon, lay in the southwestern section of the grant, convenient to the Windsor-Halifax road. Plan no. 33, Hants Portfolio.
- 34 Claim of Zachariah Gibbs, A.O. 12/46, pp. 76-82.

cross-settlement road was said to be “now getting a pretty public Road”.³⁵ Indeed, the cross-settlement road was given access to Bond’s mill by an arc about four miles long. It linked Meek’s southern lot with the Herbert River at Bond’s, where it continued in a similar arc to the crossroads at Gibbs’s. Unlike Meek and Bond, Gibbs had his two 500 acre lots side by side. Gibbs and Bond were adjacent neighbors, for Bond took the 500 acre lot just south of Gibbs. Thus Bond, Gibbs, Meek and Pearson, former militia leaders and now justices of the peace and frequent road commissioners, drew the face of Rawdon.³⁶

A farmer in the settlement just east of Rawdon noted in his diary a visit from Bond and three other road commissioners in September 1786. Formerly a member of the 84th Regiment, of which the settlement consisted, the writer used the extra pages in his Orderly Book to record the weather and his farming activities. He may have known some of the Rawdon men during the war, for he had served in South Carolina in 1781. Clearly the road commissioners, who were determining the course of a road from Rawdon to the 84th’s settlement, were his friends. The farmer-diarist noted: “Messrs Pearson Day Bond & Meek came thro from Rawdon viewing the proposed course for a road thence hither — dined with me”. They spent the night, and to the diarist’s pleasure, a heavy rain delayed their departure the next day, so that “Messrs. the road Commssrs set out on their exploring jaunt back to Rawdon about noon”.³⁷

A glimpse of Bond’s household is featured in a little classic of New Brunswick picaresque non-fiction. The writer Walter Bates, as sheriff of King’s County, New Brunswick, had in his custody on several occasions one Henry More Smith, a traveling entertainer and horsethief. According to Bates, Smith arrived in Windsor in 1812, slim, dark of eye and hair, and “finding no better employment he engaged in the service of Mr. BOND, a respectable farmer in the village of Rawdon”.³⁸ Bond hired Smith for a month and, according to Bates, was pleased beyond expectations with his work. Smith worked his way into the family circle by feigning religion; he always attended the morning and evening prayers of the household and presided over them in Bond’s absence. In this way Smith obtained the affection of Bond’s daughter Elizabeth. Bond refused their request for

35 Claim of John Sanderson, A.O. 13/135; Fraser, *Second Report*, p. 679.

36 A typical arrangement for the repair of roads and bridges was made in October 1792: The Hants County General Sessions assessed Rawdon £30 and appointed Bond and Jonathan Snelling to oversee repairs there. Three Rawdon tax assessors, appointed earlier that year, were to assess the landowners, who could pay in either money or work, at the rate of six shillings a day for a man with “a good and sufficient team” and two shillings a day for laborers. Hants General Sessions, October 1792. Snelling was a young man, the son of a Massachusetts loyalist. Claim of Jonathan Snelling (Sr.), A.O. 13/24, pp. 426-30.

37 Hector McLean Orderly Book, William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

38 Bates, *Henry More Smith*, pp. 9-10.

marriage, but in March 1813 “she went with him from her father’s house to Windsor”, where they married.³⁹ Shortly thereafter, Smith was convicted of horsetheft. He was lodged in Bates’ King’s County jail and began his multiple escapes which Bates gleefully described each time he recaptured his interesting villain. Bates indicated that Smith’s wife visited him once in the jail and wrote him affectionate letters, but Smith did not return to her when he left New Brunswick after being pardoned in 1815. Thereafter she called herself Elizabeth More.⁴⁰

During the time of Elizabeth’s troubles, her father died, at age 56. Although Bond was prosperous by the community’s standards, he was in some financial difficulty at the time of his death. About two years before he died, Bond failed to pay off two promissary notes and was fined £150 damages. Four years before he died, he borrowed £100 at six per cent interest and mortgaged the farm on the debt. Bond kept up the interest payments, but his heirs — four sons and two daughters — did not repay the debt, and the creditor foreclosed in 1819. The creditor bought the farm at the sheriff’s auction for £100.⁴¹

The fact that Bond, Rawdon’s founder and one of its most prosperous residents, had financial trouble by 1810 reflects the community’s loss of population. Farm products could be transported to Newport or Halifax for sale, but Bond’s sawmill, gristmill and blacksmith operations depended on a steady community market. Although newcomers continued to trickle into the area, Rawdon did lose about half of its original settlers by the time Gibbs and Meek left in 1792. It shared a significant attrition rate with new colonial settlements in general and with other loyalist communities in particular. In addition, however, to the usual discouragements facing new settlements, Rawdon quickly developed a problem of soil erosion. The farming potential of the land had been an initial attraction to settlers. It was fairly rich, better farmland than was available when most refugees from the southern backcountry arrived in Nova Scotia. Indeed, the land was regarded as “being of superior quality for producing new land crops”, and a farmer at Rawdon attested, “perhaps few settlements in the province are more

39 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

40 Walter Bates to Thomas Wetmore, *Royal Gazette of New Brunswick*, 11 July 1815; Pardon of Henry More Smith, July 1815, Justice, Crime, Pardons, box 18, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick. In a mortgage foreclosure filed April 1819 Elizabeth is listed as Elizabeth Moor: *Cogswell vs. Bond et al.*, RG 36, vol. 22, case 361, PANS.

41 The 1810 mortgage was to have been repaid within a year: Hants County Deed Book 8, pp. 405-6. Index, Chancery Court Papers, 1751-1856, RG 36, vol. 72, PANS; *William Graham vs John Bond*, Hilary 1813, Supreme Court Papers, Halifax Circuit, RG 39 “C”, PANS; *John Fitzmaurice vs. John Bond*, Hilary 1815, *ibid.*; *Henry H. Cogswell vs. John Bond et al.*, Chancery Court Papers, RG 36, vol. 22, case 361, PANS, lists these children of John Bond: John Jr., Samuel, Charles, Thomas, Elizabeth and Maria. For other land transactions of John Bond, [Sr.] see Hants County Deed Book 4, p. 529; *ibid.*, 5, pp. 11, 157; *ibid.*, 6, pp. 409, 485; *ibid.*, 9, p. 261; *ibid.*, 10, pp. 128, 501.

capable of tillage". But Rawdon's soil thinly veiled the rocky hills, and cultivation quickly resulted in erosion. Time and experience would encourage pasturage and hay rather than cultivated crops at Rawdon. In the meantime, it was tempting to abandon an eroded farm in the hope of fresh land in New Brunswick or Upper Canada.⁴²

Described as "a respectable farmer" as late as 1812, Bond enjoyed a degree of prosperity which anchored him to Rawdon, where his diversified activities had served him well. He benefited also from his initial pre-eminence in the settlement and from personal qualities which husbanded his advantages: his choice of land as deputy surveyor, the 1,000 acre allotment, payment for the boards used in Rawdon's first houses, blacksmithing and milling skills, and no doubt a high energy level as well. One of Hants County's earliest historians characterized "the Late John Bond" as "a very resolute and enterprising person".⁴³

Where do Bond and his loyalist community belong in the larger story of southern loyalist settlers in Nova Scotia? Of the several clusters of loyalists from the southern backcountry who settled in Nova Scotia, Rawdon compares most closely with two largely German settlements: on Pell's Road near Shelburne and at Ship Harbour in Halifax County. The residents had lived in the same part of western Ninety-Six District as had the Rawdon people. Each of the three settlements consisted mainly of people who had known each other before the war and who had gone through the war and their departure from home as a community. This was in contrast with the largest settlement of southerners in Nova Scotia, Country Harbour. There most of the people were from the backcountry of the Carolinas and Georgia, but their prewar communities were widely scattered, no single ethnic identity predominated, and, most importantly, the men had fought in a variety of militia and provincial units. Moreover, while a majority of the men at Rawdon, Pell's Road and Ship Harbour had families at the time of settlement, the scarcity of women among the Country Harbour settlers reflected the fact that most of the men either were unmarried or had been unable to bring their wives with them.⁴⁴

42 Cox, "Hants County" (first quotation); *Acadian Recorder*, 1 May 1819 (second quotation). For Rawdon poll tax lists (some in Bond's script), see RG 1, vol. 444, pp. 26-7, vol. 4442, pp. 11, 43, 81, vol. 449, p. 157, PANS. For soil and terrain, see Cann, *Soil Survey*.

43 Cox, "Hants County". It is tempting to speculate that the skills and energy which built Bond's relative prosperity were not his own but those of slaves salvaged from the Charles Town evacuation, as there were slaves taken to Nova Scotia by southern loyalists, as well as free blacks who went there in the various evacuations. There is, however, no indication that Bond had slaves. Rawdon poll tax records in the 1790s purport to list all adult males; they carry a few references to "Negroes" and "servants" but give neither for Bond's household. RG 1, vol. 444, Rawdon Poll Tax, PANS.

44 Carole Watterson Troxler, *The Migration of Loyalists from the Carolinas and Georgia to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick*, Ph.D. thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1974, pp. 195-237, 256-314, 337-51.

If Rawdon compares with the smaller German settlements in its community cohesiveness, the relative size difference accounts for Bond's opportunity to exercise official leadership among his neighbors. The settlements on Pell's Road and at Ship Harbour were so small that administration fell to non-southerners in the larger loyalist population; so at those settlements, as in other small clusters of backcountry southerners, there was no leader parallel with Rawdon's Bond, Gibbs, Pearson or Meek.

Rawdon's leadership was paralleled, however, at Country Harbour, where about 300 people in three southern provincial corps were the entire settlement, and where a triumvirate's authority originated in their having been captains in the three corps. Officers ranking higher than captain did not settle on the grant, and the provincial and military authorities at Halifax simply chose one captain from each of the corps to supervise the distribution of provisions, supplies and land and to be among six justices of the peace at the new settlement.⁴⁵ The captain whose leadership and prosperity at the settlement most closely paralleled Bond's was John Legett of the Royal North Carolina Regiment, who from the beginning took the initiative for representing the settlement to military and provincial officials.⁴⁶ Legett's standing as the community's founder was further enhanced when one of his co-leaders moved to Guysborough by 1795. The third died by 1810, after unsuccessfully petitioning for permission to return to South Carolina.⁴⁷ Legett's livelihood in lumbering, fishing and trade was somewhat less dependent on population retention than was Bond's at Rawdon. Country Harbour lost half of its population by the end of 1787, five years earlier than Rawdon, but Legett's fishing and lumbering supplemented and probably surpassed the profits of his store at "Legett's Landing", the most prominent feature of the harbour. Nevertheless, like Bond, Legett experienced some

45 One unit had four captains there, while the other two had one each. The triumvirate were George Dawkins, Joseph Marshall and John Legett, from South Carolina, Georgia and North Carolina, respectively. Confiscated Estates, Plats, SCA; Colonial Records, Commissions, RG 49-10, Georgia Archives; Walter Clark, ed., *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, N.C., 1895-1906), XIV, p. 263 (hereafter, *S.R.N.C.*); Marshall Family Scrapbook, PANS; claims of Dawkins, Marshall and Legett in A.O. 12/35, p. 47, 12/49, p. 1, 12/68, p. 1, 12/92, pp. 1a, 93, 94, 12/72, p. 137, 12/102, pp. 1b-3, 12/109, pp. 130, 196; 13/91, 13/138.

46 Mather Byles [Jr.] to Edward Winslow, [30 November 1784], William Obder Raymond, ed., *Winslow Papers* (Saint John, 1901), p. 254; "Return of shipping, Fish, Lumber &c at Stormont, Country Harbour", 1786, Winslow Family Papers, vol. 5, p. 105, Harriet Irving Library, University of New Brunswick, Fredericton; petition of John Legett *et al.*, RG 20 "A", 1786, PANS.

47 Marshall died in Guysborough at age 93 in 1848. Dawkins' land in the South Carolina Upcountry had been sold by 1793, when he unsuccessfully petitioned the legislature for its, and his, return. Burial Registry, 1787-1800, Christ Church, Guysborough, PANS; Joseph Marshall Miscellaneous, Vertical Manuscript File, PANS; Guysborough County Land Book B, p.527; *ibid.*, D, pp. 48, 71, 263; Reports to the Senate, 18 December 1793, Confiscated Estates, SCA.

financial strain. In 1799 he mortgaged 1,000 acres to a Halifax merchant, including the land where he lived. He repaid the mortgage but then saw his house and store destroyed by a gale in the autumn of 1811; he died less than a year later, and when his widow had their devastated land auctioned in 1818, she received less than £100 for 2,050 acres.⁴⁸

The relative prosperity of both Bond and Legett was owing in large part to the prominence and authority which they enjoyed at the inception of their settlements. Both worked hard, and each could readily identify his own well-being with the well-being of the community for which he had some responsibility. They carried on in spite of the population drain which they could not stop. Neither Rawdon nor Country Harbour reached Shelburne's depletion level, but the loyalists who continued to live in Shelburne after the early 1790s have been characterized as "the few who had entrenched themselves in the town's economy", a description which applies as well to Bond and Legett.⁴⁹ There is no indication that either Bond or Legett, both American natives, ever tried to return to their prewar homes; indeed, there was no land to which to return. Bond had owned none, and during the war Legett's most valuable tract had been seized by a revolutionary officer, while his other holdings were sold as a result of debt suits soon after the war.⁵⁰

What, in the end, did John Bond think of himself, "with all his loyalty"? Whether or not, like James Cary, Bond ever had occasion to rue his losses and his loyalism is beyond ascertaining. Two relevant observations are, however, obvious. First, Bond more than recovered his South Carolina economic losses. Landless before the war, he build a livelihood in Nova Scotia which provided a modest security, even prosperity, for the last three decades of his life. Bond's prosperity resulted from a combination of personal qualities and fortuitous circumstances. One among thousands of loyalists swarming into Nova Scotia, he benefited from his rank, his family's presence, personal skills, youth, and health. (Unlike Captain George Bond and some other refugees, he had not been maimed during the war.) Moreover, in contrast with the many erstwhile farmers who drew land useless for farming, Bond was able to resume his prewar occupation. Second,

48 Petition of John Legett, 9 January 1808, Assembly Papers, vol. 14, PANS; "List of Men in the County of Sydney from Sixteen to Sixty Years of Age", RG 1, vol. 233, no. 155, PANS; map of Country Harbour, MG 100, vol. 127, no. 9, PANS; Guysborough County Land Book C, p. 155; *ibid.*, E, pp. 47, 144; Index Sheet 101, Guysborough County, Nova Scotia Department of Lands and Forests.

49 Marion Robertson, *King's Bounty: A History of Early Shelburne Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1983), p. 245.

50 *S.R.N.C.*, vol. XV, p. 407; Robeson County Deed Books, A, p. 329, NCA; *ibid.*, C, p. 44; *ibid.*, F, p. 77; *ibid.*, G, pp. 132-133; *ibid.*, N, p. 337. Malcolm McNeil to John Legett, 25 August 1783, A.O. 12/35, pp. 26-7.

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Bond's "Baptist persuasion", though it cannot with certainty be linked with his prewar life and thereby with his loyalist motivation, does suggest a source of continuity between Bond's pre-1775 world and his post-1782 one. Bond was buried at the Anglican Church in Rawdon, which was very near his home. The burial site was both ironic, in light of Anglican-Dissenter tensions in Nova Scotia, and fitting, in view of Bond's prominence in the community. A Halifax newspaper reported his death simply: "In Rawdon, on Tuesday last, after a short illness, John Bond, Esquire, one of the first settlers in that Township".⁵¹

51 Bond died 20 January 1814. *Acadian Recorder* (Halifax), 22 January 1814; St. Paul's Church, Burials, PANS. Bond's wife, Elizabeth, died 27 August 1827 at age 72: St. Paul's (Anglican) Church, Center Rawdon, Hants County, Cemetery Records, PANS.