

1779 to 1783: Looking at Fort George through Loyal Eyes

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After the French and Indian War ended in 1763, Great Britain gained control of Canada and the French Territories east of the Mississippi River. It would appear that with the British being in control of the new territory, as well as Nova Scotia and the thirteen British Colonies, a peaceful life and trade between North America and the mother country could continue. But, to simplify a certainly much more complex issue, being asked to help pay for the war debt did not sit well with many colonists. Communication in those days across an ocean took much time, and discontent had opportunity to grow. Even after most taxes were removed, the rebellious population was not calmed and called for a break with the crown and total independence.

This paper does not attempt to be a study on the American Revolution; instead it tries to find out what everyday life was like for a relatively small number of loyalists at Fort George, Penobscot, at the outer edge of the American colonies. Not everyone living in the colonies in the 1770s felt discontent with royal rule and it was often necessary to leave one's home and move to an area still under the protection of the Crown. Fort George, Penobscot became such a safe haven after the crown troops defeated the colonial troops of the Penobscot Expedition in the summer of 1779. This paper tries to find evidence of the importance of the fort and how everyday life for the loyalists was lived between 1779 and 1783 at and around Fort George. Was there an international awareness of the existence of the fort? Did those families who moved to Penobscot consider this a way station to somewhere else or did they settle in at what they assumed was their home for the future?

Military life was intermingled with business and private life on this relatively small outpost on the Penobscot. Looking at Castine today, it is hard to imagine that Penobscot was known internationally, and was mentioned in correspondence in the same breath as Halifax, Quebec and New York - all places firmly in British hands. The governor of the Province of Quebec, Frederick Haldimand saw in Fort George the perfect location to create a post to facilitate communication between Canada, Halifax

and New York overland for most of the journey, since sea voyages were at the mercy of the elements and privateers. The secret letter dated Quebec 4th March 1780 carried by Mr. Lormière states:

“...(I) have hopes that an easy communication between your post and this place may be established & by that Means, intelligence be reciprocally conveyed ... I must request you inform me how frequently & by what means you communicate with New York & Halifax.”¹

Haldimand also requested Newspapers even if old since they have not heard much about what is happening towards the “southward”. Campbell’s answer to His Excellency L.General Haldimand indicated that Fort George was in contact with other British posts:

“There are two Sloops of War stationed here, one of them frequently goes to Halifax & returns to this Harbor again, besides, I have a Small Schooner that I can send at any time with letters to Annapolis in Nova Scotia, she being sent her for that purpose by B.General MacLean. There have been no Vessels here from New York since November last, but in summer I expect to see Vessel frequently from that place.”²

In the summer of 1781, Sir Henry Clinton, at the request of Minister Lord Germain, sent the following directive from New York to Brigadier General Campbell in Halifax:

You will perceive by the enclosed Extract of a Letter from the Minister to me, that the Enemy are very desirous of getting Possession of Halifax and Penobscot, and may probably attempt one of them, should their Naval Force become superior to ours in those Seas during the Course of the Summer.³

Aside of Fort George’s military significance, the area between the St. Croix River and the Penobscot was even intended to be established as the royal Province of New Ireland.⁴

¹ Collection of the Manuscript division, Library of Congress, Copy at Castine Historical Society in folder “Campbell Letters: British Army in America, Library of Congress 1779 – 1782 dated Quebec, 4th March 1780

² Letter of Campbell to Haldimand, Fort George, 3rd April 1780, Reproduced from the Collection of the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, AC 2156, Copy in the collection of the Castine Historical Society

³ Letter written by Sir Henry Clinton to Brigadier General Campbell, New York, July 24th 1781, reproduced from the collection of the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, AC 2156, Copy in the collection of the Castine Historical Society

⁴ Samuel Francis Batchelder, *Bits of Cambridge History*, (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1930) pg.312 William Knox, (Germain’s undersecretary to John Robinson of the Treasury Board) had been most interested in creating a province between New England and New Scotland named New Ireland. More information on the scheme and the interesting involvement of Nutting in loyalist history is found in the books chapter “Adventures of John Nutting” pages 282 - 349

The question arises - How was Majabigwaduce (or Bagaduce or its many different spellings) at Penobscot Bay chosen for a British post, which became a destination for Loyalists? The region had an excellent supply of ships masts and lumber and it provided a harbor for the protection of the Bay of Fundy and of Halifax, Nova Scotia. At the suggestion of John Nutting, who owned land at Penobscot, the British military chose Penobscot for the location of the fort by 1778, and then put this plan into action in 1779. John Nutting was a very capable carpenter from Cambridge, who built barracks for the British military in Boston, in Halifax, and also in England, before becoming master carpenter of Fort George under engineer Captain Hartcup. In exchange for John Nutting's excellent services as Overseer of Works, General Campbell granted land to Mrs. Nutting "on the N.E. side of ye road leading to Fort George, formerly the property of Joseph Pirkins now in rebellion"⁵ John Nutting later left again for England hoping to convince the British to establish New Ireland east of the Penobscot. Mrs. Nutting seemed to have made the best of her time at Penobscot as her many substantial purchases in a store at Penobscot can show.⁶

Aside from John Nutting, Dr. John Calef, another wealthy local landowner originally from the Boston area, was also instrumental in enticing the British to set up a military outpost at Penobscot. Dr. Calef was a medical doctor as well as a religious minister. When the British military arrived at Penobscot, he accepted the position of chaplain to the garrison.⁷

Who were the Loyalists being content living under British rule?

These Loyalist can be placed into 4 different groupings:

1. Those living within a short distance of the Fort when the British arrived and continuing to live there.

⁵ Information on John Nutting is gathered from the chapter "Adventures of John Nutting " in Bits of Cambridge History, by Samuel Francis Batchelder, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1930pg.283-349

⁶ In a ledger attributed to Robert Pagan's store at Penobscot covering the dates January 3, 1783 through October 16, 1783 Mrs. Nutting is a regular customer shopping often several times a week and purchasing usually food items and candles in great quantities. Original of the ledger is at the New Brunswick Museum in St. John, a microfilm was borrowed from the Harriet Irving Library at UNB, Fredericton, New Brunswick

⁷ James S. Leamon, *Revolution Downeast – The War for American Independence in Maine*, The University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst, Published in cooperation with Maine Historical Society, 1993 pg.105 , 107

2. Other inhabitants of the Maine District of Massachusetts loyal to the crown (example Broad Bay = Waldoboro)
3. Families fleeing to Penobscot due to fear of rebel persecution – specifically from Falmouth and Fort Pownal.
4. Families with the British and German military – 74th Highland Reg. and 82nd regiment, and from 1782-1783 Braunschweig and Ansbach-Bayreuth troops.

1. Those living within a short distance of the Fort when the British arrived and continuing to live there.

General McLean had arrived with his troops at Penobscot on June 17, 1779 and shortly thereafter he sent out a proclamation to the public of a general amnesty if they all took an oath of allegiance to the King. About 500 settlers came from the surrounding area, and as far away as Union River and Deer Isle and even Kenduskeag Plantation, today known as Bangor⁸. About 100 accepted work building the fort right away even before the American attack at the “Penobscot Expedition”.⁹

2. Other inhabitants of the Maine District of Massachusetts loyal to the crown (example Broad Bay = Waldoboro)

Of those living further away, we know for a fact that in the spring of 1780, eighteen “Dutchman from Broad Bay” were paid for “Work done in getting Lyme Stone and Loading the Brig Molly Transport & Cutting wood”. The document is dated Fort George April 24, 1780. It also includes the name and signature of one of the German prisoners of war from the Saratoga surrender, Heinrich Isense.¹⁰ There was even secret trade carried out between the German settlers at Waldoboro and Fort George, by leading cattle overland to the Penobscot where the British paid for the cattle.¹¹

⁸ Footnote needed (The reference to Kenduskeag Plantation is somewhere among my many copied pages) A.R.

⁹ James S. Leamon, *Revolution Downeast* pg.107

¹⁰ Document courtesy of Robert C. Brooks. original UK/TNA, AO 3/ 141

¹¹ Jasper J. Stahl, *History of Old Broad Bay and Waldoboro, Volume one, The Colonial and Federal Periods*, The Bond Wheelwright Company, Portland, Maine, 1956, pg.474

3. Families fleeing to Penobscot due to fear of rebel persecution – specifically from Falmouth and Fort Pownal.

Of those families fleeing rebel persecution at Fort Pownal, the most prominent was the Goldthwait family. Thomas Goldthwait had been commander of Fort Pownal at the mouth of the Penobscot before the rebels burnt it down in 1775. Of those loyalists fleeing from Falmouth to Penobscot after it was bombarded by the British Captain Mowatt, were prominent ship owners and business men like Thomas Oxnard, Jeremiah Pote, his sons-in-law, the businessman Robert Pagan and Colonel Thomas Wyer. Jeremiah Pote was originally from Marblehead and had traded with Penobscot for a few years where he eventually owned several mills.¹²

4. Families with the British and German military – 74th Highland Reg. and 82nd regiment, and from 1782-1783 German Braunschweig and Ansbach-Bayreuth troops.

Through a letter the Braunschweig Captain Henrich Urban Cleve wrote to his Duke on March 8, 1783 from Fort George, Penobscot, we know the following:

Of 93 women connected with the 74th Regiment, who used daily to receive ½ portion, only 48 women and their male offspring will keep this privilege, i.e. at the most 6 women per company. I am happy not to have more than 3 women with the detachment, most graciously entrusted to me, and I would even like to do without these if only I could get rid of them in proper fashion.¹³

The Braunschweig troops had arrived at Penobscot on September 22, 1782 with three women.¹⁴ The Ansbach-Bayreuth regiment arrived at Fort George on November 13, 1782 with nine women and two children. While at Penobscot four more children were born to wives of Ansbach-Bayreuth soldiers.

¹² Roger P. Nason, *Meritorious but distressed individuals (microform)*.

¹³ From The Baunschweigers at Penobscot – Correspondence and Reports of Captain Henrich Urban Cleve, trans; Dr. Helga Boie-Doblin, *Journal of the Johannes Schwalm Historical Association*, Volume 6, Number 4, 2000 and Volume 7, Number 1, 2001. The original of these letters are at the Staatsarchiv Wolfenbüttel in Germany. Volume 7, Page 58 (In additional footnotes these letters will be referred to as “Cleve Papers” with reference to the volume and page numbers.)

¹⁴ Cleve Papers, Vol. 6 page 15

Finding the information on what everyday life was like for the families at and around the Fort required a great deal of detective work. I hope by adding up the clues I am not coming to a wrong conclusion.

In order to have a well functioning community there needs to be

Legal authority	a school	religious authority	a hospital,
employment	stores	cultural entertainment.	

Legal Authority

The different military officers in charge of Fort George were well aware that their authority was limited in relation to civil authority, and hoped that civil authority could soon be established. In the meantime, provisional order was created as a letter of 14 June 1780 between Brigadier General John Campbell and Brigadier General Francis MacLean shows:

Application being made to me by James Collins for a Quantity of Land to settle upon in consideration of his attachment to his Majesty's Government. I hereby agree to give undisturbed Possession to James Collins and his heirs. When civil government takes place he will receive a gracious grant he or they paying rent if any is demanded by government a certain quantity of Land formerly the property of Stover Perkins now in Rebellion...¹⁵

Law and order, nevertheless, was upheld as is shown in a remark by the Brunswick officer Captain Henrich Urban Cleve in the letter to his duke:

In case of big and criminal offenses by my men, which are related to the government here, I always turn to Brig. Gen. Campbell, who is in command here. He ordered the garrison courts-martial in these cases. My officers and I adjudicate the criminals of the 74th Regt. in similar cases in just the same way as those of the other detachments at this post as well as the inhabitants here.¹⁶

The young Ansbach-Bayreuth Lieutenant Christoph Julius von Massenbach referred in a letter to Minister von Memmingen to legal issues as follows: "All civil and military disputes are settled by officers".¹⁷

¹⁵ Letter from Brig. Gen. Campbell to Brig. Gen Francis McLean, June 21, 1781, Public Records Office 12/94/34 AO 13/73 (?) 144750 Kew, copy in Perkins folder at Castine Historical Society.

¹⁶ Cleve Papers, Vol.6, 2000, pg.20.

¹⁷ Letter by Lieutenant Christoph Julius von Massenbach to Minister von Memmingen, 21 January 1783 written at Penobscot. The original of this letter is in the Bancroft Collection at the New York Public Library, German transcription and English translation Henry Retzer (in additional footnotes referred to v. Massenbach letters with date written)

In London, attempts to turn the area east of the Penobscot into the new province of New Ireland with a civil government were continuing even to a point of naming possible candidates for different positions if the province were indeed to be established.¹⁸

A School

According to a listing of properties in a settlement known by the name of Majorbigwaduce there had been a “School Lot” of 100 acres with date of Settlement 1761 settled by “Inhabitants”.¹⁹ There was no additional information, no location, no names of teachers – nothing.

But in a document of June 10, 1780 there is an interesting note tying Broad Bay and Bagaduce together. George Cly (also spelled Cline) and his son had been on a ship captured by Americans. They were interrogated by Joseph Greenleaf, Justice of the peace at Suffolk, who wrote the following:

I have also examined Josef Cly, son of George, a lad of about twelve years of age, who appears to have been a mere passenger, who was going to Bagaduce to be put to School by his father.²⁰

Could another proof of schooling be found in the ledger for Robert Pagan’s store? There is an entry on September 24, 1783 which reads: “Posted – Jn. Lee, Debtor. 1 Spelling book 2.6”.²¹

Though we do not know exactly how many children were living around Fort George, we do know from Captain Cleve’s letter that there were 93 women with the 74th Highland Regiment many most likely were young families with school age children. Mrs. Oxnard who had stayed behind at Falmouth when her husband had to escape for fear of attacks by Patriots, requested on August 13, 1781 to visit him with their seven year old son at Penobscot after Thomas Oxnard had moved there. Her request was granted by John Avery of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. In 1782, Mrs. Oxnard received permission to actually move to Penobscot with her family, two servant maids

¹⁸ Samuel Francis Batchelder, *Bits of Cambridge History*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1930, pg.312: “Its governor was to be Thomas Hutchinson, its chief justice Daniel Leonard, its clerk of the council John Calef, the leading local Tory, and its bishop(for *this* colony was to have a bishop willy-nilly) Dr. Henry Caner, formerly of King’s Chapel, Boston”

¹⁹ Copied from the Records in State Department, Boston, by Dr. J.F.Pratt, Chelsea, included in *History of Castine* by George A. Wheeler, M.D.

²⁰ Documentary History of the State of Maine, Vol. XVIII containing the Baxter Collection ,Published by the Maine Historical Society, Portland, Lefavor-Tower Company 1914, pg.302

²¹ Micro film of an account book kept by Loyalist merchant possibly Robert Pagan) who ran a store in the area in 1782. Penobscot Settlement (Castine) Maine. Original ledger at New Brunswick Museum, St. John, N.B, microfilm at Harriet Irving Library UNB, Fredericton.

and such part of her household goods as the selectmen of Falmouth should admit.²² It can be assumed that the Oxnard's child, by then about 8 years old, would receive schooling. Other well-to-do families, like the Robert Pagan family, did not have children, but there most likely were other children among the wealthy and well educated loyalists. According to a listing of Penobscot Loyalists settled at Passamaquoddy by 1784 there are listed 178 men, 102 women, 206 children over age 10 and 163 children under 10.²³ The potential need for an education can be assumed.

Religious Authority

The aforementioned property listing also shows a lot of 200 acres as the "Minister's Lot" settled in 1761 by "Inhabitants". There is no proof that there was a church in the area as early as 1761, but we know that Dr. John Calef was offered the position of chaplain to the garrison and held divine service for the soldiers as Sergeant William Lawrence wrote in his orderly book written 1779-1780:

Maje Bigueduce, 11th September 1779: To-morrow forenoon at 11 o'clock. Divine service will be performed in the Fort. The General expects the garrison will attend.²⁴

In the ledger attributed to Robert Pagan's store is the following listing on April 20th 1782: "Paid, Diacon Craigg, debtor, to 6½lbs Fish, 2 lbs Sugar, ½ lbs Coffee, to be paid when Flower is done (?)"²⁵ Was Diacon Craigg an assistant to Calef?

When the Ansbach- Bayreuth troops arrived in 1782, their field chaplain Georg Christoph Elias Erb was housed with the Braunschweig senior officer Captain Henrich Urban Cleve. We know Erb baptized the children born to the German soldiers' wives and it can be assumed he provide protestant church service to the German troops as was required of field chaplains with the German troops.²⁶

²² From Biographical Sketches, Boston, Little Brown & Co. 1864

²³ Robert C. Brooks, *Downeast Ancestry*, Vol 7, No. 4 December 1983, pg. 134. Mr. Brooks is referring to a list from the New Brunswick Museum (Ms A 143). He received permission to print the list of names of those 649 persons.

²⁴ The Orderly Book of Sergeant William Lawrence was reprinted in The Bangor Historical Magazine later the Maine Historical Magazine 1885-1894 Maine Genealogical Society Special Publication No. 14. Volumes 4-6, edited by Joseph W. Porter, Picton Press, Camden Maine, pg.1124 (in additional footnotes listed as Orderly Book of William Lawrence)

²⁵ Page 61 of Ledger attributed to Robert Pagan's store at Penobscot. Original at New Brunswick Museum, St. John, microfilm at Harriet Irving Library, UNB Fredericton.

²⁶ List of Ansbach-Bayreuth 5th Replacement Recruits of 1782 compiled by Robert C. Brooks with information from Horst Lochner includes the names of mothers and the fathers' names and military rank and the dates of baptism.

Hospitals

Hospitals were a necessity, and were usually one of the first buildings in any military settlement. Even during the Penobscot Expedition, while the settlement was under siege, the hospital was a safe place. In a letter attributed to Jane, youngest daughter of Colonel Thomas Goldthwait, written from Majabigwaduce Hospital at Headquarters August 20, 1779 to her half-sister Catherine Goldthwait we read the following:

... (on) the 25 July, when it was thought most advisable for us to leave our watery habitation for one more secure on Terra firma but even this (...) had nearly proved fatal to us, although an hospital with flags of truce at all doors, and notwithstanding General McLean had wrote a genteel Card to Gen. Lovell to recommend the hospital as sacred objects on both sides.²⁷

When the Braunschweig troops arrived in 1782, the British requisitioned a hospital for them immediately since many of the German soldiers suffered from scurvy. With the troops was Surgeon Hölder, who Cleve ordered to take charge of the hospital and to live there. About Hölder Captain Cleve wrote to his Duke on March 6, 1783: Brig Gen. Campbell is so satisfied with Hölder and his positive qualities that he treats him with distinction and often invites him to his table. The officers and affluent inhabitants of this place are also Hölder's good and useful friends.²⁸

Employment opportunities

Employment opportunities were available in abundance. Working on building the fort provided many well paying jobs for anyone in the building trades for years from the start in 1779. Even when the German troops arrived in 1782 they were employed on the construction of the fort and new barracks. New arrivals after 1779 swelled the local population to over 200 families not including the military, which at the end accounted for over 1000 soldiers. Men able to build houses always had work. Other occupations were also needed. For example, Sergeant William Lawrence listed the following occupations in his orderly book for September 20, 1779:

The servants in the hospital to be paid the following rates per day: The stewards 2 shillings, the nurses 6 pence (?), washing women 1 Shilling, persons for

²⁷ Letter reprinted in Wilson Museum Bulletin, Fall 1975, Vol 2 Number 4. Original of letter among the Samuel Adams Papers in the Archives Department of the New York Public Library.

²⁸ Cleve Papers , Vol. 7 page 57

shaving 1 Shilling, cook 1 Shilling. The butcher is to receive one-half toll for the post.²⁹

Clothing needed to be sewn. In her letter, Jane Goldthwait worried: “Betsy& I long to know about the fashions for we fancy to ourselves that we look as if we come from Noah’s Ark.” In the ledger for January 3rd through October 16, 1782 attributed to Robert Pagan’s store there are many entries related to yard goods of different type – cotton, muslin, linen, silk, velvet, and to ribbon and lace, also needles and thread. One of the taylor’s is listed by name in the Pagan ledger; “Young, the Taylor” paid for a pound of Tobacco on April 27th, 1782.³⁰ In the ledger we also find that Mrs.Nutting shops in the store quite often buying great quantities of food – for example: 23 January 1782 - 20½ lbs Mutton, 1 February 1782 - 10½ lbs. Pork, 20 February - 57 lbs. Beef, 16 March- 1 Bushel Potatoes, 21 March - 7¼ lbs. Cheese, and often several dozen eggs on one shopping trip. Might she have owned an inn, or another store, or could she just have been a popular hostess? There is proof that the McPhail family ran the Mess Hall. Their “McPhail Coffeehouse” was located on Green Street. This ledger also mentions that the Wider Davis was able to purchase items in exchange for doing washing.

Stores

The settlement seemed to have had several stores. When the German troops arrived at Fort George in 1782, in order to receive subsistence funds in exchange for a voucher from Paymaster Gen. Alexander Thompson in Halifax, Captain Cleve had to deal with the following merchants: Merchant John Samuel, merchant John Lee, merchant Nathanael Gardiner. Though not mentioned in Captain Cleve’s list, the best documented store through most of 1782 is the store attributed to Robert Pagan. It appears just about everything could be bought there – food items, dishes, sewing needs, window panes, candles, wood, construction materials, powder, gloves – the sky seemed to have been the limit. Even chamber pots were sold. The ledger lists as one of his customers on February 12 a man named John Hancock who paid for the balance left in a chamber pot. On May 1st, John Hancock is a customer again and paid for 2 Qt. Rum and 2 lbs. Tobacco. He was one of the few people who did not post his purchases, but paid for them. This John Hancock was a member of the Hancock family

²⁹ Orderly Book of William Lawrence, page 1121

³⁰ “Pagan” Ledger, page66

who had been early settlers of Orland.³¹ Many names of customers in the ledger are those of known loyalists – Mrs. Nutting, Mr. Oxnard, Mr. Goldthwait, and many others. Members of the military are also shopping at the store.

Cultural opportunities

So far almost no detailed information on cultural life at the settlement has surfaced. Only assumption can be made from different sources. When trying to find information on the social life at the fort the experiences of the German allied troops may not represent what happened in general. As mentioned previously, some of those soldiers seemed to interact with the “affluent inhabitants of this place” as Dr. Hölder did, but in general life was not as carefree. A great deal of socializing seemed to have been done among officers. On January 21, 1783 Lieutenant von Massenbach wrote to Minister von Memmingen:

The English officers have their own mess together and we Germans have the same, but we have daily and hourly contact with the English officers, this is the way we pass the time as best we can.³²

Unfortunately, not all British German interactions were cordial. In early January 1783, the Scottish lieutenant Archibald McLean wounded the Ansbach-Bayreuth commander Captain von Wurmb at a German party and von Wurmb died of the wound on February 7, 1783. McLean escaped and could not be prosecuted.³³

Captain Cleve wrote on May 6, 1783 to his superior Major General von Riedesel in Quebec:

All the officers of the garrison here, especially the Germans, regret losing Brig. Gen. Campbell. The general as well as his wife have done all in their power to make it pleasant and bearable for the officers in this dismal place.

Perhaps life was not quite as dismal for the German soldiers as Captain Cleve experienced. Lieut. Busch described his Ansbach-Bayreuth troops as being highly praised for their order and propriety. Could the southern German Ansbach-Bayreuth troops have been more social than the reserved northern German Braunschweig troops? Even while waiting in Bremerlehe for English transport ships to take them to

³¹ Robert C. Brooks, *Downeast Ancestry*, page130

³² von Massenbach letter, January 21, 1783

³³ This incident is mentioned in v. Massenbach’s letter of January 21, 1783 and a letter by v. Wurmb’s successor, Lieutenant Friederich Ferdinand Busch. Letters are in the Bancroft Collection of the New York Public Library

North America, the 10 musicians with the Ansbach troops were known to give concerts to the delight of onlookers as Lieutenant von Massenbach wrote on May 20, 1782:

Our musicians find an audience everywhere. Here officers, who are strangers to us, as well as civilians, are especially after them. General Vozet (Faucitt) likes to go into his garden house often where he can hear them best.³⁴

Could those musicians have continued their concerts at Fort George? Jane Goldthwait in her letter referred to impromptu musical entertainment while the family was housed in the hospital:

There are also two Doctors, which keep with us here, good clever Scots gentleman, one blows the German flute very prettily and the other the Clarinet – an exceeding fine instrument, there are 2 fiddles, which two of the officers are practicing, and a third, a Mr. Stewart plays on most divinely, so once in a while we make believe we sing a song, and they compliment us with a clap & upon the whole you see, we can't but spend some time pleasantly tho we are shockingly crowded for room...³⁵

For the loyalists and the British troops cultural life at and around Fort George may have involved formal and informal parties. The purchase of coffee, tea and tea pots, and cups and saucers, as well as glasses in Robert Pagan's store gives the impression that entertaining guests was done at the settlement. Silk, and velvet cloth most likely was turned into dresses worn at festive events.

There seemed to have been an expectation that the settlement was destined to become a permanent home for the loyalists. Mrs. Oxnard had joined her husband in 1782, though she had to leave most of her possessions behind in Falmouth. Colin Campbell, nephew of Brig. Gen. John Campbell, commanding the fort in 1782 – 1783, sent for his wife to join him there with as many of their household possessions as possible to be shipped from Scotland with her. Colin Campbell was at that time acting commissary at the post and expected to be able to support his family in style. The letter sent in October 1782 from Fort George, Penobscot to the family's lawyer in Glasgow gives instructions to insure the furnishings for three hundred Pounds Sterling if Susan

³⁴ von Massenbach letter, May 20, 1782, General Faucitt accepted the oath of allegiance to the British monarch of all German troops

³⁵ Letter reprinted in Wilson Museum Bulletin, Fall 1975, Vol 2 Number 4. Original of letter among the Samuel Adams Papers in the Archives Department of the New York Public Library.

Campbell is willing to undertake the perilous journey.³⁶ Captain Hartcup's wife was also expected at Fort George. The future of the post appeared to be securely in British hands and a suitable environment for refined society.

Conclusion

There is much that needs to be researched about everyday life at Penobscot. The Pagan ledger of 1782 may hold a key to some of the questions about life at a settlement where the inhabitants still thought they found a permanent home protected by the Crown. Though rumors of peace were circulating in the spring of 1783, the inhabitants of Fort George were hoping to remain, as Campbell expressed in a letter of March 28, 1783 to Capt. Hartcup: "You know this Place affords no news, if it is our Fate to remain here, and we have the expected Addition of our Female Society, it will make it much more comfortable than formerly."³⁷

They most likely did not realize that within a few months they had to decide to move again, this time to the east of the St. Croix River, or to remain in the new United States. Perhaps those who decided to stay may have shared the same uneasy feeling as William Reidhead, the Scottish soldiers who married Olive Banks, the daughter of the loyalist Aaron Banks. Reidhead became a cooper in Penobscot and lived among the "cowardly rascals", as he referred to his former enemies, for 28 more years.³⁸

³⁶ Letter from Colin Campbell, Fort George, Penobscot, to George Buchanan, Esq., Glasgow, October ??, 1782. National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Canada Acc. No. 44-46, Copy of letter in the collection of the Castine Historical Society

³⁷ Letter of Colin Campbell to Capt. Hartcup, 28th March 1783, Fort George. National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Canada, Acc. No. 161 (Hartcup was the engineer in charge of the construction of Fort George.) Copy of letter in the collection of the Castine Historical Society

³⁸ Text on an exhibit label for a Castine Historical Society summer exhibit in 2004 to commemorate 225 years after the Penobscot Expedition.