

Canadian Genealogist

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Coverline: This famous statue of Canada's Loyalist refugees still stands outside the courthouse in Hamilton, Ontario. Photograph courtesy Karl Sliva

GENEALOGICALLY SPEAKING

SEND US YOUR NOTES ON
PRODUCTS, PUBLICATIONS, SEMINARS &
OTHER ITEMS OF GENERAL INTEREST

OOPS!

The following errors have come to my attention in my article on the Joseph Yott family in Volume 1, No. 4, of *CANADIAN GENEALOGIST*. I regret these inaccuracies and wish to set the record straight.

1. Sarah Randshaw, wife of second-generation Joseph, is buried at Wallaceburg, Ontario, not with her husband in the Catholic Cemetery at Pain Court.

2. The marriage record of François and Matthie Yott, from St. John's parish record, Gananoque, is in English, not translated from French, as stated.

3. Alexandre, son of François, married *Theotisse* (Not Theodice) Lemoine.

4. Frank, son of François, had four children by his first wife, Mary Jane MacKenzie.

5. Cecelia Gadwood, daughter of Mary Ann Yott, married Harry (not Jary) Macken.

6. The seventh son of first-generation Joseph was Louis (not Jouis).

7. Sarah, daughter of second-generation Joseph, married Sheppard (not Shoppard) Somers.

8. George, son of second-generation Joseph, married Myrtle May Tribe (not Tride).

Eileen Hall, 1720 South Park Avenue, Melbourne, FL 32901, USA.

This is 4 U, LN

Alan O. Brown, a printer from Kingston, Ont., and a member of OGS Kingston Branch, sent us a fascinating little brochure he has just published in a limited edition entitled *The Rebus and William Lyon*. The thing is like eating peanuts . . . I have managed to divert nearly a week's time I should have been spending on the magazine as a result of it. What's a rebus? In his introduction Alan defines it as a picture puzzle, believed to have originated in France during the 16th century. The title of this article is a form of rebus, and I'm sure many of you will recognize it in this

puerile form from school days. If you say the title out phonetically, it reads: 'This is for you, Alan.' The samples in Alan's book, interestingly enough, come from William Lyon Mackenzie's *Toronto Weekly Message*, a newspaper Mackenzie published after his return from exile in 1849. Mackenzie's later paper was, says Brown, "as unusual as its publisher. It was bold, dramatic and profusely illustrated by the use of woodcuts which he offered to sell for 5¢ at the end of each printing day. Using these woodcuts, he would place a rebus in most issues . . ." No solutions were given in Mackenzie's day, and none are offered in Brown's little pamphlet of reproductions. In case the solutions avoid you, says Brown in an amusing aside, "should any sense of frustration overtake you, feel free to openly demonstrate. If you possess a wig (red preferably) throw it upon the floor and stamp on it. Berate and condemn all those about you, particularly if they belong to any organization or religious order that could be blamed for your lack of progress. Then for a grand finale, announce your departure for Montgomery's Tavern . . ." Thanks, Alan, for thinking of us, and I am taking your advice. If any of my readers should complain about the lateness of this issue, I shall lay the blame entirely on your **&\$ \$*X.ož rebus!

Attaboy, Percy! Show 'em how!

An old friend, Percy Climo, writes from time to time to keep us posted on activities. We always thought Percy's interests lay in the Niagara Peninsula and with his own family overseas (about which he has written a book). We should have known better. Percy recently moved from St. Catharines (their loss) to Colborne, Ontario, and is now writing a regular column for the Colborne *Chronicle* called "Those Early Years". Here's what he had to say in a recent epistle.

"The old Home District, which first stretched from the Trent River to Long

Point on Lake Erie, then reduced to the north shore of Lake Ontario, took in this area up to 1802 when the Newcastle District was formed east of Oshawa. At seminars . . . the York area [has] received attention. This end has not been written up to any extent. I hope to do something for this area with my present series. Last week, this week and next week my column will deal with the original survey of the eleven townships from the Trent to the Humber River. In looking at an Ontario map, one will see that this 'base' survey is what this whole boock of Southern Ontario is, survey-wise, built upon. The survey of Augustus Jones is a very important one. I was fortunate to obtain a copy of Jones' survey notes and portions of his original plan of Townships bordering the north shore of Lake Ontario. . . . I plan to follow up with settlement here. In this connection I have copies of the original land owners for four local townships as of June and September 1797. These I plan to put into alphabetical order and publish in my column. I have other goodies from the 1800-1805 era."

Other projects are on the go. Percy is one of those who has graduated from single family research to the more fascinating world of genealogy at large. You'll hear more about him in future issues of CG.

Rebellion Boxes

Several readers have written in with information on Rebellion Boxes, and it is apparent that something more will come from Harriet M. Purdy's article. The editors wish to thank those who have written, and assure them that as a result of their letters and information, a second article, probably by the editors of the magazine, will be forthcoming, in which all that is known about these fascinating relics of the abortive Canadian rebellion will be outlined.

Meetings & Seminars

Alberta Genealogical Society, Mayfield Inn, Edmonton, Alberta, 11 and 12 April, 1980. Called "Homecoming 1980" the AGS hopes to make the seminar an interesting part of Alberta's 75th anniversary as a province. Mrs. Anita Coderre of Ottawa, and Mr. Alan J. Phipps of Salt Lake City will be feature

speakers. Exhibits and displays, books and a good seminar kit. Preregistration is \$20; \$24 at the door. Want more information? Write R. Clare Drummond, chairman, 1980 Seminar, Alberta Genealogical Society, Box 754, Edmonton, Alberta, T5J 2L4. And by the way . . .

HAPPY BIRTHDAY, ALBERTA FROM CANADIAN GENEALOGIST

Nebraska State Genealogical Society, 2 & 3 May 1980, Villa Inn, Norfolk, Nebraska. Displays and exhibits and a full program. For more information write: Joyce Borgelt, 408 N. 5th, Battle Creek, NE 68715, USA.

American-Canadian Genealogical Society, weekend of 3 May 1980, St. Anselm's College, Manchester, N.H. Richard L. Fortin, president of the society, advises the program will consist of a series of speakers and workshops designed to help Americans of Canadian ancestry in doing their genealogical research. From the sound of the program, Canadians would find it just as fascinating. Speakers will include Rev. Julien Deziel, o.f.m., of Montreal, president of the Société G n alogique Canadienne-Fran aise, on Genealogical Research in Quebec; Patricia Kenney of the PAC on Research and Resources of the Public Archives of Canada; Dr. David McDougall of Montreal, a member of the Quebec Family History Society speaking on English Quebecers in Quebec City, Trois Rivi res, the Eastern Townships and the Gasp ; and Robert B. Perreault of Manchester, N.S., author of several works on Franco-Americans and librarian at the Association Canado-Americaine.

Fortin says he expects the conference to be the largest in the society's six-year history, and reflects the tremendous growth of interest in this type of genealogy. For more information write: The American-Canadian Genealogical Society, Box 668, Manchester, NH 03105, USA, or telephone 603/627-3728.

Family reunions & newsletters

Blackwell Newsletter is the name of a new informal quarterly launched by John D. Blackwell, R.R. 2, Hensall, Ontario, Canada, N0M 1X0, a frequent contributor of information and book reviews to CANADIAN GENEALOGIST. John says it's for

anyone researching a family with the surname "Blackwell" in North America or overseas. Volume 1 is already off the press, and John writes: "A number of correspondents have kindly sent me names and addresses of people working on the Blackwell name. You are invited to become involved in this project by subscribing to the *Blackwell Newsletter*. The annual fee, which covers the basic costs of producing the newsletter, is \$5, or 2 pounds; payment by personal cheque is probably the most convenient for all parties concerned." For more information, write to John at the address above. Incidentally, the newsletter was recently registered with the Guild of One Name Studies in England, which John hopes will foster cooperation with British researchers.

The Foote Family Association of North America is having a family shindig 14-18 July, 1980, at Waterton Lakes National Park in Alberta. Membership in the family involves dues of \$10 a year. If you want more information about the family, write: Mrs. Elsie G. (Foote) Tait, Box 322, Crofton, B.C., V0R 1R0. During the reunion she will be staying in the El Cortez Motel in room 34 or 35, which will also serve as the central office for the event.

The Sixth North American Seminar on Irish Genealogical Research, conducted under the auspices of the Ulster Genealogical and Historical Guild will again hold seminar in Canada and the U.S. April 11 and 12 there will be a two-day seminar at St. Mary's University in Halifax, N.S. cosponsored by the Ulster Guild, the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society, the Charitable Irish Society of Halifax, D.R.H. Associates (as the North American representative for the Ulster Guild), and CANADIAN GENEALOGIST. The following weekend the seminar will take place in Columbus, Ohio, and on 26 April there will be a one-day seminar in Toronto, again sponsored by the Guild and CANADIAN GENEALOGIST. If all this seems a bit confusing, forget it . . . the important thing is that the seminars on Irish research are growing, the information on Irish research that comes out of them seems incredible to North American researchers accustomed to thinking of Irish records as a bog, and this year's effort will see at least three

Irish experts talking to the various groups at various times. Dr. Anthony P.W. Malcomson will speak on records of Northern Ireland, and on Irish emigration generally. Professor Cormac O'Grada will cover Southern Irish records and migration, and Kathleen Neill will represent the Ulster Historical Foundation. Canadian speakers in the Atlantic Provinces will include Dr. Cyril Byrne of St. Mary's, Dean E.B.N. Cochran of Halifax, Allan Dunlop of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Dr. John Mannion of Memorial University, Newfoundland, Dr. Allen Marble, president of the Genealogical Committee of the R.N.S.H.S., Dr. James Morrison of the International Research Centre, and president of the Oral History Society of Canada, Dr. David Sutherland, and Terrence M. Punch, author of *Genealogical Research in Nova Scotia*. All the Irish speakers will visit Toronto, as will Terrence Punch and Donna Hotaling of D.R.H., who is an expert on the records of all three countries.

OGS Seminar 80, 23, 24, 25 May, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario. Always an interesting event, the seminar this year is in Ontario's oldest city, and the program reflects it. Speakers will include Dr. Richard A. Preston from the Canadian Studies Centre, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina; Neil Patterson, past president of the Kingston Historical Society; Dr. Nancy Simpson, professor and chairman of the division of medical genetics, department of pediatrics, Queen's University; Brian Osborne, professor and head, department of geography, Queens; Gerald Boyce, vice-principal of Bayside Secondary School, Belleville, and author of several books; Peter Christoph, associate librarian manuscripts and special collections, New York State Library, Albany, N.Y., and Jennifer McKendry, consultant on Canadian restoration, design and historical research.

Displays and exhibits form an important part of this seminar, and CANADIAN GENEALOGIST will be these with an extensive book display. There are several tours of local cemeteries and houses planned. Join OGS in Kingston if you can. It's a good seminar and a fascinating old city.

AS OTHERS SEE IT

The mailbag's full again, and here is a sampling of what you think. A couple of items we think you'll find interesting. Next issue we are printing a list of the people who moved from Cumberland County, N.S., to Ontario (remember the letter from Ernest E. Coates in Vol. 1, No. 3? We try to make good on our promises. Several of you have taken us up on our offer to publish material we think will be of use to genealogists elsewhere. In future issues you'll find material by Dorothy Milne of Don Mills, Ontario, also a correspondent, and also in this issue Sharon Dubeau of Scarborough has a nicely researched piece on Loyalists of New Brunswick. Keep it up!

We'd like to thank Brian Porter president of the British Columbia Genealogical Society for his note, and Dennis Shaver of Calgary for keeping in touch.

One of our most faithful correspondents is Peggy Feltmate who keeps sending us loads of great clippings from the *Scotia Sun*, which is one of the things that enables us to expand our N.S. coverage. Peggy (for all you Nova Scotians out there who might be interested) writes us she is "researching several Nova Scotian families, particularly in Guysborough County" and names Feltmates, Jamiesons, Duncans and Grovers as her interest areas.

Peggy Cohoe writes from Kingston, Ont.: "Here's strength to your arm and long may your heft last! I hope that you are being swamped with material that will make your publication truly a Canadian magazine! . . . If I can have only one request (at a time) then it is a request for an index — say, on an annual basis." OK Peggy, you win. Our index for 1979 (Vol. 1) will be out with this issue. It will be free to subscribers. That's your request for last year . . . what have you got for 1980?

John Burtniak librarian at Brock University, St. Catharines, Ont., sent us a nice note about the magazine and enclosed a blurb about *Uncle Abram*, A

Very Singular Moot by Elinor Mawson. We'll review it in an upcoming issue for readers of CANADIAN GENEALOGIST. It's the latest in family history/genealogy from the Niagara Peninsula. Says John: "I provided some assistance to the author, reading the manuscript and assisting the author in getting it to the press. It is well written and entertaining — Uncle Abram was truly "singular".

Another librarian Jackie Druey in charge of the local history collection at the Richmond Hill, Ont., library wrote asking us about an index (yes), and saying: "CANADIAN GENEALOGIST is certainly going to be a valuable addition to the genealogy and local history collection of the library. . . . Keep up the excellent effort!"

Have had some friendly letters from Humphrey Toms of Vancouver, Helengrace Lancaster Brown of Calgary, and Dr. E.R. Junkin also of Calgary. Dr. Junkin's letters have sparked a bit of an exchange between us, and the questions he raises about letters and reply to same are interesting enough to form part of a larger item on the matter. Watch for a condensation of our exchange in future issues. We think he has some interesting points.

Mrs. Mary McCormick of Thessalon, Ontario is another of those transplanted Nova Scotians. "For many years I have been doing research on my ancestors in Lunenburg County, Nova Scotia, and found several names listed in the 'Poll Tax Record for 1790.' Mr. Terrence Punch is doing an excellent job of helping Nova Scotians in their genealogical research. I highly recommend his book *Genealogical Research in Nova Scotia* to anyone working in that area of Canada. Mr. Angus Baxter's book *In Search of Your Roots* is also invaluable to the amateur genealogist." She ends with a plea for more information on Lunenburg County, an area which seems to hold roots for many Canadians in various parts of the country. (We'll shortly publish a will listing by Terry Punch). One suggestion seems worthwhile. Is there a

bibliography of books or works on the area? If not, maybe one should be built. Mrs. McCormick also hit the jackpot with the Dows. "Mr. Thomas Dow turned out to be the same Thomas Dow who is my husband's great great great grandfather." Sometimes you *can* win 'em all!

Rosemary Joy of Beaconsfield, Quebec, also felt she had made a find. "I cannot begin to tell you how much I enjoyed my recent copy of *CANADIAN GENEALOGIST*! It is a must for anyone with Irish background in this country. Thank you so much." She was referring to Vol. 1., No. 3, our Irish issue. We hope to have more material on Irish immigration this year, and on Canadian records to do with the Irish.

Blake Maxfield wrote us from Thompson, Manitoba, about research in Lambton County, and with some material he thinks it would be worthwhile to print. We appreciate his thoughtfulness because, though the material is *not* on his family, he felt it of sufficient value to share with others. He writes: "Because of the fact that this [Duncan] family is such an early one and typical of many that settled in Lanark and later moved to Lambton, I thought it could be of interest to your readers, especially as it was written 52

years ago by a man who knew the original pioneers." He also notes that if anyone finds this family to be theirs he would be pleased to send them the additional information he has on it if they write to him via this magazine. Incidentally, we *will* be publishing this at a later date.

Finally, **Hans Birk** of Scarborough writes: "My friend Dr. H.E. Korn of the State Archives of Hesse informed me that he has a limited edition portfolio printed in color of the Regimental colors and uniforms of those troops of Hesse which fought in the American War of Independence, 1776-1783. The price is 32 Deutsche Marks. The address is: Dr. E.H. Korn, 355 Marburg/Lahn, Friedrichsplatz 15, West Germany." We have seen the portfolio and it is fabulous. There are magnificent color reproductions, each suitable for framing, about 7 x 10 in size, of all the uniforms of all the Hessian troops who fought in the Revolutionary War. Anyone interested in historical uniform detail would find them fascinating. Genealogically, it might also be interesting to know what kind of a uniform your ancestor wore if he was a Hessian soldier. If you're interested, write *CANADIAN GENEALOGIST* and we'll do what we can to help, or write direct to Dr. Korn.



The Fife & Drums of the Royal Yorkers and Jessup's with Battalion and Light Infantry Companys in the background. On parade at Fort York, Toronto. Photo courtesy the Toronto Historical Board.

Loyalists in Quebec: A Bicentennial contribution to the study of their history

By John E. Ruch

John E. Ruch of Montreal is chairman of Project 1983 for the Heritage Branch of the United Empire Loyalists' Association. His genealogical interests include the history of the Rhine Valley, Palatine Emigration to North America, and the Loyalist settlement of Eastern Canada. A native of Willoughby Township (born near Chippawa, Ontario), John is a graduate of the University of Toronto in Fine Arts, and has a post-graduate diploma from the University of London, England, in History of Art. He is a well known contributor to many art journals in Great Britain, Europe and the U.S. on art works of the 18th and 19th centuries, and has written many articles on genealogy, heraldry, and local history. We welcome him to the pages of CANADIAN GENEALOGIST as a contributing editor. So what is Project 1983? Read on . . .

Introduction

Project 1983 was taken as the working title for an historical contribution to commemorate the Bicentenary of the Loyalists' arrival in Canada by "Heritage Branch" of the United Empire Loyalists' Association in Montreal. The aim of the Branch executive was to prepare a history of the Quebec Loyalists, particularly those of the Montreal area. Progress was at first slow, but the award of a federal government *New Horizons* grant in late 1978 helped to accelerate this. It is hoped that a completed typescript will be ready shortly, covering the first generation of Loyalists about 1775-1800.

Our first uninformed opinion was that a respectable history could be written by bringing up to date the already existing histories of Montreal and Quebec Loyalists, and synthesizing their more important parts. This opinion soon changed. As will be mentioned below, most of "Heritage Branch" members are descendants of either Maritimes or Ontario pioneers. We were dismayed to find that literature of the kind we sought was practically non-existent. Outside of some 19th century general works about the Eastern Townships, and a few fundamental articles by Prof. W. H. Siebert in the 1910s, we could find nothing relevant. To the best of our knowledge so far there were no comprehensive lists of U.E. Loyalists, nor are there yet general histories of the group, nor a collection of individual biographies, nor a balanced, judicial estimate of the Loyalist contribution to this area and to the Province of Quebec.¹

At an early stage we found ourselves to be unwitting pioneers in a virgin forest, and without basic tools of research. Like practical pioneers we are having to make our own. Thus, we are starting in a position similar to that of researchers in the other provinces a century ago — in the days of Ryerson, Sabine and Canniff.

Considering what we know of the Quebec Loyalists' contribution to Canada, let alone Montreal, we find this dearth of writing about them a puzzling

state of affairs. Quebec had many historians, and no lack of loyalists to write about. From loyalist families in Quebec came platoons of political leaders, and public servants from highest to lowest degrees. Commerce, the professions, and trades were filled with numbers of loyalists. Numerous individuals are known to have had U.E. Loyalist roots: Ogdens, Sewells, and Smith, for example. Indeed, it was a Smith who wrote the first extensive history of Canada in English. We believe that it was one of these men who invented the very term "U.E. Loyalist".

One may well ask, what was the U.E.L. Association in Quebec doing in the past century? To say "practically nothing" is a short, and accurate but misleading answer. Except for a relatively brief time at the beginning and again at the end of that hundred years, there has been no branch of the Association in Quebec. In 1896 the U.E.L. Association of Quebec was founded at Montreal. Although this was seven years after the organization of the New Brunswick Loyalist Society, the Montreal group was the first one actually called a "United Empire Loyalists' Association." Its leading spirits, Frederic G. Forsyth and Rev. John Bruce Pyke, apparently initiated correspondence with prominent loyalist descendants in, respectively, Ontario and Nova Scotia, who were instrumental in founding similarly named organizations in their own provinces.² The roster of Montreal membership included many prominent persons and had distinguished patrons. Several learned men were among them. However, during the next decade several of these died or moved away, including the two named above. Meetings ceased and the group dissolved. The fate of their records, kept by Pyke, is an unsolved mystery to this day.

After a lapse of 70 years, the U.E.L. Association returned to Quebec. In 1967 "Sir John Johnson — Centennial Branch" was established in the Eastern Townships with headquarters at Stanbridge East. Five years later a second, called "Heritage Branch" was founded in Montreal.

Proposals to establish these Quebec branches were greeted with disbelief voiced on all sides that there could be still many loyalist descendants left here. However, in the Eastern Townships — that is, the area between Montreal and the American border, which was laid out in townships rather than seigniories — the loyalist tradition is still strong, and many French-Canadian families have intermarried with loyalists. These were well aware of their affiliation. Public advertisement brought to the new local branch the largest membership of all branches in Canada. By contrast, in Montreal, a cosmopolitan city, similar publicity brought forth many members who were descended from settlers of other provinces, but very few who could trace themselves to Montreal pioneers. Of course, among the older age-groups, the significance of the U.E. Loyalists is understood, but the Association's activity in promoting historical research is very little known here. So, having only just found their feet, the two new branches are back in the pioneering business — searching for records, compiling information, and sponsoring historical projects.

The root of the scepticism mentioned above lies in the fact that the U.E. Loyalists of Quebec have never received much attention, inside or outside the province. To the literal mind a lack of literature on a particular subject sig-

nifies that either the subject does not exist, or even if it does, it cannot be of importance or interest. Historians persist in dismissing Quebec loyalists on a quantitative basis as "a few who settled in the Eastern Townships." True, the group probably did not exceed five percent of total Canadian loyalists, but it may have had an influence on the nation's history out of all proportion to its numbers. However, to the researchers of Project 1983, the absence of useful earlier history on local loyalists means that the whole field here is open and uncleared territory.

The particular circumstances of Quebec

There have been many special historical conditions affecting loyalists, and the view of loyalists in Quebec. Emphasis here has been given to certain topics or subject which is different from research elsewhere in this country. There has been a divisiveness affecting the public and the loyalists which has caused them to lose their unity of interest after the first few generations. Consequently, loyalist research was not of prime importance, and if ever written, was seldom published. Thus present historians have little literature to begin with.

The most obvious factor affecting cultural or any other activity in Quebec is language. No matter how great the efforts of those who can see both points of view, matters in Lower Canada or Quebec have always tended to be divided along linguistic lines. Earlier French-Canadian historians were largely indifferent to the histories of other racial groups so they lumped all together indiscriminately as *les anglais* (the English). Furthermore, on the English-speaking side, the multi-racial origin of both the loyalists and the floods of later immigrants had similar divisive effects. National associations and benevolent societies were formed which were based upon European origins. Loyalists tended to merge with, or be submerged in, these groups which eventually became numerous and of large membership.

Secondly, the terms "loyalist" and "United Empire Loyalist" are less clearly understood even than in other provinces. "Loyalist" by itself has many applications: (i) a graduate of Loyola University, Montreal; (ii) a "U.E. Loyalist", although the usual French term now is "Loyalist americaine"; (iii) a man who served in the 1812 War against the Americans; (iv) a supporter of Canadian government during the 1837 Rebellion. This includes the type of roughneck who belonged to a gang, calling themselves "Loyalists", who had street fights with the reform sympathizers or "Patriotes", who were mainly French. In the various skirmishes and political wrangles of the uprising, practically every party or group included U.E. Loyalist descendants: parliament, the rebel leadership (the Nelson brothers), public service — the chief justice (a Sewell), the attorney general (an Ogden). In any case, the term "Loyalist" is in bad odor with extreme French nationalists.

An historian with a broader view of Canadian history and concern for a balanced narrative interesting to the Quebecois would make a pertinent comparison. There was much similarity at the outset between the loyalist groups and the French Acadians driven out of Nova Scotia less than a generation earlier. The latter were expelled from their homes for almost identical reason — refusal to swear allegiance to a new regime. Both peoples were largely the

victims of the intolerant New England mentality, and of the too flexible opportunism of the other colonies.

The British government had made certain sincere measures to forestall friction after the Revolution. In early settlement policies the governors had granted land to disbanded regiments accordingly. Catholic units, that is regular Hessians and loyalist Scots highlanders, were given lands in the area bordering the French seigniories to the west, in what later became Upper Canada (Ontario). Thus, there was no sharp dividing line in this sector between Catholic and Protestant, or between French and English.

The loyalist researcher's role in Quebec is certainly different, and perhaps more complex and difficult than elsewhere in Canada. This was foreseen a century ago by that remarkable scholar and prolific author, Sir James McPherson LeMoine, former president of the Royal Society of Canada. Although untypical in many ways, he was typically Quebecois in that he thought of himself *first* as a French-Canadian, and only secondly as the grandson of a loyalist from Philadelphia. In the heyday of imperialism there was no greater champion of Great Britain and the Empire, and his views were always illuminated by profound knowledge of both "cultures". In 1864 he wrote contrasting the Quebecers' knowledge of their French heritage and their understanding of the loyalists:

... the bulk of Lower Canadians, notwithstanding their knowledge of Canadian history, know very little [about U.E. Loyalists] With all due deference to their historical lore, I see no cogent reason why [the latter] . . . should be more ignored in this our common country, than were the French refugees who returned to the parent state a century back.⁴⁸

Sage advice for loyalists was also contained in phrases I have extracted from the above for special emphasis here:

... but be cautious how you parade before their [Quebecois] eyes the mystic combination of "U.E. Loyalists" else many will fancy you are attempting to elicit their sympathy in favor of some new Masonic order, mayhap an Orange lodge, or perchance some secret political organization possibly like the Knights of the Golden Circle, or the D.M.D.⁵

Thus he pointed out the obstacle which is still present, based largely on ignorance. I use "ignorance" in a bilingual sense, for the English meaning of "to ignore" is "to overlook", and many *anglophones* overlook a past of which they should be conscious and in very many respects proud. In French "ignorer" means simply "to not know", and that is largely the situation today. The Quebecois historians and genealogists have been occupied with their own history. A vast amount of research has been carried out, and in consequence numerous praiseworthy publications have appeared in this area. But again, attention has tended to be focussed on records of the French majority, or confined to the period of the French royal regime ending in 1763. Researchers' fascination with these is understandable, for they are of considerable interest. However, the result has been that early records of the British regime, particularly those concerned with immigration and land settlement, have been less

well studied and presented, e.g. there are no alphabetic indexes of land petitions or land patents.⁶ Conscientious archivists are acutely aware of their collections' gaps, and the situation is changing. With the transfer and consolidation of records from many repositories into a few Archives Nationales at Quebec City, Trois Rivières, and Montreal, and also the microfilming of others, public holdings are becoming more accessible.

The neglect of loyalist documents is partly due to the English Quebecer who early showed a lack of interest in them. The *Literary and Historical Society of Quebec* is the oldest organization of its kind in all of the nations of the British Commonwealth, having been founded in 1824. Its prime purpose was to gather and preserve documents of the earliest history of this country. However, at the time this meant the pre-Conquest era. Thus their interest in the more recent past, the time within living memory, was not strong. The Revolution and its aftermath were not well represented in its collections or publications.⁷

The special significance of Project 1983

The rest of Canada may ask, "Who cares what Quebec thinks about Loyalists? Why bother about the history of the U.E.L's there?" Obviously, Quebec Loyalists — who *do* care — are in a *no-man's land* between the "two solitudes".

Our reply to these questions involves a short review of the history of the Loyalist period. Quebec was the *only* province of Canada until 1791. Here was the seat of civil and military government. Of its three districts, Montreal was the largest and westernmost, extending over a vast area of the Great Lakes. From the very beginning of hostilities in 1775, Montreal experienced direct and indirect effects of the war. She was invaded and occupied by rebels for six months. Both French and British Canadians helped to drive them out, and suffered their own casualties.

Quebec became the foster-mother of perhaps 6,000 Loyalists in the period of the Revolution. At first they trickled in, singly or in small groups. Sometimes they came by dozens or by regiments. Finally, they swarmed in by the shipload. Thus, the settlements here became places of refuge, hospitals, rallying points, recruiting offices, and victuallers. Even families who fled directly to Niagara during the war were forwarded to posts in our locality for protection until peace came. It was a great undertaking for the government, and heavy burden for the people.

This half-way house was of vital importance to those loyalists who later settled in Upper Canada. The Secord and Showers families, as an example, survive in very numerous descendants today. After being driven out of the Mohawk and Wyoming vallies by the rebels, they fled to Montreal for safety. We can trace them in subsistence lists at several local posts for many months before they as "foster-children of Quebec" were reunited with their soldier fathers and brothers of Butler's Rangers at Niagara after the war ended. It is Quebec's role in helping to keep such people alive and out of enemy hands that we want to make the record plain: to tell something of the story of war-time camps and cantonments. Of the 6,000 or more, about 1,500 remained here in the Eastern Townships, around Montreal, and scattered in settle-

ments along the river and maritime coast. The rest went to western Quebec and in eight years' time had their own province — Upper Canada. We hope eventually to research the records of Yamachiche, Sorel, St. Jean, St. Ours, Ile aux Noix and many settlements on the St. Lawrence River, and around Gaspé. That, however, cannot all be encompassed within the covers of our first study.

One could go on at great length listing and describing the Quebec residents of U.E.L. ancestry, and produce an endless chain of their accomplishments and constructive contributions to the community. There has been much inter-marriage between French and English-speaking families in the last two centuries. It is not too rash to assume that practically every French-Canadian extended family has a U.E. relative somewhere in the five or six post-Revolution generations to date. So a great many Quebecois are eligible for membership in the U.E.L. Association by virtue of direct descent.

Conclusion

To sum up, our Bicentennial Project 1983 has several purposes. Its basic contribution to historians, whether professional or lay people, will be the location and initial study of records of Quebec Loyalists. By publishing our findings we want to open the door to researchers of this new field. On the other hand, it will serve as our monument to the original U.E. Loyalists of this province. Our history is, to paraphrase the great Quebec historian, F. X. Garneau, "a history which the 'two solitudes' do not even know exists." The author of *Two Solitudes* himself, Hugh McClelland, observed in another work that Montreal had *three* founding peoples — the French, the Scotch, and the Loyalists.⁸ We want to depict the latter, multi-racial group accurately, and point out their outstanding achievements in the nation's civic, commercial, educational, military and social institutions. And if we can contribute to the well-being and harmony of our country and our province, it will be in the spirit of Montreal's official motto: Concordia salus.

NOTES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS: The Project 1983 Committee has been fortunate in securing the professional guidance of historians Prof. Hereward and Mrs. (Dr.) Elinor Senior. The importance of their own research is apparent in the two articles published in this issue. It is to be deplored that many lectures and papers prepared by other researchers in the earlier part of this century have not been published, e.g. a fine paper by Walter S. White of Ste. Anne de Sorel, *The Loyalists of Sorel*, written in 1974.

1. A heartening exception to the sweeping generalization above is the somewhat isolated *Loyalists of Bay Chaleurs* published by its author A.D. Flowers of Vancouver, B.C. in 1973, (obtainable through Mika Publishing Co., Belleville, Ont.). Outside of occasional items appearing in the volumes of the Missisquoi Historical Society, there appears to be nothing succeeding Prof. W.H. Siebert's papers in the *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*: "The American Loyalists in the Eastern Seigniories and Townships . . .", 1913, pp. 3-41; "The Loyalist Settlements on the Gaspé Peninsula", pp. 399-406, and "The Temporary Settlements of Loyalists at Machiche", pp. 407-414, both in 1914.

2. Forsyth was a direct descendant of Thomas Forsyth, who in 1798 was created Viscount de Fronsac. Frederic used the title himself on the title pages of his books which included *Memorial of the De Forsyths de Fronsac*, Boston, 1897, and *Rise of the United Empire Loyalists*, Kingston, 1906. In both works he claimed to have founded the U.E.L. Association, respectively, on p. 17 and p. 117. In the second book he refers briefly to establishment of the other provincial associations, pp. 117-118.

3. L. Groulx, *Histoire du Canada français depuis la découverte*, Montreal, 1960, p. 68; passage translated here by Elizabeth Ruch.

4. J.M. LeMoine, *Maple Leaves*, 2nd series, Quebec 1864, p. 29.

5. The initials D.M.D. stand for that long-forgotten U.S. group "Defenders of the Monroe Doctrine."

6. Nevertheless, the Legislature de Quebec published as long ago as 1891 a monumental listing, compiled by J.C. Langelier, of lands granted by the Crown, *Liste des terrains concédés par la Couronne dans la Province de Québec de 1763 au 31 décembre 1890*. The details are ordered by date, classified first according to county and township, and secondly, with names listed (using the same details as before) in a rudimentary alphabetic form by county and township. Unless one knows the county and township one's ancestor resided in, it is impossible to find out even if his name is included without a laborious search through the whole section devoted to the initial letter of his surname.

7. See William Wood, "Archival Work of the Literay and Historical Society of Quebec" in *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec 1920-1921*, Québec, 1921, pp. 242-246.

8. In McGill, *the Story of a University*, 1960, pp. 27, 29. I am indebted to Grant Smart, Hamilton, Ont., for this reference.



A "Royal Yorker" on the march. Drawing by George C. Woodbridge, courtesy of the *Brigade Dispatch*.

Loyalist military action in the Northern Department

By Gavin Watt

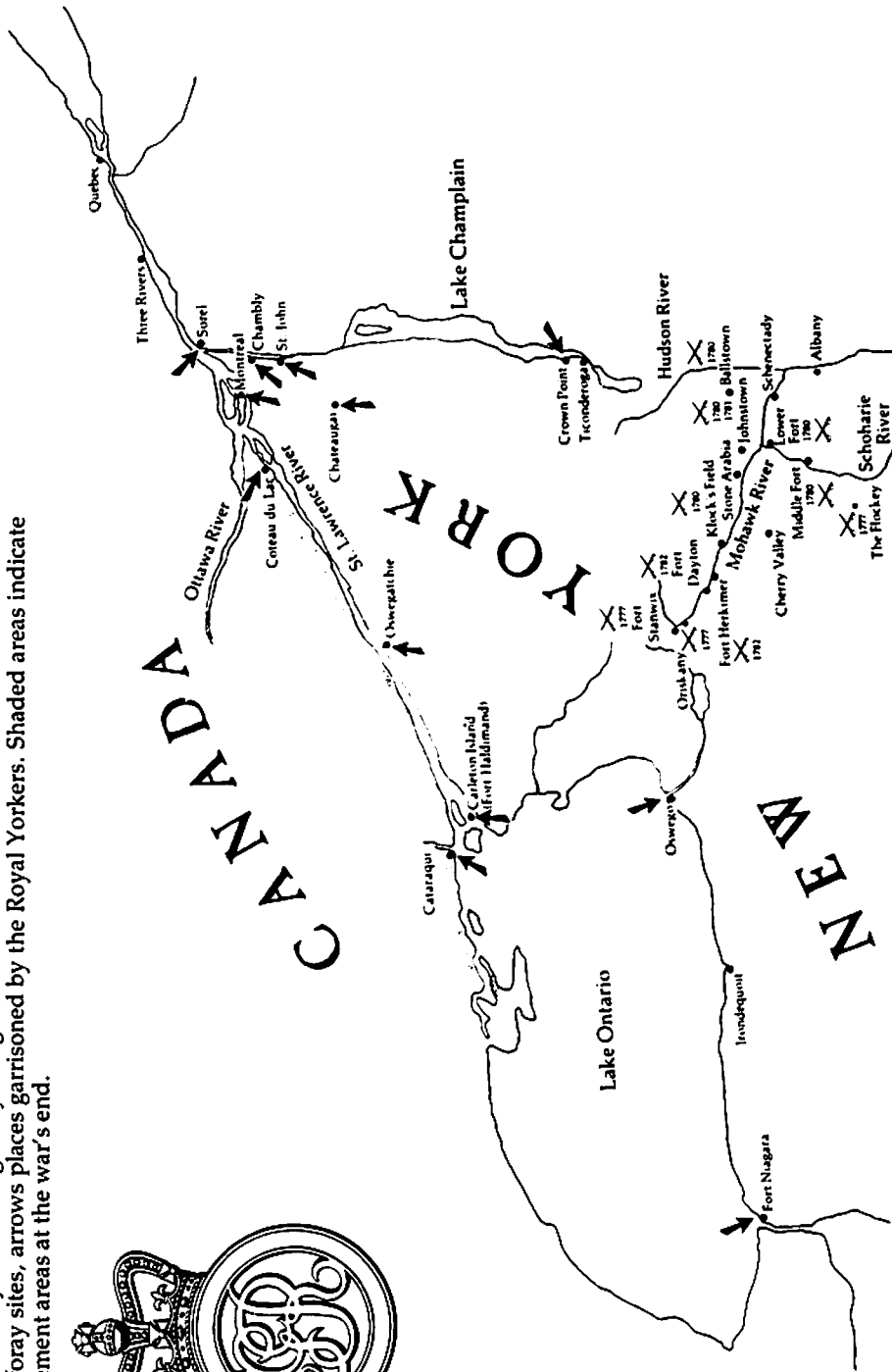
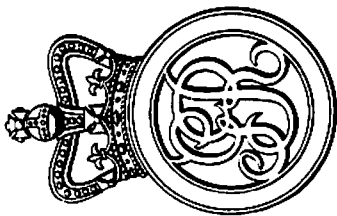
The Northern Department of Canada was, although it is not often recognized as such, a lively field of military action during the Revolutionary war. What follows here is the edited transcript of a presentation by Gavin Watt, founder and organizer of the re-raised King's Royal Regiment of New York — a "provincial" regiment originally raised by Sir John Johnson, and the first anglophone regiment established in what then constituted Canada. The King's Royal Yorkers, as the regiment came to be known, were seasoned veterans, hardy frontiersmen who, with their Indian allies, were responsible for the safety of a huge territory to the rear of the main war action. Gavin, who has become an expert on the regiment and its actions, is a sales/marketing executive in Toronto, a military buff, and a military-oriented genealogist/historian of no mean talent. The re-raised King's Royal Yorkers has come to be regarded as one of the finest military show units in North America, and was one of the motivating forces behind the establishment of the Museum of Applied Military History. In his original presentation, Gavin was attired in the dress uniform of an officer of the KRRNY, and true to his military calling, throughout his talk refers to any American supporter or soldier as a 'rebel.'

What I want to talk about today is the action in the Northern Department of the American Rebellion. There were several districts, or "departments" managed by the British Army in North America during the revolution, and the one that receives the least attention historically is the one in which we're sitting right now — the Northern Department, which was managed out of the City of Quebec. It included all of what was then known as the Loyal Province of Quebec, or Canada. Canada extended throughout the Province of Quebec as it now exists, throughout the Province of Ontario as it now exists, and down into the Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois and Michigan areas, all of which were ultimately yielded to the very clever negotiators of the rebel government. Therefore, I am *not* going to be dealing with what happened in southern New York, or in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, North and South Carolina, or Florida.

It is also wise to note that the settlement of Canada was basically divided along 'department' lines, in that the men who settled in the area (now southern Ontario), and in Detroit, Niagara, and in the loyal settlements in the Province of Quebec, were really men who had fought in the Northern Department — not exclusively, and this is not a rule of thumb — but to a great extent, this is the case. The men who fought in the Central Departments, in the more southern areas, settled in the areas of what was then known as Nova Scotia, now also including New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, and other areas.

The Quebec Act of 1774 was really the first significant thing that happened in the Revolutionary War period dealing with Canada. The Quebec Act is something that is with us today, and is very much a part of the fabric of Can-

Battle history of the King's Royal Regiment of New York. Crossed swords mark battle and foray sites, arrows places garrisoned by the Royal Yorkers. Shaded areas indicate settlement areas at the war's end.



ada. The Quebec Act guaranteed religion and language; and the anglo colonists, specifically those in the New England area, were horrified by the Quebec Act — utterly and completely horrified. They saw it as an attempt by the British government to seal off their western expansion and in this, I think they were probably correct. The British Parliament chose that instrument to grant to the *Canadiens* who were living in the conquered territories, certain rights and privileges, but reactionary Americans saw it as a manoeuvre preparing for war.

The very opening military action which occurred in the Northern, or Canadian Department, was in May 1775, when Ethan Allan, assisted by Benedict Arnold, captured the fort at Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain. The absolutely impregnable fortress of Ticonderoga! One might refer to this attack as Britain's "Pearl Harbor." There was a very good military reason for picking off that fort. It was well-stocked with artillery pieces. The British Army was engaged in Boston at that time, and was actually under siege by the forces of Congress. These forces needed cannon to dislodge the British, and once those cannon had been dragged across the wilderness from Ticonderoga, the rebel army successfully expelled the British from Boston. Thus, the capture of Ticonderoga was a very significant move.

I believe it was also very significant for another reason. To begin with, Congress had no idea of splitting away from the mother country. That really wasn't in their song book. But I believe the stab at Ticonderoga was the military spark that started the separation process. Once they'd made that military "giant step" and were successful, the feeling for separation became a landslide.

In June of 1775 a very famous loyalist, Col. Guy Johnson, who was the superintendent of all the Indians in the north, was literally forced out of his home in the Mohawk. He took with him some very important loyalist followers: the Butlers, Walter and John; Gilbert Tice; Daniel Claus; Frey; William Fraser; and the Johnsons, the Indian brothers, Peter and William.

On 2 November, after this exodus from the Mohawk of a segment of the Johnson family, along with the Butlers, the invasion by the rebels of the Loyal Province of Canada was carried out. On 2 November, the fort at St. John on the Richelieu was captured. Just prior to that Chambly had fallen. The rebels were on their way to taking Canada by securing this key post.

Just prior to this, Gilbert Tice, Walter Butler, Peter Johnson and many Mohawks were involved in an attempt to repel the invaders. I look on that action as the first overt loyalist military act in the Northern Department. It was an organized response, the first, and unfortunately, Gilbert Tice was very badly wounded in that fray.

There is another man who appears on the horizon here — John Peters. He was travelling with the retinue of the rebel invasion of the north. His brother Samuel Peters, was the well known Loyalist Anglican bishop. John had been offered relatively senior rebel commands and had refused to accept. He was abused by the populace and as an artifice joined the invasion of Canada. Later his loyalties came into full play and he was to play a significant role in the Northern Department.

November 13 1775. Benedict Arnold appeared outside the gates of Quebec

— literally cutting off the last stronghold in the eastern part of Canada. Montreal had fallen. Sorel had fallen. Three Rivers had fallen. The forts in the upper area were still intact — the forts at Niagara, Detroit and Michillimackinac — but Quebec was the last eastern stronghold. Arnold surrounded it, and was later joined by Montgomery, a rebel British officer who saw opportunities for personal gain in the rebellion and was to pay with his life.

Together they mustered about 1100 attackers around the walls of Quebec. I have a note there were 1200 defenders of Quebec, so really the rebels didn't have the strength they needed. In Quebec was a significant corps of men, the Royal Highland Emigrants — the first organized loyalist corps fighting in the north. Allan Maclean, a very famous Scots officer, had been given a beating order in Boston in 1775 to raise from the men who had been disbanded from the Scots regiments which had fought in the earlier wars against the French. He was successful in conducting 100 of them to Quebec for the defence of the city.

December 31, the attack on Quebec began. It was a failure. Allan Maclean, who was the tactical commander under Governor Guy Carleton, was very significant in the defence of this city. I also want you to note that there were eight companies of loyal *Canadien* militia which fought there. There was a major company of *Canadien* militia which fought at Fort St. John, and held out for a good length of time. There was also a company of loyal British militia, which defended Quebec. So it is important to note again that very, very early in this conflict the majority of *Canadiens* identified with the cause of loyalism, and decided to defend their province.

1776. January. Governor Tryon of the rebellious province of New York is in a ship standing off New York City. He receives an emissary, one of the famous Macdonells, an expatriated Highlander who had been granted land in the Mohawk Valley by Sir William Johnson, Sir John's father. Allan Macdonell carries a letter from Sir John, who declares that he is in the town of Johnstown on the Mohawk River with 500 men under arms. But unfortunately word of this had leaked out, and Phillip Schuyler, a justly famous rebel general, despatched later in that month a large force to Johnstown, and disarmed Sir John, his loyal Highlanders, and his other friends of Germanic and Dutch descent. Sir John was thus forced into giving a parole, a very significant document. When an officer gives his parole he is declaring that he will no longer take up arms in the present conflict against those that have captured him. The Macdonells had to give up a number of hostages to stand for the good behavior of their people, of Sir John, and, I might add, for the good behavior of the Six Nations Indians, who were great friends of the Johnson family.

John Butler, meanwhile, who had left the Mohawk with Guy Johnson, Sir John's cousin, was now at Niagara, and believe it or not, John Butler was there *quieting* the Indians. At that time, the British didn't really want them in the fray.

May 6, 1776, the siege of Quebec was lifted. Tremendous reinforcements came from Britain, and the rebels all scurried off. In fact, that was the last invasion of Canada during the revolution. I exclude Nova Scotia, since technically it wasn't, at that time part of Canada.

In June 1776, Sir John Johnson got word that he would soon have another visit. Col. Dayton, a New Jersey rebel officer, would knock on the front door of Johnson Hall, and say: "Sir John, your parole is lifted. You are now my prisoner." Having received warning, Sir John picked up his friends, his tenants, and with some faithful Mohawks started on an arduous 19-day trek over the Adirondacks. In the end they were almost starving — but Sir John led 200 of these men out of the Mohawk Valley to the Iroquois, Catholic reservation at St. Regis, which is not far from present-day Ogdensburg. When he arrived there, he found that Captain Forster, of the 8th Regiment of Foot, had conducted a very sharp action at a place called the Cedars, not far from Montreal. Sir John requested of Captain Forster the loan of a field-piece, and he got, as well, the arms from the St. Regis arsenal, and he mounted his group of 200 with a number of other loyal people, *Canadiens* and Indians on the St. Regis reserve, for a march on Montreal with the intent to capture Montreal *after* marching through the bush for 19 days.

He arrived the day after the siege had been lifted, but continued on to Chambly. There, Governor Guy Carleton gave him his beating order (an order giving him permission) to raise the 1st Battalion of the Kings Royal Regiment of New York: also known as the King's Royal Yorkers; Johnson's Green's; the Royal Green's; Sir John's Corps. When you're reading history it's easy to think of these as different regiments. They're not — they all refer to the same unit.

In November, the forces under Carleton had now pushed all the rebels out of Canada. It wasn't easy. Benedict Arnold was a fine officer, and there was a sharp naval engagement on Lake Champlain. But nonetheless, he pushed them out. He was joined at Crown Point, a devastated British fortification, by Ebenezer and Edward Jessup, with some 90 of their followers. When the army retired into winter garrison in the parishes about Montreal, the Jessup party was put in with the Royal Regiment of New York to be provisioned, and to be garrisoned. Contrary to their hopes, the Jessups were not awarded commissions. Carleton was playing a thoughtful game at that time. He wanted to build strong loyalist units piece by piece until they got up to their full size, then he'd think of creating another one. That wasn't the way either Sir John or the Jessups wanted it, but that's the way it was to be.

1777. This is the biggest year in the Northern Department. In that year, John Burgoyne led a major army south through the Lake Champlain district. He had with him some 13,000 troops — British and Germans (and I'm sure you all recognize the Germans were extremely important in North America); some 9,000 regulars, 800 loyalists, and the balance Indians and French Canadians. The French Canadians weren't a large contingent, but there were two militia companies of 100 men each, under David Monin and de Senneville. They were not, however, the major portion of the French Canadian contingent. The French Canadians were actually operating under 'corvée' (which is compulsory transport service) along the lines of communication of the army. It's interesting to note also, that out of a force of 13,000, only about 800 were loyalists.

Here is a list of the loyalist units that went on that campaign. There were Jessup's King's Loyal Americans; John Peter's Queen's Loyal Rangers —

about 262 men on an average strength, also known as Peter's Corps. Frances van Phister raised a corps known as the Loyal Volunteers. He and Robert Leake (sometimes pronounced Lake) raised it together. After van Phister's death, the unit was taken over by Samuel Mackay — about 100 men on an average strength. Daniel McAlpine raised a corps known as McAlpine's American Volunteers, a small corps, perhaps 60 men. John McKay and Hugh Munro raised a corps of Bateauxmen, sometimes with Jessup's, sometimes in support of other corps. The King's Royal Regiment of New York sent 30 men on the Burgoyne expedition to guard the regimental baggage.

The most significant loyalist action was the battle at Bennington, in Vermont. This was conducted by a German officer who had been sent off to gain provisions for the army, and to gain horsepower for the German dragoons, who up until that time had been dragging their great, big cavalry sabres and boots through the bush. Unfortunately it was a major defeat, somewhat played down by Burgoyne at the time — but still a major defeat. Frances van Phister lost his life there. John Peters was bayoneted in his chest by a former friend of his, a rebel, an individual who had grown up with him. Peters was quite the man. He said, in his account of the incident, that 'unfortunately I was forced to turn my musket and club him to the ground.' Peters said he had 210 men killed in that battle, and that he lost 30 men as prisoners. This would suggest that at some point his corps must have been in the 400 area in strength.

You may recall that the Battles of Saratoga (and there were a number of them) were finished by October 17 when Burgoyne signed a treaty, or what was known as a 'convention of surrender,' an extremely important document for loyalists. This convention requires a little bit of explanation.

What the convention stated was that all captured British troops would give their parole — that is, they would not serve in North America again. Peters, before the convention was signed, went to Burgoyne and said he didn't think he could trust it. He was right. He told Burgoyne he wanted out . . . and Burgoyne agreed with him, allowing Peters to pull out, following which Peters made a very harrowing escape back to Canada. I believe Leake did the same thing. But McAlpine, Adams, and the Jessup brothers did not, in my opinion. Jessups for sure . . . the other two I believe signed the convention from circumstantial evidence I've seen.

Consequently, these men were part of this convention, and they were allowed to return to Canada. For years, they were not used by the governor as combat troops. They were only used as combat troops *after* the American Congress had refused to recognize this duly documented convention between Gates (another rebel British officer) and Burgoyne. It was the shame of Congress, and one of the great shames of the rebel government, which is generally ignored. Nonetheless, it haunted the loyalists for years.

At the beginning of the campaign, Burgoyne was heading south down through that network of the Richelieu and Lake Champlain, supposedly to effect a junction with troops coming out of New York City — a major thrust. For his right wing he had a corps under Brigadier General Barry St. Leger moving down to Fort Stanwix. This corps was to "roll up the Mohawk" and the three thrusts would join at Albany.

St. Leger had a total of 1200 troops, often said grossly too small for its task. In that force were 250 regulars, 340 loyalists, and the balance was comprised of Indians from the Six Nations and allied tribes. I must say it is impossible to do justice to the Six Nations. They were every bit as loyal as the white Royalists, and they should not be ignored. But their actions were so often disjointed in small raids, that it's difficult to document them.

On August 6, at a little known place called Oriskany, the forces under the command of Sir John Johnson, numbering some 150 of the KRRNY, 40 Indian Department Rangers (commanded by Major John Butler (later reconstituted as Butler's Rangers) — along with 50 German riflemen and a very large crew of Mohawks and Senecas — all these ambushed some 800 militia on their way to raise the siege at Fort Stanwix. It was the bloodiest battle of the war, bar none, and is recognized by both sides as being so. Some 400 rebels were left dead on the field. If you can say this about any battle, it was the only 'good' thing that happened in the entire St. Leger campaign. St. Leger didn't have the artillery to take Fort Stanwix, and was forced to retire. His retirement, which happened about August 16, coincided with the fiasco at Bennington, and did much harm to Burgoyne's cause.

One other little action is worth noting for 1777. John Macdonell of Scotus, another one of the very famous Macdonells, conducted an action in the Lower Schoharie called the Battle of the Flocky. He had with him a great number of men who ultimately joined the Grenadier company of the KRRNY. He also was hoping to push up the Schoharie to the Mohawk, join up with Sir John and St. Leger, and move on to Albany. While brave in its execution, the action was inconclusive and the dispersed loyalists found their way to Canada through the woods.

In September of 1777, Butler's Rangers was formally organized with eight companies, several of them to do very special duty with the Indians. This really signalled the beginning of what has been referred to as the 'petit guerre', that is, guerilla or partisan warfare — the start of a concerted program to devastate the Mohawk, Upper Pennsylvania, and Vermont, by a series of raids — not for a grudge match, but to destroy the granary, the eating bowl of Washington's armies.

1778. Was a year in which people were extremely concerned in Canada about the possibility of an invasion by the French. Yes, the French (after Burgoyne's lack of success) had openly entered the war on the side of the rebellious colonists. This was extremely significant, because I believe the rebellion would not have succeeded if it had not been for French assistance. It had only been 18 years previously that the lilies of France had flown over Quebec. So thereafter, the new governor of Canada, Frederick Haldimand, felt he couldn't rely on the French in Canada to remain loyal — understandably so. Many of them could remember that royal, Gallic past: could remember having served under that standard, and they had their hopes up again.

1778 also saw several Indian/Loyalist victories on the rebel frontier, such as Wyoming and Cherry Valley. These were sharp, often vicious actions that kept the rebels in trepidation and off balance.

In May of 1779, Leake's company was reformed; Butler's went on a phenomenal number of raids in the early part of the year; but the most significant

thing that happened was that the Americans decided they were going to punish the Iroquois — the Mohawks, the Senecas, the Cayugas, the Onondagas, and also the Tuscaroras and Oneidas who hadn't rebelled with them (and there were a few that hadn't). They sent a major punitive expedition of regulars into the Indian country — 6,000 troops against a pitiful number of defenders, and they were very successful in this campaign. They defeated the combined forces of Butler's Rangers and the Six Nations at Chemoung and at Newtown. But the interesting thing is that although they defeated them, they didn't win. They burned out many beautiful farms that the Indians had built and cultivated. These were professional farms. They boasted apple orchards that were the envy of the men cutting them down; homes that were the envy of the men on that Sullivan campaign. But though the Americans devastated it all, they didn't get the warriors. And, at the end of it all, on 30 September, 5,000 destitute Indians of both sexes and all ages settled in around Fort Niagara, causing the commander there great anxiety.

In November, Haldimand, following his predecessor's policy, admitted to the British Government that he had been favoring the KRRNY and the Royal Highland Emigrants with recruits, but that he could no longer see the value in it, so he decided that he would allow Peter's and Jessup's once again to raise their battalions.

1780 dawned as the second most active year in the Northern Department. Roger's King's Rangers were now recognized as being part of the Canadian establishment commanded by Major James Rogers, a man of tremendous vitality and brother of Robert, the famous Ranger officer of the French/Indian war. The King's Rangers garrisoned the fort at St. John, and were very significant in Secret Service work. Yes, there was a Secret Service, and it was every bit as exciting as its modern-day equivalent.

Interestingly enough, negotiations opened in the spring of that year with Vermont, which was then known as the New Hampshire grants. This area had been fought over by New Hampshire, Connecticut, and New York for years, actual armed conflicts. Ethan Allan and the Green Mountain Boys were very prominent in all this, as well as Justus Sherwood, a famous loyalist of Peter's Queen's Loyal Rangers and later Jessup's. Sherwood had been a Green Mountain Boy who on the outbreak of the war with England remained loyal.

In May of 1780, there was a relief expedition sent to the Mohawk. Sir John led it — a total of 530 troops, 200 loyalists, 120 regulars. Of the loyalists, 150 were in the KRRNY; 50 were in Leake's company; 70 were Mohawks from the Fort Hunter area. It was extremely successful. The rebels couldn't lay a hand on them. I don't think they suffered a single combat casualty.

In July, Danial McAlpine died. In the same month the 2nd Battalion of the KRRNY was formed, and absorbed McAlpine's corps. Captain John Ross of the 34th Regiment of Foot, a regular British officer, was given command. I think this is a rather interesting reflection on the problems of trying to name a suitable loyalist to take such positions.

In August, the 1st Battalion went on a campaign to Connecticut and pulled in another 300 recruits. Butler's was extremely active, as always, raiding the Upper Mohawk, Ohio, Pennsylvania — they were just everywhere.

In September the King's Rangers had three companies complete. Hanjost Herkimer, Nicholas Herkimer's brother, who had served in the Indian Department on St. Leger's campaign, was given command of a company of bateauxmen. Justus Sherwood was named officer commanding the Vermont negotiations.

Then Sir John, in October, led a big expedition into the Mohawk Valley — took 1,000 men with him; 250 regulars, 400 loyalists. Of the loyalists there were: KRRNY, 150; Butler's Rangers, 200; Leake's, 40. He went a very circuitous route down through southern New York and scared the devil out of the rebels there; then up the Schoharie where he defeated forces at Stone Arabia; and on to an action at Klock's Field, which was commanded for the rebels by a van Ranssaeler. The activities of the rebel forces in that particular action were subsequently investigated in something like a modern senate investigation. Van Ranssaeler was acquitted of any wrongdoing, but you'd never know it, even to this very day in the Mohawk Valley.

Washington, because of these and other activities in 1780, was beside himself. He had lost all the grain in that grain-rich area, and had no idea what he was going to do to feed his troops. Major Christopher Carleton, Sir Guy's relation, led a diversion that same October. He took with him 700 men: 420 regulars, 190 loyalists. In the loyalist party were: Jessup's King's Loyal Americans, 75; King's Rangers, 75; Royal Highland Emigrants, 57. They attacked Forts Anne and George in the southern Lake Champlain area. Major Rogers, and Major Edward Jessup were on the campaign.

Still another campaign in that same period, led by John Munro, a senior captain of the KRRNY, 1st Battalion, involved 130 Yorkers, and 30 of William Fraser's company (subsequently taken into Jessup's). Again, the Mohawks of Lachine participated, under John Desorontio and the Hill brothers. They attacked Ballstown, and did a very effective job in rounding up rebel militia officers who had been unkind to loyalists in the area.

1781 sees a handful of significant things. There was a man named John Servos who had been captured by the KRRNY as a rebel. Servos decided he was loyal — and Sir John trusted him to go on a Secret Service scouting mission. He did extremely well. Of the 24 forts along the Mohawk River, he got into 23 of them. He returned to Canada with their garrison numbers, the number of cannon, their unit designations, their morale — everything down on a piece of paper.

A very famous rebel, Marinus Willett, returned to the Mohawk Valley in June of 1781. He made note that the Tryon County Militia, which had had a strength of 2,500 — was down to 800. Things were in a sorry state. In fact, they were making claims that the frontier of New York State was now the Town of Schenectady. That's how bad it was.

Justus Sherwood was given an additional duty as officer commanding all the scouting missions sent to Vermont, New Hampshire, and Connecticut. Dr. George Smythe was named second-in-command, and he handled New York. There were some very famous scouting missions conducted. John Walden Meyer, the founder of Belleville, Ontario, then Meyer's Creek, was given command of an independent company, and he was unrelenting in his activities.

In August, the action was out in Detroit, with Thompson of Butler's Rangers foiling an attempt to take Detroit by the rebel George Rogers Clark. And there was a little game played in the Secret Service by Walden Meyers, Asariah Pritchard and Joseph Bettys, of the King's Rangers, to take Schuyler, Bayler, and Stringer, all prominent rebels, captive — a little abduction plot. It didn't work, but it was a good try, and broke open a hornet's nest of rebel panic and indignation.

In October, Major Ross of the KRRNY 2nd Battalion led an expedition to the Mohawk, to Warren's Bush, only 12 miles from Schenectady, and burned the whole area out. He had 670 troops with him: 350 loyalists; 36 in the Royal Highland Emigrants; 120 in the KRRNY; 40 in Leake's; 150 in Butler's. Unfortunately, Walter Butler lost his life in the rearguard action at West Canada Creek.

On October 19 the British lost the war at Yorktown in Virginia. It was the signal action . . . and that was the end of it . . . but in the Mohawk Valley there was more celebration over the death of Walter Butler than in the victory at Yorktown. Willett, who was very significant in pushing Ross's expedition out of the area, was absolutely amazed that the Crown troops had travelled for four days in the wilderness, on a half-pound of horseflesh (probably half raw) per man; yet they were still able to run 30 miles in that action. They were tough men, our ancestors. Very tough men.

In 1782, Major Ross was dispatched to Oswego with Butler's and the Royal Yorkers to rebuild and garrison the post there. Appropriately enough, the last campaign in the Mohawk Valley was run by Joseph Brant using Oswego as his base in July of '82 along with the Royal Yorker's Captain George Singleton and the 2nd Battalion Light Infantry Company. They had scarcely begun their attacks at the upper Mohawk River country when they were recalled. The active war on the New York frontier had ended.

And one final really interesting note. Out in the far west, Daniel Boone was defeated by Butler's Rangers at Blue Licks in Kentucky. How many people know that? Yes, that arch-hero, Daniel Boone, together with a substantial force of superbly mounted fellow Kentuckians, blundered into a Ranger/Indian ambush and was soundly trounced, losing three quarters of his force, killed or captured.

The first peace treaty was signed on 30 November 1782. Ross was then sent with the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Yorkers to Cataraqui, now Kingston, to build the military post there. On 24 December 1783, the 1st Battalion of the KRRNY, Jessup's Loyal Rangers, Roger's King's Rangers, and part of the Royal Highland Emigrants were disbanded. On 24 June 1784 the 2nd Battalion was disbanded at Cataraqui, and the rest of the 84th and Butler's Ranger's at Niagara and Detroit. After nearly a decade, peace had come to the restless colonies at last.

Why Loyalists remained loyal 1776-1783 and why they should remain loyal today

By Dr. Hereward Senior

Dr. Hereward Senior is Professor of History at McGill University, Montreal, and like his wife, a writer of great ability. Among his many publications are three books on the influence of the Irish in British and Canadian history, including Orangeism: The Canadian Phase, and The Fenians and Canada. He is an acknowledged expert on both topics, and has contributed essays and articles to many publications, in addition to lecturing extensively. His work for the Dictionary of Canadian Biography, includes biographies of George Benjamin, George Strange Boulton, and Henry John Boulton. Three new biographies have been accepted for future publication, those of Patrick Boyle, Richard Bullock, and John Hamilton Graham.

Dr. Senior's topic in this paper is not strictly genealogical, but the editors believe it helps throw interesting new light on the whole often confused Revolutionary War/Loyalist re-settlement period. It enables us to understand personal family events in the context of the political and social pressures that resulted in that great 18th-Century upheaval, and should prove valuable to those Canadians wrestling with the task of trying to research, write, or prepare their own family histories.

The Loyalists played a part in Canadian and American history, but most of all in Canadian history, because the Loyalists share with French Canadians the place of founding fathers. They are also a political fact because their presence in Canada opened the door to a partnership with French Canada which made it possible to confine the revolution to the Thirteen Colonies.

To repudiate the Loyalists in the name of 'Canadianism' would be much like disowning the Pilgrim Fathers in the name of 'Americanism'. Take away the history and traditions which have made Canada what it is, and Canadians cease to be a people and the word Canada loses its meaning. Just as Thanksgiving Day, which was brought to Canada by the Loyalists, stems from the Pilgrim Fathers, so do place names, and local, family and regimental traditions stem from the United Empire Loyalists. You cannot travel far in New Brunswick or Ontario today without encountering a Loyalist restaurant or motel, visible signs that Canadians are aware and proud of their Loyalist past.

Loyalism raises many questions of history, culture and politics, but I have been asked to answer only two — why they remained loyal, and why I think them right in doing so.

The Loyalists were those who first perceived that the violent agitation against colonial taxation would lead to war and separation. In that sense, they were more perceptive than the leaders of Continental Congress who did not realize where they were going until the eleventh hour. The Loyalists rejected separatism and republicanism as a cure for the ills of colonial society. Consequently, when Congress reversed its position and declared for independence, Loyalists refused to see this as the birth of a brave new world or even the inevitable march of history, but saw it as an act of politicians who

had drifted from violent agitation into armed rebellion, and were using separatism to secure aid from Britain's enemies and adopting republican ideology as a means of acquiring moral and intellectual prestige in the radical salons of Europe.

The first point of the Loyalists was that they did not believe the differences between Britain and the colonies worth a war or separation a useful solution. Neither at first did anyone else. Most Loyalists opposed colonial taxation and some, like the DeLancey family of New York, were involved in agitation against the Stamp Act.

Let us consider for a moment what colonial taxation was about. The British government renounced its rights to this kind of taxation by 1778, but by that time the rebellion had become part of an international struggle. It is easier to say that colonial taxation was unwise than that it was unjust.

The conquest of New France had been undertaken more for American than for British interest, and, in recognition of this, the American colonies had made a substantial financial contribution to the war effort. The cost of defending America was rising, and the British government, which carried the greater burden of the war in America, now wanted the Americans to share the burden of policing the frontier where the Pontiac Rebellion and the subsequent history of the West indicated that policing was needed. The slogan "No Taxation without Representation" was an evasion of the issue because the colonies could have voted supplies from their own assemblies as they had voted them to support the war effort.

One of the weaknesses of colonial society was that there was too little government. A consequence of this was that in the frontier areas of the Carolinas and Western Pennsylvania, where there were no effective government agencies, the gap was filled by vigilantism. This home-made justice was better than none, but it easily degenerated into Lynch law and the Indians were the first victims. Once the habit was formed of imposing order without law, it was not difficult to turn the methods used to curb law-breakers, against political adversaries. It is not surprising that if the Indians were the first victims of Lynch law, the Loyalists were the second.

But before this could happen, it was necessary to place the Loyalists beyond the bonds of human sympathy by hate propaganda. One way of doing this was an appeal to the latent racial and not so latent religious prejudices of colonial society. For example, when Martin Howard of Newport, Rhode Island, tried to explain the view of the British government, James Otis, writing in 1765, not only denounced Howard but the town of Newport as well which he declared was made up of "Turks, Jews, and other infidels with a few renegado Christians and Catholics."¹ Newport was contrasted with the more English and Protestant character of the rest of New England. Howard was the first man charged with un-American activities, and the reference to Newport implied that the only true Americans were Protestants of English descent.

As the Congress party was disposed to blame England for the growing racial and religious diversity of American society, they saw the Quebec Act of 1774 as part of an Anglo-Papal conspiracy. The British government was accused of establishing in Canada "a religion that has dispersed impiety, big-

otry, persecution, murder and rebellion through every part of the world."²

Such language led quickly to action. In the year that this was written, Samuel Peters, an Anglican clergyman, was compelled to sign a statement dictated by a revolutionary committee after his house had been searched and partly wrecked and "his gown and shirt somewhat torn."³ A year later, Judge James Smith of Dutchess County, New York, who tried to protect the civil rights of Loyalists was "very handsomely tarred and feathered for acting in open contempt of the county committee."⁴ In New Jersey, Thomas Randolph, a cooper by trade, was accused of "reviling and using his utmost endeavours to oppose the proceedings of the Continental and Provincial Conventions and Committees; being adjudged a person of no consequence enough for severer punishment, he was ordered stripped naked, well coated with tar and feathers and carried in a wagon publicly round the town."⁵

In March of 1776, Washington reprimanded an officer for executing a Tory, writing, "Though his [the Tory's] crime was heinous and though I am convinced you acted in the affair with good intentions — it was a matter which did not come within the jurisdiction of martial law . . . there is none of our articles of war that will justify your inflicting capital punishment, even on a soldier, much less a civilian."⁶

These incidents occurred before the Declaration of Independence when Washington and his officers still drank the King's health, and the troops which occupied Montreal only asked their full rights as "Englishmen." In 1774, John Adams had declared independence to be a "Hobgoblin"⁷ and even at the end of 1775, when Washington, Benjamin Franklin and many others secretly favored independence, they thought saying so would alienate public opinion.

It was at this point that Thomas Paine published the first effective separatist and republican pamphlet — *Common Sense*. Paine thought of himself as an international radical and at the close of the revolution spoke of "whatever country I may be in hereafter."⁸ During the French Revolution, he sat in the Convention of 1793 where he courageously spoke and voted against the execution of Louis XVI. His first thought upon arriving in America in November of 1774 was to lecture Americans on the evils of slavery. Had he persisted he might well have been denounced as a Tory. But Paine, who preferred to champion what he thought a more popular cause brought together in the popular mind two things that had hitherto been separate — the radical European's conception of what America should be and the grievances of the colonies.

To Europeans, America was supposed to be the land where they could escape the evils of the old world, but there was no agreement on what these evils were. In the seventeenth century, Pilgrim Fathers had left England for Holland to escape Catholic influence, then left Holland for America so that they could remain English. Their ideal of a Protestant, English community was not ignoble, but it was too narrow to survive the pioneer stage of colonization. For instance, the type of society they were trying to create would have excluded the Kennedys.

At the time of the quarrel about colonial taxation, the European ideal of America was dominated by the idea of the perfectibility of man placed in a

natural environment. As France was the centre of European thought, it is not surprising that a former soldier of Montcalm, Hector St. John Crèvecoeur, who settled in Orange County, New York, should find his ideal society in America. "In this great American asylum," wrote Crèvecoeur, "The poor of Europe have, by some means, met together. We are a people of cultivators, united by silken bonds of mild government, all respecting the laws, without dreading their power, because they are equitable . . . We are the most perfect society now existing in the world."⁹ This oft-quoted passage, a fair example of the American dream, was written about colonial America before the Revolution. Crèvecoeur observed, "The immigrant with heartfelt gratitude looks towards that insular Government from whose wisdom all he felicity is derived."

Crèvecoeur saw England as the author of the ideal society he found in America and regarded the revolution as the result of deceit which introduced "the rage of civil discord among us with an astounding rapidity." He found, "Every opinion is changed — every mode of organization which linked us before as men and as citizens is now altered — men are artfully brought into chaos."¹⁰

Crèvecoeur was an idealist who loved America and saw his ideal destroyed by revolution. Paine, too, was an idealist, a man of considerable moral courage who sought neither power nor wealth, but there was a predatory dimension to his idealism. His personal dislike for the King and British society had nothing to do with the grievances of the colonies, but he saw in colonial protests a means of striking a blow against the British government. Yet, he was, above all, a professional crusader who needed a target for his talents. For him, colonial grievances were the tools of the trade. His object was not merely to secure redress of grievances for the colonists, but to use their grievances as a means of creating a schism within the British Empire.

Paine, who believed that all government was some kind of conspiracy, claimed, "For upwards of two years from the commencement of the American war, there was no established form of government; yet, during this interval, order and harmony were preserved inviolate,"¹¹ Judge James Smith or the cooper, Thomas Randolph, would hardly have agreed with him.

Paine's abuse of the King as "the hardened, sullen-tempered Pharoah of England,"¹² reflected not only his own convictions but the need of the Congress party to erase the loyalty of a people who were attached to their monarchical heritage. It was this same George III to whom Louis-Joseph Papineau referred in 1820 as "a Sovereign respected for his moral qualities and his devotion to duty."¹³

In his efforts to dissolve the trans-Atlantic bonds of affection, Paine went quite far for a man who had recently contemplated a campaign against slavery. He described England as that "barbarous and hellish power which stirred up the Indians and Negroes to destroy us."¹⁴ Such arguments, designed to sever the bonds between the King and People and between America and England, would also dissolve bonds which tied Americans to one another.

Paine's intemperate propaganda provided the background for the Declaration of Independence, though the document itself was free of the xenophobe arguments which Paine did not hesitate to use. Like Crèvecoeur and Paine,

the authors of the Declaration of Independence employed the vocabulary of the Enlightenment which was also the property of contemporary 'Enlightened Despots' like Catherine the Great of Russia and Joseph II of Austria.

The Declaration declared men "free and equal," but Indians, Loyalists and Blacks would not be permitted to pursue happiness. Thomas Jefferson's attitude towards slavery was much like Catherine the Great's towards despotism. Slavery was accepted as a necessary aspect of an imperfect world. In terms of practical politics, the Declaration made it possible for Congress to charge the Loyalists with treason against its own self-appointed authority.

Shortly after the Declaration was issued, Joseph Howley, writing to Elbridge Gerry, demanded a Declaration of Treason to accompany the Declaration of Independence, asking, "Did any state ever subsist without exterminating traitors?" He demanded that all those "who shall be convicted of endeavouring, by overt acts, to destroy the state, shall be cut off from the earth."¹⁵

It was at this time that Judge Lynch, a colonel of the Virginia Militia, who ran an informal court in his parlour, gave a new word to the English language. Lynch imposed fines and imprisonment on suspected Loyalists and ordered many of them to be beaten until they shouted "Long Live Liberty." As Lynch acted without regard to the law, he was, in theory, subject to legal action. Therefore, the state of Virginia passed an act of indemnity after the war, or a "Lynch law", securing him against prosecution.

As Lynch did not impose the death penalty, he was not involved in lynching as it is known today, but the death penalty was often imposed, as in the case of George Potter who was accused of conspiring to bring the state of Delaware under the dominance of the King of Great Britain. Potter was told that he would be "hanged by the neck, but not till you be dead, for you must be cut down alive . . . then your head must be severed and your body divided into four quarters."¹⁶

There were no dramatic events like the execution of Charles I and Louis XVI, but there was a diffused Reign of Terror directed against the Loyalists and, at times, against neutrals suspected of loyalism.

Loyalists saw the Revolution as a solution imposed by force, and rejected the separatist and republican solution as a foundation for future liberty. Paine and Jefferson were undoubtedly democratic, but Washington and Adams had reservations about democracy, and universal suffrage did not appear in New York and most seaboard states until the 1820s.

As for the Continental forces, they were an imperfect manifestation of equality in action. Washington, the first gentleman of Virginia, made the Marquis de Lafayette a major-general at the age of 19; the high command of the Continentals was filled with former British officers like Richard Montgomery and Horatio Gates, and with Prussian barons and Polish counts who may have felt themselves the social superiors of Generals Sir William Howe, Sir Guy Carleton and Sir Henry Clinton.

Although some Loyalist intellectuals saw the revolution as a dangerous manifestation of democracy, most saw it as a breakdown in society and viewed the republic as a patch-up solution which preserved some of the advantages of British common law, but not enough to secure their civil

rights. They were the first, but not the last, victims of ideological intolerance in the modern world.

Like the Pilgrim Fathers, the Loyalists returned to pioneer life to preserve a heritage they would not renounce and, in this sense, they were true Americans. In cooperating with French-speaking Canadians, they sought and found an alternative to revolutionary republicanism, an alternative that was to evolve into American monarchical democracy.

Monarchy is not and does not claim to be a panacea for social ills, but it provides an atmosphere in which difference can more easily be resolved. The American republic is one of the most stable republics known to history, but the vigilantism which emerged during the Revolution did not end with it. Ten years after the Canadian rebellions of 1837, Papineau and Mackenzie sat in the provincial parliament, saying much the same things they had said before. Where were the Loyalists in the American Congress? And where was Jefferson Davis after the Civil War?

In the late 1930s, Sinclair Lewis, the author of *Main Street* and *Babbitt*, certainly no Loyalist, wrote a novel called *It Can't Happen Here*. In this novel a populist Fascist was elected president of the United States. Lewis was far too pessimistic about modern American democracy, but he put these thoughts into the head of his hero, Doremus, who is reflecting upon the American revolution.

Doremus wondered if it had been such a desirable thing for the Thirteen Colonies to have cut themselves off from Great Britain. Had the United States remained within the British Empire, possible there would have evolved a confederation that could have enforced world peace instead of talking about it. "It is commonly asserted," Doremus remembered, "that without complete independence, the United States could not have developed its own peculiar virtue. Yet, was it not apparent to him that America was any more individual than Canada or Australia, that Pittsburgh and Kansas City were to be preferred before Montreal and Melbourne or Sydney and Vancouver." ¹⁷

The Loyalists made Canada possible in the eighteenth century, but need their descendants remain loyal in the twentieth century? The answer is yes, because in a revolutionary world, Canada still welcomes the victims of revolution. Yes, because we live in an age of predatory idealists seeking to impose on our society ideologies which would destroy our established liberties. Yes, because sharing a monarch with other Commonwealth countries is a mark of civilization and because republicanism creates tension in modern democracies by stimulating both worship and hatred of charismatic politicians.

England had its republican measles in the seventeenth century. It was a hard case, but only lasted a decade. American republicanism was milder and did not degenerate into militarism. Yet Watergate suggests that the presidency is the Achilles Heel of American democracy while the special relationship to the state which the Kennedy family has acquired suggests an unconscious need for a Royal Family.

Few Empire Loyalists believed with Crèvecoeur that colonial America was an ideal society and few see perfection in contemporary Canada. But our heritage has provided a road to ordered change, and by renouncing it we do not cure the ills of our society, but deprive ourselves of the means of doing so.

People deprived of their legitimate heritage can be, as Crèvecoeur put it, "artfully brought into chaos."

NOTES

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2. Mason Wade, *The French Canadians 1760-1945* (Toronto, 1955), p. 65.
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5. Margaret W. Willard, ed., *Letters on the American Revolution 1774-76*, (Port Washington, New York, 1968), p. 251.
6. John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington*, (Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1931-44), vol. 9, p. 7.
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8. Thomas Paine, *Common Sense and Other Political Writings*, ed. by N.F. Aidkins, (New York, 1953), see introduction xxxi.
9. Hector St. John Crèvecoeur, Letters, cited in Nelson, *The American Tory*, p. 171.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 172.
11. Paine, *Common Sense*, pp. 116-7.
12. Paine, *Ibid.*, p. 27.
13. Wade, *The French Canadians*, p. 127.
14. Paine, *Common Sense*, p. 33.
15. Force, *American Archives*, series v, vol. 1, pp. 403-4.
16. *Delaware Archives*, (Wilmington, Delaware, 1919), vol. 3, pp. 1302-4.
17. Sinclair Lewis, *It Cant' Happen Here*, (New York, 1935), p. 140.



Putting on a show at Fort York, Toronto. The Col's Company, 1st Battalion, King's Royal Regiment of New York on parade. Photo courtesy the Toronto Historical Board.

Loyalist regiments after the American revolution

By Dr. Elinor Kyte Senior

Dr. Elinor Kyte Senior is a graduate of McGill and Memorial University of Newfoundland, a talented writer whose publications include biographies for the Dictionary of Canadian Biography, the Canadian Historical Review, and other historical publications of note. She is currently working on other assignments for the DCB (biographies of Captain Eleazar David David, Major-General Sir John Clithero, Commissary-General Sir Randolph Routh, and Aaron Hogsett), a history of Cornwall to be ready by 1983, and under a fellowship of the Department of National Defence is researching and writing a monograph on the "Roots of the Canadian Army in the Montreal District, 1855-1870." Her description of what happened to the Loyalist regiments following the American revolution casts new light on Loyalist settlements in Canada and elsewhere, and clearly shows that Canada was not the only recipient of Loyalist settlement following this continent's first large-scale military conflict. This paper was first presented to the United Empire Loyalist convention in Toronto in May of 1979, and the editors of CANADIAN GENEALOGIST are pleased to be able to preserve it here for a wider audience of Canadian and American genealogists. Mrs. Senior has lavished particular care on the maps that accompany this article, and it is the hope of the editors that these will continue to be standard reference documents in years to come whenever Loyalist settlements are discussed. Our thanks to cartographer Christopher Grounds of the Cartographic Office, Department of Geography, University of Toronto, for their preparation.

Over a hundred years ago, Sir James MacPherson Lemoine, one of those happy issues of French, Scottish, and Loyalist blood, exclaimed: "Our fathers, through good and evil report, stood firm in their allegiance to the British flag and shed their blood in many a well-fought field. Is there no history of the Provincial Corp, raised in the different revolted states, which fought by the side of the British regulars? Are there no returns to show when and where these different corps were raised, how they were commanded, what battles they fought? What officers survived the war and chose Canada as their home? Have we no Napier to write in full the history of the United Empire Loyalists?"¹

These words were echoed by the programme chairman of the 1979 United Empire Loyalist convention, Charles J. Humber. He suggested a paper on the Loyalist Regiments that had rallied to the Royal Standard from 1774 to 1783, observing, "Nothing of this sort has ever been done before." Indeed, apart from a few specialized studies² on Butler's Rangers, the Royal Yorkers, the New Jersey Volunteers and Rogers' Rangers, there has been no overall picture of the Provincials — how they were raised and by whom, what were the conditions of their enlistment, what action they saw, and their re-settlement at the close of the war.

Yet, the past hundred years of Loyalist studies has not been entirely dormant with regard to interest in the Loyalist military units. At the turn of this

CATARAQUI TOWNSHIPS

1. Captain M. Grasse, 88 men.
2. Jessup's Rangers, 187 men.
3. Major James Rogers' King's Rangers, 120 men.
- 3 and 4. King's Royal Regiment of New York, 2nd Battalion, 199 men.
4. Major Peter van Alstine with 92 men of De Lancey's Corps and 28 men of Jessup's Rangers.
5. Disbanded Irish and English soldiers and Hessian soldiers under Baron Reitzenstein, 183 men.

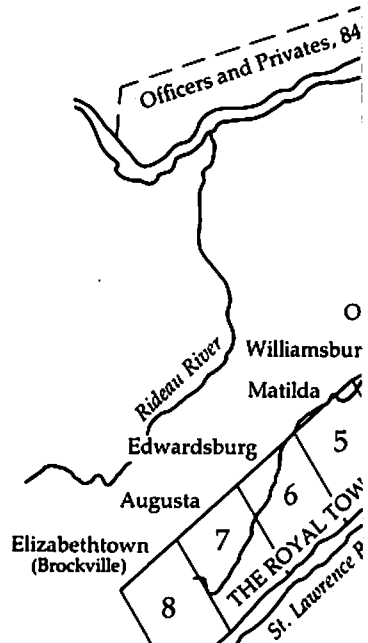
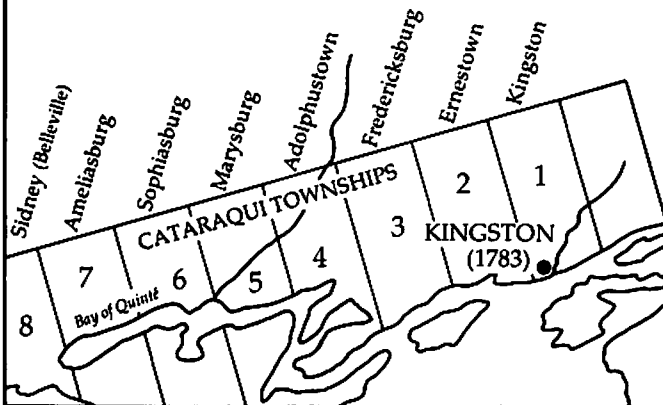
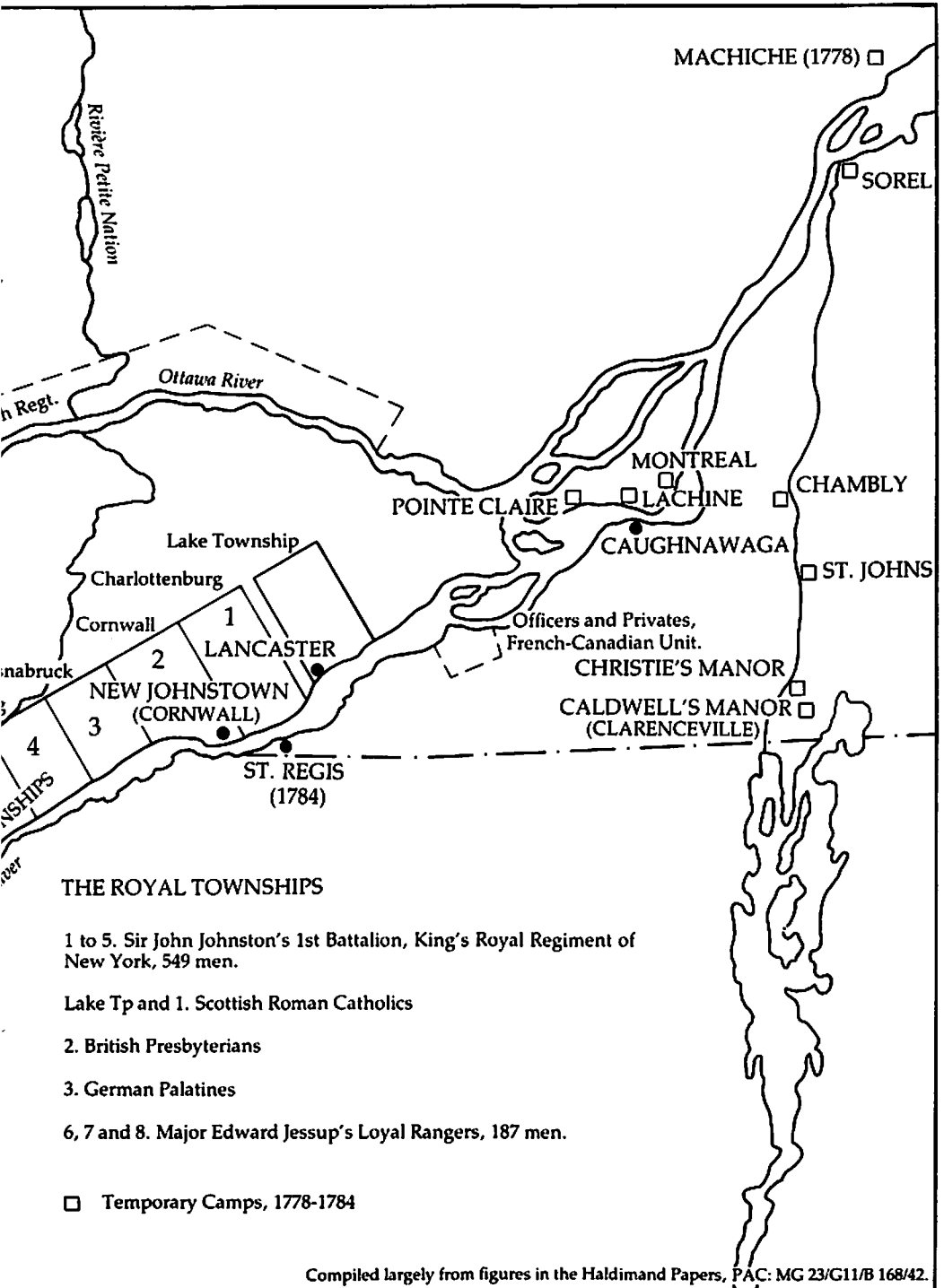


FIG. 1: LOYALIST REGIMENTS RESETTLE, 1783-84



century, William O Raymond³ of New Brunswick and Wilbur Siebert⁴ of Ohio State University began their pioneer work into the dispersal of the Loyalists and the Loyalist regiments. C.T. Atkinson⁵ in the 1930s, in a painstaking study, gave us the distribution of both British and Provincial forces serving in North America from 1774 to 1781. A more recent American scholar, Paul Smith,⁶ has had the courage to tackle the problem of the cumulative strength of the Loyalist military units, while a new book by Ellen Wilson⁷ provides the best account yet of the Loyal blacks.

Esther Clark Wright in her incomparable study of the New Brunswick Loyalists emphasizes the importance of distinguishing between Loyalist refugees and the "Provincials" — that is, the men who actually served as officers and soldiers in embodied provincial military units. For, when we begin to discuss the Provincials and to isolate them, there are factors which set them apart from the general body of loyalists.

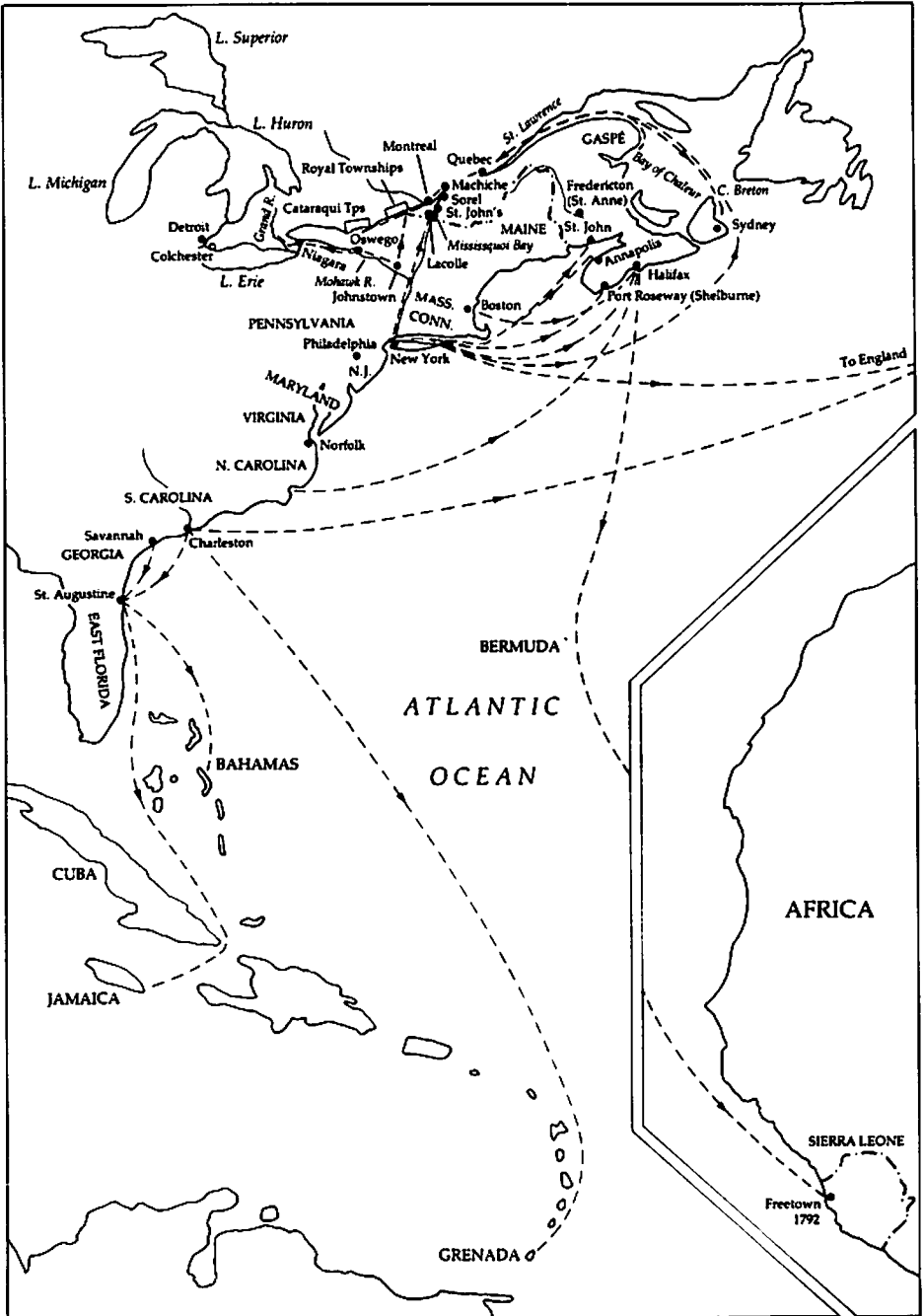
First and foremost — these were the men who stood up and were counted; they bore arms under the Royal Standard and they knew that whatever concessions in the peace treaty might allow other Loyalists to get back confiscated property or to return to their homes, men of the Provincial Regiments were certain that these concessions would not apply to them.

Sir Guy Carleton and General Frederick Haldimand were well aware of this — that in the re-settlement process, special allowances must be made for the provincial troops who had no choice but to go into immediate exile once the American rebels had become victorious revolutionaries. Indeed, article 5 of the peace treaty left no doubt about this. Its recommendation to Congress was that the Legislatures of the various States restore all rights and confiscated property to British subjects "who have not born Arms against the said United States."⁸

At the close of the revolutionary war, there were some 13,200 embodied Provincials. Within a year, at least 8,000 of these soldiers were scattered across the Provinces of Nova Scotia and Quebec, soon to become four separate provinces. Any attempt to describe the re-settlement process of these loyalist troops is complicated by the fact that the troops very quickly merged with the general body of refugee Loyalists. As a beginning, there must be a glance not only at the promises held out to the troops upon their enlistment, but also at the area of their operations during the war.

The Loyalist troops served in two main divisions, one under the command of Generals William Howe and Sir Henry Clinton out of New York City; the other — the Northern or "Canadian" division, operating out of Montreal under Sir Guy Carleton and General Haldimand. The main units of the Northern Division were Sir John Johnson's Royal Yorkers, John Butler's Rangers, Major Edward Jessup's Loyal Rangers, and a small unit of King's Rangers, commanded by Major James Rogers. These troops were recruited largely from northern New York, Vermont, and New Hampshire, and their organization usually took place in Montreal among officers who escaped over the provincial line. It was in this Northern Division that the Mohawk Indian Nation under its distinguished Chief, Captain Joseph Brant, served, as did at least 93 French-speaking Canadian officers and soldiers.

The division under the command of Howe and Clinton at New York was



**FIG. 2: THE BOAT PEOPLE OF 1782-83:
THE FLIGHT OF POLITICAL REFUGEES FROM THE REVOLTED COLONIES**

recruited largely from the eastern areas of the rebellious states, the most distinguished of these regiments being the Queen's Rangers, commanded at first by Major Robert Rogers and later by Lt.-Col. John Graves Simcoe, the New Jersey Volunteers under Cortlandt Skinner, Oliver DeLancey's New York Brigade, and Colonel Beverley Robinson's Loyal American Regiment.

It was troops from this eastern division that formed the main exodus of Loyalist regiments evacuated from New York to Halifax, Port Roseway and Saint John in the fall of 1783. Among them were the "Loyal Black Pioneers" who, by serving as soldiers under the Royal Standard, in many cases secured their freedom.

In addition to these two main division of Loyalist regiments, there were the more anomalous units such as the Loyal Highland Emigrants which later became the 84th Regiment, a regular unit, and the units called "Loyalist Associators" who were organized into military ranks and companies and, though not normally embodied or paid by the imperial military chest, in some cases served by providing intelligence and provisions for the New York garrison.⁹

What were the promises held out to these men who joined the Royal Standard, and how were they met? The usual enlistment promise was for land — 100 to 200 acres to each private, 500 to a captain and from 1000 to 3000 acres to a field officer. The promise made to Captain Joseph Brant and his Mohawks was that their nation would be restored to the same condition it had been at the beginning of the war.¹⁰ This meant that they would be relocated on lands as rich as the beautiful and fertile alluvial soil that was their homeland on the Mohawk and Schoharie rivers in Upper New York. To the black slaves of rebel masters who joined the Royal Standard there was a promise of protection, emancipation and, according to disbanded black soldiers, land grants.¹¹

Lord Dunmore, the Governor of Virginia, in his appeal to the Blacks as early as November 1775, proclaimed, "I do hereby declare all indented servants, Negroes, or others, appertaining to Rebels, free, that are able and willing to bear arms." Within a month some 300 Blacks who joined Dunmore were enlisted as soldiers and armed as "Lord Dunmore's Ethiopian Regiment."¹²

In the closing year of the war, as British troops evacuated one city after the other along the seaboard, Loyalists and Provincial soldiers sailed for East Florida, the West Indies, the Bahamas, or poured into New York to augment the Loyalist regiments already congregated in this last stronghold of imperial power. Here in New York Sir Guy Carleton discussed with the Commanding Officers of the Loyalist regiments plans for the granting of Crown lands to "such of His Majesty's Provincial Forces as shall be willing to remove to Nova Scotia or any other part of His Majesty's American Dominions for the purpose of making a settlement." The Commanding Officers of the Loyalist units then prepared a petition to the King, stating their hopes and expectations. They suggested grants of 300 acres to each private soldier, 350 to a corporal, 400 to each sergeant and the same allowances to officers as was granted after the conquest of Canada, which was from 3000 to 5000 acres. In addition, the officers asked that their corps be allowed provisions, pay and

clothing for three years and to be furnished with arms and ammunition for the defence of their new settlements, and for farming utensils, tools and materials to build homes and erect mills.¹³

On the whole, these demands were met. The first instructions from the Crown regarding land grants was to give all N.C.O.s 200 acres and each private 100 acres, that is, the same amount that was to be given to heads of Loyalist refugee families. The 4000 officers and men of the 17 provincial units being reduced in Nova Scotia were to be free of all land fees and quit rents for the first ten years, each man to be furnished out of the public stores for a year, and permitted to retain his arms and accoutrements.

Essentially the same instructions¹⁴ were sent to General Frederick Haldimand in Montreal in August of 1783 regarding the 3,406 provincials being reduced that year in the Province of Quebec. For these Loyalist regiments that went into immediate exile or were already in exile in the Province of Quebec, there was a second factor that set them apart from the general body of refugee Loyalists. They were to form a defensive force for the new settlements. Lord North urged both Carleton and Haldimand to pay particular attention to that part of his instructions with regard to the "contiguous settlement of the officers and privates of each corps, as it will add to the strength and security of the district settlements, as well as of the Province at large."¹⁵ Fear that the Americans, once independent, would again turn their eyes northward for more worlds to conquer, was real.

Sir Guy Carleton obliquely referred to this when the major contingent of provincials left New York for Saint John. To them he declared: "You are to provide an asylum for your distressed countrymen. Your task is arduous. Execute it as men of honour. The season for fighting is over. Bury your animosities and persecute no man. Your ships are ready. May God bless you."¹⁶

Indeed, the year 1783-84 was the year of the ships as far as the Loyalists were concerned — military transports out of New York bound for Halifax, Port Roseway, Saint John, Quebec, the Bay of Chaleur, Jamaica, Grenada, the Bahamas, and England. Indian canoes were heading for the Bay of Quinte and the Grand River. Lake vessels plied back and forth along the Richelieu River to Lake Champlain under flags of truce to exchange prisoners and to bring to safety many of the wives and children of the Provincials.

Let us look at the scattered legions of exiled Loyalist soldiers. For most, the movement out of the rebellious areas in 1783 represented what may have been a second or third move and for many it was not to be their last before these displaced people of the 18th century finally found some sort of permanent settlement.

Among the 16,000 refugee Loyalists evacuated from Savannah and Charleston in 1782 were the North and South Carolina Regiments which went to St. Augustine and East Florida, many of whom then sailed for the Bahamas or Jamaica. The Black Carolina Corps eventually settled in Grenada and was probably the longest surviving Loyalist corps of the revolution.¹⁷ It was still embodied on the eve of the French Revolution, some 300 strong with pioneers, artificers, and a troop of dragoons.

For most of the officers and men of the provincial regiments at New York City, their destination was the Saint John River where they arrived in late

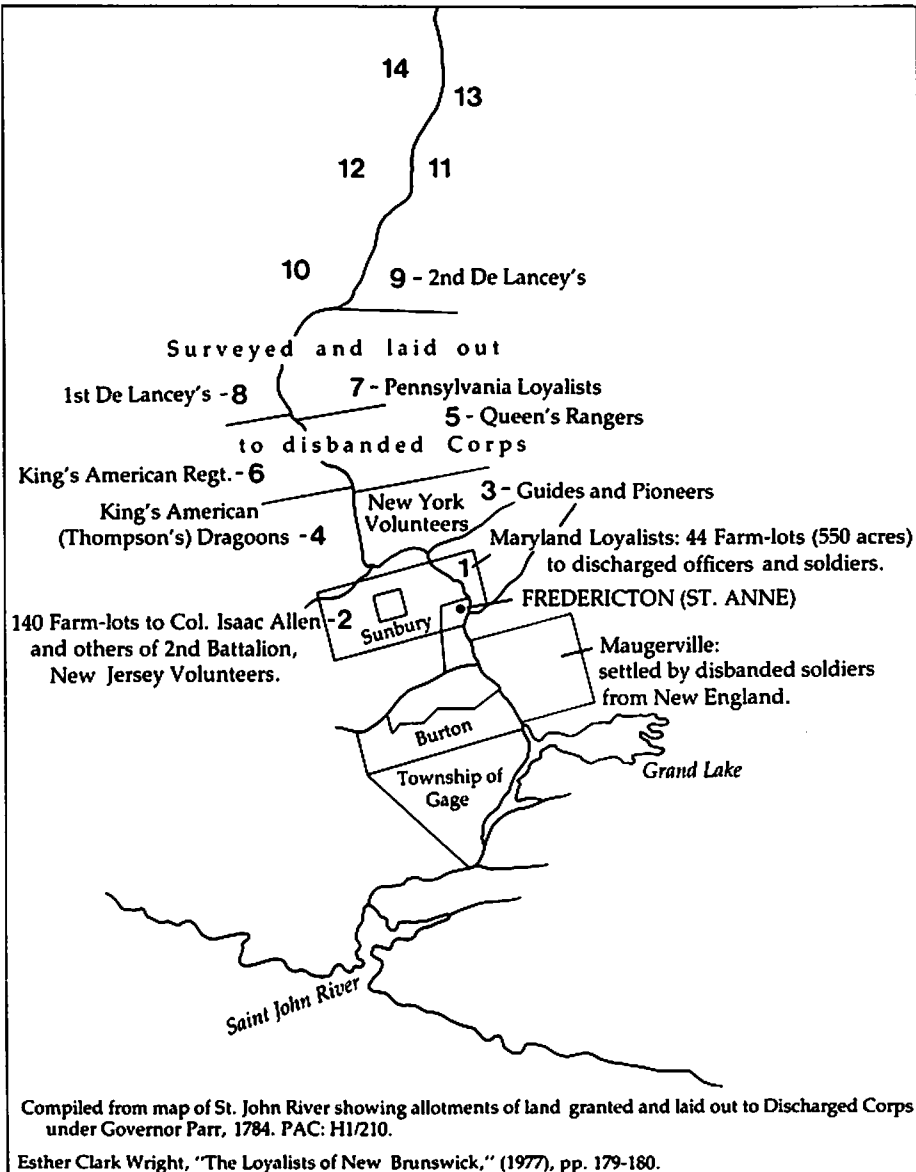


FIG. 3: LOYALIST REGIMENTS SETTLED IN NEW BRUNSWICK, 1783-84.

September of 1783. Because of the late arrival of the instructions from England as to the disposition of these troops, very inadequate and hasty preparations had been made for their reception.

Edward Winslow, the Muster Master-general of the Provincials sadly watched the arrival of his old veterans "landing," as he said, "in this inhospitable climate in the month of October, without a shelter and without knowing where to find a place to reside." Winslow confessed: "The Chagrin of the officers was not to me so truly affecting as the poignant distress of the men. Those reputable sergeants of Ludlow's, Fanning's and Robinson's, once hospitable yeomen of the country, addressed me in language that almost murdered me as I heard it."¹⁸

Among these Provincials were 89 Black Pioneers belonging to Colonel Beverley Robinson's Regiment. Another 120 soldiers of the Black Pioneers chose to go to Port Roseway on the peninsula of Nova Scotia which within a year had a swollen population of some 12,000,¹⁹ making it temporarily the largest city in all British North America. Here, the black soldiers and settlers, like most other Loyalist groupings, drew apart to form a separate community about four miles from Port Roseway, which was re-named Shelburne. They called their town Birchtown in honour of the British commandant of New York City. Eventually, racial riots which had economic origins discourage the black settlers and they set out on another exodus — this time to Sierra Leone, the first of the American blacks to return to Africa. Among the 1,100 in this second exodus was their very able leader, Captain Stephen Bluck, and 20 other captains.²⁰

What of the Provincials of the Northern Division who, during most of the war, were located in the various garrisons and posts along the Richelieu River, the St. Lawrence and at Fort Niagara with Colonel Butler? Apart from the sporadic raids into the rebellious states and the disastrous campaign under General Burgoyne in 1777, these men of the Provincial forces chafed under imposed inactivity from the very beginning of their exile. Some of them had first arrived with Guy Johnson in Montreal in 1775 when Sir Guy Carleton's initial defensive policy so exasperated Guy Johnson that he and Daniel Claus set off for England while Joseph Brant and his Mohawks returned to Niagara to observe strict neutrality and to stay on the defensive.

These men, then, formed the garrisons of Sorel, St. Johns, Isle au Noix, Chambly, and along the upper St. Lawrence and Niagara. They acted as scouts, secret service men and recruiting agents for regiments that were seldom employed against the enemy, unlike the regiments operating under the New York military command. Occasionally then went AWOL to visit their wives and children at the temporary refugee camp at Machiche until Haldimand ordered all enlisted men to return to their regiments.²¹

When word arrived in 1783 that the Provincials would be disbanded, government officials at Quebec, Montreal and Halifax began feverish preparations for their permanent settlement. Haldimand had no illusions about the complexities of the resettlement process. When Sir John Johnson of the Royal Yorkers urged that "As the officers and men of my Regiment were the foremost in opposing His Majesty's enemies and the first that joined his Forces in this Province, they may be indulged with the first choice of lands,"²² General

Haldimand replied: "My intention is to do every Possible Justice to the Loyalists who determine to reside in this Province — To give Satisfaction to all Parties, I need not tell you, will be impossible, but in order to make the distribution of Lands as equitable and satisfactory as circumstances will allow of, the several Tracts shall be divided into Townships, and lots of about 120 acres will be drawn for. I know there are many who are speculating for large Grants, in order to turn Land-Jobbers, a System I shall entirely discourage as being subversive of the Plan of general relief and assistance for the distressed refugees."²³

Haldimand's concern about possible land-jobbery raises one of the more important issues of the re-settlement process — that is, the charges against the Loyalists generally, and the disbanded Provincials in particular, of being a turbulent, cantankerous people, seldom satisfied with the measures taken to alleviate their very real distress. These charges were made at the time of the re-settlement and continued to be made. What must be taken into account when examining the contemporary letters and reports to government from officials and the Loyalists themselves is that this correspondence deals with their actual wants or the conflicts of interest that had arisen. Considering that close to 8,000 Provincial troops and their families were among the 30,000 or more Loyalists who settled in British North America in a relatively short time, it is hardly surprising that some conflicts of interest should arise and need solving.

The other factor that must be remembered is that many of the Provincial soldiers and the Loyalists generally, no matter what their sufferings, losses or persecutions during the revolutionary war, emerged in British North America better off materially. Undoubtedly, this may not be true of many of the officer corps, but for the more numerous rank and file such as filled Sir John Johnson's battalions and Colonel John Butler's corps, these men had been tenants of their military commanders before the revolution. After the revolution they emerged as men of property.

In examining the settlement process in the western part of Quebec Province, at Shelburne, Nova Scotia, and along the Saint John River in New Brunswick, the first broad comparison is that at Niagara and along the Saint John River there had been settlement already of whites and therefore military surveys were complicated by prior claimants, while at Shelburne and at the Royal Townships extending from Rivière Beaudette to what is now Brockville and the Townships at Cataraqui, this was virgin territory, uncomplicated by previous settlement except for an Indian claim to sovereignty over the area that eventually became Cornwall, a claim that was soon settled amicably.²⁴

Surveys of the proposed townships along the northern St. Lawrence from Montreal to the Bay of Quinte began early in 1783 in anticipation of the orders from Britain to disband all the Provincial Corps. These orders arrived in mid-November, too late to disband the 1st battalion of the 84th, or the second battalion of the Royal Yorkers and Butler's Rangers, all garrisoned at the distant 'upper' posts which could not be relieved in winter.

These corps in the district of Montreal were promptly disbanded on Christmas Eve, though they were allowed to continue to occupy their quarters and draw their customary rations of one pound of beef and one pound of flour

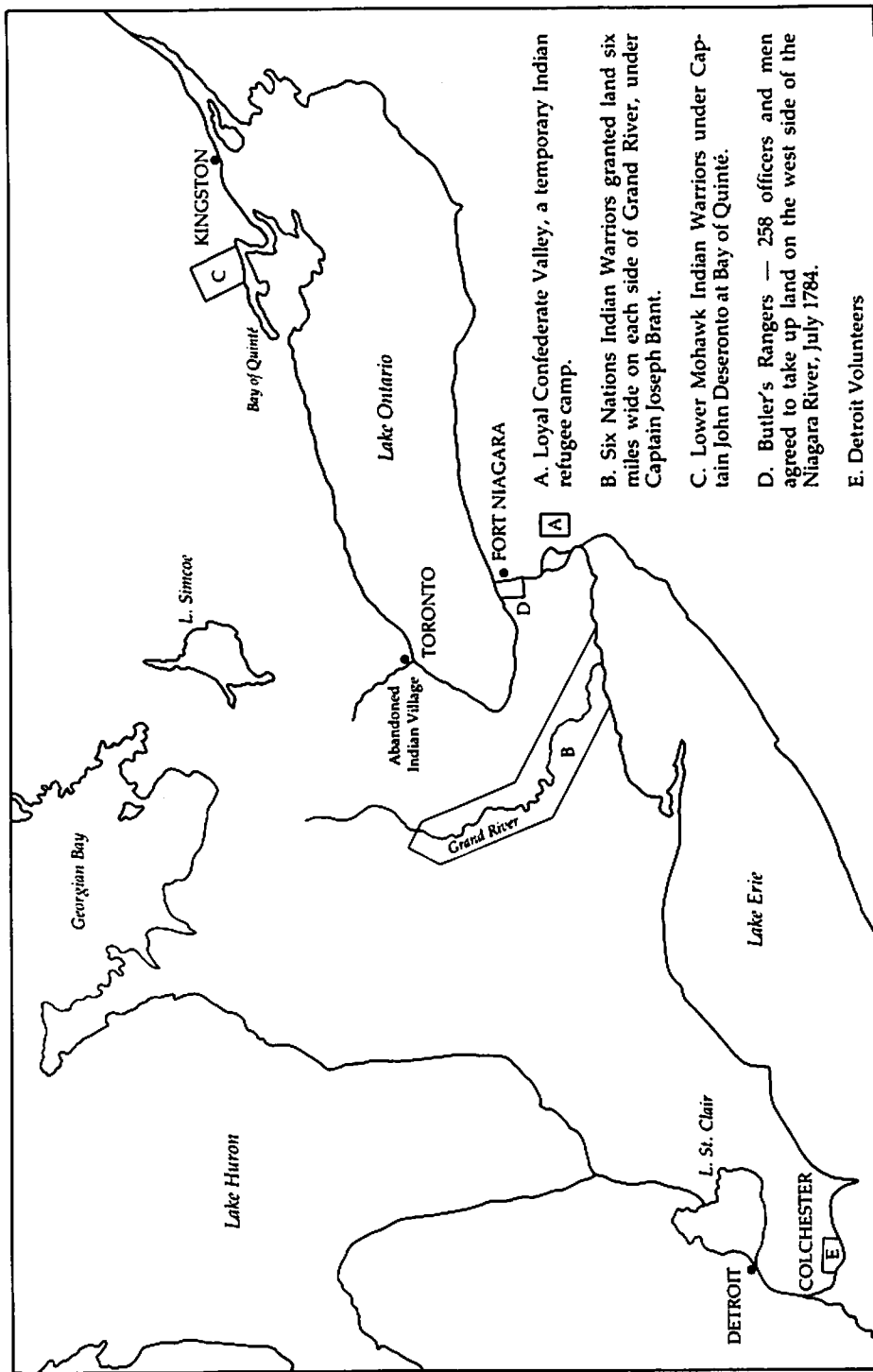


FIG. 4: BUTLER'S RANGERS AND SIX NATIONS INDIAN WARRIORS, 1784

daily. The instructions for settlement was that the lands were to be granted to the officers and soldiers as "tenants of the King", since the lands of the Royal Townships and at Cataraqui were within the Province of Quebec and consequently under the seigniorial system of land-holding.

At the same time, Quebec seigniors tried to persuade the Loyalists and Provincials to settle on their domains. For instance, the former royalist French officer, Charles de Lanaudière invited "industrious Americans" to settle on his estates at Ste. Anne on the Maskinonge River. He offered them land free of rent for 10 years and thereafter they were to pay the ordinary seigniorial fees. As an additional enticement, de Lanaudière promised that their wheat could be ground free for four years and all the boards for construction sawn free at the seigniorial mills.²⁵

Similarly, Colonel Henry Caldwell of Caldwell's Manor near the provincial line announced that he had lands sufficient to settle several thousand families, lands extending from the Lacolle River to Missisquoi Bay. This area appealed very much to many of the Loyalists who had sought safety by way of the Hudson, Lake Champlain and Richelieu route into Quebec. Yet Halidimand opposed settlement near the border, insisting on the wisdom of leaving the border zone unsettled for a time.

Haldimand's idea was to have loyal French-speaking Canadians eventually settle the buffer zone, rather than exiled Loyalists who might quarrel with the Americans over the border.²⁶ Steps towards this end were made in 1788 when 93 French-Canadian officers and soldiers who had served the Crown during the American war were granted some 16,100 acres in the area of St. Anicet.²⁷ Despite Haldimand's discouragement, Provincial soldiers and other Loyalist settlers persisted in remaining at Caldwell's Manor and Christie's Manor at Lacolle, rather than go to what seemed to them a distant and perhaps hostile Indian territory at Cataraqui.²⁸

Most of the Provincial troops, like the majority of Loyalist refugees, were unaccustomed to the seigniorial system of land-holding and almost immediately petitioned the King "that they might be relieved from the rules of French tenure and that the country from Lake St. Francis westward may be comprehended in a district distinct from the Province of Quebec but subordinate to Quebec as Cape Breton is to Nova Scotia."²⁹ It was the Loyalists who drew away and insisted on this first separation from Quebec, just as the Loyalists along the Saint John River immediately urged the separation of their settlements from the administration at Halifax.

In keeping with imperial policy to settle the disbanded troops in contingent settlements for defence purposes, the Loyalist Regiments moved off from their temporary quarters in Quebec throughout 1784. The First Battalion of the King's Royal Regiment of New York settled in the first five Royal Townships from Lancaster to Matilda in Dundas County, while the Second Battalion went to Townships 3 and 4, and some in number 5 at Cataraqui. Major Edward Jessup's Corps took up numbers 6, 7, and 8, Edwardsburg, Augusta and Elizabethtown, in the Royal Townships and part of the corps settled at number 2, Ernestown, at Cataraqui. Major James Rogers Corps of King's Rangers were allotted to number 3, Frederickburg, while Major Peter Van Alstine and some of Jessup's Corps went to number 4 — Adolphustown, in

the Cataraqui settlement. The disbanded regular soldiers and Hessians under Baron Reitzenstein were allotted Township Number 5, Marysburg.³⁰

A similar settlement plan was proposed for the troops in what was to become New Brunswick. Blocks of land were surveyed on both banks of the upper Saint John River so that each regiment might be settled contiguous to one another. The fourteen blocks ran from number 1, St. Ann's, later renamed Fredericton. These surveys were not completed for two years after the arrival of the regiments. By that time, many of the disbanded troops were reluctant to take up the new locations, and some regiments refused their allotted blocks altogether. Along the Saint John River and in other Loyalist settlements, some social tension arose with the older residents whom the Provincials and Loyalist refugees regarded with disfavor as having sympathized with the American rebels. The arrival of such a multitude of new settlers was a source of anxiety to the local Indians as well. Captain John Munro, upon ascending the river in 1783, found "the most part of the Indians moving off to the eastward for fear of the number of provincial troops and settlers coming upon the river."³¹

What about the resettlement of the Mohawks who had borne arms so faithfully? As soon as the terms of the peace treaty became known at Niagara in May of 1783, Colonel John Butler wrote with some uneasiness to Haldimand that despite his "strict attention to the Indians which has hitherto kept them in good Humour, I am now fearful of a sudden and disagreeable change in their conduct, as yesterday an express arrived here from General Washington with the Terms of the present peace. The Indians, finding that their Lands are ceded to the Americans, [it] will greatly sour their Tempers and make them very troublesome and will be attended with great difficulty to reconcile them to such Terms. I have wrote to Sir John and requested his presence."³²

Undoubtedly, the Indian Chiefs, foremost among whom was Joseph Brant, but also such renowned Chiefs as Aaron, Isaac, and David Hill and John Deseronto, were more than disturbed that in the peace negotiations, they were neither consulted nor mentioned. Sir John Johnson, Colonel John Butler and others of the Indian Department whose relations with the Indian Nations were not only of long duration, respect and admiration, but often also of blood, acted judiciously and swiftly to settle the Indians on lands that would suit them. The first site chosen by Captain Joseph Brant at the Bay of Quinte brought objections, not only from the Indians resident in the area but also from their allies, the Senecas, who did not want the Mohawks settled so distant from the Niagara area.

The Mississauga Indians who possessed the land at the Bay of Quinte had no objection to selling the land for white settlement but they protested that, "If their Brothers of the Six Nations come here, they are so Numerous they will overrun their hunting grounds, and oblige them to reitre to New and Distant grounds not so good or convenient to them."³³ Likewise, the Senecas, who decided to remain on their encampment near Buffalo within the American border, were still fearful that the Americans would eventually drive them out and wanted the Mohawks within easy reach both as refuge and as allies. The problem was resolved with Colonel John Butler negotiated

the purchase of a tract of land along the Grand River which Brant explored and approved of as a second choice. Yet, the Lower Mohawks, under Captain Deseronto, determined to remain at Quinte, preferring as they said, "The Rule of a few to the Risk of losing their Consequence among the whole."³⁴

Wilbur Sieburt in his paper on the Niagara Loyalists and the Six Nations estimates that about 1,000 Indians removed to the Grand River after the peace,³⁵ together with a few disbanded white soldiers who settled among them. This division of the Indian Nations at the Grand River and the Bay of Quinte, so much deplored and objected to by General Haldimand,³⁶ reflected the clanishness of all the Loyalists in the re-settlement process — the drawing off of the Blacks at Shelburne, and the splitting up of sections of the Loyalist Regiments according to religious and racial origins. Even before the Royal Yorkers had drawn lots, Sir John Johnson broached the problem to Haldimand. "The Highlanders and others of my Regiment of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Persuasions have applied to me, through their officers, to request that Your Excellency will be pleased to indulge them to settle in different bodies for the Benefit of their Religion."³⁷ Thus, the Lake Township, as Lancaster was called, and Township No. 1, Charlottenburg, were settled by the Highland Roman Catholics, to become the heart of the Glengarry country. The Presbyterian Scots settled at Number 2, that is New Johnstown, which was shortly to become Cornwall, and the German Palatinates chose Township No. 3, Osnabruck.³⁸ Yet, in spite of these divisions, the general plan of settlement according to regiment was adhered to.

Small settlements of Loyalists had already begun on the Niagara and Detroit frontiers before the peace treaty and as early as 1781 Colonel Butler had been authorized to allow a settlement on the west side of the river at Niagara to help provision the garrison at the fort. With the disbandment of his corps in 1784, some 258 of his Rangers opted to remove to this small settlement.³⁹ Some men of the Detroit Volunteers had secured an Indian title to lands at Colchester and had begun a settlement there, an irregular procedure which eventually was straightened out by Captain Robert Mathews, Haldimand's very capable and conscientious military secretary.⁴⁰ Mathews was sent from Quebec City to Detroit to insist on the proper transfer of Indian lands to the Crown and thence their re-distribution by the Crown to Loyalists, a procedure designed to protect Indian holdings from land speculators. It was a similar transfer of Indian lands by Captain Joseph Brant to white settlers that led to dissension among the Six Nations at Grand River, though Brant able defended his measure, claiming he simply wanted to encourage the Indians in the agricultural methods of the whites.⁴¹ Yet Brant's willingness to invite white farmers to settle on Indian lands led to Indian uneasiness and brought attacks on Brant both by the alarmed Indians and by the white settlers who were hungry for land and did not hesitate to raise questions about the legitimacy of Indian ownership of the lands granted to them by Haldimand.

Similar difficulties arose over title deeds in the Niagara area where Butler's Rangers had settled. Since settlement had begun before government surveys could be undertaken, this resulted in squabbles over ownership and titles.

The survey at Niagara was not completed until 1787 and it is not surprising that by then settlers had begun to organize politically to demand control over local affairs and the nomination of civil officials — a move that led Major Mathews to report to Sir Guy Carleton at Quebec that a “McNiff Party” was emerging, just as it had at New Johnstown and other settlements, an indication that the mushrooming of the settlements by the great influx of Loyalist Refugees had tipped the balance in favor of the refugees who were challenging the élitism of the officer corps of the Loyalist Regiments.⁴²

As the nucleus of the new settlements were the officers and men of the Provincial Corps, it was natural that the officers would assume the leadership of the settlements and be given the essential offices such as justices of the peace, commissioners of the land boards, and would fill the more lucrative posts in the Indian Department. The first serious dissension in the settlements along the upper St. Lawrence arose with the delayed settlement of the officers and men of the 84th Regiment who had been promised upon enlistment somewhat larger land grants than those promised to other Provincial Coprs, that is, 5,000 acres to field officers, 3,000 to captains, 2,000 to subalterns, while privates were to receive 200 acres.⁴³

The eventual solution was to adjust all military grants to those of the 84th Regiment⁴⁴ which meant that Provincial officers and soldiers were usually better endowed than other settlers. Thus, when the government called for local elections of representatives in 1787 to report on the wants of the settlers, the elections brought to the surface latent antagonism to the officer corps in some of the new townships.

Yet the miracle of this rapid re-settlement of some 30,000 Loyalist refugees and soliders was not that there were so many complaints but that there were so few. It was a military venture, faced resolutely by Haldimand and his small staff of surveyors and officers, determined to transform the ‘despised and exiled’ of the American Revolution into the ‘Honoured and Privileged’ of British North America.

NOTES

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Biographical sketches of some Loyalists of King's County, New Brunswick

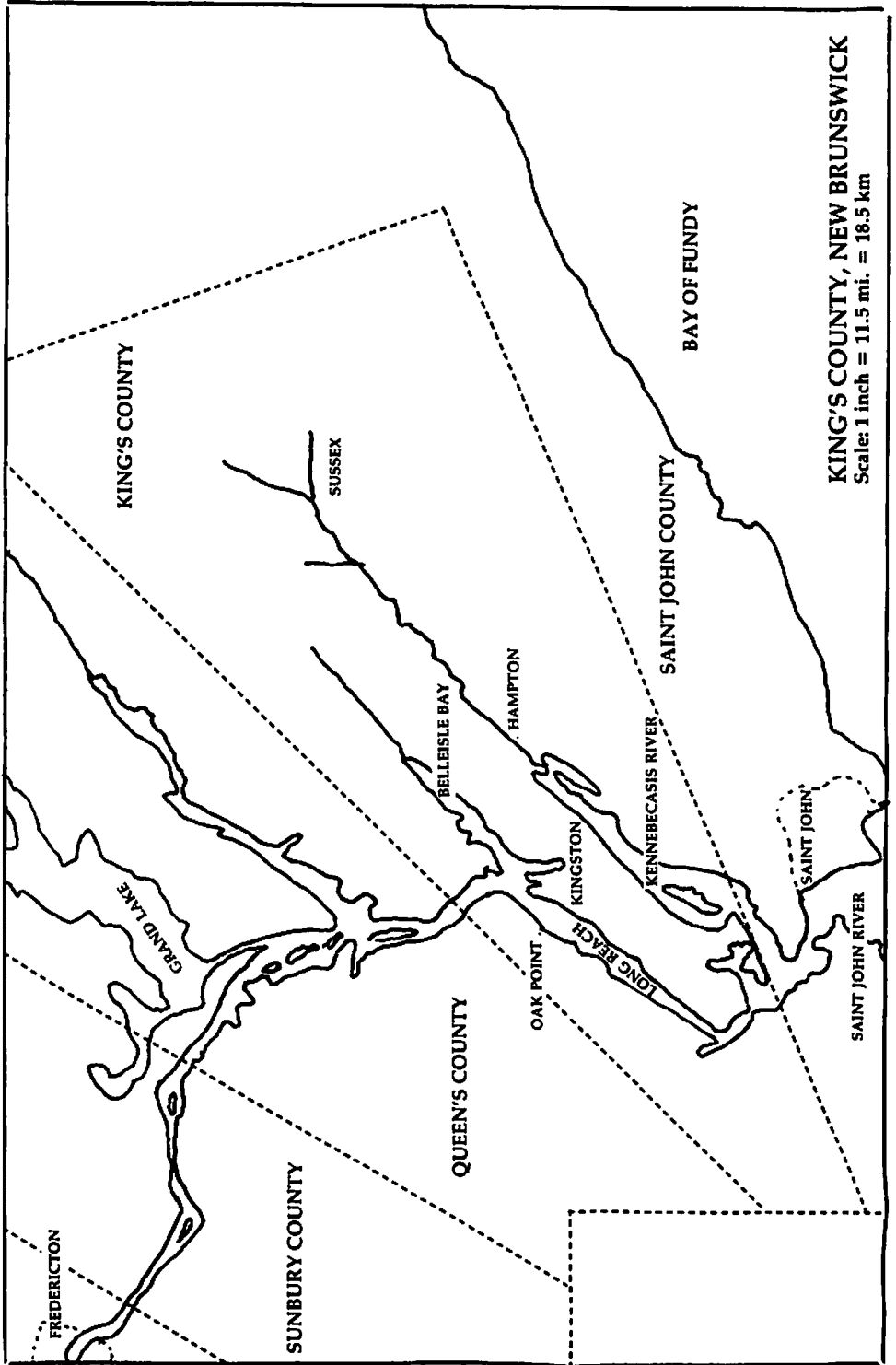
By Sharon Dubeau

Sharon Dubeau lives in Scarborough, Ontario, and says her interest in genealogy began some 12 years ago. "But it wasn't until 1977 that I began seriously researching my family's history," she writes. "Shortly thereafter, I began studying Loyalist and New Brunswick history. The interest for this article was generated because of the lack of information about the 'common' folk. While doing research on my Loyalist ancestors, I found there was nothing readily available on these people. I am presently studying history, in evening extension courses, at University of Toronto, in order to broaden my knowledge of the times in which my ancestors lived." We are delighted with the opportunity here to share with other readers of CANADIAN GENEALOGIST the results of some of Sharon's researches — for two reasons. First, it is important for all genealogists to go just that little step beyond their own families if the sum total of genealogical knowledge in Canada is to be realistically expanded. Too few, in our experience, ever feel the need to get on paper in a realistic form, anything that does not specifically refer to their own kin. Second, as Sharon's paper testifies, knowledge is a two-way street. Studying history to learn more about the background of a family, then publishing the results, will bring not only personal satisfaction, but more information flooding in from sources hitherto unsuspected. We salute Sharon for her effort, and hope she will share again with us some of the other material we know she is working on. Genealogy and history always go hand in hand, but the entry point for study is made much easier for most of us by the knowledge that 'our family was there when'.

I have attempted to pull together information to be found in many sources concerning these Loyalists. This set of sketches of those in King's County, New Brunswick, is by no means complete, but rather the beginning of something which I hope to carry on with. *I would be grateful to hear from anyone with information on these or any other King's County Loyalists. [Write to Sharon c/o CANADIAN GENEALOGIST, and we'll see the mail goes forward to her: Editor's Note]*

New Brunswick became a province 16 August 1784. Before this time it had been known as Sunbury County, Nova Scotia. King's County was one of the original counties formed when New Brunswick became a province. Kingston Parish was one of the original parishes. Greenwich Parish was set off from Kingston in 1795.

The "Spring Fleet" contained the first group of arrivals. The ships had picked up passengers at various points in New York, among them Long Island and Huntington Bay, two places of refuge for the Loyalists. The first ship of this fleet landed at Saint John 18 May 1783. Among this group was the ship 'Union', which had left New York on 24 April 1783. The passengers of the 'Union' were predominantly a Connecticut group which had been living together on Long Island. Most of them went to Kingston Parish, which gave that area a strong sense of community and solidarity lacking elsewhere.¹



KING'S COUNTY, NEW BRUNSWICK
Scale: 1 inch = 11.5 mi. = 18.5 km

The "June Fleet" contained the second group of Loyalists, arriving in Saint John late in June 1783. Among this group was the ship 'Two Sisters'. Most of the refugees from these first groups were given town lots in Saint John (either Parrtown or Carleton), with the exception of those passengers from the 'Union' who were able to proceed directly to their lands in King's County. As time went on, many of those living in Saint John sought and received farm lands up the river, and some of those granted land in King's County sought more productive agricultural land elsewhere.

ARNOLD Oliver: of Masfield, Connecticut. Graduated from Yale College in 1776. He was a lieutenant with the Volunteer New Englanders. At the end of the war he went to Saint John where he was granted a town lot in Parrtown. In a grant dated 15 July 1784 he was given a lot in the Parish of Kingston, described as lying on the northerly side of the Kennebecasis River, westward of the town site for Kingston. Later he removed to Sussex, where he became the rector associated with the Episcopalian ministry. He established an Indian College at Sussex Vale in 1789.

BATES Walter: of Stamford, Connecticut, a shoemaker. In the spring of 1783 he arrived at Saint John aboard the ship 'Union'. He was granted a lot 15 July 1784 at Kingston, lying on the southerly bank of the Saint John River in the Long Reach. For many years he was the Sheriff of King's County. He died at Kingston in 1842, aged 82. He wrote a narrative of the ship passage from New York, and the founding of Kingston, later published in 1889, entitled "Kingston and the Loyalists of 1783."

BOSTWICK Isaac: of Stamford Connecticut. He arrived in Saint John with the Spring Fleet, with his wife Tamson Cable. He was granted a town lot in Parrtown in 1784. By a later grant dated 15 July 1784, he received a lot in Kingston Parish, lying on the southerly bank of the Saint John River in the Long Reach. He died at Kingston in 1808, aged 48.

BULYEA Henry and Abraham: Father and son, from Courtlandt Manor on the Hudson River, New York. Five sons of Henry served in the army. Both Henry and Abraham were granted lots lying on the northwest side of Oak Point Bay in the Long Reach of the Saint John River in the Parish of Kingston (now Greenwich), in a crown grant dated 25 July 1787. Their land was situated on what is now known as Greenwich Hill, behind the Devil's Back, a hill which rises 400 feet from the water's edge. They were among the founders of the first Anglican Church build in 1790 at Oak Point called St. George's Chapel. Henry died in 1802. Abraham died in 1833, aged 77.

CHICK Johannes: of Long Island, New York. He arrived in Saint John in the spring of 1783 aboard the ship 'Union' accompanied by his wife and two children. He was granted land at Kingston, a lot lying on the northerly side of the Kennebecasis River on the eastern side of the town plot for Kingston. Also spelled SCHECK.

DIBBLEE Walter: of Stamford, Connecticut. In the spring of 1783 he arrived at Saint John in the ship 'Union'. He was granted a town lot at Parrown in 1784. Later, by a grant dated 15 July 1784, he was given a lot in Kingston Parish, lying on the southerly banks of the Saint John River in the Long Reach. He later moved upriver to Sussex Vale, where he died in 1817, aged 53.

DIBBLEE William: of Stamford Connecticut. He arrived at Saint John in the spring of 1783 aboard the ship 'Union'. By a crown grant dated 15 July 1784 he received a lot lying on the southerly banks of the Saint John River in the Long Reach in the Parish of Kingston. He later removed to Woodstock, Carleton County.

FOWLER John: of Massachusetts. Accompanied by his wife and two children, he arrived at Saint John with the Spring Fleet in 1783 aboard the ship 'Union'. He was granted a lot lying on the southerly bank of the River Saint John in the Long Reach, on 15 July 1784, in the Parish of Kingston. He later removed to Upper Canada. He was appointed vestryman in the first church established in Kingston in 1784.

GORHAM Jonathan: of Stamford, Connecticut, son of George Gorham. He came to New Brunswick in 1783 with his wife Mary Watters. He received a lot of land lying on the northwest side of Oak Point Bay in the Long Reach of the River Saint John, Kingston Parish (now Greenwich), in a crown grant dated 25 July 1787. He was among the founders of the first Anglican Church (St. George's Chapel) built in 1709 at Oak Point. He died at Oak Point in 1824, aged 84.

GORHAM Nathaniel of Stamford, Connecticut, son of Shubael. He arrived in the summer of 1783 at Saint John, aboard the ship 'Two Sisters', accompanied by his wife Mary Whitney. He was granted a town lot in Parrown in 1784. By a crown grant of 15 July 1784 he received a lot in the Parish of Kingston, lying on the southerly banks of the Saint John River in the Long Reach. He died at Kingston in 1846, aged 94.

HAIT Israel: of Norwalk, Connecticut. Accompanied by his wife and six children, he went to Saint John aboard the ship 'Union'. He was a shoemaker by trade. By a crown grant dated 15 July 1784 he received a lot in Kingston Parish, lying on the northerly side of the Kennebecasis River on the eastern side of the town plot for Kingston. He was appointed vestryman for the first church established in Kingston, spring 1784. The surname is also spelled Hoyt, or Hayt.

HAPPEY George: a shoemaker from Dutchess County, New York. He arrived in Saint John with his wife in the spring of 1783 aboard the ship 'Union'. He was granted a lot lying partly on the southern banks of Belleisle Bay, north of Kingston Creek, in the Parish of Kingston, King's County, in a granted dated 15 July 1784. The surname is also spelled Happie.

JOHNSON Nathaniel: of Haddam, Connecticut. He first received a town lot in Parrtown. Later, in a grant dated 25 July 1787 he was allotted land lying on the northwest side of Oak Point Bay in the Long Reach of the Saint John River, Kingston Parish (now Greenwich), King's County. He died at Sussex in 1830, aged 88.

KETCHUM James: of Connecticut. He received a lot of land lying on the southern banks of Belleisle Bay, north of Kingston Creek in a grant dated 15 July 1784. He was a vestryman in the first church established in Kingston, King's Co., in the spring of 1784. He was one of the original settlers in Kingston Parish.

KETCHUM Jonathan: of Connecticut. He receive a lot lying on the northerly side of the Kennebecasis River on the eastern side of the town plot for Kingston, King's County, in a grant dated 15 July 1784. One of the original settlers, he was a vestryman in the first church established in Kingston in the spring of 1784.

KITCHEN Thomas: a shoemaker from England. In a grant dated 22 September 1786 he received a lot of land lying on the northwesterly side of Belleisle Bay in King's County. He later removed to Saint John, where he died in 1799, apparently murdered.

KNAPPS Jonathan: of Reading, Connecticut. He fled to Long Island in 1776. He was Second Lieutenant of Company 1, a militia company of Loyalist refugees which arrived in Saint John on the ship 'Two Sisters' in the summer of 1783. By a crown grant of 15 July 1784 he received a lot situated on the northerly side of the Kennebecasis River, on the eastern side of the town plot for Kingston.

LANE Ephraim: of Fairfield, Connecticut. He arrived in Saint John in the spring of 1783 on the ship 'Union'. He was granted a lot 15 July 1784 in Kingston Parish, lying on the southerly banks of the Saint John River in the Long Reach. He later moved to Woodstock, Carleton County. He was appointed a vestryman in the first church established in Kingston in spring 1784.

LAWSON Lawrence: of New York. A grantee on the City of Saint John in 1783. By a grant dated 25 July 1787, he received a lot lying on the northwest side of Oak Point Bay in the Long Reach of the Saint John River, Kingston Parish (now Greenwich).

LAWTON John: of Philadelphia. He was granted a lot of land lying on the northwesterly side of Belleisle Bay in King's County in a granted dated 22 September 1786. He died in Saint John in 1846, aged 89.

MARVIN John: of Norwalk, Connecticut. He arrived at Saint John in the spring of 1783 aboard the ship 'Union'. By a crown grant dated 15 July 1784 he was granted a lot in the Parish of Kingston, lying on the southerly banks

of the Saint John River in the Long Reach. Later, he removed to Woodstock, Carleton County, in search of better farm land.

NORTHRUP Benajah: of Connecticut. He was a member of the Volunteer Guides and Pioneers during the revolution. He settled in New Brunswick in 1783, receiving through a grant dated 15 July 1784, a lot lying on the southern banks of the Belleisle River, north of Kingston Creek, in the Parish of Kingston.

OLIVE William: from Chatham, England. He arrived in Saint John, late summer, aboard the ship 'Three Sisters', where he was a Captain of one of the refugee companies. In a grant dated 22 September 1786 he received lots of land lying both on the northwesterly and southeasterly sides of Belleisle Bay. He was a member of the Loyal Artillery at Saint John in 1795. He was a ship-builder, and along with his sons Isaac and William established shipyards at Carleton (Saint John). William Sr. died at Carleton in 1822.

PEATMAN Daniel Jr.: a member of a large family from Staten Island, New York. The only member of that family to become a Loyalist. In a grant dated 25 July 1787 he received a lot lying on the northwest side of Oak Point Bay in the Long Reach of the Saint John River, Kingston Parish (now Greenwich Parish).

PETERS William: of Dutchess County, New York. He first received a town lot at Parrtown, shortly after his arrival in 1783. In a grant dated 22 September 1786 he received a lot of land lying on the southeasterly side of Belleisle Bay, in Kingston Parish. He died there in 1805.

PICKETT David: of Stamford, Connecticut. He was declared an enemy to his country in April 1776 and banished. Accompanied by his wife and seven children, he arrived at Saint John aboard the ship 'Union' in the spring of 1783. He was a weaver by trade. On 15 July 1784 he was granted a lot lying on the northerly side of the Kennebecasis River on the eastern side of the town plot for Kingston. He became the treasurer of King's County, and later was a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. He was appointed church warden in the first church established in Kingston, spring 1784. He died in 1826.

PICKETT James: of Norwalk, Connecticut, a carpenter. He arrived at Saint John, with his wife and two children on the ship 'Union', with the Spring Fleet in 1783. He was granted a lot at Parrtown. In a grant dated 15 July 1784 he received a lot lying on the northerly side of the Kennebecasis River, westward of the town plot for Kingston. He later moved to Portland (Saint John) where he died in 1812.

PINE Stephen: of Pine's Ferry, Ulster County, New York. He was in the service and connected with the transportation department until after the Battle of Brandywine, September 1777. In 1783 he went to New Brunswick. In a

grant dated 25 July 1787, he received a lot of land lying on the northwest side of Oak Point Bay in the Long Reach of the Saint John River, Kingston Parish (now Greenwich). He died in 1786 aged 66 (before this grant was formalized on paper). Three sons — Henry, Abraham and Stephen, survived him. Stephen Jr. was living in 1846, aged 77, in Eastport, Maine.

RAYMOND White: of Norwalk, Connecticut. He went to New Brunswick at the peace. He was an innkeeper. By a grant dated 15 July 1784 he received a lot lying on the southerly banks of the Saint John River in the Long Reach, Kingston Parish. He later removed to Hampton, King's County, where he died in 1835, aged 76.

SCRIBNER Ebenezer: a shoemaker in Connecticut. He was a Corporal with the Queen's Rangers. He received a lot lying on the southern banks of the Belleisle Bay, north of Kingston Creek, Kingston Parish, in a grant dated 15 July 1784.

SCRIBNER Elias: a shoemaker from Norwalk, Connecticut. He arrived in Saint John aboard the ship 'Union', in spring, 1783, with his wife and five children. He received a lot of land lying on the northerly side of the Kennebecasis River on the eastern side of the town plot for Kingston, in a grant dated 15 July 1784. He was appointed a vestryman in the first church established in Kingston, spring 1784.

SCRIBNER Hezekiah: of Norwalk, Connecticut. Accompanied by his wife, he arrived at Saint John on the ship 'Union' in 1783. He was granted a lot of land lying on the southern banks of the Belleisle Bay, north of Kingston Creek, Kingston Parish, in a grant dated 15 July 1784.

SCRIBNER Joseph: a shoemaker from Norwalk, Connecticut. He received a town lot in Parrtown in 1783. The, by a grant dated 15 July 1784 he received a lot lying on the northerly side of the Kennebecasis River on the eastern side of the town plot of Kingston. He died in Saint John in 1820, aged 61.

SCRIBNER Thaddeus: a shoemaker from Norwalk, Connecticut. He arrived in the spring of 1783, aboard the ship 'Union'. He was granted a lot lying on the southern bank of the Belleisle Bay, north of Kingston Creek, in the Parish of Kingston.

SHANK(S) James: a carpenter. He served as a Lieutenant in the Prince of Wales Regiment. He first received a town lot at Carleton. In a grant dated 22 September 1786 he received two lots of land lying on the southeasterly and northwesterly banks of Belleisle Bay, Springfield Parish. He later removed to Ireland.

SPRAGG Thomas: of Fishkill, Dutchess County, New York. He was a member of the Volunteer Loyal American Regiment. He was later appointed Captain of the Militia Company Number 46 in charge of a group of refugees,

which arrived in Saint John in the fall. He was a vestryman in the first church established in Kingston, spring 1784.

TRECARTIN Martin: of Dutchess County, New York. He went to Saint John with his wife aboard the ship 'Union' in the spring of 1783. He was a carpenter by trade. He first received a town lot in Parrrtown. By a grant dated 15 July 1784 he received a lot lying on the southerly banks of the Saint John River in the Long Reach, Kingston Parish.

UNDERWOOD John: of Rhode Island. He was a member of the Barrack-master-General's Department, a civil department of the army. He arrived in Saint John aboard the ship 'Union' in 1783. He received a lot of land lying on the northerly side of the Kennebecasis River, westward of the town site of Kingston, in a grant dated 15 July 1784. He died at Shediac, Westmorland County, in 1848.

VAN WART Jacob: of Westchester County, New York. He came to New Brunswick at the close of the war, accompanied by his brothers William and Isaac. In a grant dated 25 July 1787 he received a lot lying on the northwest side of Oak Point Bay in the Long Reach of the Saint John River in Kingston Parish (now Greenwich). He died in King's County in 1838, aged 78.

WHEATON Ephraim: a cartman from New Jersey. He first received a town lot at Parrrtown. Later, in a grant dated 22 September 1786 he recieved two lots of land lying on the southeasterly and northwesterly sides of Belleisle Bay, Springfield Parish, where he farmed the land with his sons Caleb and Elijah. He died in Springfield in 1812, aged 82.

SPROULE George: Originally from Ireland, then New Hampshire, then Long Island, New York. In a grant dated 25 July 1787 he received a lot lying on the northwest side of Oak Point Bay in the Long Reach of the Saint John River, Kingston Parish (now Greenwich). He later removed to Fredericton. He became Surveyor-General of New Brunswick and a member of Council. He died at Fredericton in 1817, aged 76.

SQUIRE Richard B.: of Lanesborough, Massachussetts. He was proscribed and banished in 1778 and had his property confiscated. He was a Captain in the militia company in charge of refugees. In a grant dated 22 September 1786 he received a lot of land lying on the northwesterly side of Belleisle Bay, Kars Township.

SUMNER Thomas: of Gloucester, New Jersey. He was a member of the 1st New Jersey Volunteers. In a grant dated 15 July 1784 he received a lot lying on the northerly side of the Kennebecasis River on the eastern side of th town plot of Kingston. a lot of land lying on the southeasterly side of Belleisle Bay, Kingston Parish, in a grant dated 22 September 1786. He later removed to Saint John, then to Greenwich Parish. He had three wives and numerous children. He died at Greenwich in 1832.

WHITE John: he removed to Saint John in 1783 with his wife Tamzen. In a grant dated 15 July 1784 he received a lot of land lying on the southerly banks of the Saint John River in the Long Reach, Parish of Kingston. He had two sons, Benjamin and James. He died at Long Reach in 1838 at the age of 96.

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Immigrants from the Giessen/Alsfeld area in Hesse, Nassau & Palatinate

Hans D. Birk, a heraldic artist from Scarborough, Ontario (for more information see CANADIAN GENEALOGIST, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 82) has passed along this tantalizing tidbit of information which might be just what some hopeful Canadian researcher is seeking. They are, says Hans, from the name-files of Karl Blüm, Bensheim, dec., made available by the genealogist Bernhard Stuhl, Karl Schäferstrasse 9, 6140 Bensheim 3, West Germany.

Dörr Peter, 57, from Saasen, d 1908 in Tavistock, Ontario

Seibert, 82, from Ruttershausen, d 1905 in Baden

Wettlaufer, Adam, 84, from Hattenrod, d 1901 in East Zorra

Berg Elisabeth, née Ruffer, 76, from Endersdorf, d 1901 in Phillipsburg

Grein Ludwig, 75, from Heidelberg, d 1909 in Waterloo

Grün John, 85, from Bernsfeld, d 1901 in Milverton, Ontario

Habermehl Karl, 65, from Schwarz, d 1897, in Bentinick, Ontario

Halm John Heinrich, 74, from Oberglen, d 1902 in Heidelberg, Ontario

Kranz Hugo, 68, from Lehrbach, d 1908 in Kanada [sic]

Krautz Adam, 87, from Grebenau, d 1904 in New Hamburg, Ontario

Krein John, 82, from Heidelberg, d 1902 in Crediton, Ontario

Pletzer John, 78, from Bernsfeld, d 1908 in Hullett Twp, Ontario

Schluchter Margaretha née Hermann, 81, from Nieder-Ofleiden, d 1908, Hensall, Ontario

Schneider Kath., widow, 81, from Eulersdorf, d 1901 in Berlin (now Kitchen-er), Ontario

Stroh Heinr., 82, from Lehrbach, d 1901 in Berlin (now Kitchener), Ontario

STRICTLY BY THE BOOK

CANADIAN GENEALOGIST welcomes review copies of all publications of a genealogical, biographical, or local history nature, and will review all such material sent to it for consideration, whether by individual authors who have produced their own books, from regular publishing houses, archives, museums, or libraries. Our interest is not limited to Canadian works only, but extends to American, British, Irish, Scottish, or European publications whose implications might also have a bearing on the study of Canadian genealogy. The publication also welcomes suggestions from readers for books they might like to see reviewed. **ORDERING** - Some publications reviewed here are available direct from **CANADIAN GENEALOGIST**, and are marked with an asterisk. A list of these also follows the review section.

Gravestone Inscriptions — County Antrim Series; Vol. 1, Islandmagee, general editor, R.S.J. Clarke; compiled by George Rutherford with an introduction by Professor D.H. Akenson. The Ulster Historical Foundation, 66 Balmoral Avenue, Belfast, Northern Ireland, BT9 6NY.

Researchers familiar with genealogical sources in Northern Ireland are well aware of the mammoth tombstone transcription project being undertaken by volunteer members of the Ulster Historical Foundation. A 16-volume County Down series of gravestone inscriptions has already appeared. These volumes are available in soft-cover at very reasonable prices and contain informative introductions and illustrations.

In 1977 the Foundation began the publication of a second series of transcriptions, this one for County Antrim. Volume one covers the Parish of Islandmagee (Ballykeel, Ballypiorimore and Islandmagee graveyards). Volume two will include the parishes of Glynn, Kilroot and Templecorran.

Apart from the value of genealogical records, tomstones and their inscriptions provide a revealing reflection of society. As such they are of considerable use to the social historian. Professor Donald H. Akenson discusses this subject in his introduction to the Islandmagee volume of the County Antrim series. (For a fine new study of the community see: *Between Two Revolutions: Islandmagee, County Antrim, 1798-1920*, by Donald H. Akenson, 1979. P.D. Meany Company, Inc., Box 534, Port Credit, Ontario, Canada, L5G 4M2. ISBN 0-88835-004-X. \$17.95). Gravestone inscriptions serve, for example, as an indicator of such phenomena as life expectancy and regional epidemics in the 18th and 19th centuries. These data, therefore, expand our knowledge of "the full richness and complexity of Irish life at the community level." But the information is regrettably far from complete and so must be used cautiously by the social historian. Only a few people had tombstones and their records do not take into account the fact that there was great movement in and out of the area. The existing inscriptions are often censored and so conceal facts vital to understanding the local social mechanism. Thus "the inscriptions can most profitably be viewed in conjunction with our knowledge of the social history of the parish of Islandmagee and, simultaneously, the inscriptions can confirm and extend what we already know." Professor Akenson concludes his introduction with a commentary on Irish funerary customs.

This first volume on County Antrim is of greater significance than its specific pertinence to Islandmagee. It exemplifies the rigorous dedication of those working on the Ulster Historical Foundation's commendable transcription project — a great improvement upon the Memorials of the Dead compiled in the last century. The Islandmagee volume also underlines the essential point that genealogical study in a vacuum is nothing but pedantic pedigree compilation. Irishmen, like all people of the past, lived in a particular social context. Without an understanding of their daily milieu one has not begun to comprehend the nature of their existence.

John D. Blackwell

Markham — 1793-1900. Edited by Isabel Champion, researched and written by the Committee for the History of Markham Township, published by the Markham Histor-

ical Society, R.R. 2, Markham, Ontario, L3P 3J3. Hardcover, 373 pages, indexed, \$15 plus postage. Available from the Markham Historical Society.

At long last the History of Markham has appeared, after a first brief attempt published early in the century. The current volume is an excellent book, well illustrated, and with a great deal of genealogical information any purchaser will find worthwhile. It begins with a geologic outline of the area, and touches on the treaties and surveys with which the township originated. Then follows the tale of the advance of the settlers — first the Berczy settlement, then the ill-fated De Puisaye settlement of French royalists, the Pennsylvania Germans, and the British and American settlers after the American revolution. Short biographies are given of many individual families in each of these groups, often connecting them with descendants who still live in the township today.

Other chapters deal with roads and highways through the various settlements; the hotels, so much a part of the social life of the pioneers; mills, the base of industry in pioneers days; the numerous churches of the many religions still found in the township — some of which still stand, but many of which have long been destroyed by fire and the advance of "The Big City"; the many schools, of which the first was completely German speaking.

The Rebellion of 1837 caused much dissension in Markham. Feelings ran high for many years thereafter. Many settlers were jailed for their political sympathies. There is an excellent chapter on militia groups and individuals from Markham who took part in the War of 1812.

The book concludes with a long chapter on the various villages in the township and their inhabitants. Several appendices are of great value, including a head-of-the-family census of 1798, and an every-name census for 1803. These, in themselves, will be of great value to the researcher. Many photographs of old families, country roads which are now super-highways, churches, towns, and gatherings decorate nearly every page of the book.

A list of source material and an index complete this very worthwhile volume. It has been well worth waiting for. It is a beautiful reminiscence for those who remember it the way it was — and who still live there today. It will be a great asset to anyone tracing his family in Markham Township, one of Ontario's earliest settled areas.

Ontario's Heritage, A Guide to Archival Resources, Vol. 7, Peel Region. General Editor, Victor L. Russell. Regional Project Director, Lee B. Brebner. Published by Boston Mills Press, 1979. Soft cover, 101 pages, indexed, \$9.50 plus postage.*

This is the second published volume of the 15 to be eventually published by the Toronto Area Archivist's Group. As with the other volumes in the series, this volume lists records available for research in its area of coverage, both of historical and current value — some unique to the region, others much broader in scope. The sources listed will meet just about all the needs of any researcher. Records held by provincial and federal archives (land registry, post offices, etc.) have not been included. Main records catalogued are from municipal and private sources. Those records relating to Peel and housed outside the region are listed in appendices. A complete index to all 15 volumes will appear in Volume 16 after all 15 have been published.

We cannot emphasize too strongly that this is a set every library and archive in the country should have on its shelves. Reference works on Canada are desperately hard to come by, and this one would not have been undertaken at all if it had not been for the courage and determination of the TAAG group to catalogue all available records in Ontario — a mammoth task no matter how you look at it. Some government help has been available to get the project going, but an enormous amount of voluntary professional assistance has gone into this series at every step of the way. Libraries and archives not subscribing to or acquiring a set of these volumes will, in future we believe, come to be regarded as "deficient" in their attention to the growth of Canadian culture and research. If you are a librarian or working archivist — make sure your institution acquires a set of these valuable research aids. If you are a citizen interested in matters historical and genealogical, make sure you call the work to the atten-

tion of your local libraries — including those at the high-school, community college, and university level.

For the genealogical researcher working in Peel records, this is an indispensable guide. All records are named as to contents, dates, and place in which they are held. Included are school boards and school records, the various churches with dates of their vital records, private businesses, industries, clubs, organizations. Appendix A lists church records held in various church archives. Appendix B lists Peel material held by the Ontario Archives. Appendix C lists Peel material held by the Public Archives of Canada. Researchers in Peel will be the envy of everyone else (except those in Peterborough, published as Vol. 1) with this exceptional resource tool now in hand. Everyone will be wanting to know when "their county" will appear. Good work TAAG. Continue the excellent job — but faster . . . EH

Loyalists of the American Revolution, Biographical Sketches, by Lorenzo Sabine. Published by the Genealogical Publishing Company, 111 Water Street, Baltimore, MD. 2 Volumes: Vol. 1, 608 pages, Vol. 2, 600 pages. Hardcover, \$50 plus \$1.25 postage, U.S. funds.* (Available on special order from Generation Press).

This well known work on loyalists, first published in 1864, is now available as a first-class reprint. It is probably the first "Loyalist List" ever to have been published, and to have it once again available will, I am sure, please a great many people. I hope libraries will take the opportunity of filling this missing gap in their collections of loyalist material, and that loyalist families interested in family history and genealogical research will likewise avail themselves of the chance to purchase for themselves and their descendants this classic of loyalist studies.

The book begins with an historical essay on the Revolutionary period, outlining the reasons for the Revolution, as well as events which took place in each colony, both before and after the affair. Considering that this outline was written less than 100 years after the Revolution (when its author is assumed to have been much more 'in tune' with the period), it is one of the most unbiased sketches about loyalists I have ever read.

There follows an alphabetical listing of known American Loyalists. These include loyalists who emigrated to the Maritimes, the Eastern townships (Quebec area), Ontario (Upper Canada), as well as those who returned to England and some who, in later years, returned to the newly established U.S.A. For the most part, only the Loyalist himself is mentioned. His children are not too often listed unless they were loyalists in their own right. The place of origin in the colonies is given, along with the place of settlement.

To complete this list is another — one on those about whom information probably did not reach the printer in time to be included in the main work. Material about them is similar to that given in the main list.

Sabine's list by no means contains the names of all Loyalists, but it is an extremely valuable resource. Very often if you cannot find your ancestor on one of the many other 'source lists' you will find him listed by Sabine. The great defect of the material from a genealogical point of view is that since no reference is given in the work about the location of the source material for the 'sketches' it cannot be considered 'primary' source material. But I believe it is safe to say that Sabine will help a great many people locate loyalist ancestors who might have been 'lost' to history forever without his invaluable work. Primary sources may be found in other areas. Sabine at least may give you a clue on where and when to look.

Elizabeth Hancocks, C.G., Dominion Genealogist, U.E.L. Association of Canada

Everyone has Roots, by Anthony J. Camp. An introduction to English genealogy. Hardcover, 189 pages, published 1978, \$11 plus postage.*

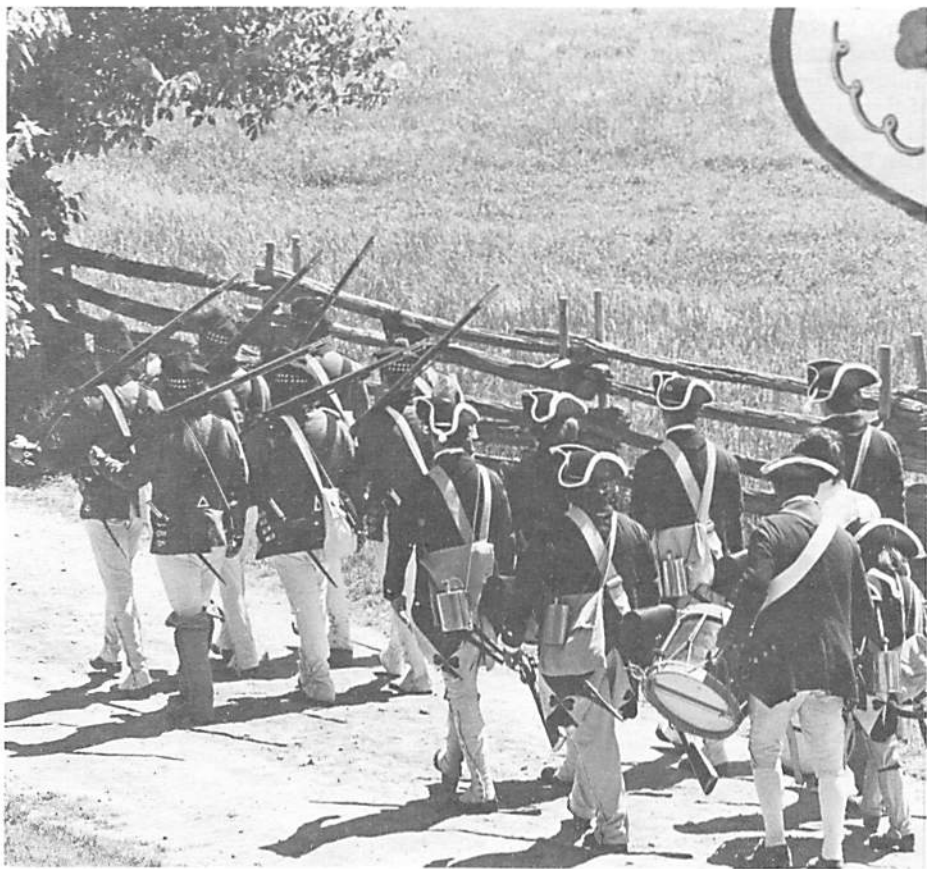
Anthony Camp is a well known genealogist, and director of research at the Society of Genealogists in London, England. Many of the readers of CANADIAN GENEALOGIST will be familiar with his other books *Tracing your Ancestors*, and *Wills and their Whereabouts*.

This small handbook is well suited to carrying with you when you make your pilgrimage to find your English ancestors (after having done your homework at home, of course). Designed to instruct the beginner in the use of English records, it describes their origins and locations. It touches on nearly every aspect of research, discussing methods and principles, books and archives. It is a truly compact, authoritative guide through the complex realms of English genealogy.

There are chapters on sources, problems, migrants, forgeries and deceptions, heraldry, surnames — and even one on your chances of finding your elusive English ancestor.

There is no index, but since names are not an integral part of the book, an index is not really necessary. There is, however, a section of bibliographical notes chapter by chapter which enormously enlarges the value of the book by encouraging the interested researcher to go far beyond the scope of the book itself.

Best of all, the thing is *readable*. Mr. Camp is a writer of great charm and grace, and his prose flows with all the elan of a clear brook. Besides being of considerable help to the beginning English researcher, this concise, witty little classic is a pleasure to read — even to those of us without an English jaunt in our immediate future. All in all, a book that should be on any standard library shelf. EH



Royal Highland Emigrants and King's Royal Yorkers on the march during battlefield exercises. Photo by Jean Lacroix.

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WHAT'S IN A NAME

A Queries Section by Elizabeth Hancock, C.G.

DEADLINES December 1, March 1, June 1, September 1

ALLEN: Mrs Ben Jackson, Jr, 129 N Kingston Ave, Rockwood, TN 37854 USA. Looking for desc of following: Samuel and Mary Jane Allen who were William and Martha, possibly farmed near Shelbourne, ONT; William and Mary Ann Gray Allen; Mark and Elizabeth McBride Allen who were Jane Marshall, Mabel Terry, John, David; Ellen and Francis Mackie of Toronto; Lucy and ? Boyer (Bowyers) of Alliston, ONT, maybe; Margaret and John McKee who had Margaret, Samuel John, David. All desc of Patrick and Jane Cassells Allen of Newtownhamilton, Co Armagh, N IRE, children to Toronto c1865.

AUSMAN: Mrs Florence Denning, Box 505, Turner Valley, ALTA TOL 2A0. Philip Ausman m Evelyn Foster and their dau Anne m Gilbert Thibodeau. Were of Dutch origin believed to have emigrated to PA 1700-1750s. Were in Wellington Co, ONT, in 1837. Would like to correspond with any desc or anyone who knows this fam.

BAYLIS - BLEWITT - SHEPHERD - COLDRICK - HAYLINGS: Ms D Mitchell, 124 Divadale Dr, Toronto, ONT M4G 2P4. William Baylis b c1784 Upton-On-Severn, Worcestershire, ENG, m Mary Blewitt b c1782 Upton-On-Severn. Children: Mary Blewitt b c1810 Upton m James Shepherd; William b c1814 Upton m Elizabeth Coldrick; Isaac b c1816 Upton m Eliza Haylings; Benjamin b c1818 Upton m Jane ?. Would like to correspond with any desc.

BROOKS - PADLEY: Mrs Pat Meehan, 35844 Sherborne Dr, Mt Clemens, MI 48043 USA. After years and release of 1881 census found my gdma Maud V Brooks fam. Richard Brooks with wife Elizabeth Padley and children: Ruben; Ernest; Mary; Liley; all of East London, Middlesex Co, ONT. Maud b 10 June 1883 came to US in 1900-01 alone. What happened to the rest of the fam?

BULCH/BALCH - TAYLOR - MANNION - DEARBORN: Mrs William Bulch, Stella, ONT K0H 2S0. Christopher John Bulch b 1806 ENG (origin, prts, siblings) lived Pittsburg twp, Frontenac Co, ONT, m 1845 Isabella Taylor, d/o Joseph and Janet (maiden name). Son John b 1846 drowned -1881 Chicago Bay, m Mary Philips and their dau Minnie m a Mannion and lived NY state. Son Joseph m Verena Nelson and their son Ernie m a Dearborn and lived NY state or MI. Any info and correspondence with desc welcome.

CALDWELL: Mrs Mary Edith Wegener, 3181 Maple Rd, Newfane, NY 14108 USA. Henry Caldwell and Frances of Co Antrim, IRE, lived South Plantagenet twp, Prescott Co, ONT, 1817-1871. Children: Elizabeth m James McAughey; Martha m James Mof-

fatt; Margaret m Patrick Welchon; Jane m Cadwallader Blaney; Nancy m Oliver Blaney; Henry m Frances Blaney; Thomas m Mary ?; John m Elizabeth Franklin. Need any info.

CHIEVER(S) - GOODCHILD - TINNEY: John D Blackwell, R R 2, Hensall, ONT NOM 1X0. Georgina Chiever(s) (variants: Cheever(s); Chever(s); Chiver(s), b Hamilton, Upper Canada, c1840, d/o George and Ann ?, both b IRE. Georgina m first William Goodchild c1858; m second William Tinney 1835-1908, of Cornwall, ENG, in 1866 in McKillop twp, Huron Co, ONT. She d 1914 Hay twp, Huron Co, ONT. Need place of origin in IRE.

CLARK: Mrs P Clark, 11 Calford St, Naughton, ONT. William Clark b 1843 SCOT, m Margaret Sinclair 1 Aug 1865, d 9 July 1902 Montreal, QUE. Was Capt 'F' Co 90th Batt Winnipeg Rifles; Editor North-west Farmer 1885; member Prov Board of Agriculture; Inspector of grain for Manitoba and North-West Territories; managed mills St Boniface 1880; in grain business with W S Grant; 1886 Canadian Commissioner to Colonial and Indian Exhibition.

CURRY: Miss Iris E Elliott, 45 Riverview Ave, Sault Ste Marie, ONT P6A 3X8. Epraim Curry, UEL, b c1756 (where) d 1806 Edwardsburg twp, Grenville Co, ONT; m Eleanor (Alice, Else) Boulton c1784. Children: Nancy (Adams); Ephraim J; Rachel (Hough); Elizabeth (Thrasher); James; John (m Elizabeth); Mary (Hunter); George; Barbara (Brush); Abraham. Wish to correspond with desc.

DEMPSTER: Catherine StJohn, 5 Ann St, Apt 2002, Port Credit, ONT L5G 3E8. Robert Dempster b SCOT 1815, d Oshawa, ONT, c1865. Two sons and five daus all b ONT before 1865 (where). Daus Margaret, Sarah, Lily m respectively Richard Pierdon, George Monck, John Smith, all of Whitby twp, Ontario Co. Eager to share considerable data on this fam with desc.

DISHER - BEAMER: Roy Johnson, R R 1, Ridgeville, ONT L0S 1M0. Am looking for desc or fam of following fams. Iva Disher b 1896 m Preston Johnson 1895-1969; Thomas Disher 1870-1952 m Florence Beamer 1877-1973; James Byron Beamer 1844-1929 m Harriett Metler 1848-1915; Benjamin Beamer 1812-1898 m Eliza? Disher; John Harvey Disher or Dusha 1816-1885 m Elizabeth Rasin 1816-1882. Most of them probably lived in Pelham twp, Welland Co, at one time.

DONOVAN: Eileen Hall, 1720 S Park Ave, Melbourne, FL 32901 USA. Patrick and Daniel Donovan were sons of Richard and Margaret of Bath, ONT (need dates, place of death). Both 'd when young men', fam tradi-

tion. Patrick on 1880 voter's list Bath. Daniel witnessed marriage at Wolfe Island 9 Oct 1882. Not found in Kingston area directories 1880's. Registrar General no help.

EDWARDS: Albert E Simms, Box 207, Englehart, ONT. William Edwards emigrated from Wexford Co, IRE, c1851, settled Pembroke, ONT, area. Children: Phoebe 4 Feb 1840-30 Nov 1923, m James Chapman and settled in Nipissing Village in District of Parry Sound; Mary Ann m ? Biggs. Would appreciate any info concerning wife, vital statistics and prts.

FRENCH - BESANT: J P Wood, 63 Acadia Bay, Winnipeg, MAN R3T 3J1. James French, his wife, his mother-in-law Mrs Besant, and children came to Canada from Dorset, ENG, c1850, settled in Paris, ONT. Children: Sarah; James; Rebecca; Julia; William. Mr and Mrs French and Mrs Besant d c1853, bd Paris (Baptist) cem. Need dates of deaths, births, origin. Any other info appreciated.

FRIAR: Serge Friar., 2635 Todd Lane, Sandwich West, Windsor, ONT N9H 1K9. Jonas Friar d c1849 Hope twp, Durham Co, ONT. His wife Ann was b c1813 Hope twp. Want place of origin of Jonas. Probably German extraction, probably came to ONT via PA? Spelling variants: Friar; Fryer; Friars; Frier; Frayer. Does anyone know meaning of name?

GABEL - DUETTE/DEWITT: Mrs Pamela J Fulton, 21 Sunicrest Blvd, Bowmanville, ONT L1C 2G6. Want ancestry of Eva Gabel probably b PA, of loyalist fam to NB 1783, m Samuel Austin at Gagetown, NB 1788. Pa David Gabel, baker, b 1733 Frankfurt on the Main, Hesse, Germany, m Catherlna Reinhardt/Rhinehart 21 Feb 1764 Germantown, PA. Need anc of Mary Duette who m John Bailey of Sunbury Co, NB. Children: Abraham; John; Gideon; Charles; Luke. Children settled mostly in Queens Co, NB.

GAGNON - RUDESIE: Lois Spiter, 1900 Horseshoe Dr, Highland, MI 48031 USA. John Benjamin (Louis) Gagnon b 3 Aug 1846 (where) maybe QUE or Saguenay Co, s/o Benjamin Gagnon and Mary Rudesie (spelling ?). Had eight children. Need info on prts and children, and John. John m Emma Reaume of Sandwich, ONT, in Detroit 13 Nov 1871 at Ste Anne's. Have info on Reaume side.

HALL - WHITE - GLASS: Muriel Hall, R R 2, Port Carling, ONT P0B 1J0. Jane Glass m 1824 Charles White, Monaghan; Clones. Children: Isaac; Elizabeth; Charles; James; Ann; Jane b 1835 m 1857 George Hall, s/o George and Jane. Seek info re bro Peter Hall desc; bro Thomas desc, W Nissouri/McGillivray, Middlesex Co, c1840. James White desc, Glass fam.

HEARD - BULLOCK: Everett Heard, Box 11, Charlton Station, ONT. William Heard and Loretta Bullock settled in Haliburton Dist c1866. Where was Loretta b? Would like to hear from any desc. Will return postage. Also any fam relations of Charles Townsend and the Dean fam.

HOWELL: Mrs Leonard Johnson, 500 E Tunnel St, Santa Maria, CA 93454 USA. William Howell b 1760 Sussex Co, NJ, m Hannah

Davis (d 1803) d St Georges 1843; and Garrett Howell 1762-1833. Both sons of Samson Howell 1719-1803 and Jane Vanderbilt, gdsns of Hugh Howell b Wales 1659, d 1745 NJ. William and Garrett moved to Ancaster, ONT, area c1802. Need any info.

HUMBLE - RICHARDSON: Mrs Roy L McLean, R R 2, Wyoming, ONT N0N 1T0. Thomas Humble b ENG c1811, m Anne Richardson b 1814 Carlisle, ENG, emigrated to Cavan twp, Durham Co, ONT, then to Middlesex Co. Children: Sarah; Elizabeth m Peter Moloy; Mary m William Darling; William; Margaret; Thomas; Joseph; John; George. Any data on these people would be appreciated.

JOHNSON: Dave Johnson, 181 Locke N, Hamilton, ONT L8R 3B1. James Johnson c1761-1846 (need both locations), m Elizabeth ? b c1775 (where), d 1851 Louth twp, Lincoln Co. Children: Jabez c1802-1849 m Sarah ?; Jacob c1802-1875 m Eleanor ?; Elizabeth c1803-1877 m Elijah Burtch; Mary Ann 1809-1849 m Hiram Baldrice; Sally Ann c1812-1873 m Philip Gregory; Caroline c1815-1879 m Andrew Nelson Phillips; John T c1816-1852 m ?; Julia Ann 1819-1888 m George Havens; Hannah (dates) m first Mr Rason, second William Late. Welcome info, will exchange.

KOEN - HURST: Betsy Morris, 4 W Willow St, Wenonah, NJ 08090 USA. William Koen b 1800 (Irish) m Sarah Hurst b 1802 (when, where), lived Kingston twp, Frontenac Co, ONT. Children: Alexander 1824; Julie 1826; James 1828; Francis 1830; Michael 1834; William 1836; John 1838; Joseph 1840; Maria 1842. William bd Odessa, ONT, Sarah bd Erie, PA, 1873. Need fam info. Reunion planned at Kingston.

LANCASTER: Helengrace Lancaster Brown, 2741 Wolfe St SW, Calgary, ALTA T2T 3R8. Was John Lancaster who built stone house after 1856 Newcastle Dist, ONT (Indian town of Hiawatha, to 1818) same as in John Lancaster and bro William from ENG, settled Otonabee twp, Peterborough Co, ONT 1830's?, both farmers, PO of both 1835 was Westwood, ONT. Where in ENG did they come from?

MCCARTHY - MORGAN - O'HARA: Debbie Sweetman, 476 William St, North Bay, ONT. Gerald McCarthy m Margaret O'Hara. Children: Thomas Henry b 1864; Fannie (Mahoney); Minnie (Brown); John; Ellen; Kate; Joseph; Frank; all b Peterborough, ONT, d Port Arthur, Peterborough, Winnipeg. Thomas Henry m 1885 Jane Estelle (Jennie) Morgan. Is Frank of Peterborough still alive? Any info wanted.

MCLEAN - MCRAE - MCKENZIE: Rose Botham, 398 Yale Cres, Oakville, ONT L6L 3L5. Alexander McLean b 7 May 1848 Ullapool, SCOT, s/o Alex and Mary, m Margaret McRae 26 July 1872 Alden, ONT. Margaret b 1 Jan 1845 Dingwall, SCOT, d/o Duncan and ?(McKenzie). Eventually settled Sault Ste Marie, ONT, had seven children. 'McKenzie' rumored related to William (Grand Trunk Railway). Seek any info.

MILLER - BARCLAY: Mrs R E Bowley, 374 Hunter St W, Peterborough, ONT K9H 2M5. Betsy Barclay b 2 Oct 1805 Cupar, SCOT, d

June 1871 Markham twp, York Co, ONT, and John Miller b 1805 US, d 7 Mar 1851 Markham twp, farmed lot 21, Conc 9. Children: Lydia m Edward Faulkner; Elizabeth m Thomas Hamilton; George B m Libbie A F Post; Nancy; Walter m Lena Phillips. Info gratefully acknowledged.

MILLION - SUTHERLAND: John Henry, 34 Longbow Sq, Agincourt, ONT M1W 2W7. Patrick Million c1811-1884, from Leglehid, Innismacsaint, Fermanagh Co, IRE, 1842 to QUE, then Stanley twp, Huron Co, ONT, 1844-1851, thence Colborne twp, Huron Co. M 1845 at Goderich a widow Janet Sutherland b c1818 in Glasgow (need maiden name). Did any young Sutherlands leave a widow in the Goderich area or Stanley twp area in mid 1840's? Would like to contact others working on name Million, later generations may be Millian.

MOYNES: Mrs Vernon Howe, 1544 Brightridge Dr, Kingsport, TN 37664 USA. James Collingwood Moynes 1845-1913, to Belleville, ONT, c1862, s/o Isaac and ? (Wrigglesworth). Need to know where fam lived prior to Belleville, entire name of ma, other members of Isaac Moynes fam.

NEW - WHEELER: Mrs Alma A Upsdell, 5993 Fleming St, Vancouver, BC V5P 3G5. Young New b c1824 ENG (where), m c1846 (where) Anne Wheeler? Eadie?, b c1826 Goulbourn twp, Carleton Co, ONT, living Horton twp, Renfrew Co, 1851. Did she have sis Rosanna b c1821 Goulbourn twp, m c1847 to Joseph New b c1818 Wiltshire, ENG? Were Young New and Joseph New related?

PILKEY: Mrs Luella Shank, 3 Borduas Cr, Kanata, ONT K2K 1K9. Would like to hear from all Pilkeys not already contacted as I believe that all are descended from Peter Pilkey and Catharine Barnhart who lived in Scarborough twp, York Co, ONT, and had nine sons: Joseph 1805; John 1806; Charles 1808; Peter 1816; Michael 1818; William 1819; George 1822; Alexander 1825; Henry. **POTTER:** Mrs John Korsedal, 218-13th Ave N, St Petersburg, FL 33701 USA. Orrin Potter b 1790's New England?, 1840 lived Niagara twp, Co NY, had wife (need name) and two daus 10-15 age, 1861 lived Lincoln Co, ONT, with second wife Mary Ann (who), and children: George; Susanah; Francis. Susanah m John Morris, had dau Lottie who m James McKeever, then John Neely, Sarnia, ONT, area. Need all vital statistics on each.

SHANNON - SMITH: Darla Richardson Donovan, 2193 Freeman Parkway, Beloit, WI 53511 USA. John Abel Shannon m 3 Dec 1817 at Collins Bay (near Kingston), ONT, Samantha Smith b 12 Dec 1801 NY, d Nov 1882 Canada. Children b 1819-1841: Mary Ann; Elizabeth; Jane; George; Samantha; John A; Hiram; Sarah Maria; James; Henry; Esther; Mathias; William; Alexander. Looking for desc.

SLOAN - THORNTON - LESLIE - MCMENIMIE: Linda Bunn, 15 Water St, Kingsville, ONT N9Y 3H9. Robert Sloan b IRE; William Sloan; Eliza Thornton; Matilda Sloan m Joseph Leslie; Mary Ann Sloan m James McMenimie; Margaret Sloan m John Ritchie. Lived in Halton Co, ONT, from

1830's on. Would like to correspond with any desc of above or with anyone with knowledge of these fams.

TAYLOR: Mrs Sharon Dubeau, 96 Ranstone Gdns, Scarborough, ONT M1K 2V1. Abraham Taylor b c1785 IRE, to Albion twp, Peel Co, ONT c1853, m c1810 Mary Sinsmith who was b c1787 IRE, d 23 Dec 1871 St Vincent twp, Grey Co, ONT. They migrated from Castlecomer parish, Co Kilkenny, IRE, 1825 to PA then to Albion in 1836. Children: Joseph 1811-1893 m Mary; Henry 1814 m Elizabeth Johnson; William 1816-1889 m Margaret Johnson; John c1829; Catherine. Some children later moved to St Vincent twp c1854.

THOMAS - GOLLEDGE: Jack Shaver, R R 1, Erin, ONT N0B 1T0. Peter Thomas (origin, all dates) had dau Susannah b 27 Nov 1823-d 13 Nov 1912, m 1844 Frederick Shaver b NJ, in Toronto twp, Peel Co, ONT, then m George Phenix. Thomas Albert Shaver, s/o Frederick and Susannah. Jane Golledge b ONT (when) m Thomas Daniels b ENG (when). Dau Clara Jane m Thomas Albert Shaver (where). Clara and sis Eva said to have come from southern US when she was 14. Eva b where, when, m Robert Arnett and lived Grand Valley, ONT.

WARNER - BAKER: Mrs Marie Baker Gordon, 3125 Radisson Ave, Windsor, ONT N9E 1Y4. Barbara Ann Warner b 25 Dec 1814, d/o Michael, Jr, and Margaret, lived Osnabruck twp, Stormont Co, ONT, UEL's, m (Henry) Benjamin Baker 11 Mar 1834, d 29 May 1840 (where bd). Children: James Walter; Lucy Margaret; George Barney m Jane York; Julia Ann m Albert Adams; Mary Catherine m Thomas McConnell. Need info re these children, Warner fam anc and desc.

WIDEMAN - HERBERT - STOVER: Mrs G E Richardson, R R 1, Gormley, ONT L0H 1G0. Need info re desc of following fams: Peter Wideman 1846-1926 m Esther Ann Miller 1850-1877, both b lot 27, Conc 9, Markham twp, York Co, ONT; Henry Herbert b 9 Mar 1870 m Lena ?, manufactured cigars at Port Clinton, Ohio, was musical fam, dau Grace a harpist. Last contact was Dec 1945. Ada b 27 May 1876 m Samuel Boyd, her desc in Canada; George b Mar 1877 m Florence Stover, had sons Roy and Harry, both in Detroit, MI. Where now?

WIDERICK - GARINGER: Russell V Kemp, R R 3, Waterford, ONT NOE 1Y0. Bernard Widerick 1825-1892 m Anna (who) who d Aug 1865 then he m Sophia Garinger 1842-1929. All bd in Mennonite cem at Sweets. Corners, Haldimand Co, Ont. Did he have any bros and sis? Prts may be Martin Wiedrick and Margaret Verner who left Germany and came to America from Le Havre 1830.

WILLIAMS: Gary Peck, 167 Shelley, Sudbury, ONT P3A 2S6. Ephraim Williams b 1812 London and Sally Peck b 1810 emigrated to Theresa, NY, c1836. Want any info re above and relatives: Noah Peck; Alice Peck; Minnie Peck van Brockin; Kate Peck Kelsey; Ellen Peck; Viola and Florence Dickhaut. All lived Theresa, Edwardsville, Redwood in New York area.

WILSON - YOUNG: Richard Hirst, Box 527,

Vineland, ONT LOR 2C0 George Young b 1773 PA (where), s/o John George and Margaret (who), came to Crowland twp, Welland Co, ONT c1787, m Rachel Wilson b 1789 (where), d/o Samuel and Jane of Maryland who also came to Crowland c1787. All info appreciated.

WRIGHT - QUIPP: Mrs J Roper, 1041 Flintlock Crt, London, ONT N6H 4M3. Jacob Wright b Northamptonshire, ENG, c1820, m Martha Quipp b ENG c1844, emigrated to USA c1852, to Toronto, ONT, 1853-55, was a builder and contractor on Convocation Hall of Trinity College. Siblings: Joseph; Charles; Mary m Robert Smith; Elizabeth m George Blackbird; William; Susan m Thomas Joliffe; Henry; Rachel m William Fralick; Frederick; Caroline m Watson Swaine. Seek anc and desc.

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