

The  
United • Empire • Loyalists'  
Association  
*OF ONTARIO.*

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Annual Transactions

MARCH 10th, 1898.

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✓ 1898

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## The United Empire Loyalists' Association

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"United Empire Loyalists" are "those persons who remained faithful to the British Crown during and after the Revolutionary War in America," or, to be more precise, 1:—"the families who adhered to the Unity of the Empire and joined the Royal Standard in America before the Treaty of Separation in the year 1783." [*Order of Council passed at Quebec 9th November, 1789.*]

2:—Those who, both at and after the Revolution, were, in consequence of their loyalty, driven out of the revolted States, or found continued residence in those States to be intolerable by reason of the persecutions to which they were subjected, or voluntarily withdrew therefrom in order to reside under the flag to which they desired that they and children should remain forever loyal; and 3, "Their posterity." [*Order in Council above referred to.*]

The eldest or adult members of Empire Loyalist families who settled in Canada, for the most part passed away in the next few succeeding years after their arrival.

It was their sons mainly who preserved this country to the British Crown in the War of 1812-14.

The grandchildren of the original U.E. Loyalists are becoming fewer in number year by year, the fourth generation are the men and women of the present day.

The descendants of the U. E. Loyalists are now widely dispersed, some are building up new provinces in what but a few years ago was the illimitable wilderness of the North West, whilst others are scattered throughout the world.

Some few (a very few, it is to be feared), still retain the original homestead granted by the Crown to their forefathers.

But few records of the first U. E. Loyalists, their previous homes and histories, their individual experiences, and the circumstances attending their settlement in Canada, having been preserved by their families, so far as is known, such things being gradually dispersed and lost in various ways, it was felt that unless some systematic effort was made to gather together the fragments, which might yet be found, every trace of them would in time be lost, excepting such as are fortunately preserved in the public archives—and which are for the most part meagre and inadequate fitly to represent and illustrate the inner life, if such an expression may be used, of the U. E. Loyalist emigration, as an historical event without precedent or parallel.

With the object, therefore, of organizing the means of preserving such historic records, with also that of keeping bright the spirit of loyalty in the inheritors of so noble an ancestry, the formation of this association was resolved upon, and the initial steps towards that end were taken at a meeting, called by Mr. William Hamilton Merritt and others, and held in the Canadian Institute February 28th, 1896.

Mr. Allan McLean Howard was appointed Chairman, and Mr. Merritt Secretary, pro tem.

The following Committee was appointed to draft a Constitution: Mr. McLean Howard, Mr. Merritt, Mrs. Hicks, Miss Merritt, Mr. S. C. Biggs, Mr. H. H. Cook, Lt.-Col. George A. Shaw, Mr. Charles E. Ryerson, and Dr. George S. Ryerson, and thus was formed "the United Empire Loyalist Association of Ontario," the first general meeting of which was held at the same place May 11th, 1896. The Honourable John Beverley Robinson was unanimously elected President, and Mr. William Hamilton Merritt, Secretary. Much was expected from Mr. Robinson in this position, because of the prominence of his official and social position, his long experience of public life, and because he was known to be well versed in matters appertaining to the early history of this country, and took a keen interest in everything connected therewith.

But it was otherwise ordered, and under circumstances of an almost tragic nature, whilst preparing to speak at a great public meeting, Mr. Robinson died June 19th, 1897.

In him the Association lost an unselfish and patriotic friend, and an eminent President. Dr. George S. Ryerson was elected President in his place, and continued in office until March, 1898, when he was succeeded by Mr. Herman Henry Cook, now in office.

An interesting circumstance connected with the formation of the Association and the election of its officers is worthy of special mention.

It was ascertained that at this late date, one hundred and thirteen years after the close of the Revolutionary War, there still survive several sons and daughters of U. E. Loyalists who served in that war, it was felt that the Association would be honouring itself by

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appropriately recognizing these men and women, and they were accordingly elected honorary vice-presidents of the Association.

A branch of the U. E. Loyalist Association has been formed at Virgil, of which Capt. John D. Servos is the President.

It has been decided that the Six Nations Indians of the Grand River and Tyendenciga (Bay of Quinte) Reserve, whose migration to Canada was under the same circumstances, and simultaneous with that of the U. E. Loyalists, shall be considered as branch associations. Chief Jacob Salem Johnson, Knonkwengah of the former; and Chief Samson Green, Annosothkah of the latter, have been elected honorary vice-presidents as representatives in each case of such branches, and presented by the General Association with commemorative silver medals to be worn by them and their successors in office.

The Association is not only non-political, as its constitution declares, but it is also wholly untrammelled by social considerations, and differs from the principal hereditary or historical associations elsewhere, in that it makes no requirement of social status as a condition of membership.

The constitution and by-laws as now printed, embracing certain further amendments since made were revised in April, 1897, by a special committee consisting of the President, Dr. Ryerson; the Vice-President, Mr. Allan McLean Howard; the Secretary, Mr. William Hamilton Merritt; the Honorary Legal Adviser, Mr. E. M. Chadwick; the Executive Committee: Messrs. H. H. Cook, Stephen M. Jarvis, Eugene A. Maclaurin, Charles E. Ryerson, Lt.-Col. Shaw, the Rev. W. S. Ball, the Rev. C. E. Thomson, with the addition of Mr. William Roaf.

## Constitution and By-Laws.

### Name and Chief Seat.

I. The organization shall be known as the "United Empire Loyalist Association of Ontario," hereinafter referred to as the General Association, and its chief seat shall be at Toronto.

### Branches.

II. Branches of the Association may be established at any place in the Province of Ontario, where in the opinion of the Executive Committee, it is deemed advisable, and the President of such branch shall be *ex officio* a Vice-President of the General Association.

Members of such branches shall be entitled to the same privileges as Associate Members of the General Association.

### Objects.

III. The objects of the Association shall be—

(a) To unite together, irrespective of creed or political party, the descendants of those families who, during the American Revolutionary War of 1775 to 1783, sacrificed their homes in retaining their loyalty to the British Crown, and to perpetuate this spirit of loyalty to the Empire.

(b) To preserve the history and traditions of that important epoch in Canadian history, by rescuing from oblivion the history and traditions of the Loyalist families before it is too late.

(c) To collect together in a suitable place the portraits, relics and documents relating to the United Empire Loyalists, which are now scattered throughout the Dominion.

(d) To publish an historical and genealogical journal, or annual transactions.

### Qualification for Membership.

IV. All persons of either sex resident in Ontario\* who can trace their lineal descent, by either male or female line, from the United Empire Loyalists, shall be eligible for ordinary membership. The wives or husbands of ordinary members, who are not otherwise qualified for membership, may be elected Associate members, but are not entitled to vote.† Charter members shall be those members who joined prior to and including the regular meeting in

\* A proposed amendment is pending to add after the word "Ontario" the words "or in any province or elsewhere where there is no U. E. L. Association."

† A proposed amendment is pending to insert after the word "vote" the following clause: "Members under the age of 17 are not entitled to vote."

April, 1897. They shall have the letter "C" placed after their names on the roll of members.

Members of branches become *ipso facto* Associate Members of the General Association, but will not be entitled to notice of meetings. They may become Ordinary Members on payment of fifty cents to the General Association, after their application has been approved of by the Investigating Committee.

### Election of Members.

V. A form of recommendation for admission, signed by two members, shall be forwarded to the Secretary, and by him laid before the committee appointed for the purpose of investigating the qualifications of applicants for membership.

If at the next or any subsequent regular meeting the report of this committee is satisfactory the person shall be declared elected, unless a ballot is called for, and a majority shall elect.

The Association shall have power at a Special General Meeting called for that purpose to expel any member, for cause shown by a three-fourths majority of those present.

### Fees.

VI. The annual membership and associate membership fee shall be *one dollar*. A family—viz., husband, wife and children residing at home—shall pay two dollars per annum; non-resident membership fee, fifty cents, payable in advance.

But any member or associate member being one year in arrears may be struck off the list of members by the Executive Committee.

Any person eligible may become a life member by paying the sum of \$15, and shall be exempt from further payments.

No member shall be entitled to vote at election of officers who is more than one year in arrear for dues.

The annual fees shall be due on the second Thursday in March in each year.

### Officers.

VII. The office-bearers shall consist of a President, five Vice-Presidents, one of whom shall be a lady elected by the Ladies' Committee as their presiding officer, and the Presidents of Branches, who are *ex-officio* Vice-Presidents, Secretary-Treasurer, and Assistant Secretary, who may be a lady.

### Honorary Vice-Presidents and Members.

VIII. (a) All sons and daughters of United Empire Loyalists now living shall be Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Association.

(b) Distinguished men and women, descendents of United Empire Loyalists, non-resident in the Province, may be elected by a majority of those present at a meeting, as Honorary Vice-Presidents; such Vice-Presidents shall not be liable for the annual fee.

(c) Members of the Association, gentlemen or ladies, who, in the opinion of a two-third majority of the meeting, have rendered dis-



tinguished service to the Association may be elected Honorary Members. The name of such member or Honorary Vice-President must be proposed and seconded at a regular meeting at least four weeks before the date of election.

### The Executive Committee.

IX. Shall consist of seven members, to be elected at the annual meeting, three of whom shall form a quorum, which shall manage the affairs of the Association. The President and Vice-Presidents (actual and *ex-officio*) and Secretary-Treasurer shall be *ex-officio* members of this committee.

The two members of this Executive Committee and the four members of the Ladies' Committee whose names appear first (right and left) in the list shall retire annually, but shall be eligible for re-election at the next following meeting.

### The Investigating Committee.

X. Shall consist of three members, two of whom shall form a quorum. All persons nominated for membership shall be favourably reported upon by them before being elected to membership by the Association.

### The Ladies' Committee.

XI. Shall consist of twelve members, five of whom shall form a quorum. They shall arrange all matters submitted to them by the Association or by the Executive Committee, to whom they shall respectively report.

### Election of Officers and Committees.

XII. All Officers and Standing Committees of the Association shall be elected at the annual meeting, or as soon thereafter as conveniently may be, if for any reason such election cannot take place at the annual meeting. And such officers and committees shall hold office until the next annual meeting, or until their successors are elected; vacancies occurring during the year may be filled by election as may be required. Special Committees may be appointed at any regular or special general meeting. Where it is not otherwise stated the officers and members of committees shall be gentlemen.

The Past President shall be an *ex-officio* member of the Executive Committee, and the past Lady Vice-President shall be an *ex-officio* member of the Ladies' Committee for one year after they cease to hold their offices.

Nominations for all Offices and the Standing Committees of the Association shall be made one month prior to the annual meeting. All Officers and Standing Committees of the Association shall be elected by ballot at the annual meeting, but where only one name for any office, or only the required number to compose any Standing Committee have been placed in nomination, a ballot shall not

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be taken, but the party or parties so nominated shall be declared duly elected.

The President may be re-elected for one additional term, but he cannot retain office for more than two years in succession.

### Duties of Officers.

XIII. The President shall be chairman of all meetings at which he shall be present, and in his absence, one of the Vice-Presidents shall take the chair.

In the absence of the Vice-Presidents, the members present shall elect a chairman for the meeting.

XIV. The Secretary-Treasurer shall hold in trust the funds of the Association, which shall be deposited in the name of the Association in a bank approved by the Committee. He shall receive all moneys, pay all accounts that are properly certified as correct, and shall present, when required, from time to time a statement of accounts.

XV. The Secretary-Treasurer or the Assistant Secretary shall attend all meetings, shall take the minutes of the proceedings, shall be responsible for the safe custody of all papers, books, and other property, and under the direction of the Executive Committee shall conduct the general business of the Association.

### Meetings.

XVI. The annual general meeting for the election of office bearers, and the transaction of the business of the Association, shall be held in the city of Toronto, on the date of the regular meeting in March in each year.

The regular meetings shall be held on the second Thursday in every month, except during such summer months as may be thought desirable not to meet by the members present at the regular meeting in May.

Meetings may be held at such an hour and place as the Executive Committee appoints, of which due notice shall be sent to every member.

XVII. General meetings other than the regular monthly meetings may be called for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the transaction of business.

The business or subject for discussion shall be specified in the special notice convening such a meeting, which shall be sent to every member. Such special meetings may be called at any time by the President, or in his absence by the Executive Committee.

XVIII. Extraordinary or urgent business may be transacted at any meeting without special notice, when considered absolutely necessary by a three-fourths majority of those present.

XIX. At all general meetings, whether special or annual, fifteen members shall form a quorum.

### Papers.

XX. Papers on subjects relating to the objects of the Association, and to cognate subjects, may be read by members, or by others who may be requested to do so, at any regular meeting, or any special meeting, called for this purpose.

Papers shall not exceed twenty minutes in length, but the time for reading may be extended by vote of the members.

All papers read shall become the property of the Association.

### Order of Business.

- XXI. 1. Reading of Minutes.  
 2. Reading of Correspondence.  
 3. Passing of accounts.  
 4. Propositions for Membership.  
 5. Reports of Committees.  
 6. Election to Membership.  
 7. Notices of Motion.  
 8. General Business.  
 9. Election of Officers.  
 10. Reading of Papers.

### Amendments to the Constitution and By-laws.

XXII. The foregoing Constitution and By-laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote of any meeting, but notice of motion for such amendment must be given at least four weeks previous to the discussion of the same, of which notice the Secretary shall duly inform every member.

Officers

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LIEUT.-COL.

MRS. J. Y.  
MISS SEYMO  
MRS. JOHN



## Officers for the year ending March 10th, 1898.

### Past President.

THE HONORABLE JOHN BEVERLEY ROBINSON.  
WHO DIED JUNE 19TH, 1896.

### President.

DR. RYERSON.

### Vice-Presidents.

ALLAN McLEAN HOWARD, Esq., Toronto.  
JOHN A. MACDONELL, Q.C., Alexandria, Ont.  
LIEUT.-COL. THE HON. DAVID TISDALE.  
MRS. J. D. EDGAR.  
JOHN D. SERVOS, Esq., President Virgil Branch.

### Honorary Vice Presidents.

(DISTINGUISHED DESCENDANTS OF U.E. LOYALISTS.)

THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE EARL OF CARNWATH.  
THE RIGHT HONORABLE SIR HUGH GUION MACDONELL, K.C.M.G.,  
C.B., H. B. M. Minister to Portugal.  
THE HONORABLE SIR CHARLES H. TUPPER, K.C.M.G., Q.C., M.P.  
RIGHT HONORABLE SIR ARTHUR HALIBURTON, G.C.B., P.C.  
MAJOR-GENERAL CHARLES W. ROBINSON, C.B.  
SIR RODERICK W. CAMERON, K.B.  
LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES CRUTCHLEY (late Scots Guards) D.A.A.G.  
War Office, London.  
MRS. ST. GEORGE LITTLEDALE.

### Honorary Vice-Presidents.

(SURVIVING SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF ORIGINAL U.E. LOYALISTS.)

PEREGRINE OTWAY-PAGE, Esq., Ridgeway.  
GRANT POWELL, Esq., Ottawa.  
ALEXANDER MACDONELL, Esq., Toronto.  
CLARKE GAMBLE, Esq., Q.C., Toronto.  
MRS. J. Y. CAMERON, Toronto. MRS. SEYMOUR, Toronto.  
MISS SEYMOUR, Ottawa. MRS. JOHN McBEAN, Toronto.  
MRS. JOHN RIDOUT, Toronto. MRS. MACKELLAR, North Bay.  
MRS. J. THORBURN, Ottawa.

**Honorary Secretary-Treasurer.**

W. HAMILTON MERRITT, Esq., 15 Toronto Street.

**Honorary Assistant Secretary.**

MRS. CLARKSON, 131 Beverley Street.

**Executive Committee.**

MESSRS. H. H. COOK.                      MESSRS. STEPHEN M. JARVIS.  
 E. A. MACLAURIN.                      LIEUT.-COL. SHAW.  
 C. E. RYERSON.                      DAVID KEMP.  
 REV. C. E. THOMSON.

**Investigating Committee.**

MESSRS. A. MCLEAN HOWARD. C. E. RYERSON. W. H. EAKINS.

**Honorary Legal Adviser.**

E. M. CHADWICK, Esq.

**Ladies' Committee.**

MRS. MONTGOMERY BRERETON,                      MRS. LAW,  
 MRS. HENRY CAWTHRA,                      MRS. GRANT MACDONALD,  
 MRS. DUNN,                      MRS. RYERSON,  
 MRS. J. D. EDGAR,                      MISS L. CLARKE,  
 MRS. FORSYTH GRANT,                      MISS DICKSON,  
 MRS. IRELAND,                      MISS MERRITT.

**The Officers Elected for the present year are as follows:****President.**

H. H. COOK, Esq.

**Vice-Presidents.**

MESSRS. ALLAN MCLEAN HOWARD.                      HON. DAVID TISDALE.  
 JOHN A. MACDONELL, Q.C.,                      LIEUT.-COL. SHAW  
 Alexandria.                      LADY EDGAR.

**Honorary Secretary-Treasurer.**

W. HAMILTON MERRITT, 15 Toronto Street.

**Honorary Assistant Secretary.**

MRS. CLARKSON, 131 Beverley Street.

MESSRS.

MESSRS. A

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**Executive Committee.**

MESSRS. E. A. MACLAURIN.      DAVID KEMP.  
                  C. E. RYERSON.      REV. C. THOMSON.  
                  WILLIAM ROAF.      C. C. ROBINSON.  
                  ALFRED WILLSON.

**Investigating Committee.**

MESSRS. A. MCLEAN HOWARD.      W. H. EAKINS.      JOHN McBEAN.

**Legal Adviser.**

E. M. CHADWICK, Esq.

**Ladies' Committee.**

LADY EDGAR, Vice-President.	MRS. IRELAND.
MRS. MONTGOMERY BRERETON.	" LAW.
" HENRY CAWTHRA.	" RYERSON.
" DUNN.	MISS L. CLARKE.
" FORSYTH-GRANT	" DICKSON.
" GRANT MACDONALD.	" MERRITT.

The following report was presented at the annual meeting, held March 10th, 1898, in the Canadian Institute :

Your Committee report that the progress of the "United Empire Loyalists' Association of Ontario," for the first full year of its existence, has been most gratifying. The addition of over one hundred new members has proved that the formation of this Association has met with the approbation of the descendants of the U. E. Loyalists generally, the total membership now being one hundred and sixty-five.

The Society has been incorporated under the laws of Ontario during the past year.

A branch of the Association has been formed at Virgil, with Mr. John D. Servos as Vice-President, which already comprises forty members.

This year having been the occasion of the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the accession to the throne of Her Majesty the Queen, this Association, joining with the Associations of Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, sent an address of congratulation to Her Majesty.

A reply from the Secretary of State for the Colonies has been received, stating that "Her Majesty commanded that her thanks might be conveyed to the Memorialists for their kind and loyal congratulations on the completion of the 60th year of her reign, and that they should be informed that she remembers with pleasure the loyalty displayed by their ancestors in the past."

Your Committee acknowledge with thanks a donation from Sir Roderick Cameron, of New York.

Your Committee report that a grant of \$150.00 has been received from the Ontario Government, to be applied towards the publishing of the annual transactions, and of the papers read at the monthly meetings of the Association.

With one exception, the officers elected at the annual meeting have remained for the year. Mr. David Kemp was elected to fill the vacancy in the Executive Committee, caused by the death of the Rev. W. S. Ball.

The Association was honored at the regular monthly meeting, in December, by the presence of His Excellency the Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada, and the Countess of Aberdeen, who subsequently accepted Honorary Membership of this Association.

## LIST OF MEMBERS.

### Honorary Member.

The Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada and the Countess of Aberdeen.

### Life Member.

Major Wm. Hamilton Merritt.

### Members.

The Hon. Geo. W. Allan, c  
"Moss Park."  
Mr. D. O. Brooke, c  
260 Jarvis St.  
Mrs. Brereton, c  
208 Dovercourt Rd.  
Mr. Frederick A. Brereton, c  
208 Dovercourt Rd.  
Mr. Herbert C. Brereton, c  
208 Dovercourt Rd.  
Miss Louise V. Brereton, c  
208 Dovercourt Rd.  
Mr. Richard L. Brereton, c  
208 Dovercourt Rd.  
Mrs. Harry Brock, c  
216 Beverley St.  
Miss Bethune  
184 College St.  
Mr. J. H. Burnham, c  
132 St. George St.  
The Rev. Arthur Baldwin, c  
114 Pembroke St.  
Mrs. H. C. R. Becher, c  
"Sylvan Towers,"  
Rosedale.

Mr. E. B. Biggar  
62 Church St  
The Rev. Dr. E. T. Badgeley, T. c  
98 Avenue Rd.  
Mrs. S. J. Brett  
30 Bloor St. e.  
Mrs. Curran, c  
75 Bellevue Place.  
Mrs. Henry Cawthra, c  
Yeadon Hall.  
Miss Grace Cawthra, c  
Yeadon Hall.  
Mr. Victor Cawthra, c  
Yeadon Hall.  
Miss Laura Clarke, c  
32 Division St.  
Mr. H. H. Cook, c  
"Ardnacloich."  
Mrs. H. H. Cook,  
"Ardnacloich."  
Mr. W. H. Canniff  
Mrs. James Y. Cameron, c  
497 Church St.  
Mrs. B. R. Clarkson, c  
131 Beverley St

Mr. Cyril

Miss Nina

Miss Hilda

Mr. G. A.

Miss Hann

Mr. Kenne

Mrs. Dunn

Miss Flore

Lt.-Col. G

Mrs. M. E.

Mrs. W. A.

Mrs. J. D.

Mr. W. H.

Mr. W. G.

Dr. W. S. I

Mr. Alexand

Mrs. Forsyt

Miss Amy G

Mr. Columb

Mrs. Griffin,

Mr. Scott G

Mrs. James C

Mr. Clarke C

Mrs. Hills,

3

- Mr. Cyril J. Clarkson, c  
 131 Beverley St.  
 Miss Nina Clarkson, c  
 131 Beverley St.  
 Miss Hilda Clarkson, c  
 131 Beverley St.  
 Mr. G. A. Chase  
 36 Maitland St.  
 Miss Hanna Chase  
 36 Maitland St.  
 Mr. Kenneth A. Chisholm  
 Parliament Buildings.  
 Mrs. Dunn, c  
 246 Bloor St. west.  
 Miss Florence Dunn, c  
 246 Bloor St. west.  
 Lt.-Col. George T. Denison, c  
 "Heydon Villa."  
 Mrs. M. E. Dignam, c  
 275 St. George St.  
 Mrs. W. A. Douglas  
 220 Wellesley St.  
 Mrs. J. D. Edgar, c  
 113 Bloor St. west.  
 Mr. W. H. Eakins, c  
 12 Madison Ave.  
 Mr. W. G. Eakins, c  
 102 Maitland St.  
 Dr. W. S. Fraleigh  
 596 College St.  
 Mr. Alexander Fraser, c  
 27 Harbord St.  
 Mrs. Forsyth Grant, c  
 Buiscair Road.  
 Miss Amy Grant, c, Peter St.  
 Mr. Columbus Greene, c  
 Mrs. Griffin, c, 77 D'Arcy St.  
 Mr. Scott Griffin, c  
 77 D'Arcy St.  
 Mrs. James George, c  
 Maple Ave.  
 Mr. Clarke Gamble, c  
 Mrs. Hills, c  
 340 Crawford St.  
 Mrs. Frederick Hills, c  
 27 Bedford Road.  
 Mr. Allan McLean Howard, c  
 192 Carlton St.  
 The Revd. J. Scott Howard, c  
 192 Carlton St.  
 Mr. A. McL. Howard, jr., c  
 192 Carlton St.  
 Miss Elizabeth Howard, c  
 192 Carlton St.  
 Miss Lucy Howard, c  
 192 Carlton St.  
 Mrs. Hicks, c, 57 Wilson Ave.  
 Mr. Stephen A. Heward, c  
 38 Peter St.  
 Mr. Canniff Haight  
 The Hon. Richard Harcourt, c  
 Parliament Buildings.  
 Mrs. Alexander Ireland, c  
 71 Bloor St. east.  
 Mr. Alexander Lee Ireland, c  
 71 Bloor St. east.  
 Mr. Guy O'Neil Ireland, c  
 71 Bloor St. east.  
 Miss Harriette Rosamond Phil-  
 lipa Ireland, c  
 71 Bloor St. east.  
 Mr. Stephen M. Jarvis, c  
 131 Beverley St.  
 Mrs. Stephen M. Jarvis, c  
 131 Beverley St.  
 Miss Jane H. Jarvis, c  
 154 Gerrard St. e.  
 Dr. Ogden Jones, c, Carlton St.  
 The Rev. William Jones, c  
 Trinity College.  
 Mr. Silas James, c  
 77 Victoria St.  
 Mr. Æmilius Jarvis, c  
 "Hazelburn."  
 Mr. David Kemp, c  
 31 St. Vincent St.  
 Miss Sophia Louisa Kemp, c  
 31 St. Vincent St.

- Mr. Edward Augustine Kemp, c  
31 St. Vincent St.
- Mr. John Colborne Kemp, c  
33 St. Vincent St.
- Mrs. George Kerr, c  
42 Charles St.
- Mr. A. H. F. Lefroy, c
- Mrs. H. C. Lee, c  
71 Bloor St. e.
- Mrs. Law, c  
504 Sherbourne St.
- Mrs. Merritt, c  
40 St. George St.
- Miss Emily Merritt, c  
40 St. George St.
- Miss Catherine Nina Merritt, c  
40 St. George St.
- Mrs. MacKid, 51 Cowan Ave.
- Mrs. Murison, c  
23 Surrey Place.
- Mrs. Street Macklem, c
- Mr. Edmund Morris, c  
598 Spadina Ave.
- Mrs. Morris, c  
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- Mr. Harold Morris, c  
598 Spadina Ave.
- Mr. Nehemiah Merritt, c  
Cecil St.
- Mrs. Mack, 187 St. Patrick St.
- Mr. Herbert M. Mowat  
Government House
- Mr. Alexander McDonell, c  
123 Huron St.
- Mr. John McBean, c  
163 Dowling Ave.
- Mrs. John McBean, c  
163 Dowling Ave.
- Mrs. McBean, c  
161 Dowling Ave.
- Miss Elizabeth McBean  
161 Dowling Ave.
- Mr. E. A. Maclaurin, c  
713 Spadina Ave.
- Miss Maude Gwendolen Mac-  
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- Mr. Norman Tempest Maclaurin,  
c, 713 Spadina Ave.
- Miss Clare Frances Maclaurin, c  
713 Spadina Ave.
- Mrs. Grant Macdonald, c  
329 College
- Mr. Evan H. McLean, c
- Miss Josephine Maccallum, c  
13 Bloor St. w.
- Mr. Oliver Macklem  
The Glen, Rosedale.
- Mrs. J. K. Macdonald  
33 Charles St.
- Miss Isabel Mackenzie  
726 Spadina Ave.
- Mr. S. S. Macdonell,  
52 St. George St.
- C. E. Macdonald, c  
25 Toronto St.
- Mr. C. G. K. Nourse  
Bank of Commerce.
- Mr. Arthur D. Pringle, c
- Mrs. R. A. Pyne, c  
263 Gerrard St. e.
- The Revd. Adam U. de Pencier  
Howland Ave.
- Mr. E. A. C. Pew, c
- Mrs. Patriarche
- Miss Plumb
- Dr. Neville Parker  
249 University Ave.
- Mr. William Playter  
Confederation Life Ass'n.
- Mrs. John Ridout, c  
"Norwood,"  
250 Rusholme Rd.
- Mr. Grant Ridout, c  
"Norwood,"  
250 Rusholme Rd.
- Mr. Charles E. Ryerson, c  
27 Cecil St.

Mrs. C.

Mr. E.

Mrs. E.

Mr. J.

Miss M.

Miss Is.

Mrs. R.

Mr. W.

Mr. J.

Mr. C.

Mr. W.

Mr. D.

Dr. G. S.

Mr. Geo.

Mr. Yori.

Mr. Eric.

Mr. Arth.

Miss Lau.

Dr. J. Ri.

Lt.-Col. C.

Mr. H. H.

Dr. E. W.

Mrs. Spra.

Mr. Godfr.



- Mrs. C. E. Ryerson, c  
 27 Cecil St.  
 Mr. E. Egerton Ryerson, c  
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 Mrs. E. Stanley Ryerson, c  
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 Mr. John E. Ryerson, c  
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 Miss Mary Ella Ryerson, c  
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 Miss Isabel Ryerson, c  
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 Mrs. Rowe, c, 23 Grove Ave.  
 Mr. William Roaf, c  
 80 Spadina Rd.  
 Mr. James R. Roaf, c  
 23 Adelaide St. e.  
 Mr. C. Conway Robinson  
 544 Spadina Ave.  
 Mr. W. Beverley Robinson  
 C.P.R. Office.  
 Mr. D. B. Read, c  
 McKinnon Building.  
 Dr. G. S. Ryerson, c  
 60 College St.  
 Mr. George C. Ryerson, c  
 60 College St.  
 Mr. Yoris Sterling Ryerson, c  
 60 College St.  
 Mr. Eric Egerton Ryerson, c  
 Mr. Arthur C. Ryerson, c  
 Miss Laura Mary Ryerson, c  
 Dr. J. Richardson, c  
 St. Joseph St.  
 Lt.-Col. George A. Shaw, c  
 44 Leopold St.  
 Mr. H. H. Shaver, c  
 411 Huron St.  
 Dr. E. W. Spragge, c  
 206 Beverley St.  
 Mrs. Spragge, c  
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 Mr. Godfrey Spragge, c  
 206 Beverley St.  
 Miss Emily Spragge, c  
 206 Beverley St.  
 Miss Beatrice Spragge, c  
 206 Beverley St.  
 Mr. F. C. Snider  
 15 Toronto St.  
 Dr. Stevenson  
 172 Bloor St. e.  
 Miss K. Stevenson  
 172 Bloor St. e.  
 Mrs. Strachan  
 260 Richmond St. w.  
 The Revd. C. E. Thomson, c  
 142 Churchill Ave.  
 Mrs. J. D. Tyrrell, c  
 591 Sherbourne St.  
 Mr. C. V. M. Temple, c  
 47 St. George St.  
 Mrs. Tilley  
 24 Ann St.  
 Mrs. Philip Todd  
 12 Avenue Pl.  
 Mr. M. P. Vandervoort, c  
 Mrs. V. B. Wadsworth, c  
 Tyndall Ave.  
 Mrs. Warnock, c  
 298 Sackville St.  
 Mr. Alfred Willson  
 626 Church St.  
 Sheriff Widdifield  
 168 St. George St.  
 Miss Wilkie  
 432 Sherbourne St.  
  
**Non-Resident Members.**  
 Mrs. R. H. Abraham,  
 Burlington  
 Mr. George Burnham, c  
 Peterborough  
 The Rev. Allan Ballard, Guelph  
 Mr. J. C. Boyd, c, Sault St Marie  
 Mr. Orlando Bush, c, Kemptville  
 Mrs. Isaac Cockburn, c  
 Winnipeg

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### Associate Members.

Members are requested to report any change of residence to the Assistant Secretary.



## Historical and Biographical Sketches.

### The Late Hon. John Beverley Robinson.

BY DR. RYERSON.

ELECTED PRESIDENT MAY 11TH, 1896; DIED JUNE 19TH OF THE SAME YEAR.

Hon. John Beverley Robinson was born at Beverley House Toronto, on Feb. 21st 1820. He was the second son of Sir John Beverley Robinson, Chief Justice of Upper Canada, and grandson of Christopher Robinson, U.E.L., who served as an officer of the Queen's Rangers in the American Revolutionary War. Mr. Robinson was educated at Upper Canada College, and subsequently studied law in the office of Christopher (afterwards Judge) Hagerman. After two years spent in Mr. Hagerman's office, he transferred his articles to Mr. James M. Strachan, a very prominent lawyer in his day, with whom he remained until he was called to the bar at Easter term, 1844. Soon after his admission to the bar he began practice, in which he was very successful. Mr. Robinson interested himself in projects looking to the development of his native province. He was largely interested in the building of the old Northern Railway, the Toronto and Guelph Railway, in the establishment of the Western Canada Loan and Savings Company, and in the building of the Rossin House hotel. Mr. Robinson was for many years City Solicitor of Toronto, and was some time President of the St. George's Society. His public services began with the Rebellion of 1837, when he was A.D.C. to Sir Francis Bond Head. He carried despatches to Washington during the winter in eight days—then a remarkably short time, there being no faster mode of travelling than stage coach. After some time spent in the American Capitol, he returned to Toronto and joined Col. Hill's regiment, in which he served for about a year as lieutenant. In 1851 he was elected as an alderman for St. Patrick's ward, for which he sat for six years, being elected Mayor in 1857. The following year he was returned to Parliament as a Conservative representative of Toronto and supporter of the Cartier-Macdonald administration on March 27th, 1862, became President of the Council in this administration. In 1872 he was again returned to Parliament for Algoma. In 1878 he was elected by a large majority for West Toronto. He continued to represent this constituency until his appointment, on 30th June, 1880, as Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, which distinguished office he held for seven years with marked success, retiring on the expiration of

his term amid general expressions of sincere regret. He married Mary Jane Hagerman, daughter of his former preceptor in Law. Mr. Robinson's popularity at Government House was greatly enhanced by his charming and amiable wife's assistance. She died some years before his decease deeply regretted by a large circle of friends. Mr. Robinson was always greatly interested in athletics, and was a boy with the boys to the last. In his youth he was considered the best all-round amateur athlete in Toronto, and was at one time champion oarsman of Toronto bay; hence his acceptable and successful presidency of the Toronto Athletic Club. He was a warm friend to Canada, possessing a truly patriotic spirit, and as a member of Parliament always kept the best interests of his country uppermost in his mind. His choice as President of the U.E.L.A. was justly regarded as most happy. His intimate knowledge of this country, his urbanity and his large experience in public affairs caused much to be hoped of him. The Association was doomed to disappointment; the only meeting he presided over as President being almost immediately followed by his sudden death while preparing to address a great political meeting in the Massey Hall on the 19th of June, 1896.

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## Early Days of Some of the York Loyalists.

BY MRS. VICTORIA MONTGOMERY BRERETON.

The family I propose treating on more fully is that of Montgomery, of which was Capt. Alexander Montgomery, who, after leaving Ireland, settled in new York, where he had his stores burned by the American rebels : being a staunch Loyalist he fled into the British lines for protection. (In 1783 he went to the province of New Brunswick and settled at Gagetown. He some time afterwards went to visit his son Archibald at Oswego, and there died in the year 1808.) His son and namesake, Capt. Alexander Montgomery, being a retired officer, left his home in Stamford, Connecticut, U.S., and with his wife and family fled into New Brunswick where he endured much privation and suffering, and removing to Upper Canada he at last reached York (Toronto) with his wife and six children. There were there at that time only ten log houses and six puncheons' shanties built. Being a man of good parts and a staunch Loyalist he was kindly received by the father of the late Hon. John Beverley Robinson, Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, the two families occupying the one house for some time. This was in 1799 late in the fall. Alexander Montgomery died in Toronto in the year 1841 at the advanced age of ninety-eight, leaving three sons and three daughters. Being a man of wealth, he left his estates on life lease to his children, then to their posterity. His eldest son, John, was a remarkable man ; having had little or no education—only that which he wrought out himself, and was taught by his father in winter evenings by the side of the old-fashioned fire-place, by the light of the blazing pitch-pine knots in his new Canadian home. Being of a strong, robust constitution, with a will right and good, he commenced with his father to clear away the forest, and assist to chop and log the ground where the St. Lawrence Market now stands. To fell an acre of standing timber in four days was his usual "stint" as it was termed in those days. He and his father built the Old Fort, almost in front of the Parliament Buildings on Front Street, and more lately the one now existing at the Queen's Wharf. He was at the battle of York, and an eye-witness to the death of General Pike, and together with his old friend Joseph Sheppard of Yonge Street, stood by the side of the General when he was killed with a stone, caused by the blowing up of a magazine. John Montgomery had previously been sent to Kingston with a party in charge of some bateaux, and, hearing while at Kingston that the Yankees intended to make an attack on York, they left with their boats and sixty-five men and hastened homewards. When off Cobourg they saw the American fleet beating up the lake, and in the morning, just as the sun was beginning to appear, he, with others, started on a forced march from what is now called Port Hope, a distance of sixty-five miles, only six of the number reaching York

between sun and sun—the names of those noble men were : John Montgomery, George Bond, Silas Emes Lawrence, Richard Graham, of East Gwillinsbury, and William Hill, the last a brother-in-law of John Montgomery—the remainder became foot-sore and leg weary, but they all reached York in time to participate in that struggle on that memorable day in defence of their hearths and homes. After peace was declared John Montgomery, with his father and family, settled at a place now called Newton Brook (formerly Montgomery Ville) and a Methodist Church now stands on the site of his place of business, where he accumulated a large fortune—the most commodious house on Yonge Street at that time and where he came in almost daily intercourse with the immigrants and settlers : we may here say that on account of his goodness of heart and philanthropic acts he was a general favorite, poor and rich were all the same to him, and the old elm which marked his house—called to this day the Welcome Tree, still stands the storm, nearly opposite being the corner-post of old John Commers lot—was a cheering sight to the fatigued and lone strangers, for although without means in their pockets they knew they would at least find a home and a friend in John Montgomery. We will give one incident of many that are related. Late on Saturday night in the fall of 1818, one Silas Morton was moving northward with his family, consisting of five persons ; he had spent his last dollar and his family had tasted nothing since the early morning. Hearing of the goodness of Mr. Montgomery, Mr. Morton made bold to lay before him in plain words his position. He was at once taken in, welcomed, and fed and sheltered, and, when leaving, provisions were placed in their sack enough to last them until they should reach their destination, and placing a five-dollar note in the hand of Silas Morton, John Montgomery said, “ Now stranger take this, and if you are an honest man when you earn the money and have it to spare, pay it back. If you do not I will always know you are in my debt.” We need not say that the same was faithfully repaid and the family respect the name of Montgomery in kind remembrance to this day.

For some years John Montgomery made his home with his youngest son at Barrie, County of Simcoe, where he died October 30th, 1879, leaving a widow and three sons and three daughters. His eldest son, Dr. John Willmott Montgomery, was Assistant Medical Superintendent of the Rockwood Asylum, Kingston, and now deceased ; his youngest son, Frederick Meyers, is Deputy Registrar for County Simcoe. His daughter Sarah, born in New Brunswick, was married to Capt. Marsh and resided for over fifty years at Ridgetown, County of Bothwell. On attaining her one hundredth birthday she was presented by the people of that place with a gold medal as being the oldest inhabitant of that part of the country. By request of the people after the presentation she sat for her portrait. She lived to the grand old age of 106 years and died in 1883, retaining all her mental faculties till the last.

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Frances, another daughter, born in York in 1805, was married to Dr. Morrison, father of the late Chief Justice Joseph Morrison and of Mr. Angus Morrison, M.P., and Mayor of Toronto, and Mrs. Mary Currier. Richard Montgomery, the youngest son, born at York, February 9th, 1807, married, October 30th, 1831, Hannah Smith, who was also born in York, April 12th, 1812, being the eldest daughter of John Smith, a staunch Loyalist who lived at Thornhill. Richard Montgomery died on the old homestead at Newton Brook, County of York, (still in the family) on August 14th, 1873, leaving a widow, six sons and six daughters. Of these may be mentioned his son Nathan Meyers Montgomery, Mrs. F. D. Quantz, of Innisfield, County Simcoe, Mrs. C. W. Scott, Whitchurch, and C. A. Montgomery, of Newton Brook. His youngest daughter, Victoria, born at Newton Brook, County York, May 24th, 1855, was married in 1877 to Richard L. Brereton, son of John and Catherine Brereton, of Kilburin Kings, County Trilliamore, Ireland, and now wholesale fur manufacturer of Toronto. His widow made her home with her daughter, Mrs. Brereton, up to the time of her death, where she passed away in the year 1883, in her 72nd year; being a devout christian she was much respected and loved by all who knew her. Mr. and Mrs. Brereton's children are 1st, Francis Louise Victoria, born 1877; Frederick Arthur, born 1879; Herbert Richard, born 1881.

## Sketch of the Family of Otway-Page.

BY PEREGRINE OTWAY-PAGE.

It was about the year 1776, after the loss of all their property because of loyalty to their King and Crown, that my ancestors on my mother's side were forced to migrate to Canada. However, it is uncertain from what part of the United States they came. They reached Canada after a long, dangerous journey of much suffering and privation. Arriving first at Fort Niagara and there resting a few days, they were transferred to Canada under the British flag.

The family consisted of my grandfather, the late Joseph Haines, his wife, four sons, Peter, Philip, Joseph and Edward, and two daughters Sarah, my mother, and her sister, who afterward married a Mr. Whitney. When about one day's march from the frontier, Sarah, who was but eight years of age, while bringing water from a near-by spring, was seized by two squaws and wrapped into their blankets and carried away. It was in the early evening after a whole day's weary travel, but her brothers pursued them and shot one when the squaws quietly let loose their little captive, and she was thus recovered in perfect safety. The same gun had been their protection upon other occasions during their escape to Canada, and I have it to this day in my possession in perfect order. My grandfather, Joseph Haines, was granted 200 acres of land on the Four Mile Creek in the township of Niagara. His son Joseph was also granted 200 acres adjoining his father. Peter received his grant in the township of Ancaster, near Hamilton. Mrs. Whitney got her 200 acres on the Humber, and Sarah was granted 200 acres in Darlington township. My grandfather, Joseph Haines, died at the Humber at the reputed age of 130 years. My father, Thomas Otway-Page, came to Canada from England in 1792. He was highly connected by blood, the eldest brother of the eminent Gen. Sir Loftus William Otway and Admiral Sir Robert Waller Otway, but he attached his mother's maiden name Page on reaching Canada. In England he was a Tory and a fast friend of Gen. Maitland, afterwards Governor-General, but his fearless advocacy of free speech and equal rights to all caused a rupture with Gov. Maitland because he could not condone the outrage committed by the order of Sir Peregrine Maitland upon one Robert Randall under the form of law, and also for having caused Mr. Forsyth's house to be tumbled into the Niagara River at Niagara Falls, and for which Sir Peregrine Maitland was recalled by the home government. My grandfather subsequently became a staunch Baldwin Reformer of influence. He was un-officious, educated and a man of wide and liberal views. My mother was a widow, Bland by name, with two children, Philip and Margaret, when my father married her in 1808. In the meantime my father had bought among other lands in Bertie lot 32 B. F. L. E., Point Abino, which was granted in 1797 to one

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Timothy Skinner, a U. E. Loyalist, who had migrated from the States contemporaneously with the Haines family. My mother sold her grant in Darlington, and they moved to Bertie on lot 32 B. F. L. E., where the family have always resided since 1808.

During the war of 1812 my father joined a detachment of the 89th Dragoons, to which he had belonged in England, and while he fought through the war with Captain Chambers in defence of his home, king and country, my mother looked after the farm, and she even prepared and wove the clothing from the flax worn by those on the farm, in addition to her household duties, etc., and was frequently obliged to ride to Niagara in the dead of night, a distance of thirty miles, on horseback. During one of those nocturnal trips to Niagara, taken in the evening of the 12th of October, 1812, being about to leave Niagara towards morning, having just secured her countersign, she heard the battle of Queenston going on and shortly after saw Gen. Sir Isaac Brock and his aide-de-camp, Col. MacDonell, ride away to the scene of action, to their fate. It was she who remarked that Gen. Brock had forgotten his sword, a very strange incident, but he refused to return for it and remarked that he had a presentiment that it would be his last battle, which subsequently proved only too true. She remained at Niagara until victory crowned our arms, and in the evening of the same day she realized how dearly that victory had been bought when news reached Niagara that the mortal remains of Gen. Sir Isaac Brock and his faithful aide-de-camp were on the way to Fort George, where, in the presence of Gen. Roger Sheaffe, both bodies were laid to rest in one grave with the tears and sorrow of the whole country.

In July, 1814, my mother, having learned of the firing by the Americans of the village of St. Davids, promptly sent all her able-bodied farm servants to the seat of war, and next day, the 25th of July, 1814, the terrible battle of Lundy's Lane was fought. She also sent her only son Philip who was but sixteen years of age, and he was orderly for Gen. Drummond during that day and night of carnage. My mother garnered the grain with the help of small boys that summer, and with horses all disabled by the incidents of war. I was born the 22nd of August in the same year and was named after father's fast friend, Sir Peregrine Maitland. My father had his horse shot under him at Lundy's Lane, and received a musket ball in his thigh which he carried with him to his grave in 1832.

Three of my uncles were at the battle of Sandwich under Gen. Brock, including my Uncle Philip, who was burned to death in Toronto shortly afterwards. My father belonged to Captain Chambers' company of fifty picked men. They were the terror of three hundred American frontier cowtails who were deputed to harass the inhabitants. They once took possession of our farm, and loaded nineteen wagons with all our grain, hay, provisions, etc., in the fall of 1814, and we were compelled that winter to pay

\$16.00 per barrel for our flour. It was at this time, when I was but a few months old, they came near pelting me to death, sportively, with our fine golden pippin apples. They sacked our cellar, taking therefrom all our winter's meat, including four saddles of dried venison, and stole mother's carving-knife, a relic she had brought from her home in the United States, but it was returned and is still in our possession in fair order. The soldier who took it was ordered by the captain to apologize to my mother for the theft, and was also reprimanded for using impudent language towards her. I can never cease to admire the resolute bravery of my mother, who in many respects was a most remarkable woman. While father was a large and powerful man, mother was small in stature, dark complexioned, with piercing black eyes, very small feet and small slim hands. Her hair was black as a raven, and so extremely long that she could stand erect on it trailing on the floor. A fearless rider on horseback, she was as resolute as she was active. One incident proves this. About 1822 a mischievous boy set fire to a cat, which dashed up a steep ladder into the garret of our house, where father kept his store of gunpowder covered with cotton waste. Smoke issued at once. I screamed fire to my mother, and she took a two-pail bucket of water and ascended the ladder and extinguished the fire, but not until three of the hoops were burned off one of the powder kegs.

After the war, times began very much to improve. My father took a position as acting sheriff under Sheriff Hamilton for the united counties of Welland and Lincoln in 1816, and acted in that capacity until 1822, the family, with my mother at its head, remaining on our lands here. My father, however, commenced a business in Toronto shortly after 1828, and while attending to his business as storekeeper he died there in 1832. In the meantime he had left a kind old gentleman and a fast friend of our family on Point Abino, by name Dennis, under bond to care for that part of our estate, and as it was useless for farming purposes he subsisted chiefly by cultivating a few acres, fishing and netting pigeons. Mr. Dennis furnished us with barrels of salted pigeons on condition that I would not destroy his pigeon business by shooting them, and so expert did he become at pigeon-netting that he considered a take in one day of less than fifty dozens during the season a poor day. He often exceeded that number very much. This kind old man died in 1834, full of gratitude to our family. In the meantime I had grown from an infant hunter of four years of age with a pack of wolf dogs that protected me from rattlesnakes and carrying a musket with flints, to an age when I could make it the rule to shoot off the heads of wild pigeons with my rifle.

When I was about ten years of age, our place being terribly infested with rattlesnakes, I was bitten by one in the top of my foot. This nearly proved fatal. It was many months before I recovered, and then I became subject to fits until I was 15. The Rebellion of

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1837 broke out when I was about 18 years of age. My mother, ever imbued with a martial spirit, advised me to turn out, which I did, and I was the second recruit to volunteer under Col. Kirby, leaving an old eccentric philosopher named Brandyman, who had been my tutor from childhood, with my mother on the farm, and I was mainly instrumental in causing the volunteers to be armed with muskets, which were not at first issued to them. I had no trouble in instructing the recruits to shoot, for I was about as perfect a marksman in those days as could be found anywhere.

I was married in April, 1839, to Miss Magdaline Snider. She was a most dutiful wife and fond mother to my four children and her 19 grandchildren, but to our great sorrow and grief she passed over to the majority in 1890, aged 75 years, regretted by all. My mother died in 1852, full of years, aged 84; and she was laid to rest, by her special request, on the bank of Lake Erie, on Lot 32, B.F.L.E., overlooking Point Abino Bay, a most beautiful spot in front of a few garden acres which had been her delight to cultivate during her earlier years, but now for years overgrown with wild sweet balsams. This little plot had been consecrated as the burial-place of pioneers many, many years previous to 1852, and was made more sacred as the last resting-place of all that was mortal of one who was a noble heroine, and with all the attributes of the kindest mother.

## The Sufferings of the U. E. Loyalists.

BY ALLAN MACLEAN HOWARD.

I shall endeavour to place before you the true position which our ancestors occupied in the unfortunate rebellion in the States in 1776. Their history has almost invariably been written by their enemies, and I hope to be able to place them and their actions in a truer light than has generally been done. Success is the main thing, and the rebels having been successful, our ancestors had to bear the inevitable and make the best of it, which, as most of us know, was bad enough. The original population of Massachusetts, the headquarters of the rebellion, were Republican in principal from the first; they were Puritan and Independent, and were always in dispute with the King about their charter, but so soon as Cromwell got in power, though he treated them in a much more arbitrary manner, they had not a word to say, because it was a republic he represented. That was the character of the population amongst whom the rebellion was fostered. They remained perfectly quiet, while they apprehended danger from the French and Indians on the north.

There were several Colonial regiments, in one of which was Washington, who distinguished himself at Braddock's defeat, and it is said that if his services had been recognized, by promotion or otherwise, he would not have been a rebel. There is no doubt that there was a disposition among the regular troops to look down upon the Colonials. John Bull was somewhat inclined to do so, and is not altogether free from blame. At that time Great Britain had some 50,000 men in the States, besides a large navy to protect them. English statesmen thought that the Colonists could afford to pay something towards their own protection, and so relieved their heavily-taxed fellow-subjects in Great Britain. They thought that the least objectionable would be a tax on tea and stamps. It so affected the Boston tea merchants that they got up in arms at once and turned smugglers, sending out boats to take tea off French vessels without paying duty. Then the governor closed the fort, and the storm arose. This was made a pretext to bring to a head the matter which they had been hatching for a long time before. Great Britain finding so much opposition to it, had the tax removed, but they were not satisfied. There was a disloyal and republican opposition in the English House of Commons, which fostered the discontent of the Americans, in the hope of establishing a republic, and by doing so, to cause one to be established in Great Britain.

John Wesley places the matter in its true light in his calm address to the Americans, where he says:—"My opinion is this, we have a few men in England who are determined enemies to monarchy, whether they hate his present Majesty on any other ground than because he is a king, I know not, but they cordially

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hate his office, and have for some years been undermining him with all diligence, in hopes of erecting their grand idol—their dear commonwealth—upon its ruins. I believe they have let very few into their design, but they are steadily pursuing it, as by various other means, so in particular by inflammatory papers, which are industriously and continually dispersed throughout the towns and country. By this method they have already brought thousands of people even to the pitch of madness. By the same, only varied according to your circumstances, they have likewise inflamed America. I have no doubt but these very men are the original cause of the present breach between England and her Colonies." And he goes on to say that the American rebellion must in great part be traced to the Puritanical origin of the New England States, is certain.

I have shown in what part of the States the rebellion originated. I shall now endeavor to show which portion of the population adhered to the Crown, and which portion were rebels. There was a large Scoto-Irish element among the rebels in North and South Carolina and Georgia, as well as the New England Puritans. The Highland Scotch, I am glad to say, adhered to the Crown. There was a large settlement in the Mohawk Valley of Highlanders, principally from the Macdonalds, who were all Roman Catholics, some of whose ancestors, no doubt, had been out with Prince Charlie, who all adhered to the Crown, and some of the best settlements in Ontario are composed of them and their descendants, and who formed a very material feature in the defence of the province in 1812, among whom were the Glengarry Fencibles. There was also a large Highland settlement in South Carolina. The celebrated Flora Macdonald was one of the number, whose husband, Capt. Macdonald, took part in the war. It was amongst those that General Allan McLean, of Torloisk, raised the regiment that was known as the Royal Highland Emigrants, and was afterwards embodied as the 84th, and which was distinguished at the siege of Quebec by Generals Montgomery and Arnold, in 1776. The Rev. John Bethune, father of the late bishop, was chaplain in the same corps. There has been an attempt on the part of one of the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States to show that the Church of England and her clergy sided with the so-called patriots. I suppose in order to popularize the Protestant Episcopal Church in the States; but I find that there were no less than one hundred and ten of the Church's clergy that were United Empire Loyalists, and who left their parishes rather than give up their allegiance. We all know what they had to endure at the hands of the rebels. The Methodists, owing to the course pursued by Wesley, were especially singled out—tar and feathering was not the only cruelty to which they were exposed in those days of brutal violence. The English missionaries were glad to escape as they could. The prevailing religion in the Southern States had been that of the Church of England, but the clergy were driven away during the trouble. The

whole of the Church property was confiscated, and when affairs were settled none of it was restored, and no attempt made, either by the general or states Government, to substitute any kind of religious instruction in place of the establishment which had been destroyed. The Methodists had hitherto been members of the English Church, but upon the compulsory emigration of the clergy they found themselves deprived of the sacraments, and could obtain no baptism for their children, for neither the Presbyterian, the Independent, nor Baptist would administer those ordinances to them unless they would renounce their connection with Mr. Wesley and join with their respective sects.

I disapprove of rebellion in the abstract. I do not think there was any sufficient cause to rebel. We are told in the Bible that "Rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft," also "to fear God, honor the king, and meddle not with them that are given to change." Consequently, I think no Christian man should engage in it. There is no doubt there were causes of irritation, which in time would no doubt have been removed. It is interesting to note the religious character of the two parties. The Loyalists composed the great portion of the members of the Church of England. There was also a large number of Highland Roman Catholics, who adhered to the cause of the King, while the rebels were recruited from the Scoto-Irish, the Independents, and that portion of the population which, for want of a better name, I would designate as Protestant heathens.

George Ellis, President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, says:—"The term Tories, Loyalists and Refugees are burdened with the piteous record of wrong and suffering. Massachusetts was the first State to initiate severe proceedings against Tories, which involved banishment and confiscation of property."

To show the hatred manifested towards the Loyalists, John Adams, in a letter written from Holland, says:—"That the Tories, as he had recommended at first, should have been fined, imprisoned, and hanged. I would have hanged my own brother had he taken part with our enemy in the contest." The New York Journal of the 9th of Feb., 1775, defines a Tory as a thing whose head is in England, and its body in America, with a neck that ought to be stretched. After the war closed, and the hopes of the Loyalists were destroyed, the exodus then began. They had to escape the best way they knew how, as they were shown no mercy. The more candid of American writers admit that they then lost the best part of their population. I have a very interesting list of some ninety-eight Boston Loyalists, with a description of their estates, which were forfeited at the close of the rebellion. Some persons may think that we should not rake up old animosities. I do not wish to do so, but there are certain facts in history that the Loyalists and their descendants require to be reminded of. I am sorry to say that in the States the old feeling is still kept alive in the school books which the rising generation are taught.

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Another instance that I came across the other day may be worthy of relating in connection with the treatment of the Loyalists. It is contained in Judge Jones' history of New York. He was a member of St. George's church, at Hemstead, Long Island, then in charge of the Reverend Mr. Cutting. The rebel, Colonel Cornell, when he established his headquarters there, converted the church into a storehouse, forbade the parson to pray for the King or Royal family, and made use of the communion table for his Yankees to eat their pork and molasses upon. A universal hunt for the Loyalists took place. They were pursued like wolves and bears, from swamp to swamp, from one hill to another, from dale to dale, in consequence of which, numbers were taken; some were wounded, and a few murdered. The prisoners were conducted with infamy under a guard of rebels to New York; insulted and abused upon the road, and, without a hearing, ordered by a board of rebel officers to be transported to different parts of New England.

All were classed as Tories no matter what their political opinions were, so long as they opposed the rebels in their attempt to dismember the Empire. In fact, they were monarchial in their views, and would not give up their allegiance to their lawful Sovereign, while the rebels were Republican, and whose allegiance hung very loosely about them.

American patriotism, I regret to say, is to the present day kept alive among the masses by their hatred of Great Britain. All their legislation is hostile to us, and I am afraid will continue, so long as we maintain our connection with the Empire. There is no doubt it is the dream of the American politician to possess the whole of the continent, which God forbid. And I trust that there is no descendant of the United Empire Loyalists who would ever forget that he is a Canadian first and always, but that above all, he has the honor and prestige of being a subject of her most gracious Majesty Queen Victoria.



## History and Historiettes of the U. E. Loyalists.

BY EDWARD HARRIS.

After the lapse of a century, American historians, descended from men who fought for the Revolution, having access to papers and the secret correspondence of the time, are writing disinterestedly, and with historical accuracy, towards those Americans who thought and fought against the Revolution. The subject has become one of interest to the American student. In lighter literature also we now have from time to time a full display in portraiture as well as text of colonial dames, daughters of the Revolution, and American patriot families.

On the Loyalist side, our ancestors have left it as a legacy to their grandchildren to wonder what manner of men and women they were to survive the horrors of banishment; driven to desperation, impoverished, and escaping with their lives to a wilderness. The Huguenots and French emigres had civilized countries to escape to, and follow various handicrafts and intellectual occupations. The Moors were well treated when banished from Spain, and Spaniards had equitable treatment when the Dutch obtained freedom. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes was civil death to all Huguenots. The Americans made the treaty of peace of 1783 worse than civil death to all Loyalists.

Sir Charles Russell, in a recent address delivered in the States, referring to true civilization, said :

"The true signs are thoughts for the poor and suffering; chivalrous regard and respect for women; the frank recognition of human brotherhood; the narrowing of the domain of mere force as a governing factor in the world; the love of ordered freedom; the abhorrence of what is mean and cruel and vile; ceaseless devotion to the claims of justice."

The Americans, at the inception and birth of their Republic, violated every precept of Christianity and of a boasted civilization, even to confiscating the valuable estates of many helpless women. For all time it is to be a part of American history that the last decade of the eighteenth century saw the most cruel and vindictive act of spoliation recorded in modern history. The Acadians have been immortalized in verse, but were there no Evangelines among the Loyalists? Yea! and many of them.

It is admitted now that the American Revolution was the work of an energetic minority, who succeeded on committing an undecided and fluctuating majority to courses for which they had little love, and leading them step by step to a position from which it was impossible to recede. Every third American was a Loyalist, and continued so through every form of abuse and disaster. In the Act of Banishment, passed by Massachusetts in September, 1778, against the most prominent Loyalist leaders of the State, one may now read the names of 310 of her citizens—that list of

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names reads like the bead-roll of the noblest and oldest families concerned in founding and up-building New England civilization, more than 60 being graduates of Harvard.

The character now given to our ancestors, the Loyalists, by the best and most recent American writers, is that "They differed from their contemporaries of equal virtue, sincerity and intelligence on the patriot side in that single quality of loyalty. Almost without an exception they felt and were ready to censure, and even to resist, the oppressive measures of the Mother Country. They believed that calm but earnest remonstrance would right all wrongs. They loved their Mother Country; were proud of their relation to it; felt secure under its protection, and their attachment gave assurance of their confidence in its just intents. They could not persuade themselves that the colonies could possibly triumph in a conflict with her. Their loyalty expressed their dread of anarchy, and their reverence for constitutional order."

During the contest, as opportunities occurred, these Loyalists were crippled and impoverished. The favorite plan for raising money was by confiscation of their property, and this was resorted to by every State.

At the Treaty of Peace, 1783, their banishment and extermination was a foregone conclusion. The bitterest words ever known to have been uttered by Washington were in reference to them. "He could see nothing better for them than to recommend suicide." Sir Guy Carleton wrote in 1783 to the Minister at Philadelphia to explain the delay in evacuating New York:—

"The violence in the Americans, which broke out soon after the cessation of hostilities, increased the number to look to me for escape from sudden destruction, but these terrors have of late been so considerably augmented that almost all within these lines conceive the safety of both their property and their lives depend upon being removed by me, which renders it impossible to say when the evacuation of New York will be completed. Whether they have just grounds to assert that there is either no Government for common protection, or that it secretly favors these proceedings, I shall not pretend to determine; but as the daily gazettes and publications furnish repeated proofs, not only of disregard of the articles of peace, but as barbarous menaces come from committees formed in various towns, cities and districts, and even at Philadelphia, the very place which Congress has chosen for their residence, I should show an indifference to the feelings of humanity, as well as to the honor and the interests of the nation whom I serve, to leave any of the Loyalists who are desirous to quit the country a prey to the violence they conceive they have so much cause to apprehend."

Neither Congress nor any State made any recommendation that more humane treatment should be meted out to Loyalists. John Adams had written from Amsterdam that he would have hanged his own brother had he taken part against him. There are many excuses given by American writers for these acts of atrocity at the

close of the war. "There was exhaustion under a burden of debts and a worthless currency." "In sheer bewilderment and desperation the people in many places were in a state of anarchy, breaking into acts of rebellion." "That to intrude upon a people thus burdened the claims of those who had been the allies of the British was simply preposterous."

Dr. Franklin, in his private correspondence, written while peace negotiations were in progress, made no disguise that he "thought it wise to keep out of the country those hated British sympathisers who, if scattered over it, might be mischievous in their influence."

The mob were therefore allowed to commit any outrage or atrocity, while the authorities in each State remained apparently indifferent. A sample of Loyalist ill-treatment, showing that barbarity ruled, as well as confiscation and banishment, is to be found in a letter written October 22, 1783, to a Boston friend, and preserved in New York City Manual, 1870.

"The British are leaving New York every day, and last week there came one of the d—d refugees from New York to a place called Wall Kill, in order to make a tarry with his parents, where he was taken into custody immediately. His head and eyebrows were shaved, tarred and feathered; a hog yoke put on his neck, and a cowbell thereon—upon his head a very high hat and feathers were set, well plumed with tar, and a sheet of paper in front, with a man drawn with two faces, representing the traitor Arnold and the devil."

The indifference shown to treaty obligations by Congress and the States, and the secret determination to eradicate everything British from the country, is now known to have been the deliberate, well-considered policy of the founders of the republic. This timidity, or even call it policy, has continued to the present time. It is within easy imagination to believe that those magnificent States extending from Maine to Florida would have depopulated the British isles had it not been for the Revolution, and the hatred of England which survived it. The world had never offered any such attraction or outlet for emigration. It ceased to come. The old homes and estates of the successful rebels, as well as those of the banished Tories, crumbled to decay. Life was diverted to the cities, and rural life became a monotonous routine. There are a succession of incidents bearing upon this point, but time permits a reference to two or three only. In 1812, when America declared war, Napoleon was at the height of his power—England was exhausted in the contest with him. Her great War Minister, Pitt, had died broken-hearted. The indications were reasonably favourable to a permanent occupation of the Canadas by the States, and the extinction of all British interests on this continent.

In 1837, and during the Fenian raids of 1866, the American frontier was openly allowed to be made a base of operations against Canada. In 1842 the Maine boundary question disclosed so hostile a feeling against Great Britain, that Congress would not

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accept a boundary obtained by frauds until Daniel Webster, the American commissioner, produced maps and surveys which had been suppressed, which, had they been disclosed to the British Commissioner, would have given to Canada one-third of the State of Maine. When confederation of the Canadian provinces took place, it was placed on record in the House of Representatives that it was disapproved and regarded as a menace by the United States. The Venezuela message was issued at a time when England was believed to be isolated and without an ally. It showed that war could be declared against Great Britain at any time in ten minutes, upon any pretext, while an arbitration treaty to secure peace between the two nations takes protracted consideration. This is the result of one hundred and twenty years of schooling of the native-born and the emigrant into a detestation of everything British.

The anti-English feeling in the States after the revolution had unexpected results. Although there were many men of education and refinement among the successful patriots, the more cultured and conservative classes had been banished. Washington commenced his Presidency with a court having the exclusiveness and codes of precedence adopted in European countries, and this was continued by two or three Presidents. In the time of Jefferson all such ceremony was abolished. When the British Ambassador presented his credentials at the White House, Jefferson received him in shirt sleeves and slippers. Thirty years after the Revolution the class whom Washington and the cultured Virginians believed would be prominent in the union had ceased to represent anything or have political power. John Adams, the founder of the constitution, when venerable in years, deplored the abolition of a property qualification.

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The public affairs of the United States during the last two years have disclosed that there now exists in those States a numerous, highly educated and conservative element, not dissimilar to the banished Loyalists of the last century. Following President Cleveland's unhappy Venezuela message the magazines, reviews, public press and the pulpit overflowed with a brilliant series of public utterances, which baffled for the present the wild schemes of the ever-existing, energetic minority, ready either for war, confiscation, the debasement of the currency, or Socialistic schemes.

"In public affairs competency on the part of administrators is the first thing sought for, and the only thing trusted. But in private affairs the penalty of any disregard of this rule comes quickly. In public affairs the operation of all causes is much slower, and their action is obscure. Nations take centuries to fall, and the catastrophe is preceded by a long period of the process called 'bad Government,' in which there is much suffering and alarm, but not enough to make the remedy plain."

It may be that there is now going on in the States, and destined to continue, a voluntary banishment of the wealthy, the educated,

and the refined of many classes and both sexes. Discontented people are always in search of new homes. Happily it can never happen again with the same "terror" as it did to our ancestors.

There is no doubt that, had the Loyalists been permitted to remain in the States they would have been as true to the new Government as they had been to the old. In Canada their descendants are to be found among every denomination of Christians. They are represented in both political parties. At the present time Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Ontario, the three great U.E. Loyalist provinces, have Reform Governments. The Premier of Ontario is descended from Loyalists on both sides. The Federal Government is now a Reform Government, with a French Catholic Premier. Loyalty, which in Canada means a reverence for law and order and a desire to be peaceably and quietly governed, is not a monopoly of any party, but is widespread and evenly distributed throughout the land.

In this connection the recital of an incident relating to the loyalty of the Province of Quebec seems proper, although in no way connected with the U. E. Loyalists.

In 1775 three American commissioners, the celebrated Dr. Franklin, Mr. Chase, and Charles Carrol, thoroughly indoctrinated and instructed to represent to the Canadians at Montreal and Quebec that the object of the Americans was to defeat the project of the British Government against colonial freedom, and to extend to the French-Canadians, whom the Americans regarded as brothers, the means of assuring their own independence.

The Commissioners left New York on the 2nd of April, 1775, and reached Montreal on the 29th.

The Commissioners were told by the French-Canadians, represented by their bishop, that since the acquisition of Canada by Great Britain the people had had no one aggression upon their rights to complain of; that, on the contrary, the British Government had observed all treaty stipulations; that she had sanctioned and covered with the aegis of her power the olden jurisprudence and ancient customary legal practice of Canada, all being done with a respectful scrupulosity which merited grateful acknowledgment, and that the British Government had left them nothing to wish for. The failure of the Commissioners to corrupt the French-Canadians was complete. Nor should it be forgotten that had they been less firm in their loyalty, or been untrue to their treaty obligations, every vestige of British power would have been swept from the Canadas. The full details of these interesting historical proceedings will be found in Garneau's History of Canada.

Readers of Parkman's works will remember that all voyageurs, whether French or English, went from the St. Lawrence River to the Detroit River by the south shore of Lake Erie. In 1792, South-Western Ontario was an unbroken wilderness. Without General Simcoe's report, which was made in 1793, no Loyalist

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would have ventured the journey from New Brunswick and the Atlantic States to take up land there. In General Simcoe's report, which was favorable, the people had absolute confidence.

It will here be noted that while the Loyalist migration to the Bay of Quinte and the shores of Lake Ontario took place in 1783 and 1784, that to the shores of Lake Erie took place ten years later, and the influx continued for a further twelve years, all showing the unrelenting hatred and unforgiving spirit of the patriots towards those who had but recently been friends, neighbors, and not infrequently brothers and blood relations, and who had fought shoulder-to-shoulder together in subduing the French and their Indian allies.

My grandfather escaped with his family to New Brunswick in 1783. In 1794, at the suggestion of General Simcoe, he became the first settler in the Long Point country. He was an educated and successful business man of New Jersey. His wife was a colonial dame, or what we now call a "society woman." The banished Loyalists were, with few exceptions, educated and refined people. They were the successful representatives of trade, commerce, agriculture, and professions, and the various occupations in the old colonies.

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In 1840, fifty years after the Loyalists went into the wilderness, impoverished, to lay the foundation of the great Province of Ontario, Mrs. Moody wrote her book, "Roughing it in the Bush." It ran through several editions. In the preface she stated that her object was the hope of deterring well-educated people from settling in Ontario on account of the climate and the hardship.

Mrs. Jameson about the same time arrived in Toronto, and in her "Winter Studies and Summer Rambles" says of Toronto:—"I did not expect much, but for this I was not prepared. I went to bed last night in tears. The cold is so intense that the ink freezes as I write, and my fingers stiffen round my pen. A glass of water by my bedside, within a few feet of the hearth, heaped with logs of oak and maple, and kept burning all night long, is a solid mass of ice in the morning."

At the same period Sir Francis Head published his book on Canada called "The Emigrant." He says:—"My house at Toronto was warmed by hot air from a large oven, with fires in all the sitting-rooms, nevertheless the wood for my grate, which was piled close to the fire, often remained till night covered with the snow which was on it, when first deposited there in the morning; and as a further instance of the climate I may add that several times, while my mind was very warmly occupied in writing my despatches, I found my pen full of a lump of stuff that appeared to be honey, but which proved to be frozen ink. Again, after washing in the morning, when I took some money which had lain all night on my table, I at first fancied that it had become sticky until I discovered that the sensation was caused by its freezing to my fingers."

"I one day enquired of a fine, ruddy, honest-looking man, who called upon me, and whose toes and instep on each foot had been amputated, how the accident happened? He told me that walking one cold day, without feeling the slightest pain, first one toe, then another, broke off, as if they had been bits of brittle sticks."

At the date these books were written, and by people who had every comfort money and public position could give, the Loyalist families had been the advance guard in the wilderness, building up the country, had suffered hardships for fifty years. Their sufferings and privations are as yet an untrodden field for the historian, the novelist, and the poet. Long before another 50 years what was called patriotism in the last century may have run its course, and to have the blood of the banished Loyalists in one's veins may be the greater boast, on this continent.

The usual log house was built by my grandfather in 1794, and in it one hundred years ago my dear mother was born. It is from her that I get many of those early reminiscences, some of which I shall relate.

In the absence of all other clothing and supplies, the less fortunate settlers, and, as a rule, all the men, used the skins of animals. The girls in milder weather usually wore a buckskin slip. "White goods" were not known in those days. Miss Sprague, a fine girl of fourteen or fifteen years, had been in my mother's kitchen with her parents, and noticed washing going on in the usual way, by boiling in soap and water. A few days after Polly Sprague took advantage of her father's and mother's absence to wash her only garment, the buckskin slip. This she did by boiling it. We all know the action of heat on leather, and Polly had to retreat into the potato hole under the floor. When her parents returned they soon found the shrunken slip, and then the girl. She was brought down to my mother's in a barrel, on an ox-team, four miles, and temporarily clothed until more buckskin could be found. This Miss Sprague's grand-daughter is now Lady B——, in England.

From my mother's many tales I should say there were amusing incidents daily. Another young lady, who, according to custom in those days, was prayed for in the congregation, as having joined the Church and given up all her worldly and frivolous ways, and had given all her trinkets, gewgaws, and finery to her younger sister. Those were days when on no pretense whatever was any adornment or apparel of any kind permitted to leave the family. It is quite easy to understand the introduction of the crazy quilt.

Marriages in those early days were peculiar. Courtships were short. My father and mother were visited one morning, about 1825, by Mr. Macdonald, of Goderich, the young surveyor for the Canada Company, and afterwards sheriff for the Huron District. He had ridden through the forest from Goderich to Long Point Bay, hearing that Judge Mitchell had two fine daughters, and de-

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sired my father's and mother's opinion as to which one they would recommend him to marry. The elder was recommended, and they all went to the judge's house, a few miles off. The eldest daughter was interviewed, and the next morning she left for Goderich married, travelling 150 miles on horseback, on a pillion behind her husband. No one but a surveyor and in the employ of the Canada Company could have accomplished that feat in those days.

My father and mother were married by a magistrate, there being no clergymen within sixty miles. Dissenting clergymen, especially Methodists and Baptists, not being allowed to solemnize marriage was the cause of much irritation. About 1818 a regular-built, well-educated Episcopal rector located in the Long Point settlement. A country couple came down on an ox-team from about twelve miles north, through a bush road, to the rectory to be married. The rector wanted them to go on one mile further, to the church. That was his rule. As the couple had a long return journey to make through the forest, the man remonstrated. The rectory—it is there yet—consisted of a house 16 x 18, with one room on ground floor, with a ladder outside to go to the one bedroom above. This lower room the rector's wife had carpeted with a carpet made with her own hands. Wedding parties in those days were mud from head to foot. The man became very abusive when the rector's wife suggested that they be married in the barn. The girl stepped forward and checked him, and said: "No, John; no. We will be married in the stable. If our Saviour could be born in a stable, I guess I can be married in one." And so they were.

In those days a settler could not exist without a wife, and suitable girls were indexed by the industrious young settlers, as American heiresses are now by the impoverished nobility of Europe.

When marriage licenses were first introduced, and took the place of calling in church, many absurd things happened. My father was the first issuer. A man came to him one day from about forty miles off, and asked him if that license he got was all right. My father asked him when he got it. He said, "Oh, about seven or eight months ago." (In case of a change of Governor who signed these documents in blank, it was usual to send old forms back and get a new lot.) As no change had been taken, my father said, "Of course, it was all right. Who said it wasn't?" "Well," the man said, "some of the women neighbours have been telling my wife that there should have been some ceremony performed." My father said, "Do I understand that you did not go to a clergyman and be married?" "No," he said, "we went right straight home." "Well," my father said, "you had better hurry off as soon as you can, and go to a clergyman and have the ceremony performed." The man was rather indignant, and said my father should have told him. I have no doubt there are many similar instances and some of them never rectified.



The post-office supplies some stories showing the way even official business ran itself in those days. The post-office in the village of V—, in the Long Point country, is one of the oldest post-offices in Ontario. Some years ago the post-office inspector received an official letter that it was an extraordinary circumstance that no return of dead letters had ever been received from that post-office, and he was ordered to make an immediate personal inspection. As the postmaster was the oldest inhabitant, most respectable, and had been in office more than fifty years, the inspector wrote him a polite note, asking explanation. By return mail he received a reply that he was glad the department had taken notice of this at last; that he had two or three rooms, now, nearly filled with these old letters.

A sheriff had a narrow escape in those early days from his "perfectly reasonable" way of doing business. A negro had been sentenced to be hanged. The sheriff was a sportsman in the duck-shooting line, and was always in demand. A party of his friends came for a shoot from a distance a few days before the hanging. The sheriff's sporting instincts were too much for him. He went to the negro, and asked him if he would mind being hanged on Tuesday instead of Thursday. The negro said, "Well, Sheriff, you have been so kind to me in de goal dat I don't want to spoil your sport. You can hang me on Tuesday; but do it early in de morning; juss as I wake up." He was hanged accordingly on that morning. The incident soon reached the authorities, and it was unpleasant for the sheriff for some time, but his friends saved him. There was a very neighbourly feeling, and a good deal of give and take in those days.

The first religious instruction received by the young in the first settlements was from the Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian circuit riders, and they did admirable work in the early days. All denominations attended the camp meetings (there were no churches), and the settlers met there once a year.

A Methodist divine, who subsequently became eminent throughout Canada, began his ministry as a circuit rider in the Long Point settlement. Riding through the bush towards the close of day he came to a shanty with a light in the window, and latch string hanging out. He tethered his horse under a tree, and went in. There were fifteen or twenty men, all new settlers, who, after working on their various vocations during the day, sought shelter there in the evening. No class in those days had any distinctive dress. The divine asked if he could shelter there for the night. They said: "Certainly, there is always room for another." After a few remarks, he sat down and took a Bible out of his pocket, and said it was always his custom to read a chapter before lying down for the night. Whilst reading his chapter, as the expression now is, he "took stock" of the surroundings, and made up his mind it was a proper field for his ministry. He then said he would like to say a prayer, and if they had no objections,

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he would pray aloud. They said they would be very glad to hear a prayer. Some of them said they had not heard a prayer for five or six years. This was the minister's opportunity. They were experts in prayer in those days, and if there was any wickedness in you they would surely find it out. He prayed for about half an hour, and no doubt made every man feel himself a sinner, with a desire to be better. One man, however, got up and put on his hat and boots, about to leave the room. The minister said to him: "My good man, I thought there would be room for us all; I hope you are not leaving on my account." "Well," said the man, "that's not it. I have been listening to your prayer, and I have made up my mind that I'll not sleep all night in the same room with any man who has asked forgiveness for as many sins as you 'ave acknowledged you 'ave committed." It is said that the minister systematically shortened his prayers after that.

That our ancestors carried with them into the wilderness that religious feeling which leads to submission under calamity is part of the history of the Loyalists. Among my grandfather's books was a copy of the *Religio Medici* of Sir Thomas Browne. What I now read was a "marked passage":—"If thy vessel be small in the ocean of the world, if meanness of possessions be thy allotment on earth, forget not those virtues which the great disposer of all bids thee to entertain from thy quality and condition; that is, submission, humility, content of mind, and industry. Content may dwell in all stations. To be low, but above contempt, may be high enough to be happy. But many of low degree may be higher than computed, and some cubits above common commensuration; for in all states virtue gives qualifications and allowances which make out defects. Rough diamonds are sometimes mistaken for pebbles, and meanness may be rich in accomplishments which riches in vain desire. The Divine eye looks upon high and low differently from that of man. They who seem to stand upon Olympus and high mounted unto our eyes may be but in the valleys and low ground unto His; for He looks upon those as highest who nearest approach His divinity, and those as lowest who are farthest from it."

**A Short Memoir of the Rev'd. Dr. Peters, his Daughter and  
Son-in-Law, Mr. Jarvis, U. E. Loyalists.**

BY JANE H. JARVIS.

When the Revolutionary War commenced the Rev'd. Dr. Peters had completed the purchase of a nice property on Long Island, and held a church, of which he was Rector, in another part of the State, and considered that he and his family were comfortably settled. One of the first annoyances, as experienced by him, was being forbidden to mention the names of the royal family of England in the prayers of the church, they were to be omitted altogether. This order he did not comply with. The next step taken was to lock the door of his church against him, saying that he should not conduct the services any longer in it, also that if he did not join the republican party by taking the oath of allegiance to their government all his property would be confiscated and he himself driven an exile out of the country. Subsequently important plans about the movements of the rebel forces came by chance to the Rev'd. Dr. Peters' ears, the use he made of this knowledge was to communicate it as quickly as possible to headquarters of the Royalist army and British fleet before Boston, an act soon discovered by his enemies, who directly set a price on his head and offered quite a sum of money for his capture dead or alive; he then had to escape for his life, riding two days and two nights without ceasing, accompanied by his daughter, who went with him the whole distance, dismounting only to change horses when those in use were too tired to carry them further, and to throw a fresh disguise over their clothing, with the intention of misleading any enemy on the way. Sometimes they were so nearly overtaken that they could hear the hoofs of the rebel troopers' horses on the road behind them, and they had to put in practice different devices to elude their pursuers. They eventually reached Boston in safety, going immediately on board an English ship of war, where they were obliged to remain, as they could not venture on shore again. Many friends of Dr. Peters blamed him for taking any part whatever in the struggle going on around him, saying that as he was a clergyman it was quite unnecessary his doing so, but he thought differently and made his choice, giving up all his worldly possessions and remaining a poor man until the end of his days for the sake of king and country. Sometime after their arrival in London, where they had been carried, a wounded officer of cavalry belonging to the Queen's Rangers, by name William Jarvis, joined their party, and the daughter of the Rev. Dr. Peters and this officer were united in marriage at St. George's, Hanover Square. The three then lived for several years in London; indeed, until the year 1792. When General Simcoe became Governor of Upper Canada he reorganized his old regiment, the Queen's Rangers, under the same name, in order to bring it with him into

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his Province, and secured several of the officers who had previously served with him in America, among the number William Jarvis, who also received the appointment of Provincial Secretary before leaving London, and retained that office until his death in Toronto. The Rev. Dr. Peters had reasonable hope of coming out with them to fill the position of first Bishop of Upper Canada. So far had the matter proceeded that Lord Dorchester, then Governor of Canada and on leave of absence in England, invited Dr. Peters to dine with him for the purpose of discussing necessary particulars relating to the new diocese; but some of those in power changed their minds, thinking it was too early in the history of the country to form another diocese, and that the bishop already in Quebec was sufficient for some time to come, leaving Dr. Peters in this respect a disappointed man. Over forty years elapsed before the first Bishop of Upper Canada was appointed. In the meanwhile, the Rev. Dr. Peters had gone to his rest, and needed not preferment of any description. These few incidents in the lives of those mentioned are given by Miss Jane H. Jarvis, a great-granddaughter of Rev. Dr. Peters, granddaughter of William Jarvis, and daughter of William Munson Jarvis, who, in the war of 1812-14, when a lad under 20 years of age, at the battle of Lundy's Lane, was wounded, and also lost the sight of one of his eyes, for which he received from the English Government a pension for life.

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## On Interesting Historic Relics.

BY M. I. M. CLARKSON.

A paper containing a sketch of the life of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Peters has been read before this Association, but it contained no notice of the following occurrence, which has left its mark even until to-day in St. John, N.B.

In Trinity Church in that city, over the Germain St. entrance, high upon the wall, battered and bruised with age and hard usage but still intact, is a relic of the American revolution, namely, the Royal Arms that once belonged to Trinity Church, New York. They mysteriously disappeared at the time of the evacuation of New York by the British troops. The history of their removal is this :

Three United Empire Loyalists, Lieut.-Col. John Peters, Major Wm. Hazen and Colonel Beverley Robinson, were given twenty-four hours in which to leave the city. That night they forced an entrance into Trinity Church and took therefrom the Royal arms. For the furtherance of their purpose they obtained the assistance of Rev. Dr. Samuel Peters, who was an uncle of Col. Peters.

The three Loyalists wrapped the arms in an Altar cloth, and carried them to Peck's Slip, where Dr. Peters had moored a boat belonging to a vessel anchored in the harbor.

The trio then left the city, taking different directions, whilst the Rev. Dr. Peters sailed to Boston with his prize carefully concealed in a mattress.

Arriving in Boston, the arms were placed for safe-keeping in the Council Chamber of the old Town House until March 17th, 1776, when they were shipped to Halifax, N.S., there they remained fifteen years in the citadel chapel.

In the meantime, Col. Peters, Major Hazen and Col. Robinson, in company with a large number of fellow Loyalists, settled at Parr Town (now St. John, N.B.) and there built themselves a church, which received the name of Trinity.

In 1791 the Royal arms were removed from Halifax to St. John on board a British man-o'-war and fixed upon the walls of the new church.

Eighty-six years later, on the 29th June, the entire city was laid in ashes. The late Captain Frank B. Hazen, grandson of the Loyalist, seeing Trinity in flames, rushed into the building, and, at the peril of his life, saved the old arms from destruction.

A new Trinity church now rears its spire heavenward and there one may still see this ancient emblem of royalty. As the Ark of the Covenant was venerated by the children of Israel, so is this revered by the citizens of St. John.

Another Royal Coat of Arms is to be seen in a perfect state of preservation in the Mohawk church in Deseronto. It, with the

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silver Communion plate presented by "Anne, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, and of Her Plantations in North America, Queen. To Her Indian Chappel of the Mohawks," so the engraved inscription reads, was brought to Canada by the Indians after they had been given their choice of remaining in the Mohawk Valley and becoming American citizens, or leaving their home, for loyalty's sake.

They chose the latter course, and, digging up the Communion plate, which they had buried for safety, they brought it and the Royal arms, and the bell from their church, came to Canada and made a new home for themselves on the shores of Mohawk Bay, which is one of the five bays of the Quinté.

(Extract from *The Rockwood Review*.)

In a paper read before the Massachusetts Historical Society, by Rev. Edmund F. Slayter, A.M., the following account is given:—

Connecticut was the home of another coat of Royal arms which is still extant. These arms are now in All Saints' Church, at St. Andrew's, New Brunswick, Canada. The Rev. Samuel Andrews was rector of St. Paul's Church, Wallingford, Connecticut, from 1762 to 1785, when he removed to St. Andrew's. Soon after his arrival, steps were taken for the erection of a church, which was completed for use probably about the first of the year 1790. On the walls of that church the Royal arms were early placed, where they remained till 1867, when they were removed to the new All Saints' Church, consecrated that year, and where they are at the present time. That they were brought there by the Rev. Mr. Andrews from Wallingford, Connecticut, rests on an undisputed tradition; and that they were there in the very early years after his arrival is proved by a vote of the Corporation of the parish in 1793, which designates the place they were to occupy on the walls of the church. This vote and the tradition completely harmonize, and leave no doubt as to the origin of these arms. They are in themselves exceedingly interesting. They are carved in wood, gilded, and brilliantly painted, and, although very ancient, are in excellent preservation. They belong to the period of William and Mary, and are the arms of those sovereigns. They differ in no respect from those of the Stuart family, except that they bear, on an escutcheon of pretence, the Lion of Nassau, introduced by William of Orange, who became William III. of England.



## The Mills Family.

BY ANNA C. CAWTHRA.

Mrs. Henry Cawthra (née Anna C. Mills) eldest daughter of the Hon. Samuel Mills, late of Hamilton, Senator of the Dominion of Canada, and, before Confederation, a member of the Legislative Council appointed under the Queen's sign manual—is a descendant of United Empire Loyalists both on her grandfather's and grandmother's sides. Her great grandfather, John Mills, resided on Staten Island, N.Y., at the time of the Revolutionary War. He supported the British contention in that war, and was a U. E. Loyalist. He suffered persecution therefor; was imprisoned by the United States authorities, and even endured the indignity of the pillory at their hands for his attachment to the King. He took up arms in the Royal cause and his property was confiscated.

After the war he came to Canada with his family and settled on a farm which is now a part of Hamilton, Ontario.

His son, James Mills (grandfather of Anna C. Cawthra), was married at Dundas to Christina Hesse, youngest daughter of Michael and Gertrandt Hesse, U. E. Loyalists.

The first brick house erected in Hamilton was built by the above-named James Mills, a stately dwelling which stood until within recent years on the corner of King and Queen streets opposite All Saints Church (built and presented to the Diocese by the late Senator Mills), Mr. Tuckett's mansion now standing on its site. It is to be regretted that no photograph was taken of this pioneer home prior to its demolition. Here lived to a great age the widow of James Mills, active in mind and clear in memory, she was wont to tell her grandchildren of many events of revolutionary times in the States, their pioneer life in Hamilton, and of the War of 1812.

Michael Hesse, her father, was also on the Royal side of the American Revolution. The Hesse family came originally from Germany and settled at Upper Mount Bethel in Pennsylvania. In the German Church register there, the births and baptisms of the various members of the family, with their sponsors, are quaintly recorded in the German language.

They were possessed of property of very considerable value near to Philadelphia. But their loyalty to King and country cost them dear. All was confiscated, and when they came to Canada in 1789 to take up their land, they carried, packed on horseback, nearly all the worldly possessions left to them by the rapacity of the American successful party, including the infant Christina Hesse, whose horse in ascending the mountain could scarce be kept from falling backwards so steep was the ascent. There were no roads, only an Indian footpath through what is now the City of Hamilton. Her horse was led by her brother Samuel, who, as eldest son of a U. E. Loyalist, received a grant of land, still in the possession of his descendants, on which he lived to attain the great age of 104.

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The writer of the above memorandum has been asked for incidents in the personal history of these families. Perhaps one or two, as showing the anxieties of a pioneer life in what was then a wilderness, will suffice. They were related to the writer by the old lady Mrs. Mills, some years ago, then verging upon 80 years of age.

One day, in the time when habitations were few and far between, being alone in the house with her two young children, she saw a band of Indians approaching. She gathered her two boys quickly under each arm (one boy being the late Senator Mills) ran out of the back door into a corn field, where she lay hid in terror lest the children should cry and be discovered. She watched them proceed to a grindstone, which stood at the back door, where they each sharpened their knives, then went into the house and helped themselves to what provisions they could find and went away, doing no further damage.

As a rule the Indians were friendly to the British immigrants whose government treated them so much more justly than the Americans.

It was probably before or during the revolutionary times that the following incident occurred in the Colony of Pennsylvania. It was in the harvest time and all members of the family, male and female, were out working, as was their wont, in the fields. Suddenly they saw smoke issuing from the house and a horde of Indians surrounding it. They had set it on fire. There was nothing for it but to run. Two men and some women and children could do nothing against so many Indians. The womenkind ran and hid themselves, and the Indians gave chase to the men who diverted the attention of the savages. They ran for dear life. The elder was overtaken, killed and scalped. This would be the old lady's grandfather, Michael Hesse. His son eluded his pursuers for a long time until he fell over a hole and broke his leg and was captured. He was taken to their distant wigwams expecting torture and death, but to his great surprise he was carefully nursed and fed. After his recovery they wanted him to join their tribe. They told him he was so fleet a runner that they would not hurt him, and he was allowed to go.

An amusing illustration of Indian good faith was told by the old lady of a white man named Smith who was carried away as a captive. He was given a chance for life on condition of running the gauntlet. That is, he was to run between two files of Indians facing each other armed with whatever weapons they fancied. Truly a forlorn hope to pass alive through a lane of savages armed with clubs and other weapons, even with a promise of liberty at the other end, if he escaped death.

Smith was stripped and told to run. He was a powerfully built man. Making up his mind quickly what to do, he dashed at the first Indian on the right and knocked him down, then gave his opposite neighbor a left-hander which sent him sprawling—and in

the confusion of so utterly unexpected a piece of audacity, Smith ran through the lines without receiving a blow. He claimed the fulfilment of their promise and they gave him his freedom.

It would take too much space to mention many most interesting episodes of their early life in Canada; of the engagements on the lake between British and American vessels witnessed from the shore by Mrs. Mills, and the various trials and events of a pioneer life.

It may be stated generally and emphatically that the life of a United Empire Loyalist was the opposite of a restful one—scarce settled in his new home which he had conquered from a chaotic wilderness—the ominous lowering clouds of the War of 1812, a war of intended conquest and spoilation, bade him prepare for another contest for hearth and home.

How they acquitted themselves on this and on all other occasions is a matter of history, of which all Canadians are justly proud. And fortunate is he who can call himself the descendant of a United Empire Loyalist.

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## The Loyalists of New York.

BY ERNEST CRUIKSHANK.

Until very recently history has not dealt kindly with the Loyalists. The popular view in the United States even at the present day is probably voiced in Mr. Dudley Warner's admission: "I confess that I never could rid myself of the schoolboy idea that the terms British redcoat and enemy were synonymous, and that a Tory was the worst character Providence ever permitted to exist."

"But," he adds, "those people who were deported or went voluntarily away for an idea were among the best material we had in staunch moral traits, intellectual leadership, social position and wealth; their crime was superior attachment to England and utter want of sympathy with the cause of liberty of the hour. It is to them, at any rate, that Ontario owes its solid basis of character, vigor and prosperity."

This, no doubt, may sound like an overly favorable statement of their case, but Professor Hosmer is no less emphatic in the expression of a similar opinion.

"History at this late date," he writes, in his life of Samuel Adams, "can certainly afford a compassionate word for the Tories, who, besides having been forced to atone in life for the mistake of taking the wrong side, have received while in their graves little but detestation. At the evacuation of Boston eleven hundred Loyalists retired to Nova Scotia with the British army, of whom 102 were men in official station, 18 were clergymen, 213 were merchants and traders of Boston, 382 were farmers and mechanics, in great part from the country. The mere mention of calling and station in the expatriated company conveys a suggestion of respectability. Just as numerous and respectable were the exiles in the other colonies. There were, in fact, no better men or women in America as regards intelligence, substantive good purpose and piety. They had made the one great mistake of conceding a superiority over themselves to distant arbitrary masters which a population under the influence of the revived folk-moot ought not to have made, but, with this exception, the exiles were not at all inferior in worth of every kind to those who drove them forth. The Tories were generally people of substance, their stake in the country was even greater than that of their opponents, their patriotism was no doubt to the full as fervent. There is much that is melancholy of which the world knows little connected with their expulsion from the land they loved sincerely. The estates of the Tories were among the fairest, their stately mansions stood on the sightliest hill brows, the richest and best tilled meadows were their farms, the long avenue, the broad lawn, the trim hedge about the garden, servants, plate, pictures—the varied circumstances, external and internal, of dignified and generous house-keeping—for the most part these things were at the homes of the Tories. They loved beauty, dignity, and refinement.

"It seemed to belong to such forms of life to be generously loyal to King and Parliament, without questioning too narrowly as to rights and taxes. The land they left belonged to the new order of things, and good men and women though they were, there was nothing for them, and justly so, but to bear their expatriation with such fortitude as they could find. Gray, Clark, Ewing and Fannucl, Royall and Vassall, Fayerweather and Leonard and Sewall, families of honorable note, bound in with all that was best in the life of the province, who can think of their destiny without pity?" Professor Barrett Wendell also, in a recent essay, points out that the opposition to the revolution proceeded to a great extent from the most respectable and eminent men in the colonies.

"In that great struggle," he says, "I believe the Americans were in the right, and in the right because what they fought for was no abstract principle. In doing so, however, they were forced to be for the moment rebels. As rebels it was their inevitable misfortune to find opposed to them that great part of the best and worthiest people in the land, who in any crisis felt bound to throw themselves on the side of established authority."

So far I have cited American writers only, but it will be seen that in most respects they substantially concur in the eloquent panegyric pronounced upon the Loyalists by Mr. Lecky.

"There were brave and honest men in America," says the latter, "who were proud of the great and free empire to which they belonged, who had no desire to shrink from the burden of maintaining it, who remembered with gratitude the English blood which had been shed around Quebec and Montreal, and who, with nothing to hope for from the Crown, were prepared to face the most brutal mob violence and the invectives of a scurrilous press, to risk their fortunes, their reputations, and sometimes even their lives, to avert civil war and ultimate separation. Most of them ended their days in poverty and exile, and as the supporters of a beaten cause, history has paid a scanty tribute to their memory, but they composed some of the best and ablest men America has ever produced, and they were contending for an ideal which was at least as worthy as that for which Washington fought. The maintenance of one free industrial and pacific empire, comprising the whole of the English race, may have been a dream, but it was at least a noble one."

Ramsay, a member of the Continental Congress, and a well-informed and moderate historian, indeed asserts that "there was scarcely a person among the many that joined the British army during the contest who upheld the right of Parliamentary taxation, but that there were numbers who would rather have submitted than risk the calamities of war." "Such for the most part," he adds, "suppressed their sentiments, zeal for liberty being immediately rewarded by applause; the patriots had every inducement to come forward and avow their sentiments, but there was something so unpopular in appearing to be influenced by timidity, interest, or excessive caution, that such persons shunned public notice, and sought the shades of retirement."

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Judged by the standards of to-day, the population was small and widely scattered. The city of New York had fewer inhabitants than Lockport. Albany was a smaller town than Batavia; Kingston, or Esopus, ranked next with less than 3,000 people. Long Island was pretty well settled near the coast, and there was a narrow fringe of cultivated farms along the Hudson on both sides as far as Saratoga, and up the Mohawk nearly to Fort Stanwix. Scarcely anywhere did the settlements extend more than twenty miles back from the great river or some one of its tributaries which formed the main channel of communication with the outer world.

The entire population of the province was estimated by the First Congress at 248,139, or exactly equal to that of Connecticut, and a little more than half that of Massachusetts. English was the predominant language, but Dutch was still almost exclusively spoken in some counties, where the sheriffs were said to find it difficult to obtain a sufficient number of persons who understood English well enough to serve as jurors in the courts.

Many of the principal merchants in New York city and a good proportion of the farmers in the adjacent counties were English by birth or descent. A considerable number of the inhabitants of Westchester and Dutchess counties were descended from a body of Huguenot exiles that had founded New Rochelle. The Mohawk and Schoharie valleys were almost entirely peopled by the descendants of 3,000 emigrants from the Rhenish Palatinate. In 1773 Sir William Johnson had aided the immigration of 600 Scottish Highlanders—the Macdonnells of Aberchallader, Collachie, Leek and Scottus—most of whom settled as tenants on his lands near Johnstown. These people spoke Gaelic and adhered to the Roman Catholic faith, both of which facts tended strongly to isolate them from their German neighbors.

For many years, too, the colony had been treated as a penal settlement, and entire shiploads of criminals had been landed until the remonstrances of the inhabitants had put an end to the practice. There was besides an unusually large proportion of escaped convicts, absconding debtors and runaway apprentices, part of whom remained to swell the mob element in the city, while the more adventurous found a congenial field of action amid the license of the Indian frontier.

The number of individuals and families possessing great estates was decidedly larger in New York than in any other province. Foremost among these were three great families of Dutch origin. The Phillipse family claimed descent from a noble house of Bohemia. Their estates, lying on the east side of the Hudson between Yonkers and West Point, contained no less than 390 square miles, or nearly two and a half million acres, including much of the choicest land in that part of the province. The manor of Philipsborough alone took in the greater part of Westchester county. A retinue of thirty white and twenty negro servants was constantly

maintained at the Manor house in Yonkers. Castle Phillipse, their country seat, was embowered among the woods and orchards of Sleepy Hollow.

Their tenants were numbered by hundreds. Those whose farms lay near the river seemed to have paid a moderate rent in money or produce, while in the case of many less favorably situated, it was a merely nominal consideration, such as a couple of fowls or a few day's personal service. In Dutchess county the Phillipse patent covered nearly the whole of the Highlands from the Hudson to the Connecticut line, a tract twenty miles in length by nine in breadth. Quite recently this had been equally divided between Colonel Frederick Phillipse and his two sisters, the wives of Beverley Robinson and Roger Morris. On this part of the estate there had already been a portentous agrarian agitation, during which a number of their tenants had formed an association pledged to pay no rent and resist distraint. The movement had failed, but serious discontent still existed ready to break out on the first opportunity. Colonel Phillipse's interest in this vast property was certainly not over-estimated at three millions of dollars, an immense fortune for that day.

Philip van Cortlandt, who traced his descent from the Dukes of Courland, was the proprietor of the Cortlandt manor, containing 830,000 acres.

The Rensselaer manor comprised the best part of Albany county.

The manor of Livingston formed another great estate in the hands of the powerful family from which it obtained its name.

In all of these great domains manorial law still prevailed, and Courts Baron and Leet, presided over by the lord of the manor or his steward, dealt with all criminal matters, and at times had even inflicted capital punishment.

Sir William Johnson, at the time of his death, was reputed to be the greatest landowner in British America with the possible exception of Penn and Fairfax. The exact extent of his estates was probably never ascertained, and, as they lay on the frontier or in the Indian territory itself, they could scarcely be considered as valuable as several of those already mentioned.

For about thirty years the local politics of the province had been little more than a continuous and desperate struggle for power between the De Lancey and Livingston families. During the whole of this period the De Lanceys had succeeded in maintaining their ascendancy, but the Livingstons' hour of triumph was close at hand.

James De Lancey, the elder, had been Chief Justice of the province for upwards of twenty years, an office which gave him a seat in the Executive Council. During that time he had twice served as Lieutenant-Governor, and presided in that capacity over the first Congress of Delegates held at Albany, in 1754. He was then at the summit of his power, enjoying alike the confidence of the Imperial Government and the favor of Henning, Archbishop of

Canterbury, who had been his tutor. With the Provincial Assembly he was omnipotent. His uncle, Colonel Beakman; his brother, Peter De Lancey; two brothers-in-law, Philip Verplanck and John Baptist van Rensselaer, besides seven of his most intimate personal friends, had seats in that body. "Of the whole House," it was remarked, "the only wealthy, able member, neither connected with Mr. De Lancey nor in the sphere of his influence, was Mr. Livingston." But the electoral franchise was liberal, nearly one-fifth of the inhabitants having votes, and five years later there was a decided change. Philip Livingston was elected one of the members for the city of New York, Henry and Robert R. Livingston carried Dutchess county; and William Livingston was chosen to represent his brother's manor. But, on the other hand, Oliver De Lancey and his friends, Cruger and Lispenard, were elected for the other divisions of the city, and his cousins, Verplanck, Van Rensselaer and Watts in other counties. The De Lanceys also regained in the Executive Council all the ground they had lost in the other House. "James De Lancey," his opponents said, "seemed fixed in the chair, and therefore awed the whole board."

When, therefore, the De Lanceys declared themselves Loyalists, it seemed only a matter of course that the Livingstons should adhere to the other party, to which their religious affiliations and a long course of opposition naturally inclined them.

As elsewhere, the coming revolution was heralded by popular commotions, the erection of liberty poles, and open defiance of the officers of the law. But these symptoms were less frequent, and met with more decided opposition than in other colonies. In Tryon and Dutchess counties liberty poles were cut down by the sheriffs and burnt as a public nuisance. In several places there were vigorous counter-demonstrations. Ramsay states that "the parties were so evenly balanced that nothing more was agreed to at the first meeting of the inhabitants than a recommendation to call a congress." The Committee of One Hundred and the subsequent Committee of Fifty contained many persons, such as Bayard, Cruger, Isaac Low, Beverley Robinson and Roger Morris, who were afterwards known as pronounced Loyalists. In June, 1774, the supervisors of Tryon county refused to condemn the policy of the British Ministry, on the ground "that it did not appear to tend to the violation of their civil or religious rights, but merely regarded a single article of commerce, which no person was compelled to purchase, and which persons of real virtue and resolution might have easily avoided or dispensed with." At the quarter sessions in the same county, held in the following March, the judges, sheriff, clerk, attorneys, magistrates and grand jurors united in a declaration that "they abhorred, and do still abhor, all measures tending, through partial representation, to alienate the affections of the subjects from the Crown, or by wrestling the intention and meaning of a particular act to draw in the inhabitants of a wide and extensive territory to a dangerous and rebellious

opposition to the parent State, when exerting itself to preserve that obedience without which no State can exist."

On the 10th of February, 1775, a numerous assemblage of the inhabitants of Ulster county erected a mast with the Royal Standard, and an inscription, stating that they had done this "in testimony of our unshaken loyalty and incorruptible fidelity to the best of Kings, of our inviolable affection to the parent State and the British constitution, and aversion to a republican government, of our destitution of all treasonable associations, seditious meetings, tumultuous assemblies, and execrable mobs, and of all measures that have a tendency to alienate the affections of the people from their rightful sovereign, or lessen their regard for our most excellent constitution, and to make known to all men that we are ready when properly called upon, at the hazard of our lives and everything dear to us, to defend our King, support the magistrates in the execution of the laws and constitutional liberties of freeborn Englishmen."

Meanwhile the last Provincial Assembly had been in session. A motion to consider the proceedings of the Continental Congress was rejected by a vote of eleven to ten. A vote of thanks to the delegates to that congress from the province was proposed and negatived by fifteen to nine, and a resolution for the appointment of delegates to the next Congress was defeated by seventeen to nine.

Mr. Hosmer asserts that two-thirds of the property of the province was possessed by Loyalists, and that outside the city there was no serious disaffection. "The rich merchants, the Episcopalians generally, the holders of the great feudal estates, the Dutch farmers, and the recent German settlers," he states, "were either actively loyal or quite apathetic."

Even the Provincial Congress for some time was disposed to equivocate. On the 25th of June, 1775, they were informed that General Washington would pass through the city on his way to take command of the army blocking Boston. They learned at the same time that Governor Tryon had arrived in a ship from England, and would probably land that day. "The Congress was a good deal embarrassed," says Mr. Sparks, "to determine how to act on this occasion, for though they had thrown off allegiance to the Governor they yet professed to maintain loyalty to his person. They finally ordered a colonel so to dispose of his militia companies that they might be in a condition to receive either the general or Governor Tryon whichever should first arrive, and wait on both, as well as circumstances would allow."

But there was also a compact and determined party in the city that was prepared to go any length, and resort to any means, to precipitate the revolution. This body steadily increased in numbers and activity until it secured absolute control of all public affairs. The system of intimidation by which they attained this end has been described by Theodore Roosevelt.

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strife between Whigs and Tories, and the patriot mob either of their own accord or instigated by the Sons of Liberty or kindred bodies often took part in proceedings which were thoroughly disgraceful. New York had her full share of these mob outbreaks during the summer of 1775. The lawyers, pamphleteers and newspaper writers aided largely to arouse the people on to the committal of outrages. The mob broke into and plundered the houses of wealthy Loyalists, rode Tories on rails, or tarred, feathered, and otherwise brutally maltreated them, or utterly refused to others the liberty of speech they so vociferously demanded for themselves. They hated, and threatened the Episcopalian, or Church of England clergy because of that part of the liturgy in which the King was prayed for, and finally the Episcopalian churches had to be closed for fear of them. They drove off the Tory President of King's, now Columbia, College, and joined with a Connecticut mob to wreck the offices of the Loyalist newspaper."

As far as New York was concerned, the contest seemed to be steadily developing into a civil war between those who had property and those that had none. The ranks of the Whigs were unquestionably filled by many who had a direct personal interest in preventing the execution of the civil or criminal law. The courts were closed, and the officers of the law forcibly resisted, or intimidated, from the performance of their duty. Debtors frequently accused their creditors of being Tories to avoid payment of their debts, and criminals attempted to evade punishment by professions of patriotism. Thocher, who was a surgeon in the Continental army, relates in his journal that "in some towns the populace have barred the doors of the court-houses, and prohibited the entrance of the judges and officers, the jurors are so intimidated or zealous in the good cause that they refuse to take or act in any manner under the Government, and the clerks of courts who have issued warrants by which jurors are summoned have in many instances been compelled to acknowledge their contrition, and to publish in the newspapers a full apology. More than a year has elapsed without any legal Government or any regular administration of law and justice."

The riflemen from the South, on their march to the camp before Boston, are described as being particularly zealous in administering "the new-fashioned discipline of tar and feathers to the obstinate and refractory Tories that they meet on their road, which has a very good effect." It was said that one detachment had made a most "incorrigible Tory" walk before them from New Medford to Litchfield, Connecticut, a distance of twenty miles, carrying one of his own geese in his hand. On their arrival at the latter place "they tarred him, and made him pluck his own goose, and then bestowed the feathers on him; drumming him out of the company, and obliged him to kneel down and thank them for their lenity." Some of the highest officials did not escape a similar punishment.



Under the date of 19th September, 1775, we are informed by a Whig newspaper that "Last Saturday night, in Dutchess county, New York, James Smith, a judge of the Court of Common Pleas for that county, was handsomely tarred and feathered for acting in open contempt of the resolves of the county committee, as was Even Smith, of the same place, for the like behaviour. They were carted five or six miles into the country. The judge undertook to sue for and recover the arms taken from the Tories by order of the said committee, and actually committed one of the committee who assisted in disarming the Tories, which enraged the people so much that they rose and rescued the prisoner, and poured out their resentment on this villainous retailer of the law."

Another favourite mode of punishment or torture was by smoking the obnoxious person until he recanted or apologized for his conduct.

Revington's Gazette, the Loyalist newspaper in New York, relates (March 8, 1775) that "the Honorable Israel Williams, one who was appointed of His Majesty's new council, but had declined the honour through infirmity of body, was taken from his house by the mob in the night, carried several miles, put into a room with a fire, the chimney at the top, and the doors of the room being closed, and kept there for many hours in the smoke until his life was in danger; then he was carried home after being forced to sign what they ordered, and a guard placed over him to prevent his leaving the house."

Trumbull, in his satire, *McFingal*, refers to this incident in this fashion:—

"Have you made old Murray look less big,  
Or smoked old Williams to a Whig?"

That these excesses were abhorrent to many of the leaders and probably to a majority of the Whig party there can be little doubt, but few, if any, ventured to protest against them, while the newspapers often fairly exulted in the description. "The public men of the times," says Professor Sumner, in his life of Robert Morris, "fairly truckled to public opinion, and feared unpopularity to a degree which modern men can hardly understand. There were very few public men who could take a stand in favour of a view of public questions and defend it with courage and persistence in the face of the popular drift."

Some of the great families endeavoured to protect their possessions by a device frequently practised in former civil wars. As in Clarendon's time, there were those who "warily distributed their family to both sides, one son to serve the King, whilst the father and another son engaged as far for the Parliament," and later on Highland families were known to have cast lots to decide who was to ride with Prince Charlie, and who to stand for King George, so now there were families who adopted the prudent policy of having one or more of their number "nominal adherents of the patriotic cause," while their actual sympathy appears to have been with the

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other side. How often and in what particular instances this was done deliberately it is impossible now to say, but the number of noted families that divided their allegiance is, to say the least, remarkable. In New York the families of Allaire, Bayard, Fry, Herkimer, Jay Van Schaak, Van Cortlandt and Ward may be mentioned. Lewis Morris and two of his brothers bore a conspicuous part in accomplishing the Revolution. Their mother and another brother, Staats Long Morris, who died a lieutenant-general in the British army, and a member of the Imperial Parliament, were avowed and ardent Loyalists. In other colonies we have the notable examples of Benjamin Franklin on one side and his only son, William Franklin, the Royal Governor of New Jersey, on the other. General William Moultrie, the defender of Charleston, and his brother John, the Loyalist Lieutenant-Governor of Florida; John Stark, a major-general in the Continental army, and his brother, William Stark, colonel of a British regiment; Peyton Randolph, President of Congress, and his brother John, a prescribed Loyalist. The distinguished families of Peters, Sears and Winthrop, of Connecticut; Bayard, of Delaware; Pinkey, of Maryland, and Pinckney, of South Carolina; Stockton, of New Jersey; Putnam, Quincy, Saltonstall, Sargent, Waldo, Winslow and Upham, of Massachusetts, were similarly divided.

Samuel Curwen, one of those faint-hearted Loyalists who had removed to England at the very beginning of the troubles, lamented his exile in a letter to a friend who had remained behind.

The latter replied: "If you know half the inconveniences your continuance here would have occasioned it would surely have lessened your discontent; had you lost your business, all your debts, the fruits of many years' labours, been driven to sell your house and lands for payment of your debts and expenses, and thus reduced, you could not freely nor safely walk the streets by reason of party rage and malevolence, and the uncontrolled rancour of some men."

Long Island was said to contain the greatest proportion of Loyalists of any part of the province; in fact, there seems to have been very few adherents of the revolutionary movement among its inhabitants. It was correctly surmised that the first landing of the Royal army would be attempted in a quarter where it was so sure of a friendly reception. In anticipation of this movement troops were brought over from Connecticut and other parts of New England for the purpose of intimidating and disarming the people. One officer states: "We have been busy a hunting up and disarming the Tories ever since we have been here. I have collected upwards of two hundred muskets with ammunition." Another writes from Flatbush: "The inhabitants in this county were all attached to the British Government."

In June, 1776, when the British fleet menaced New York, and Washington's army was gathering there for its defence, the popular fury against the Loyalists still remaining in the city rose to its height.

"We had some grand Tory rides in the city this week," Peter Elting wrote approvingly on the 13th to Richard Varick, "and in particular yesterday. Several of them were handled very roughly, being carried through the streets on rails, their clothes torn from their backs, and their bodies pretty well mingled with the dust. Amongst them were C——, Captain Hardenbrook, Mr. Rapelje, an ancestor of the Rapeljes, of Simcoe; McQueen, the apothecary; and Lessly, the barber. There is hardly a Tory face to be seen this morning."

The Moravian pastor, Shewkirk, notes in his journal the same day: "Here in town very unhappy and shocking scenes were exhibited. On Monday night some men called Tories were carried and hauled about through the streets with candles forced to be held in their faces and their heads burned; but on Wednesday, in the open day, the scene was far worse, several, and among them gentlemen, were carried on rails, some stripped naked and dreadfully abused. Some of the generals, and especially Putnam, and their forces, had enough to do to quell the riot, and make the mob disperse."

Another Loyalist, writing from Staten Island, states that "the persecution of Loyalists continues unremitted. Donald McLean, Theophilus Hardenbrook, young Fueter, the silversmith, and Rem Rapelje, of Brooklyn, have been cruelly rode on rails, a practice most painful, dangerous, and, till now, peculiar to the humane Republicans of New England."

About the same time the convention passed a resolution declaring that "all persons residing within the State of New York and claiming protection of its laws, owed it allegiance, and that any person owing it allegiance and levying war against the State, or being an adherent of the King of Great Britain, should be deemed guilty of treason, and suffer death, and that as the inhabitants of King's county have determined not to oppose the enemy, a committee should be appointed to enquire into the authenticity of these reports, and disarm and secure the dis-affected, to remove and destroy the stock of grain, and, if necessary, to lay waste the country."

In the face of this edict it is admitted that General Howe was received upon his landing on Staten Island with every evidence of good-will. "The inhabitants thereof," says Ramsay, "either from policy or affection, expressed great joy on the arrival of the Royal forces. Two hundred of them were immediately enrolled as a Royal militia."

After the battle of Long Island the British forces took possession of the city of New York, which they retained for nearly seven years. A majority of the inhabitants welcomed them as deliverers from oppression. The Moravian clergymen already quoted, observes that "joy and gladness seemed to appear on all countenances, and persons who had been strangers one to the other formerly were now very sociable together and friendly. Bro. Shewkirk,

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who accidentally came to it, met with several instances of that kind." A few days after his entry into the city General Howe was presented with an address signed by more than a thousand residents affirming their loyalty. Oliver De Lancey was commissioned a brigadier-general, with authority to enlist three battalions of volunteers, and eventually succeeded in enrolling nearly two thousand men. These troops were chiefly officered by members of some of the wealthiest and most distinguished families in the province, several of whom had served in the first convention. Among them were James and Stephen De Lancey, Frederick de Peyster, Philip van Courtlandt, John Harris Cruger, Gabriel Ludlow, and Edmund Ward. Another well known and influential Loyalist, Cortlandt Skinner, was authorized at the same time to recruit a brigade of five battalions, called the New Jersey Loyalists, and several young New Yorkers obtained commissions in his command. It should be noted that among the officers of the 4th battalion of Skinner's brigade were Samuel and Joseph Eyerson, Peter Ruttan, John van Buskirk, James Burwell, James Barton, and others, founders of distinguished Ontario families.

On the 5th of September, 1776, General Greene wrote to Washington that "two-thirds of the property in the city of New York and its suburbs belonged to Tories."

"I give it as my opinion," he added, "that a general and speedy retreat is absolutely necessary, and that the honor and interest of America require it. I would burn the city and suburbs for the following reasons:—If the enemy get possession of the city we can never recover it without a superior naval force to theirs; it will deprive the enemy of an opportunity of barracking their whole army together, which, if they could do, would be a very great security. It will deprive them of a general market; the price of things would prove a temptation to our people to supply them for the sake of gain in direct violation of the laws of the country."

There is no documentary evidence to show that such orders were given, but several persons were detected and seized in the act of spreading the flames. One of these, it is said, was identified as a captain in the Continental army, and had £500 in money in his pockets. Some of these incendiaries were put to death on the spot without further enquiry. Nearly a quarter of the business part of the city, extending on both sides of Broadway from the Battery beyond King's College, was laid in ashes.

There is also abundant evidence to prove that this event was by no means regarded as a calamity by many of the Whigs. Even so moderate a revolutionary leader as John Jay declared afterwards that had he been vested with absolute power he "would have desolated all Long Island, the City and County of New York, and all that part of the County of Westchester below the mountains."

Col. Hartley, of Pennsylvania, who was then engaged in the congenial task of burning the houses and desolating the farms of



the Loyalists near Crown Point on Lake Champlain, wrote to General Gates:—"I am pleased to hear that part of New York is burnt. I hope we shall have intelligence that the rest of that nest of Tories and sink of American villiany has shared the same fate. That cursed town, from first to last, has been ruinous to the common cause."

The disorderly conduct of the remnant of Washington's army, after his retreat from the city until he entered New Jersey, did not tend to lessen the disaffection and discontent of the people of that county. Composed almost wholly of troops from other States, strongly prejudiced against the inhabitants of New York, as being indifferent or actually hostile, and demoralized by defeat and privation, it laid waste the country as it retired. Washington himself informed the president of Congress that neither private nor public property was respected by them. "Every day," he said, "brings the most distressing complaints of the savages of our own troops, who are infinitely more formidable to the poor farmers than the common enemy. Under the idea of Tory property, or property that may fall into the hands of the enemy, no man is secure in his effects, scarcely in his person."

In December, 1776, he described the force under his command as "a destructive, expensive, disorderly mob," and declared his belief that the British army would obtain more recruits from the inhabitants than he could hope for.

That no revolt actually took place among the Loyalists of that portion of the province was due in a great measure to the remarkable energy and zeal, and no less remarkable severity of the two men, George Clinton and John Jay, who directed the measures of the New York convention. "Day after day," we are told on the best authority, "the local Committees of Safety sent to Fishkill batches of men, women and girls, upon charges of receiving protection from the enemy, refusing to sign the association or oath of allegiance to Congress, or simply with disaffection to the cause." The most influential and dangerous of the prisoners were selected for trial. Numbers were deported for safe keeping to prisons in Pennsylvania or New England. Others were confined in the local gaols, or merely placed under surveillance at private houses. The property of suspected persons was everywhere sequestered, and when not actually imprisoned they were disarmed and watched. One ineffectual rising took place in Dutchess county, which was not suppressed until the militia marched in from Connecticut and captured the leaders. The Poughkeepsie gaol was too small to contain the prisoners, and they were removed to Lichfield, in the neighboring State.

Soon after his arrival in Canada the Governor-General granted a commission to Sir John Johnson to form a regiment of Loyalists, to be called the Royal Regiment of New York. Recruiting officers were sent out by him, and during the entire summer of 1776 small parties continued to join him from Albany and Tryon counties.

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The brothers, Ebenezer and Edward Jessup, wealthy and influential farmers, living near Albany, the latter of whom had been an officer in the French war, enlisted a hundred men, and marched to Crown Point. They were then authorized to organize a regiment known as the King's Loyal Americans.

Throughout the winter the recruiting parties from Canada still continued to make their way into all the frontier settlements, and to enlist men for the Loyalist regiments. In May, one of the Macdonells appeared in Schoharie, where he was soon joined by nearly a hundred persons besides a party of Indians led by Adam Krysler. They marched the entire length of the valley, and after a slight skirmish made their way to Lake Champlain, where the recruits joined Johnson's regiment and Maclean's Highland Emigrants, afterwards known as the 84th Foot. The enlistment and departure of young men to join the British forces assembling in Canada and at New York became so notorious that the convention was compelled to resort to the severest measures to check it.

Tribunals were established for the summary trial of prisoners of this description, and the hangman was kept busy. On the 28th of January Daniel Strang, a member of a well-known and reputable family in Westchester county, being arrested with recruiting orders from General Howe in his possession, was hanged at Peekskill. Two very young men were soon afterwards executed for the same offence at Fishkill. A Boston paper of May 15th states that "twelve Tories are condemned to the gallows by the Convention of New York, several more are confined, and it is thought will have the same salutary medicine."

A New York Loyalist paper of the 19th relates that "John Munro, Esq., Major Hogan, Lieut. Hughston, and Mr. Charity French are sentenced to suffer death; one Mr. Mawbie and two other gentlemen were hanged last week at Peekskill, and thirteen others were to have been executed at Fort Montgomery on Friday last. In consequence of these cruelties, 100 Loyalists assembled to the eastward of Albany to relieve their friends. A body of 400 of the rebels were sent against them, when a skirmish ensued, in which eight rebels and three Loyalists were killed on the spot. The Loyalists then struck off into the woods, and got safe to General Carleton's army. By a gentleman who left Albany on the 7th we learn that the committee of the city of Albany inflict great hardships on the friends of the Government." From another source we learn that "Captain Roosa and his lieutenant, two noted Tories, lately taken in arms as they were marching towards the enemy, were hanged at Esopus as a suitable reward for their treasonable practices."

Commissions were issued almost immediately by the Governor-General of Canada to John Butler for the enlistment of a battalion of rangers consisting of eight companies of fifty men each, to John Peters to raise a similar battalion called the Queen's Loyal Rangers, to Samuel McKay to form a company known as the Loyal Volunteers, and to Daniel McAlpine to organize another company

Eventually, all these officers succeeded in completing their respective corps to full strength. Butler's battalion was augmented to ten companies; Sir John Johnson was authorized to add a second battalion to the Royal Regiment of New York; and Robert Rogers, the famous partisan in the last French war, was commissioned to raise two battalions called the King's Rangers. The number of men enlisted from first to last in these corps exceeded 4,000, and as many of them were married and brought their families with them whenever practicable, this meant an emigration from New York to Canada of ten or twelve thousand persons. Butler's Rangers, who, by their ceaseless activity and destructive incursions, threading the pathless wilderness for hundreds of miles to strike a blow, eating horses and dogs, sleeping in the snow, and constantly evading all pursuit, gained a terrible reputation along the whole frontier from Lake Champlain to Kentucky, were recruited almost entirely from the settlements on the Mohawk river and the Susquehanna near Wyoming. The muster rolls show that the German element largely predominated, but a number of French Huguenot names may be found such as Anger, Decew, Depue, and Secord. The non-commissioned officers and privates, as far as can now be ascertained, were mainly small farmers or sons of farmers, although no doubt the typical border ruffian was duly represented. Maclean's regiment was almost entirely composed of Scotch Highlanders. In the Royal Regiment of New York the Scotch and Germans were nearly equally divided, coming generally from the Mohawk and Schoharie settlements. It was asserted by Continental officers that at least one-third of the population of those parts of the country had removed to Canada. The remaining corps seem to have been principally recruited from the counties bordering on Lake Champlain and the Upper Hudson. Most of the officers had been men of considerable wealth and local influence. Edward Jessup valued the property abandoned by him at \$70,000. John Munro estimated his at \$55,000. In many instances their position as officers in the militia enabled them to recruit with success. Captain Jacob Ball, of Schoharie, joined Butler in 1778, with no less than 63 out of 88 men belonging to his single company.

In October, 1779, an Act was passed for the forfeiture and sale of the estates of fifty-five of the principal Loyalists, who were attainted and declared guilty of treason. Among these were Sir John Johnson, Guy Johnson, Frederick Phillipse, Philip Van Cortlandt, Oliver DeLancy, Philip Skene, and other great landlords. The wives of Beverley Robinson and Roger Morris were included to accomplish the confiscation of their share of the great Phillipse patent. These immense estates were accordingly broken up and sold, generally to former tenants, at prices much below their real value. Johnson Hall, with 700 acres of land adjoining, was bought for £6,600 in the depreciated Continental money, and the purchaser soon sold it again for £1,400 in gold, making a handsome profit by the transaction.

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## The U. E. Loyalist Pioneers of Lake Erie and More Particularly of the Long Point Country.

BY EDWARD HARRIS.

In searching old records of the latter part of the last century relating to the first settlement of the Long Point country, Lake Erie, I noticed a letter from General Simcoe to Surveyor-General Smith:—"Give this 'good woman' the best 200 acres you have left on Clear Creek. She has six sons. Her husband was in the Queen's Rangers and was killed in the war." I knew two or three of that 'good woman's' grandchildren, and some of her great grandchildren. Not many weeks afterwards I met one of the grandsons, a man about my own age. I said to him:—"How many of your grandmother's family came to this district in 1794?" He replied, "Old Isaac, Abraham and Eli. I am Eli's son."

"Are you sure there were not two or three more sons?"

He said (thinking):—"I believe you are right. There were three more sons, but they went further back."

"Do you remember in whose name the Crown deed for the old homestead came out?"

"It must have come out in old Uncle Isaac's name. He was the oldest."

"Are you sure it did not come out in old Isaac's mother's name?"

"You are right. It did come out in the old lady's name. But how is it you happen to know so much about this?"

I then told him of the letter I had found. "Well, sir," he said, "what is there in it for me?"

This man, exceptionally intelligent, with one nephew a Queen's counsel, had all but forgotten his family history, the wrecking of his grandparents' fortunes in the old colonies, the result of their loyalty to the Crown.

I do not understand that the organization of this association is intended as a menace to the United States, but rather to preserve, if not already too late, every record and incident relating to the struggles of our ancestors, banished or escaping from their homes in the revolted colonies, and who had quieted the Indian and subdued the forest before voluntary emigration to Ontario had been thought possible. Neither confiscation nor banishment, as a rule, affects any class of men who have failed to secure some prominence, either by wealth or intellectual activity. Thackery, in his "Virginians," has given us a glimpse of the gentry of the revolted colonies, who, before the revolution, dwelt upon their lands after a fashion almost patriarchal. Recent American historians with great courage and fairness now admit that the Loyalists, if in a minority, were largely composed of the gentry and educated classes of the country; that they were the equivalent of what to-day are termed the "better element," and were superior in character to many of the men who opposed them. Many thousands of that

peaceful, law-abiding class, disinclined to rebellion, escaped to Ontario and the Lower Provinces, to sleep in the summer under trees, until with an axe a hut had been built to protect them in the winter. Little wonder that Washington, who had been a land surveyor, said, "he could see nothing better for them than to commit suicide." Men are now living who have seen the stumps of trees they hollowed out by the use of fire into the shape of a mortar, in which corn was pounded until it could be used as food.

Leaving compulsory emigration, I shall take up that which was voluntary. Upon the staff of General Simcoe, as Private and Confidential Secretary, was a young man, the Hon. Thomas Talbot, of the Talbots of Malahide, and of the same ancestry as the Earls of Shrewsbury. He had been an aide-de-camp to the Marquis of Buckingham, his brother aide being Arthur Wellesley, afterwards the great Duke of Wellington. In 1790 Talbot joined the 24th Regiment at Quebec. In 1796 we find him commanding two battalions of the 5th Regiment of Foot on the continent, until the Peace of Amiens. Colonel Talbot, while in Canada in 1791, had a personal knowledge of the dreadful story of the banished Loyalists, and the quality of men they were, to have survived their hardships and protected their families in the unbroken forests on the shores of Lake Ontario and in the Long Point country, Lake Erie.

In 1803 General Simcoe wrote this interesting letter to Lord Hobart:—"Upon my arrival in Canada to carry the constitution, which had been granted to that colony, into effect, Colonel Talbot accompanied me as my Private and Confidential Secretary into Upper Canada. For four years he conducted many details and important duties to my entire satisfaction. He was employed in the most confidential measures necessary to preserve the country in peace, without violating the relations of amity with the United States, nor alienating the affections of the Indian nations, at that period in open war with them. Colonel Talbot applies for a grant of 5,000 acres of land on the Lake Erie shore, as a field officer, and desires to undertake the settlement of a large tract, to be called 'the Talbot District,' calling also special attention to a large body of Welsh and Scotch settlers who arrived in New York State, in the summer of 1801, and who desired to return under the British flag."

All the requests were granted. Colonel Talbot's rank was unusually high for a man under thirty, and his prospects in the army even better than those of his brother aide, Arthur Wellesley. He resided upon his Port Talbot homestead, Lake Erie, for nearly fifty years, and accomplished his life's work—the settlement of the County of Elgin, and large portions of Essex, Kent, Middlesex, and part of the Long Point country. During that period he made short visits to England and was always a welcome guest at Apsley House. He died a few months after the great Duke. Forty years ago, and before the construction of the

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railways now running through it, the aggregate wealth of the 150,000 people then in the Talbot settlement was estimated at \$20,000,000—wealth and population which grow from actual penury and from the unbroken forest.

The banishment of the Loyalists from the revolted colonies was the direct and inspiring cause of Colonel Talbot's abandonment of a brilliant career in the army, and all those attractions which the very highest social position gave him.

In 1880 Lord Lorne visited the City of St. Thomas, the centre of Colonel Talbot's great and prosperous Scotch settlement. There was an unparalleled gathering of the clans to welcome the heir of the Argyles and Canada's Governor. Lord Lorne made an admirable address to them, attributing their prosperity to their loyalty, and, being an Argyle, of course he added their love of law. Being at that time en route to Long Point to shoot, none of the party waited to revise the speech. On the following morning, before shooting, Lord Lorne waited, with Col. De Winton, for the newspapers, with the report of the St. Thomas festivities. I happened to be looking at Lord Lorne when he was reading the report. I saw him flush and his hands drop. "Oh!" he said. "This is too dreadful! Oh! such a mistake." The enthusiastic reporter had taken down loyalty and love of law as "loyalty and love of Lorne."

Public attention was called in England in 1783 in both Houses towards the Loyalists, in discussing the question of their protection in the peace negotiations, Lord North had said: "I cannot but lament the fate of those unhappy men who, invited under every assurance of military, Parliamentary, political and affectionate protection, espoused the cause of Great Britain. I cannot but feel for men thus sacrificed for their bravery and principles; men who have sacrificed all the dearest possessions of the human heart. Never was the honor, the principles, the policy of a nation so grossly abused as in the desertion of these men who are now exposed to every punishment that desertion and poverty can inflict, because they were not rebels."

Lord Mulgrave said that they had been shamefully deserted and the national honor pointedly disgraced, Lord Sydney said, should the recommendations of Congress to the various States be unsuccessful—and they were unsuccessful—Great Britain should feel in honor bound to make them full compensation for their losses.

Barely a tithe of that compensation was ever made. They received about the same compensation that the Jews received from the Emperor Titus for the destruction of their beautiful city and temple. Edmund Burke said a vast number of Loyalists had been deluded by Great Britain and had risked everything in her cause. Brinsley Sheridan execrated the treatment of those unfortunate men. Sir Peter Burrell said the fate of the Loyalists claimed the compassion of every human breast. Sir William Bootle said that there was one part of the treaty at which his heart bled.



Being a man himself he could not but feel for men so cruelly abandoned to the malice of their enemies. It was scandalous—it was disgraceful. Lord Walsingham said he could neither speak nor think of the dishonor of leaving those deserving people to their fate with patience. Viscount Townsend said that to desert men who had constantly adhered to loyalty was a circumstance of such cruelty as was never before heard of. Lord Stormont said that Britain was bound in justice, honor, gratitude and affection, by every tie, to provide for and protect them. Lord Sackville regarded the abandonment of the loyalists as atrocious. That peace, on the sacrifice of those unhappy subjects, must be answered in the sight of God and man. Lord Loughborough said that neither in ancient nor modern history had there been so shameful a desertion of men who had sacrificed all to their duty and their reliance on British faith. Lord Selborne, the Prime Minister at that time, said: "I have but one answer to give this House. It is the answer I gave my own bleeding heart, a part must be wounded that the whole of the empire might not perish. I had but one alternative—either to accept the terms proposed or continue the war."

And so the Loyalists, from Maine to Georgia, were left to their fate, in which death was the extreme penalty, and confiscation and banishment the mildest. Upwards of 100,000 went into exile and lost their possessions. The grandsons and great-grandsons of those unhappy men are now to be found in the highest positions in this great, loyal colony, from the Tupperts of Nova Scotia to the Hardys of Ontario, and are prominent in all the professions and mercantile, manufacturing, agricultural and commercial pursuits. The statue of one of them, who never had the opportunity to receive a day's schooling, as we understand it, stands in one of the public parks of Toronto, "The founder of the Public School system of Ontario."

But the Loyalists did not do everything. They were but an advance guard, by compulsion. Voluntary emigration may be said to have begun from the British Isles to Upper Canada in 1809. After the battle of Trafalgar the sea was made safe to cross, and England had little use for her fleet. Large numbers of naval officers obtained grants of land and settled throughout the Province. Then came Napoleon's first collapse, and a large number of British military officers followed. Then Napoleon's second defeat, and the all but disbandment of the British army. Then came a still larger influx of officers, commissioned and non-commissioned. Descended from that influx came Sir Oliver Mowat, head of the Chancery Bar, head of the Legislature, twenty-five years Premier, Minister of Justice, head of the Province, Lieutenant-Governor—a sort of civil Napoleon.

With peace on the continent came commercial and agricultural distress in all the British Isles—bank failures, crop failures, riots, and bankruptcies innumerable. Napoleon and the price of bread

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fell together. A large immigration of educated loyal families, Irish, Scotch and English, then followed the flag to Canada. From that immigration the Judges of the Ontario bench, with one or two exceptions, now claim descent, and, greatest of all, Sir John A. Macdonald, an empire-builder. Upper Canada had been brought very prominently into notice by the events of the war of 1812-15. The Americans were driven from this country at every point of invasion, while England, mistress of the seas, was shamefully discomfited in several paltry naval engagements, and at New Orleans, with the pick of her veterans, on land.

In 1825, forty years after the Loyalists had survived their hardships, and thirty-three years after the opening of the first Parliament, British capitalists, with almost childish timidity, made their first money venture in Upper Canada by the formation of the Canada Company. The loyalty of all this voluntary emigration was fully tested during the rebellion of 1837, in which the discontented were not in more than sufficient numbers to create an ordinary riot. The breeze would not have lasted a week had it not been for American aid and sympathy.

As this association is desirous of preserving any anecdotes or incidents relating to the past, I shall here mention one:—

In the winter of 1837-38 all the able-bodied men, including my father, had left the interior for the Niagara frontier, where Mackenzie had made a base of operations on Navy Island. Mr. Cronyn, a new arrival from Ireland, afterwards first Bishop of Huron, was the rector at London, then newly laid out and called a county town. After church on Sunday my mother and some of her elder children, all girls, were at work at an open fireplace casting musket bullets for the militia. I, at the time, was an infant in arms. The door opened, and, to their horror, in walked the rector's wife. She walked up to my mother, took three or four bullet moulds and a quantity of lead out of her pocket and said, "I didn't like to cast them at the rectory." That was the mother of Mrs. Edward Blake. This rebellion resulted in several British regiments being sent to Upper Canada. Every regiment left numbers of their picked men with us as voluntary settlers, and many of the officers and their families subsequently returned and settled in the towns and in the country. A work recently written by Sir Daniel Lysons is a valuable contribution to the history of those times. Thus was the foundation of loyal Canada laid—a new nation, which took the first position in that wonderful intellectual parade which crowned the reign of the great Queen.

The immigration of this country for a number of years has not been wholly satisfactory, although since 1837 it has changed from discomfort to every comfort, and I might even say luxury. We now have a network of railways, telegraphs, telephones, postoffices, churches and good roads. Where Mrs. Moody "Roughed it in the Bush" there is no bush now. But that and similar books still sell to the wavering Britisher, and, as a stimulant to emigration,

are about as effective as Mr. Punch's "Advice to Persons About to Marry." As in love, there is a good deal of "fancy" in emigrating, and it takes very little to turn the tide. Tumblers of water no longer freeze solid between the bedside and a blazing fire, as in the days of Mrs. Jamieson. Sir Francis Head's gay and festive tramp, with frozen toes broken off like pieces of brittle sticks, is replaced by Mr. Dusty Rhodes, who complains of the heat of the summer. Dr. Nansen was born too late. The north pole was here then. There is a "demon" somewhere who sends superficial scribblers to write about, circulate arctic photographs in and discover Canada. How have we ever lived in this country? How were we ever born in this country? And now we find, at Toronto's most fashionable club, the educated English gentleman can no longer understand the language of the finest samples of our native aristocracy. Oh, we have suffered!

And then the learned professor, either blind to or not so constituted to be able to grasp the past history of the country, built upon a foundation of loyalty to the empire as solid as a rock, wipes it all out and says, "Look at the map. Your destiny is to belong to that seething cauldron of discontent south of you, with their ridiculous Chinese legislation, their Socialism and Communism and Anarchism fighting boldly in the open." Such sentiments, widely spread and read, are a present blight upon the progress of the country, and when we take up the emigration returns we find ourselves scheduled as the refuge for the waifs and strays of Great Britain.

To me the saddest results of congestion to be found in the British Isles are apparent among those most unhappy families who are drifting, educated and refined people, whose moderate means has been overtaken by reduced interest on their capital and by increasing domestic and family expenses. I have seldom had more serious moments than when gazing at the fourth, fifth, sixth and up to the fourteenth stories of the Queen Anne's mansions and contemplated the sea of flats in old London. Where do they go to after straitened circumstances have gradually forced them to the top?

I have wondered whether those "cabined, cribbed, confined" people and the thousands of families throughout the British Isles, not excepting acres of married and retired naval and military men, ever heard of the green fields of Ontario as they are now—our 3,200 railway stations, our 9,100 postoffices, our 2,700 telegraph offices and the innumerable "ten-roomed houses of Toronto, with every modern convenience"; whether they had ever heard of our free libraries, free schools, High Schools, our military schools and agricultural colleges; that girls in this country always marry, and that they or their daughters not infrequently return to England to be mistresses of country houses or live in mansions fronting on London parks and squares; that all their sons—worthy to be called sons—get immediate employment, and that the whole of

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this great English-speaking continent is open to them. When in England I have been searched for to visit those bright, companionable Canadian mothers to come and tell their little ones Canadian stories and to talk about the happy days in Canada. They never forget the past. On my last visit, while enjoying a holiday at a beautiful place in Berkshire I had the curiosity to see the whole house. A sister, long since happily married and residing in England, was visiting with me. She accompanied me. In our rambles we found ourselves in the laundry. There was a large old-fashioned English mangle, a long box full of bricks on rollers, with two handles. My sister looked at me "Oh! Edward," she said, "I have never seen one since we used to turn it at home when we were children." It is part of the religion of this country that poverty is no disgrace, but only inconvenient. Like a Phoenix from the ashes, families seem to rise to prosperity and even to fame from the most bewildering calamities. Can there be any more unhappy people in the world than those in the British Isles, with a capital say, of £5,000 to £20,000, giving a precarious income of £150 to £600 a year? Without fault of theirs the increasing wealth around them has made them drift out of the swim of their ancestors. The expenses of higher education and competitive examinations have made family interest of little service in obtaining situations for their sons, and then we hear of "poor little lambs, who have lost their way." There was a time when whole families of such educated and cultured people, having the future of their children in view, bringing with them the discipline, pure life and refinement of an old country home, took ship and were eight and even ten weeks at sea in reaching this shore. And now, with a cheap run of six or eight days with every comfort, finding at the end a country so advanced that all they miss are pageants and pleasure of the eye, to be followed by heartburnings—and still they do not come.

A sower went forth to sow seed. I hope some of this will fall upon good ground and spring up an influential and powerful organization, wholly independent of Government control, to keep up that old-time, vigorous, high standard of emigration which was the foundation of Canada.

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## The Pre-Loyalists and U. E. Loyalists of the Maritime Provinces.

(1760 to 1783.)

BY SIR J. G. BOURINOT, K.C.M.G., LL.D., D.C.L., D.L.

I propose to give you a few facts with respect to the settlement of the two provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, where the greater proportion of the Loyalists established themselves after the Peace of 1783, which made them exiles from the country which they had loved so well. At this time Nova Scotia comprised the province of New Brunswick. Nova Scotia had no British population until the foundation of Halifax by Cornwallis in 1749. The Acadian French up to that time, 10,000 or 12,000 in number, constituted the entire population outside of the British port of Annapolis Royal. In 1775 these people were ruthlessly banished, and Nova Scotia became a British colony in the full sense of the phrase. The settlement of 1749 was supplemented in 1760 and subsequent years by a valuable and large addition of people who were induced to leave Massachusetts and other colonies of New England, and establish themselves on the fertile Acadian lands and other favored parts of the peninsula. Persons not well acquainted with the history of the Acadian provinces are wont to attribute the material prosperity of the country mainly to the large body of Loyalists who left their homes in the old colonies after the War of Independence. As a matter of fact, however, there were two well-defined streams of immigration into the province after the expatriation of the French Acadians. The first was the influx of the people, generally known as pre-Loyalists, who settled in townships of the present counties of Annapolis, Kings, Hants, Queens, Yarmouth, Cumberland and Colchester—especially in the beautiful townships of Cornwallis and Horton, where the Acadian meadows were the richest.

During the few years that had elapsed since the Acadians were driven from their lands, the sea had once more found its way through the ruined dykes, which had no longer the careful and skilful attention of their old builders. The new owners of the Acadian lands had none of the special knowledge that the French had acquired, and were unable for years to keep back the ever-encroaching tides. Still there were some rich up-lands and low-lying meadows, raised above the seas, which richly rewarded the industrious cultivator. The historian, Haliburton, describes the melancholy scene that met the eyes of the new settlers when they reached, in 1760, the old home of the Acadians at Mines. They found ox-carts and yokes which the unfortunate French "had used in conveying their baggage to the vessels which carried them away, and at the skirts of the forest, heaps of the bones of sheep

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and horned cattle that, deserted by their owners, had perished in winter for want of food." They came across a few straggling families of Acadians who "had eaten no bread for years, and had subsisted on vegetables, fish, and the more hardy part of the cattle that had survived the severity of the first winter of their abandonment." They saw everywhere "ruins of the houses that had been burned by the Provincials, small gardens encircled by cherry trees and currant bushes, and clumps of apple trees." In all parts of the country where the new colonists established themselves, the Indians were unfriendly for years, and it was necessary to erect stockaded houses for the protection of the settlements. A number of the New England people also established themselves at the mouth of the Oromocto, where they had a settlement called Maudgerville, and on other places on the St. John River. The peopled district of the St. John River became subsequently known as Sunbury County, and obtained a representation in the Nova Scotia Legislature. The town of Sackville had a similar origin, and had also a member in the same assembly. No better class could have been probably selected to settle Nova Scotia than these American immigrants. The majority were Puritans who came over to New England from 1629-1640, and some were actually descended from men and women who landed from the Mayflower in 1620. The county of Yarmouth has always illustrated the thrift and enterprise which were the natural heritage of the founders of New England. Governor Lawrence recognized the necessity of having a sturdy class of settlers, accustomed to the climatic conditions and to agricultural labor in America, and it was through his strenuous efforts that these immigrants were brought into the province. They had indeed the choice of the best land of the province, and everything was made as pleasant as possible for them by a paternal government only anxious to establish British authority on a sound basis of industrial development. Some of these people, however, were not animated by those sentiments of burning loyalty which distinguished that large body of persons who suffered so deeply during the War of Independence, and sought refuge in Acadia and Canada rather than swerve from their allegiance to England. During the war some of these inhabitants notoriously sympathized with their rebellious countrymen, and at one time it was necessary to take stringent measures to awe the rebellious element in Cumberland. The people of Truro, Onslow and Londonderry refused to take the oath of allegiance, and were for a time not allowed to be represented in the Assembly. In other places a few desired to be neutral during the revolution, but the government very properly would not permit it. Some overt acts of treason were committed, but the authorities had always full knowledge of the suspected persons who were inclined to betray the government that had treated them with so much consideration from the moment they came into the country.

In 1767, according to an official return in the archives of Nova Scotia, the total population of what are now the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, reached 13,374 souls, of whom 6,913 are given as Americans, 912 as English, 2,165 as Irish, 1,946 as Germans, and 1,265 as Acadian French—the latter being probably a low estimate. The American element was chiefly found in the following townships and districts: Annapolis 370, Barrington 365, Cornwallis 175, Cumberland 279, Granville 350, Halifax and environs 1,351, Horton 617, Londonderry 130, Liverpool 594, Maugerville 235, Newport 242, Onslow 137, Sackville 343, Truro 301—which evidently includes Irish immigrants from New Hampshire—Yarmouth 351. The Irish were generally found in Halifax, Amherst, Cape Breton, Canso, Londonderry, Onslow, St. John's Island and Truro. Some of these Irish were brought directly from the North of Ireland and were Scotch Presbyterians. They were brought out by one Alexander McNutt, who did much for the work of early colonization. Others came from New Hampshire, where they had been settled for some years. This class was found principally in Truro, Londonderry and Onslow.

From this early immigration have sprung many of the best known men of Nova Scotia. For instance, T. C. Haliburton ("Sam Slick"), Sir Charles Tupper, the veteran statesman; Dr. Borden, at present Minister of Militia in the Dominion Government; Mr. R. L. Borden, who represents Halifax in the House of Commons; Senator Lovitt and Mr. Flint, M.P., of Yarmouth; Attorney-General Longley, besides the Chipmans, Eatons, Dickeys, De Wolfes, Burpees, Stairs and Hazens. Dr. T. H. Rand of McMaster University, and Dr. B. Rand of Harvard, are members of a family first notable for the Rev. Silas T. Rand, the linguist and Micmac scholar. The Archibalds, who have given so many eminent men to the public service of Canada and the Empire—notably the late Sir Adams G. Archibald, K.C.M.G., Lieutenant-Governor of two provinces—are descended from four brothers of the Scotch-Irish migration of 1762, who settled in Truro. Senator Miller's family also came among the same settlers.

In 1783, Canada and Nova Scotia received a large accession of loyal population from the old thirteen colonies then recognized as the independent confederation of the United States. In 1784, there were in the province at the time of its division, according to the most trustworthy statistics available, about 43,000 souls, of whom over 28,000 represented "the new inhabitants" or Loyalists, and disbanded troops who had taken part in the late war. The "old British inhabitants," or the immigration previous to 1783, are given at 14,000. Only 400 Acadian French were living at that time in the country. Of the Loyalists nearly 10,000 were already settled on the St. John River, and 8,000 in the County of Shelburne, where they had very bitter experience.

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In the of the go who had cluded N persons, Digby, P boro Cou fact, the greater p scattered Loyalists, now Princ time Prov figures are ed in the t ures also i who were of that cla there is no of Loyalist people hav doubled ev less than tl 1891. At inces woul in the Dom about 1-7th section, wo in giving th the Maritim would very the Loyalist grained anta materially re siderations

The Loyalist migration of 1783 commenced a new epoch in the history of British North America. It opened up new districts, made additions of population to the older settlements and gave new colonies to the Empire. Nova Scotia was divided into two provinces, one of which retained the old name, which had been given to it in King James' day, and the other recalled the New Brunswick-Lunenburg or Hanoverian line, which had given kings to England. Cape Breton—for the name of Isle Royale disappeared with the fall of Louisbourg—also received a simple system of local government separate from Nova Scotia. Canada was divided into two provinces, Upper and Lower Canada. The great proportion of this valuable migration reached and remained in the Acadian Provinces.

In the summer of 1784, Colonel Morse, under the instructions of the government, mustered the Loyalists and disbanded troops who had come into the Province of Nova Scotia, which then included New Brunswick since the Peace. In all there were 28,347 persons, who were found chiefly at Shelburne, Annapolis Royal, Digby, Passamaquoddy, River St. John, Chedebucto, now Guysboro County, Cumberland, and the neighborhood of Halifax. In fact, the present Province of New Brunswick obtained by far the greater proportion of the migration. Many of the Loyalists were scattered in Nova Scotia among the "old inhabitants," chiefly pre-Loyalists, as well as in the islands of Cape Breton and St. John, now Prince Edward. The actual number who came to the Maritime Provinces may be fixed at 35,000 at the least, and these figures are based on the fact that there were 3,000 negroes included in the total of 28,347 persons mustered in 1784. Morse's figures also include 647 disbanded troops, like Hessians and others, who were not Loyalists, but they do not comprise as many people of that class who went to Cape Breton. In view of these facts, there is no doubt that 25,347 may be fairly considered the number of Loyalists who actually settled in the Maritime Provinces. These people have increased to 519,116, if we consider that they have doubled every 25 years since 1783—a standard of increase even less than that of the whole population of Canada from 1790 until 1891. At the same rate of increase the 10,000 in the Upper Provinces would increase to 210,000. Thus the whole Loyalist stock in the Dominion would be 730,000 in round numbers in 1891, or about 1-7th, which, with the stationary population of the Maritime section, would be about the proportion at the present time. And in giving these figures I may add that the exodus of people from the Maritime Provinces and other sections to the United States would very little affect the total number of actual descendants of the Loyalists now in the Dominion. In the first place, the ingrained antagonism of the Loyalists to the United States would materially restrict any return movement on their part. Other considerations affecting them would be, (1) that the Loyalists were

for the most part landed proprietors, a class the least of all disposed to emigrate; (2) the class in the United States most largely recruited from the Maritime Provinces is that which includes servants. The traditions and instincts of the Loyalist stock would prevent them seeking such subordinate positions.

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I find in the recently published census returns for the State of Massachusetts, that there are in that state 88,508 persons who were born in the Maritime Provinces. As you know Massachusetts has the great bulk of the emigrants from the eastern section of the Dominion. The returns show that four-fifths of the Massachusetts increase in the ten years, 1885-1895, were females; indicating that the movement of population to the United States from the three provinces is largely of the class from which female domestics are supplied. This would not be from the Loyalist stock, to any extent.

Some Loyalists were no doubt taken over by the United States when the Aroostook territory was handed over by the Treaty of 1842. Others have removed to the United States by marriage, and still others by stress of circumstances. But I think that of the remaining fifth not a great proportion would be of Loyalist stock. A fifth of the total number of the Maritime Provinces element in Massachusetts would be under 18,000 persons. The fifth, if wholly composed of Loyalist stock, would be but little over two per cent. of the total estimated number of those sprung from the Loyalists of 1783.

A liberal throw off would be the result if you estimated the proportion of Loyalist stock in the United States to equal 30,000, leaving the net gain to Canada from the Loyalist movement of last century as 700,000 souls.

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I have already given you some of the names of the distinguished descendants of the Pre-Loyalist immigration, and shall only say that the history of the Maritime Provinces also shows that the descendants of the Loyalists have proved in every way worthy of the noble stock from which they sprung. The names of Inglis, Blowers, Haliburton, Robinson Gesner, Ruggles, Wilmot, Howe, Jones, Jarvis, Marshall, Huntingdon, Morse, Tavary, Leonard, Chandler, Tilley, Hodgson, Foster, Allen, Odell, Weldon, and Vail are only a very few of the prominent names who can trace their descent to the great Immigration of 1783-84.