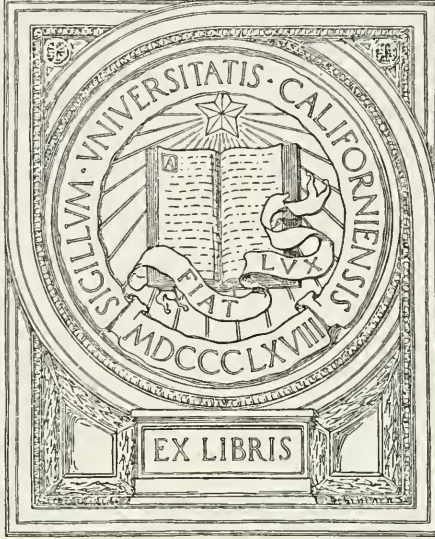




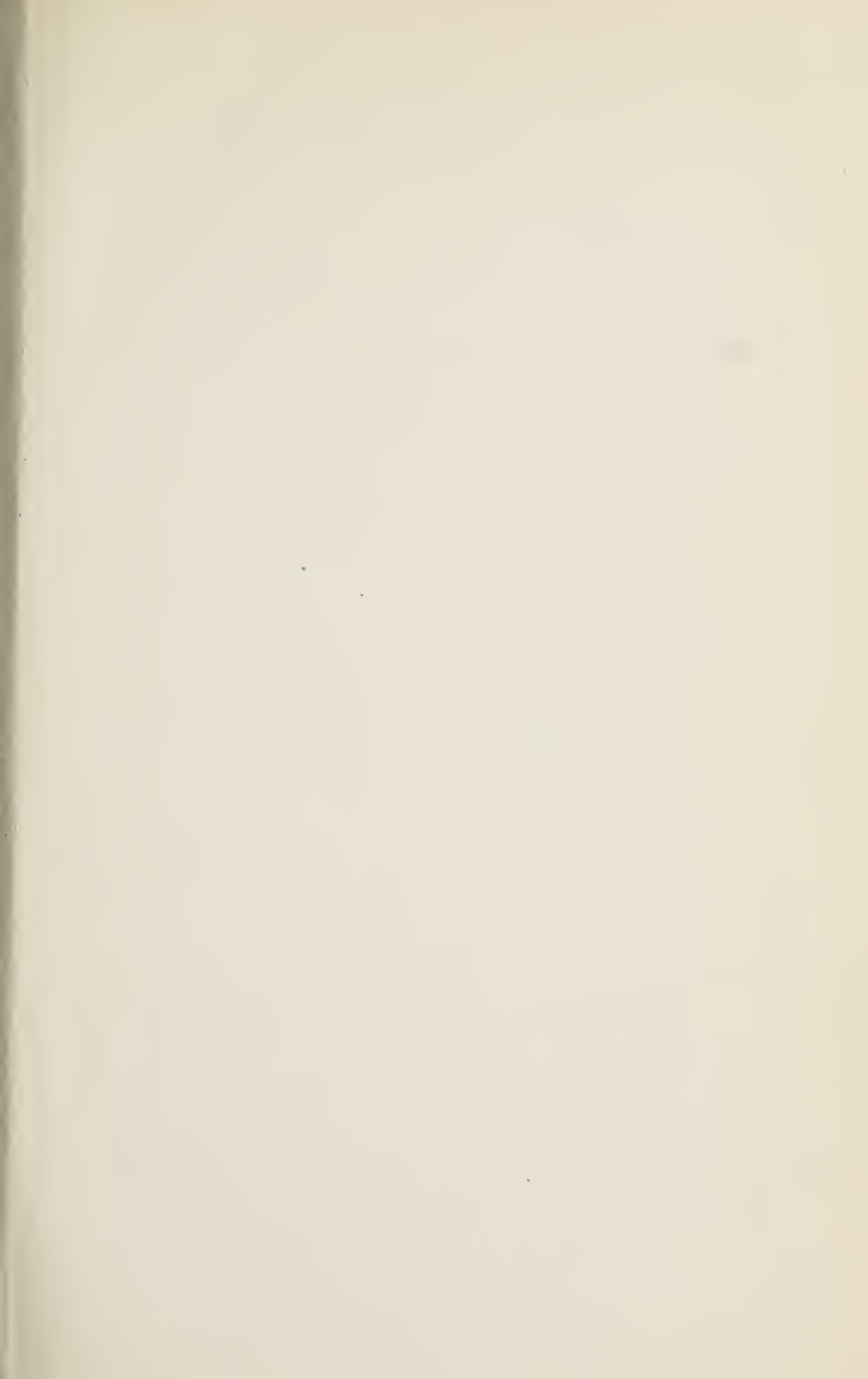
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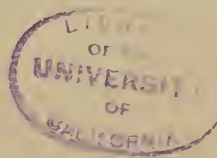
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VOL. III, NO. 1: A COLONY OF ÉMIGRÉS IN  
CANADA, 1798-1816, BY LUCY ELIZABETH TEXTOR



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A COLONY OF ÉMIGRÉS IN CANADA, 1798-1816

BY

LUCY ELIZABETH TEXTOR, PH.D.

SOMETIME FELLOW IN HISTORY IN YALE UNIVERSITY

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#### EDITORIAL NOTE

The paper now issued as one of UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO STUDIES is published on the recommendation of Professor George M. Wrong, Professor of History in the University.

**EXCHANGE**

## PREFATORY NOTE

The subject of the émigrés in America is as a whole an unworked field and was pointed out to me as such by Professor Edward G. Bourne. He suggested that I make a preliminary investigation to see whether there was material for a doctor's thesis. I found enough to encourage me but it was widely scattered and the task of co-ordinating it full of difficulty. I decided therefore to postpone treating the whole subject until I could hope to do it some measure of justice, and to devote my first efforts to the elaboration of an almost unknown episode concerning which I had found many original letters and first-hand records of various kinds.

The number of those to whom I am indebted for suggestions or other assistance, either in my preliminary investigation or in the preparation of my thesis, is too large to admit of individual mention, but my appreciation is none the less warm. There is one, however, without whose kindly encouragement and active aid in the beginning this monograph would never have been written, and my especial thanks are due and are now tendered to Dr. James Bain, Chief Librarian of the Toronto Public Library.

LUCY ELIZABETH TEXTOR.

New Haven, Connecticut.

September 24, 1904.



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### *Manuscripts*

I. Manuscripts in the Archives branch carried on in connection with the Department of Agriculture at Ottawa. These fall under three heads :

(1) *Colonial Office Records*, transcripts of documents in the Public Record Office at London relating to the history of Canada. They have been calendared under the letter Q by Dr. Brymner in his Reports on Canadian Archives.

(2) Two volumes of original letters, translations, and miscellaneous papers, entitled *Settlers, 1794-1800* and *Settlers, 1801-1818*. The first of these volumes is largely and the second partly made up of letters written by and to the members of the colony.

(3) The *Puisaye Papers*, a volume made up of transcripts of such of the more important Puisaye Papers in the British Museum as relate to the French colony in Canada.

II. Manuscripts in the Records Branch of the State Department at Ottawa (to be transferred before long to the Archives). These are all originals and are loosely done up in two separate bundles marked *Immigration of French Royalists* and *Establishment of Count de Puisaye and his Companions*. They deal respectively with the abortive plan to bring over émigrés in 1793 and with the partially realized plan of 1798.

III. The *Simcoe Papers*, a transcript of official and personal manuscripts in the possession of the Simcoe family. They concern the Province of Canada and more particularly the Province of Upper Canada under the administration of John Graves Simcoe, Lieutenant-Governor. Five volumes, covering the period from 1791 to 1806. They are to be found in the Library of Parliament at Ottawa.

IV. Manuscripts in the Public Library at Toronto—*Quetton St. George Papers, 1794-1884; Quetton St. George, W. W. and J. S. Baldwin Letters, 1804-1846; Location Reports, 1800-1802; Miscellaneous Documents, Letters, and Plans, 1792-1800, D. W. Smith Collection; Private Letters, 1794-1803, D. W. Smith Collection; Executive Council Letters, 1793-1799, D. W. Smith Collection; Correspondence Miscellaneous, 1796-1822,*

*William Jarvis Collection; Papers Referring to Surveyor General and York Militia.*

V. *Domesday Books, Registers of Patents, and Orders in Council for Land* in the Patents Branch of the Crown Lands Department at Toronto. These make clear how much land was given to each émigré, where the different parcels were situated, and when the patents were granted.

VI. Records in the Surveys Branch of the Crown Lands Department, consisting of *Surveyors' Letters, Jones; Surveyors' Letters, Stegman; and Instruction Book 6.*

VII. *The Honourable Richard Cartwright's Letter-book* in the Library at Queen's University, Kingston. Mr. Cartwright had extensive business dealings with Puisaye and lesser business dealings with other members of the colony.

VIII. *The Correspondence of Count Joseph de Puisaye relative to the Affairs of the French Royalists*, vols. v., vii., ix., British Museum, Add. MSS. 7976, 7978, 7980.

IX. A *Letter* concerning French royalist immigrants written by the Honourable Robert Hamilton to President Peter Russell. This letter is in the possession of Mrs. William Baldwin of Toronto.

X. *Records* of various County Registry Offices in Canada. These furnished information concerning the sale of lands patented to the émigrés.

*Note.* It should perhaps be added that the possibility of manuscript sources in France was not overlooked. Recourse was had to the director of the Archives Nationales and to others as to whether they knew of any documents concerning émigrés who had come to America, but none were discovered. Letters to some of the descendants of the émigrés in question likewise failed of result.

The page given in the foot-note is sometimes the particular page in the document from which the statement in question has been taken and sometimes simply the first page of the document. This dual method is robbed of the inconvenience that would otherwise attend it by the fact that the documents are short. The method was unavoidable, since the copies made for the writer, unlike the notes taken



at first hand, did not conform to the pagination of the originals. The use of italics in the notes is restricted to the designation of manuscripts.

### *Newspapers*

I. *The Upper Canada Gazette* 1798-1809. There is only a single imperfect copy in existence. This is in the Ontario Legislative Library in Toronto. It contains a great deal of matter pertaining to the business of Quetton St. George and a good many notices which throw light upon the other émigrés. It is to be regretted that no copy of the paper exists for the years from 1809 to 1822 except a few numbers of 1820, also in the above Library.

II. *The Montreal Herald* for Dec. 31, 1814, in the Legislative Library at Toronto. It contains a single notice relative to the business of St. George and his intended departure for Europe.

III. *The Niagara Spectator*, May 14, 1818, and *The Spectator*, Sept. 20, 1816, printed at St. Davids. Each contains a notice concerning the stores of St. George. These papers make part of a miscellaneous bundle in the Toronto Public Library.

IV. *The Kingston Gazette* for Feb. 19, and Mar. 5, 1811, in the Library of Queen's University, Kingston. Each contains one notice relative to the business of St. George.

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as a guide to such of the manuscripts relating to the émigrés as are found in the Q series in the Archives at Ottawa. The Report for 1888 contains a short sketch of the colony and a few of the more important documents grouped under the caption "French Royalists in Upper Canada."

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With the exception of Dr. Brymner's Reports on Canadian Archives, books furnished very little aid. They were valuable for the most part only as throwing light upon the individual émigrés who made up the party or as affording an occasional suggestion concerning the character or conditions or customs of the country to which the émigrés came. So far as the writer knows, Dr. Scadding is the only author, except Dr. Brymner, who gives an account of the colony, and his account is very brief. It should perhaps be added that Dr. Scadding's paragraphs have been embodied by Mr. J. Ross Robertson in his "Landmarks of Toronto." The writer did not have access to Puisaye's *Memoirs* but was assured by a friend who examined the copy in the British Museum that they contained nothing relative to the colony in Canada and ended with the date July 20, 1798.



## INTRODUCTION

England's bearing toward those who sought her shelter during the Revolution in France redounds to her honour. The nation was divided in its opinion concerning the Revolution, party lines were drawn on this issue, there were those who wore the tricolour and those who carried the white flag; but the émigrés as a body received a welcome and generous assistance. Some dissentients among the English people there were, of course. The country had its own poor, the lot of the labouring classes was hard, and charity was needed at home. But these considerations did not prevent the putting forth of great effort to meet the needs of the indigent strangers. It is pleasant to recall that though England was a Protestant country, she gave the Catholic priests who fled to her shores a singularly warm reception.<sup>1</sup> Nearly 8000 of the dispossessed clergy crossed the Channel. They seem to have been an unusually pure-hearted, single-minded body of men.<sup>2</sup> This may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that those of their brethren who were willing to lend themselves to private ends, or were dominated by the spirit of restlessness, had thrown themselves into the Revolution. The ecclesiastics who sought a refuge in England were for the most part willing to work at whatever presented itself, and they practised rigid economy in order to be as light a burden as possible upon the community in whose midst they lived.<sup>3</sup> With the noblesse the case was somewhat different. Not that they were unwilling to exert themselves to earn a livelihood. On the contrary, many of them accepted whatever work offered itself and gave evidence of great skill and versatility.<sup>4</sup> But their inclinations and habits were those of the leisure class, and, unlike the clergy, they had no leaders to bind them together and to look out for their material wants. There were those among them, too, who spent their best efforts in intrigues to further the Bourbon cause, which they identified with their own.

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<sup>1</sup> L'abbé Bois, 77 *et seq.*; Forneron, II, 52 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Forneron, II, 52.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* II, 44 *et seq.*; Stephens, II, 506 *et seq.*

With so many people dispossessed of their homes, in direst poverty, and in a foreign country, there must necessarily have been great want. Here was large scope for private charity, and many individuals, mostly from the upper class, came quickly to the rescue. The forms of assistance were numerous and various.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps most notable were the subscriptions. Burke published an appeal in behalf of the émigrés which brought in 840,000 francs. The subscription of the next year, with the King's name at the head of the list, yielded 1,032,000 francs, and this was followed by others. In 1793, the Government levied a tax, the proceeds of which were destined for the same purpose, and this tax was continued for a number of years. The distribution of the Government funds was placed in the hands of a bureau. The needy were ranged in classes and each received according to his rank. It has been calculated that by 1806 more than \$9,000,000 had been thus disbursed.<sup>2</sup>

But Government aid and private charity could not continue indefinitely, and they could not under any circumstances meet all the difficulties of the situation. The problem was serious, and there were those who thought they saw a partial solution for it in planting colonies of the émigrés in Canada. There had long been a demand for Catholic priests in that country. Mgr. Hubert, Bishop of Quebec, asked the permission of the British Government to bring over a number of the exiled clergy to meet the needs of his diocese. It was this request which suggested to the Cabinet the idea of founding a colony of French clergy and nobles. Burke was eager in the cause and the King approved of it.<sup>3</sup>

Late in 1792, the British Government selected four persons to go to Canada to make the necessary preliminary arrangements for settling there some of the émigrés. These envoys were Philippe-Jean-Louis Desjardins, formerly vicar-general of Orleans, Jean-Marie Raimbeau, priest of the diocese of Bayeux, M. Gazil, doctor and formerly principal of the College

<sup>1</sup> See Forneron, II, 49 *et seq.*; Stephens, II, 505, 507 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> L'abbé Bois, 78, 79.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

of Navarre, and the Chevalier François-Josué Saint-Luc de la Corne, formerly post-captain in the French Navy.<sup>1</sup> These gentlemen were given £200 by the Government and £80 by the relief committee.<sup>2</sup> They were instructed to embark on His Majesty's packet for New York, and, having arrived there, to seek out His Majesty's agent, Sir John Temple,<sup>3</sup> who was directed to give them all needful assistance in prosecuting their journey to Quebec.<sup>4</sup> The envoys reached that city on March 2, 1793,<sup>5</sup> and presented their credentials to the Lieutenant-Governor. A meeting of the Council was called to consider in what situations and for how many persons lands could be allotted for occupation in the course of the ensuing year. But since it was expected that the number of arrivals would be greater than could immediately be settled, it was resolved to seek the assistance of the Church. It was ordered that the design be communicated to the bishop, the coadjutor, and the heads of religious communities, and that their aid be requested in fulfilling the royal instructions concerning the émigrés.<sup>6</sup>

Bishop Hubert, whose sympathies had already been enlisted in behalf of these unfortunates, lent himself heartily to their cause. It was expected that from 3000 to 6000 emigrants would soon arrive in Canada. To provide for their reception and distribution would require thought and labour. The Bishop proposed to send a circular letter to the curés of his diocese asking how many each one could receive. He calculated that Quebec and Montreal could each lodge 100 or 200 and Three Rivers 50. He proposed that committees be formed to receive the exiles, divide them into bands, and facilitate their transport into the different parishes; and that

<sup>1</sup> Dundas (Home Secretary) to General Alured Clarke, lieut. gov. of Lower Canada, Dec. 10, 1792 : *Colonial Office Records*, Q. 61-2, p. 452.

<sup>2</sup> Statement of the envoys to Clarke, Mar. 7, 1793 : *Immigration of French Royalists*.

<sup>3</sup> Dundas to Desjardins, Dec. 10, 1792 : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 61-2, p. 455. The letter reads "William" Temple but this is obviously a mistake on the part of Dundas.

<sup>4</sup> King to Temple, Dec. 11, 1792 : *ibid.*, Q. 61-2, p. 456.

<sup>5</sup> Clarke to Dundas, Mar. 14, 1793 : *ibid.*, Q. 62, p. 168.

<sup>6</sup> Minutes of Executive Council, Mar. 12, 1793 : *Immigration of French Royalists*.

a subscription for this purpose be started at once. Anticipating that he should be overwhelmed with letters, he suggested that those bearing his seal and those directed to him and marked "in behalf of the émigrés" <sup>1</sup> be free in the post-offices of the province. He recommended that the Government be generous in its distribution of lands, and that it provide instruments of agriculture and provisions for two or three years.<sup>2</sup> Nor did he limit himself to words, but wrote at once to some of his able colleagues asking for their assistance.<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile the Executive Council had ordered its secretary to give M. Desjardins and his three companions a list of the unoccupied townships in the province.<sup>4</sup> They were told that they might select any two of these and might call upon the surveyor-general for detailed information concerning the extent and the quality of the lands put at their disposition. But M. Desjardins preferred first to investigate conditions in Upper Canada. The British authorities had counselled him to this course, although they were inclined to believe that Lower Canada would be the better place for the venture, since the greater part of the population was Catholic and spoke the French language.<sup>5</sup>

In the correspondence which took place, Colonel John Simcoe, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, invited M. Desjardins to visit him, and offered to settle small French colonies on the shores of Lake Erie and Lake Ontario or along the navigable rivers emptying into them.<sup>6</sup> On August 3, 1793, M. Desjardins and the Chevalier de la Corne left for the upper province. They were received with great cordiality, were entertained for several weeks in the capital of the province, Newark, now called Niagara, and apparently expressed a wish for land in this vicinity.<sup>7</sup> As a result the Executive

<sup>1</sup> "Pour le service des émigrés."

<sup>2</sup> Bishop of Quebec to Clarke, Apr. 16, 1793 : *Immigration of French Royalists*.

<sup>3</sup> See the replies of some of these in *Immigration of French Royalists*.

<sup>4</sup> These were thirteen in number : Frampton, Tring, Waterford, Arnagh, Rawdon, Wickham, Hemmingford, Hinchinbrooke, Chatham, Clifton, Grenville, Suffolk, Buckingham, See l'abbé Bois, 84.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 85.



Council set aside for them a township at the west end of Lake Ontario near Burlington Bay.<sup>1</sup>

But all these preparations were to come to nothing. While the envoys were at Quebec the tide of war in Europe had taken a new turn. In July-Condé and Valenciennes fell. Spanish armies invaded the French Republic and nearly the whole of Roussillon was conquered. Moreover during the summer of 1793 civil war had broken out in many quarters, notably in Brittany and in the mountains of Auvergne. La Vendée flamed up fiercely. To the exiled priests and nobles all this seemed a presage of a day when they might return to their own. So long as they had felt themselves doomed to a lasting expatriation, they had been willing enough to seek out homes in distant Canada. But no sooner did the possibility of a return to France loom upon their horizon than they felt it imperative to remain within easy reach of their country. The four envoys from England saw their plan fail; the Bishop of Quebec sadly relinquished his hope of augmenting the number of his clergy and thus increasing the work of the Church,<sup>2</sup> and the Executive Council of Upper Canada rescinded the order setting aside the township of Burlington Bay for the French emigrants.<sup>3</sup>

But the idea that Canada was a land of promise for the exiled French continued to live. Discarded by the ecclesiastics as a body, it was taken up by some of the nobles. This class had, indeed, been included in the plan of 1792. One of the four envoys, the Chevalier de la Corne, was a layman. He had been instructed to pay particular attention to the choice of lands for noble families, many of whom it was presumed would emigrate.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See extract of a letter from Simcoe to Desjardins sent to D. W. Smith, acting surveyor-general, Oct. 27, 1793 : *Orders in Council for Land, 1793-1802*, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> A few French priests came between the years 1791 and 1806, forty-three in all. See l'abbé Bois, 87.

<sup>3</sup> See note in Simcoe's hand on the margin of a letter from Smith to Simcoe, July 20, 1794 : *Miscellaneous Letters, Documents, and Plans, 1792-1800*, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Statement of the envoys to Clarke, Mar. 7, 1793 : *Immigration of French Royalists*.

The first to make a move in this direction was Charles Grant, the Vicomte de Vaux. He had been interested in the plan from the first and had written a little pamphlet entitled "Proposals for a subscription to form colonies in Canada of French emigrants, loyalists, and ecclesiastics," which was published in London in 1793.<sup>1</sup> He was a soldier and a scholar, and a man of wide family connections in England. It was his purpose to take with him to Canada not only his own family but also those of some of his associates. His English relatives interested themselves in his behalf, and early in 1794 the Home Secretary, Dundas, wrote to the Duke of Portland<sup>2</sup> and later to Lord Dorchester, Governor of Canada, recommending that a grant of lands be made to the Vicomte. But funds also were needed to set the enterprise afoot, and Pitt was unwilling to countenance an appropriation of money for such a purpose while the Government was burdened with the expenses of a long war.<sup>3</sup> The Vicomte de Vaux felt obliged to wait, and it was not until three years later that he made another appeal to the British Government. Addressing himself to Mr. John King, the Under Secretary of State, in March, 1797, he said that his scheme had received the approbation of English and French royalists, and requested that if it could not be executed in its entirety, it might be for some part of his family.<sup>4</sup> But this effort, too, was doomed to failure.<sup>5</sup>

Still another candidate for lands in Canada appeared. The first petition of the Vicomte de Vaux was followed a few months later by one from the Comte de Mertois Saint-Ouen. He wrote from Nimègues that he had done all in his power to rescue France, had sacrificed everything, and was on the verge

<sup>1</sup> L'abbé Bois, 78-79.

<sup>2</sup> Statement of the case of Vaux addressed to Portland [Mar. 12?, 1797]: *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 97-2, p. 436.

<sup>3</sup> See Vaux to the Under Secretary, John King, Mar. 12, 1797: *ibid.*, Q. 79-2, p. 432.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> In 1804 the Vicomte de Vaux tried again to put his plan through. The British Government expressed itself as willing to give him land, but he was apparently not satisfied with the amount which it was purposed to grant him. See Vaux to Major-Gen. Grant, June 4, 1804: *ibid.*, Q. 96, p. 100.

of starvation. He begged that he and his nephew, a lieutenant in the Royal Navy of France, be given a passage to Canada and land there. And he promised that they would never speak of the favour accorded them,<sup>1</sup> if His Majesty feared to be subjected to too many demands of this kind. It was a touching appeal and worthy of generous consideration. But the war cloud hung heavy over England just then, and the Government could pay little attention to the affairs of individuals. Just what response was made, if any, is not known; but it would seem that neither the petitioner nor his nephew received the bounty solicited.

### I. THE COMTE DE PUISAYE

It was reserved for a wholly different type of man to win the goodwill and active assistance of the British Government in the scheme of settling French royalists in Canada. Joseph-Geneviève, Comte de Puisaye, was not one who made small requests or who spoke words of humility. He had a high opinion of his place in the world, and such favours as he asked must be commensurate with his dignity. When therefore he applied to the British Government, it was for aid sufficient to establish himself and several thousand followers in Canada.<sup>2</sup> At the time he made his request he was utterly at variance with the leaders of the Bourbon party, and doubtless willing enough to drain that party of some of its strength. Or it may be that he really despaired of the cause of royalty, and saw no hope that its supporters would ever be permitted to return to France. Whatever his true motive, it was his project to plant colonies of émigrés in the New World, with the British Government at the back of the enterprise. Much aid would be required by these penniless exiles : a passage across the ocean, land, instruments of agriculture, seed, and provisions for some years to come. All this Puisaye asked. Perhaps he relied for success chiefly upon his close relations with the British ministers. What these relations were, and

<sup>1</sup> Aug. 10, 1794 : *ibid.*, Q. 57-2, p. 372.

<sup>2</sup> Sketch . . . of an Establishment to be formed in Canada, for . . . French Emigrants : Report on Canadian Archives, 1888, pp. 73 *et seq.*

what was the character of the man who availed himself of them to interest the British Government in the plan of transplanting the émigrés, may best be seen in a sketch of his life.<sup>1</sup>

Puisaye was born in 1754 at Mortagne in the province of Perche. His family was noble, but whether of the old or new nobility is still a question. The youngest of four brothers, he was early destined for the Church, and his ecclesiastical education was doubtless responsible for a certain unction which characterized him, and which gave him easy access to the hearts of the Breton peasants. Although other plans had been made for him, his inherent love for the military profession won its way,<sup>2</sup> and at the age of eighteen he entered the regiment of Conti as lieutenant. Some years later, at the death of his father, he purchased into the Hundred Swiss, which formed a part of the King's household, and received the brevet of colonel. In the States General of 1789 he was deputy for the province of Perche. In the debates he took little or no part, but voted for the first innovations and was numbered with those members who inclined toward a constitutional monarchy. When the new Constitution was completed he returned to his estate of Mesnilles, and in 1792 was placed at the head of the National Guards of the district of Evreux. A believer in monarchy, he arrayed himself against the Jacobin party, and lent himself to the raising of an army in Normandy, which should secure to the King the free exercise of his constitutional powers. The 10th of August made such an issue impossible. But the Norman army was not therefore disbanded. On the contrary it was maintained and increased now for the purpose of withstanding the tyranny of the Convention. Puisaye was made second in command. After the rout at Passy-sur-Eure,<sup>3</sup> his château was given up to pillage, and he himself was obliged to fly. He turned

<sup>1</sup> The following sketch of Puisaye is based upon Beauchamp, III & IV, *passim*; Savary III & IV, *passim*; Thiers, *passim*; Forneron, *passim*; and Duchemin de Scépeaux, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Beauchamp, III, 179. But see Forneron, II, 91. "Madame de Cormery, grand-mère du jeune abbé, mourait du remords d'avoir forcé plusieurs de ses filles à être religieuses; elle l'arracha au séminaire, le fit entrer comme sous-lieutenant aux dragons de la Marche."

<sup>3</sup> July 13, 1793.

his steps toward Brittany and on the way there learned that a price had been set upon his head. To conceal his identity, and doubtless also to work upon the sympathies of the people, whom he wished to rally round the white flag, he avowed himself of royal blood and as proscribed on that account. His personality was one to win adherents. He was of imposing stature, noble bearing, and gracious manners, and spoke easily, eloquently, persuasively. Though reserved with his equals, he was affable to his inferiors, and his influence over them was particularly strong. It is not strange that he soon won the loyalty of the Breton peasants. They knew him only as the Comte Joseph and, repeating the name with an air of mystery, came to regard him as the only hope of the country.

Brittany had been the theatre of war for some time. The Chouans, smugglers by choice, and left without an occupation when the customs were removed, had refused to comply with the requisition of the Convention for troops, and had organized themselves into small companies which roamed about and lived the life of banditti. It needed only a chief, albeit an able one, to give coherence to these scattered bands and make of them a veritable force. With his keen mind, his tireless energy, and his dauntless courage, Puisaye was well fitted for the task, and he gave himself to it with a will. By the spring of 1794, he had extended the royalist organization throughout all Brittany, and even beyond its borders, and had brought it under the control of a military council.

But he felt, and doubtless had felt all along, that British aid was necessary to win western France wholly for the Bourbons. This aid he decided to seek in person. Making all due arrangements for the care and discipline of his troops during his absence, and leaving such instructions as he deemed necessary with the commander who was to serve in his stead, he set out for England on the 13th of May, 1794. He laid his plan before the Prime Minister, the Home Secretary, and the Auditor of the Exchequer,<sup>1</sup> and won them to its support. It was agreed that a considerable army under the command

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<sup>1</sup> William Pitt, Henry Dundas (first Viscount Melville), and William Wyndham Grenville (Baron Grenville).

of Lord Moira, and composed of British troops and of émigrés in the pay of Great Britain, should make a descent upon the coast of Brittany, and in conjunction with royalist forces drive the republicans from the country. But while arrangements were being made for the execution of the plan, word came that the army of Brittany was no more. The foremost leaders, disobeying their instructions, had signed a treaty with the Republic. The work of years for the Bourbon cause was undone.

Still Puisaye did not despair. He sent D'Allègre de Saint-Tronc, an insurgent leader who had taken no part in the pacification, to Brittany to retrieve what had been lost. Meanwhile he devoted himself to the task of reassuring the British Government, and of winning its aid anew. And in large measure he succeeded. Money and supplies of all kinds were given him; and Commodore Warren was charged with the task of transporting the émigrés to the Bay of Quiberon. But the first day at sea disclosed a serious difficulty. The instructions given Puisaye made him commander-in-chief; but they clashed with those of D'Hervilly, who had been made responsible for the troops until they should land. Thus the expedition began with a divided command. It was a bad augury, and it was followed by a most disastrous train of events. While discordant counsels kept the invaders inactive, the republican troops spread terror throughout the royalist provinces, and approaching ever nearer finally closed round the enemy, now increased by large bands of Chouans. Then followed a battle which ended in a terrible rout of the defeated enemy. Some were driven into the sea while 6000 surrendered, 690 of whom, all émigrés, were afterwards put to death. Small wonder that Brittany moaned and wrung her hands and cursed the author of this evil. Small wonder too that Puisaye was held chiefly accountable. And yet in the light of a full investigation not much blame would seem to attach to him. A divided command, an army torn with dissensions, the unsuspected machinations of the royalist agents at Paris, contrary winds, all played their part in the awful tragedy.

Puisaye himself escaped death by boarding one of the vessels of Commodore Warren; but he had no intention of going back to England. He was allowed to disembark in Brittany, now alive with republican troops. For more than a year he bent himself to the task of bringing together the scattered remnants of his army. He carried his life in his hand, he moved in a maze of plots and counter-plots, he had to meet distrust and hatred everywhere, yet he kept on unflinchingly, and in a measure he achieved his end. That the ways along which he worked were sometimes dark must be confessed. Then came again the ruin of all he had done. Brittany and the other western provinces laid down their arms. Puisaye had never consented to the pacification, and was not included in it. The British Secretary of State for War advised him to provide for his own personal safety, and offered him, in the name of the Government, a considerable sum of money.<sup>1</sup> But this the one-time chief of the Bretons refused<sup>2</sup> and asked that it be used to relieve his faithful companions. As for himself, he would remain in France until utterly hopeless of the cause of the King. His was a devotion which, though marred by personal ambition, deserved nevertheless a better reward than it received. The agents of Louis XVIII discredited Puisaye wherever they could; and finally, feeling himself fully out of favour, he went to London, and resigning his commission as lieutenant-general stepped out of the arena of war.

It was at this juncture that he turned his eyes toward Canada. Just why may not safely be conjectured. Was it, as we are told, that he did not wish to be accused of maintaining his hold upon the royalist party of Brittany, and sought, for that reason, another hemisphere? Or was it rather, that, aware of the tremendous odds against him, he despaired of success in his attempt to organize the Chouans and wished to turn his restless energy into a new channel?

<sup>1</sup> See Beauchamp, IV, 299. The statement was evidently made on the authority of a dispatch of Dundas dated Sept. 2, 1796.

<sup>2</sup> So Beauchamp says, but Puisaye's wealth, as shown in his lavish expenditure of money in Canada, inclines us to wonder whether he did not after all accept the offer.

It was believed at the time that he meant to carry many of the royalist officers with him.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps he hoped to do so. We have an intimation also that he looked for a following among the Breton peasants.<sup>2</sup> It may almost be that he dallied with the thought of a little principality in the new world.

## II. PUISAYE'S PLAN AND THE SUPPORT GIVEN IT BY THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT

If the man was remarkable, no less so was his plan. It is outlined in a memorial drawn up probably in the year 1797.<sup>3</sup> Puisaye, or, to give him his assumed name, the Marquis de Brecourt, begins by saying that it is not to be expected that Great Britain, burdened as she is by the expenses of the present war, will undertake any costly experiments in behalf of the émigrés who have fled to her shores for protection. But he believes that the project which he has in mind could be executed by means of the funds which the Government annually appropriates for the unfortunate exiles, and that it would result in making them self-supporting and a source of strength to the British Empire. This project is nothing more nor less than a revival of that of 1792, the details, however, being far more elaborately worked out. The émigrés are to be given the opportunity of going to Canada. Land is to be allotted them and all their expenses for the first three years are to be paid by the Government. At the expiration

<sup>1</sup> Beauchamp, IV, 358.

<sup>2</sup> The Marquis de Sainte-Aulaire to Gen. Robert Prescott, Governor of Canada, Jan. 28, 1799 : *Settlers, 1794-1800*, p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Sketch (political and financial) of an establishment to be formed in Canada for the settlement of the French Emigrants : Report on Canadian Archives, 1888, pp. 77 *et seq.* The Sketch is unsigned, but it undoubtedly emanated from Puisaye. We know that he memorialized the Government twice on this subject, Jean Yrieix de Beauvoir, the Marquis de Sainte-Aulaire, writing the memorials for him. See *Mémoire, Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 57-2, p. 389. (Undated, written by Beauvoir as proved beyond doubt by internal evidence. This is not one of the memorials referred to above.) And we know further that he strongly favoured the idea of the military corps. See, for instance, his letter to Prescott, Nov. 24, 1798 : *Settlers, 1794-1800*, p. 34. It is not likely that the Sketch was written before March, 1797, when Puisaye landed in England. Up to that time he seems to have been engrossed in affairs in Brittany. On the other hand it must have been written some time before April 28, 1798, for the project was then well on toward consummation. See E. H. Woodford, Windham's Secretary, to the Marquis de Brecourt, Apr. 28, 1798 : *Puisaye Corr.* Add. MSS., 7978, p. 103.



of that time the new proprietors are to bear the expense attending the increase of the settlement. To begin with, £1500 will be needed. Parliament has only to vote that the grant of money now made annually for the émigrés be made for a term of years, and that £5000 be deducted from the annual allowance of each of three ensuing years and be advanced for the enterprise in question. If it be argued that the residue will be insufficient to meet the needs of those remaining in England, the answer may be made that all those under fifty years of age who should refuse to avail themselves of the opportunity of going to Canada can no longer have any plea for leaning on the generosity of the Government, and, moreover, that there are many annuitants whose supplies will admit of a reasonable reduction.

The land is to be cleared and requisite buildings constructed by a regiment of soldiers, whose pay shall be assigned on the military establishment of Canada. The officers of the regiments shall be composed of émigrés, and the colonel shall be at the head of the colony under the governor. The number of émigrés to be sent over the first year shall not exceed 300 or 400. The Government shall bear the expense of the passage, but shall be reimbursed by the taxes laid on the newly created property. And the colony shall not be subject to any other tax by the colonial assembly until this debt be liquidated.

Such, in brief, was Puisaye's plan. It was fortunate for him that he counted the Prime Minister as his friend<sup>1</sup> and that he stood on terms of the closest intimacy with the Secretary for War.<sup>2</sup> We may infer that Pitt approved of the project and we know that Windham lent himself heartily to the execution of its main features.<sup>3</sup> Conferences were held with Major-General Simcoe<sup>4</sup>—who had recently returned from Canada and who, as lieutenant-governor, had learned to

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<sup>1</sup> See Puisaye to Liverpool, Aug. 20, 1812 : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 316, p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> See *Puisaye Corr.*, Add. MSS., 7976, 7978, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Windham to Russell, July 30, 1798 : Report on Canadian Archives, 1888, p. 79.

know the country thoroughly—and he, too, gave his support.<sup>1</sup> The Secretary for War and the Home Secretary, the Duke of Portland, sent official word to Mr. Russell,<sup>2</sup> acting lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, that the British Government contemplated making provision for a considerable number of French émigrés in Upper Canada and requested him to consult with Puisaye as to the best means of carrying such a plan into execution.<sup>3</sup> The Government promised to furnish the necessary money.<sup>4</sup> But there is reason to believe that when the critical moment came it found that it had no funds immediately at its disposition, and that it left Puisaye to make advances out of his private fortune with the understanding that it would reimburse him.<sup>5</sup> For the rest, it

<sup>1</sup> This is evident from the fact that he gave Puisaye a letter of introduction to Russell bespeaking the latter's good offices for the enterprise.—Russell to Simcoe, Nov. 25, 1798 : *Simcoe Papers*, V, 346.

<sup>2</sup> The Hon. Peter Russell was senior member of the Executive Council. He acted in the place of the lieutenant-governor during the interval between General Simcoe's departure and the arrival of his successor, General Peter Hunter, August, 1779, and bore the title of President.

<sup>3</sup> Report on Canadian Archives, 1888, pp. 77-80. The letters are dated respectively July 30, 1798, and July 5, 1798.

<sup>4</sup> See Portland to Russell, July 5, 1798 : Report on Canadian Archives, 1888, pp. 77-78.

<sup>5</sup> The *Biographie Générale* (Hœfer) makes the statement that Puisaye received an establishment in Canada together with money for its exploitation. I have been able to find only two passages in the original documents relative to this matter, and they incline me to believe that the Government did not keep its promise. Jan. 7, 1810, Puisaye wrote to Windham : "J'ai écrit il y a quelque temps à Mr Percival non pour lui adresser aucune réclamation mais pour savoir à quelle époque les fonds destinés pour l' établissement du canada avoient été faits. Il m'a répondu qu'il n'en prouvoit aucune trace de cette remise de fonds et que Messrs. Long et Huskisson qui étaient avant lui, n'en savoient pas davantage—cette somme n'est donc pas sortie de la Trésorerie et par conséquent ce n'est qu'un oubli dont j'ai eu cruellement à souffrir à la vérité, mais qu'il est toujours temps et juste de réparer." *Puisaye Corr.* Add. MSS. 7980—page unfortunately omitted by copyist.

And Aug. 20, 1812, Puisaye wrote to Lord Liverpool, then Prime Minister, that before his departure for Upper Canada he was to have received a sufficient sum of money to enable him and his followers to settle the lands given them, but that no funds being at the immediate disposition of the Government, he had advanced the money and that he had returned from Canada to arrange a mode of compensation for the sum due him from the Government. He expressed himself as ready to produce his vouchers and begged that one or two commissioners be appointed to investigate the matter.—*Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 316, p. 218.

furnished stores from its magazines,<sup>1</sup> an ocean passage,<sup>2</sup> land,<sup>3</sup> instruments of agriculture, seed, and rations.<sup>4</sup> There is some evidence, however, that it expected to be indemnified for any outlay for Puisaye himself—this probably because Puisaye had wealth of his own.<sup>5</sup>

### III. THE PERSONNEL OF THE COMPANY

It would appear that no definite announcement of the proposed undertaking was made, but it was bruited about London,<sup>6</sup> and there were not wanting those eager to enlist in it. Puisaye doubtless discussed it with some of his friends before sending in his memorial. Given a free hand, he induced them to become members of his party. At least four of those who joined him had fought at Quiberon.<sup>7</sup>

Perhaps the most distinguished by birth, family, and education was Jean Yrieix de Beaupoil, the Marquis de Sainte-

<sup>1</sup>“War Office, July 21, 1798. Monsieur Woodford a l' Honneur d'envoyer à Monsieur le Marquis de Brecourt un Etat des Effets que le Gouvernement a fait livrer des Magazines pour son usage—on pourroit augmenter le nombre des Effets marqué en Marge et qui doivent être mis abord à Portsmouth.”—*Puisaye Corr.*, Add. MSS., 7978, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup>The *Betsy* was a government vessel and Windham made all the arrangements for the voyage. See Woodford to Brecourt, Apr. 28, 1798 : *Puisaye Corr.*, Add. MSS., 7978, p. 103. See furthermore *Puisaye Papers*, p. 10. This is a letter dated July 28, 1798, written by three of the party to Puisaye and complaining of the provision made for them on shipboard. The margin of the letter contains a note in Puisaye's hand to the effect that no one has a right to complain since nothing is due to any one, the whole being a favour on the part of the Government.

<sup>3</sup>Portland to Russell, July 5, 1798 : Report on Canadian Archives, 1888, pp. 77-78. For the land actually allotted see tables in Appendix II.

<sup>4</sup>Woodford to Puisaye, Sept. 29, 1799 : *Puisaye Corr.*, Add. MSS. 7978, p. 130.

<sup>5</sup>For example, see Woodford to Puisaye, Dec. 18, 1798 : *Puisaye Corr.*, Add. MSS., 7978, p. 128—“L'affaire de votre Passage sera réglé la manière la plus favorable qui est en mon Pouvoir, mais je ne puis pas vous dire affirmativement que ce sera en votre faveur.” But the others were given their passage. Furthermore, when rations were issued to Puisaye in Canada it was with the understanding that they were to be returned or paid for at the pleasure of the Government—a stipulation not made with regard to the other émigrés. It would seem to have been with reference to the rations thus issued to Puisaye that Woodford wrote, Sept. 29, 1799 : “C'est une Dépense personnelle que Monsieur Windham est assuré que vous verrez acquitté avec Plaisir sur le traitement que le Gouvernement vous fait.”—*Puisaye Corr.*, Add. MSS., 7978, p. 130.

<sup>6</sup>Carrey d'Asinères to Puisaye, July 6, 1798 : *Puisaye Papers*, p. 6.

<sup>7</sup>The Marquis de Sainte-Aulaire (Robert, p. 316); the Comte de Chalus (*ibid.*, p. 317); D'Allègre (*ibid.*, p. 30); St. George (*ibid.*, p. 342).

Aulaire. A love for the Bourbons and the cause of royalty had characterized all his family, many of whom had perished for the royal cause.<sup>1</sup> The Marquis himself had been in the confidence of Louis XVI and (at the bidding of his sovereign) had become an émigré. Because of his knowledge of French affairs, he had been of material service to England in warning her of the designs of the French upon India.<sup>2</sup> But wearied with thirty-seven years of military service and seven campaigns, he was eager to escape from the calamities which appeared to him to menace all Europe.<sup>3</sup> Thus it was that Puisaye found no difficulty in enlisting Beaupoil's interest in his plan. It was the Marquis who drew up the two memorials presented to the British Government, and it was to him that Puisaye promised the command of the military corps<sup>4</sup> which was designed to play so prominent a part in the proposed settlement. The Marquise was to accompany her husband, as was also their young son, Hippolite, and in addition a cousin, Gui de Beaupoil, who had been a page at the court of Marie Antoinette, and had served in the royalist army as lieutenant.

René-Augustin, the Comte de Chalus, and Jean-Louis, the Vicomte de Chalus, brothers, were also of the company. They came of an old and honourable family in Maine.<sup>5</sup> Both had served in the army in Brittany, the former as major-general, the latter as colonel. The Comte had been appointed to the command of the army upon Puisaye's forced resignation, but was himself requested to withdraw when his close friendship for the former chief became known.<sup>6</sup> During much of this stormy period he was in touch with some of the leading

<sup>1</sup> His brother, Marc-Antoine, was shot at Quiberon, Aug. 5. See Robert, 316.

<sup>2</sup> Beaupoil to Prescott, Jan. 28, 1799: *Settlers, 1794 to 1800*, p. 47. We have only the Marquis's own word for this statement but the spirit which breathes through all of his letters—and there are many from his pen—is of such honesty and sincerity as to carry great weight.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Mémoire [by Beaupoil]: *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 57-2, p. 389.

<sup>5</sup> Hozier, I, 727.

<sup>6</sup> Forneron, II, 143.

royalists in France.<sup>1</sup> The Vicomte was to be accompanied by the Vicomtesse.

D'Allègre de Saint-Tronc had been a wealthy proprietor of San Domingo. Originally of Provence and allied with several distinguished families there, he had returned to his native land in 1793. Landing in Marseilles when the resistance to the Convention was at its height, he had taken an active part in it and had fled with the Marseillaise fugitives to Toulon. He escaped the Reign of Terror which followed the taking of the city from the English, was subsequently captured by a republican corsair and carried to Brest where he was imprisoned. Eluding the vigilance of his jailers, he made his way to Morbihan and lent himself so zealously to the royalist cause that he was made major-general of the District of Vannes.<sup>2</sup> Brought into touch with Puisaye he became his fast friend. D'Allègre was brave, keen-sighted, cool-headed, and a born diplomatist. Puisaye entrusted him with the most delicate and important missions. The two were in close sympathy and active coöperation in their efforts for the royalist cause.<sup>3</sup>

Jean-Baptiste Coster de Saint-Victor<sup>4</sup> was included in the number, very probably at the request of his friend, the Marquis de Sainte-Aulaire.<sup>5</sup> Coster had joined the royalist army in 1791 but had reëntered France in 1793 and had fought with the Chouans under Puisaye. He was able, brave to the point of rashness, and wholly devoted to the cause of the Bourbons.<sup>6</sup> So far as this particular enterprise was concerned, his interest was lukewarm, and he consented to enter upon it only after having been assured by Puisaye that he might return to England immediately upon a fresh outbreak of war between France and Europe; and that mean-

<sup>1</sup> See Lebon, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Puisaye's attestation of the military rank of the émigrés, July 23, 1801 : *Settlers, 1801-1818*, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Beauchamp, III, IV, *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> The *Biographie Générale* (Hoefler) gives the name without the "de." I have adopted the form in the text because Coster signs himself so in the letters which I have found.

<sup>5</sup> See Puisaye to Coster, July 28, 1798 : *Puisaye Papers*, p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Hoefler : *Biographie Générale*.

while he should be given a post in the prospective military corps in Canada.<sup>1</sup>

Next in order of military rank stood René-François de Marzeul,<sup>2</sup> lieutenant-colonel, an old man whose strength had been impaired by hard service in the wars and many wounds.<sup>3</sup> Puisaye seems to have relied implicitly upon his integrity and fidelity and to have displayed a genuine interest in his material welfare.<sup>4</sup>

In sharp contrast to Marzeul stood Laurent Quetton St. George. He was a comparatively young man, had received a mercantile education in France,<sup>5</sup> and was endowed by nature with the qualities which make for success. He had served as major in the first division of the army of Maine and had won the esteem of his chiefs.<sup>6</sup> By the advice of the Comte de Chalus, then major-general of the army, he added to his family name of Quetton that of St. George<sup>7</sup>—in accordance with a custom that prevailed among the royalist officers of changing their names to conceal their identity from the French Republic, which would otherwise persecute those members of their families still remaining in France.<sup>8</sup> The story goes that St. George<sup>9</sup> chose his pseudonym in honour of the saint upon whose day he first landed in England. Be that as it may, Puisaye counselled him to retain the name<sup>10</sup> and he did so.

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<sup>1</sup> Coster to Puisaye, May 5, 1799 : *Puisaye Papers*, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> I have adopted the spelling used by Marzeul himself. Marseul and Marseuil are more frequently met with in the documents.

<sup>3</sup> Puisaye to General Peter Hunter, lieut. gov. of Upper Canada, July 23, 1801 : *Settlers, 1801-1818*, p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* and elsewhere.

<sup>5</sup> Statement by Puisaye of transactions between himself and the partnership of St. George and Farcy : *Puisaye Papers*, p. 124.

<sup>6</sup> Signed declaration of the Vicomte de Chalus, July 12, 1815 : *Quetton St. George Papers*, p. 20.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> "L'usage de prendre des noms de guerre était presque généralement adopté pour sauver nos familles d'être massacrées par les republicains qui ne manquaient presque jamais de le faire lors qu'ils apprenaient les vrais noms des officiers de la Vendée ou de la Bretagne."—*Ibid.* In this connection see Forneron, II, 172.

<sup>9</sup> He always used the abbreviated form, St.

<sup>10</sup> Certified copy, of a signed declaration of the Comte de Chalus, Aug. 21, 1815 : *Quetton St. George Papers*, p. 24.

Augustin Boiton de Fougères was a young man who had allied himself with a band of Chouans in the forest of Pertre and had risen through all the grades to that of colonel. Full of zeal and courage, he was also modest and sufficiently devoted to the cause of the King to give up his command to a better known leader when the company was reorganized.<sup>1</sup> Of Lambert de la Richerie nothing appears to be known save the fact that he had served as lieutenant; and of Ambroise de Farcy du Roseray and Poret nothing beyond their military rank of captain. The personnel of the company embraced others of humbler position, sub-officers, privates, and servants—forty-four in all, including those already named.<sup>2</sup>

The letters written to Puisaye during this summer of preparation attest that he was truly their chief. The various members of the party accepted his word as decisive. They looked to him to solve all difficulties and, particularly, to

<sup>1</sup> Beauchamp, III, 202.

<sup>2</sup> In addition to those named above there were :

*Sub-officers*

Renoult [François] served as captain without a commission.—Memorandum respecting the rank of Puisaye's followers submitted by St. George and Boiton to Sur. Gen. W. Chewett, Nov. 23, 1803 : *Immigration of French Royalists*.

Segeant [Michel] served as lieutenant without a commission.—Ibid.

*Privates*

Marchand [Jacques]

Letourneau [René]

Fauchard [Michel]

Le Bugle [Julien]

Furon [Jean]

Champagne

Padioux

Auguste

Polard

Langel [Louis]

Bagot

René Fouquet—lost at Plymouth

Brigage (Michel Brequier) lost at  
[Plymouth]

Abraham Berne (John Berne)

John Deyback

*Servants*

Nathaniel Thompson

John Thompson

John Fitzgerald (ficerel)

Thomas Jones

Joseph Donavant

William Smithers [alias Kent]

*Women*

Françoise Letourneau, wife of René

Mrs. Smithers, sister of William

Mary Donovant [Smithers]

Catherine Donavant

Betsy—lost at Plymouth and replaced  
[by Barbe]

The above classification is deduced from the list given to Russell by Puisaye soon after his arrival (*Establishment of Count de Puisaye and his Companions*) and the list made out by the government agent for the émigrés, Angus Macdonnell, Sept. 3, 1799 (*Settlers, 1794-1800*, pp. 93-4). Both lists are given in Report on Canadian Archives, 1888, pp. 85-87, but without any intimation as to their source. The spelling adopted in my classification is in every case that which seemed to me, after a careful comparison of all the documents, most probably correct.

supply them with money. Some of the demands were modest. Farcy begged only enough for a small stock of linen and offered his note with such interest as the Comte might wish.<sup>1</sup> Coster de Saint-Victor and Marzeul asked for a sum sufficient to buy some trifles still lacking to their comfort, and to win back their servants whose ardour had abated through fear of the cold in Canada. They had already borrowed money from Puisaye, and offered him the same rate of interest as attached to the previous loans.<sup>2</sup> The Marquis de Sainte-Aulaire asked for and obtained 100 livres.<sup>3</sup>

#### IV. THE JOURNEY

Finally all was ready and the party assembled at Portsmouth and embarked on board the *Betsey*, a government packet bound for Quebec. There was some confusion at the last moment owing to the fact that Puisaye was denied the accommodations which he had supposed were reserved for him on the *Cleopatra*, and room had perforce to be made for him and his suite on the *Betsey*. From Portsmouth the vessel set sail for Weymouth, and after an eight days' delay there put out to sea.<sup>4</sup>

Just what comforts were afforded the little band of émigrés on their voyage we do not know. From a letter written by Marzeul, Coster, and St. George to Puisaye, before their departure from London, we are led to suppose that sailors' rations only were to be provided,<sup>5</sup> yet we hear of bouillon, chickens, and red wine.<sup>6</sup> It is to be feared that the company was not strictly harmonious and that the subsequent estrangement of Puisaye and Beaupoil had its origin at this time.<sup>7</sup> One little incident stands out clearly and is an amusing illus-

<sup>1</sup> Farcy to Brecourt, July 6, 1798 : *Puisaye Papers*, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Coster to Brecourt [July, 1798] : *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Mémoire [by Beaupoil] : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 57-2, p. 390. Beaupoil, a Frenchman writing in French and living in England, doubtless used livre as meaning pound sterling.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 391.

<sup>5</sup> July 28, 1798 : *Puisaye Papers*, p. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Mémoire [by Beaupoil] : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 57-2, p. 392.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, *passim*.



tration of Puisaye's fondness for playing the prince. Calling his officers on deck one afternoon, he went through a little ceremony in the course of which he created Quetton St. George and Marzeul Chevaliers de Saint-Louis, in virtue of the powers received from him who called himself Louis XVIII.<sup>1</sup> The privates and the servants smiled and spoke henceforth of the two men as "Chevaliers de la Betsi."<sup>2</sup>

It was the 7th of October when the vessel cast anchor in the harbour of Quebec.<sup>3</sup> Before them towered the majestic rock upon whose crown the upper city stood; encircling its base, close to the water's edge, lay the lower town, the streets narrow and dirty, the houses high, dark, and forbidding.<sup>4</sup> To those of the wanderers who had known the cities of the continent, this capital of Lower Canada with its population of approximately 12,000<sup>5</sup> must have seemed an insignificant metropolis. But it needed only a view from the summit of the cliff to reconcile them to Quebec. River, forest, and mountain united to make an incomparably magnificent scene. Nor was the landscape without its gentler features. The shores of the St. Lawrence were dotted with cottages and glistening spires, the country was diversified with rich meadows and cultivated fields.<sup>6</sup> It seemed a land of comfort and of plenty.

Whatever the emotions of the travellers, they had little time to indulge them. A part of the company and all of the baggage were at once transferred to another vessel, a coaster or so called catiche, which proceeded forthwith to Montreal. The remainder, including Puisaye and D'Allègre, undertook to make the journey by land.<sup>7</sup> Those who travelled by water must have experienced many discomforts. The vessels which sailed regularly between Quebec and Montreal were

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 394.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 401.

<sup>3</sup> Russell to Portland, Nov. 3, 1798 : Report on Canadian Archives, 1888, p. 83.

<sup>4</sup> Weld, I, 350.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., II, 6.

<sup>7</sup> See Ass. Commissary-general I. W. Clarke to Major James Green, military secretary, Oct. 18, 1798 : *Settlers, 1794-1800*, p. 9.

small, ranging from 30 to 100 tons, and, being intended for freight, afforded very poor accommodation for passengers. These were obliged to take their provisions with them and to go ashore at night to sleep unless, indeed, they had had the forethought to provide themselves with mattresses. Those who went by land had perhaps a more comfortable journey, for the accommodations between Quebec and Montreal were fairly good; there was a regular line of post-houses at convenient distances and calèches were always kept in readiness for travellers.<sup>1</sup> These clumsy vehicles were sometimes easy and sometimes otherwise;<sup>2</sup> but, in any case, they must have afforded the little party a relief from the monotony of shipboard. Under ordinary circumstances there might have been some trouble with the roads in October, but the weather chanced to be unusually fine.<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile preparations were being made at Montreal for the newcomers. The task of caring for them had been assigned to the assistant commissary-general, Mr. I. W. Clarke, and he had sought out lodging-houses for them. He meant, however, to get them out of the city as soon as possible, for he feared, if they remained some days, that they would be informed of the inconveniences attending a winter in Upper Canada and would be disinclined to go on. Two bateaux, comfortably fitted up for the ladies and the principal gentlemen, lay ready at Lachine.<sup>4</sup>

Finally the land party arrived. Eager to reach Kingston, Puisaye proposed that they set out on their journey up the river at once, leaving D'Allègre to await the coming of the others.<sup>5</sup> But the wind was fresh and might bring in the catiche at any hour. Moreover, it seemed a little unwise to undertake what might be a seven days' <sup>6</sup> journey on the water without the physical comforts which made up a part of the baggage not yet arrived. It was customary for travellers

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<sup>1</sup> Weld, II, 2-3.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Cf. Lambert, I, 168-170.

<sup>3</sup> I. W. Clarke to Green, Oct. 15, 1798 : *Settlers, 1794-1800*, p. 45.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> I. W. Clarke to Green, Oct. 18, 1798 : Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Weld, II, 53.

on the St. Lawrence to provide their own bedding, and Puisaye was unwilling to bear the expense of more than one blanket apiece for the gentlemen and two for the ladies.<sup>1</sup> While he was debating in his own mind what to do, the anxiously awaited vessel appeared — October 18.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Clarke immediately ordered carts to convey the effects of the company to Lachine, a village nine miles away, where it was usual to load the bateaux for the journey up the river,<sup>3</sup> the rapids just above Montreal barring the way of vessels. The servants also were sent to Lachine. They had been tampered with on the way from Quebec, had been told that they were going to a sickly country and would do better to remain in the lower province; and Mr. Clarke thought it best to get them out of Montreal into a retired place where there would be less danger of having their fears further aroused. A day or two later, the entire party embarked, apparently well satisfied, and in good spirits.<sup>4</sup> The weather had continued to be extraordinarily fine.<sup>5</sup>

We may picture the brigade of fourteen bateaux, two laden with passengers, twelve with furniture and other necessaries. Curious, flat-bottomed, sharp-pointed boats they were, propelled by oars and poles and equipped with sails.<sup>6</sup> The travellers must have marvelled at craft so new to them. On both sides the shores offered a constantly changing view. The mighty river was now broad and smooth, now contracted and white with seething rapids up which the bateaux had to be dragged or round which they had to be carried. At sundown there was a halt; the boatmen landed, prepared the evening meal, and all rested until morning.<sup>7</sup> Towards the end of their journey they entered the Lake of a Thousand Isles, with its tortuous channels.<sup>8</sup> Then came the open

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<sup>1</sup> I. W. Clarke to Green, Oct. 18, 1798 : *Settlers, 1794-1800*, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Weld, II, 22.

<sup>4</sup> I. W. Clarke to Green, Oct. 22, 1798 : *Settlers, 1794-1800*, p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Green to Puisaye, Nov. 12, 1798 : *Puisaye Papers*, p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> Weld, I, 331 ; II, 27.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 30.

<sup>8</sup> Weld, II, 52.

river again and, fifteen miles beyond, their destination, Kingston.

This was Kingston ! A wide harbour, a level stretch of land with a fort and barracks, a church, and somewhat more than a hundred<sup>1</sup> houses, a few of brick and stone but the greater number of wood. It was not much of a town but nevertheless a centre of considerable trade. All the goods brought up the river for the supply of the upper country were stored here to await reshipment in the lake vessels; here also the furs were collected from the various posts preparatory to being laden in bateaux and sent down the St. Lawrence. The principal merchants had close business connections with the old established houses at Montreal and Quebec.<sup>2</sup> One of these merchants was the Honourable Richard Cartwright, with whom Puisaye afterwards had large dealings and through whom most of the goods for the colony were ordered.<sup>3</sup>

It is recorded that the French immigrants met with a warm reception. Official word of their coming,—presumably sent by the Governor, Prescott—had been received and Major H. L. Spencer was quick and generous in his offers of aid.<sup>4</sup> Being apprised by Russell that it would be impossible at this late season of the year to provide accommodation for the party at York,<sup>5</sup> Puisaye decided to leave them for the time being at Kingston, and they were there settled in three private houses.<sup>6</sup> Provisions, wood, and candles were furnished from the government stores.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 64. The author estimates the houses at 100 in 1796 and the town grew rapidly during the next few years.

<sup>2</sup> Weld, II, 64-66.

<sup>3</sup> See *Letter-book of Hon. Richard Cartwright, passim*.

<sup>4</sup> The Comte de Chalus to Prescott, Nov. 14, 1798 : *Puisaye Papers*, p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> Russell to Portland, Nov. 3, 1798 : Report on Canadian Archives, 1888, p. 83.

<sup>6</sup> W. Small to Green, Oct. 31, 1798 : *Settlers, 1794-1800*, p. 19.

<sup>7</sup> "One-half cord of wood and candles in proportion per week for each family consisting of fourteen fires allowed until such time as his Excellency the Commander in chief's further pleasure respecting the French Emigrants shall be known."—Small to Green, Nov. 12, 1798 : *Settlers, 1794-1800*, p. 24. Provisions had been granted previously.—*Ibid.*

## V. PREPARATIONS FOR THE ÉMIGRÉS AT YORK

No sooner had the indefatigable leader settled his party at Kingston than he himself prepared to go on to York—formerly and again afterwards called Toronto—in the vicinity of which lands were to be allotted to the colony. D'Allègre and the Comte's servant, Marchand,<sup>1</sup> were to accompany him and the Comte de Chalus was to remain in charge while they were away. But owing to unfavourable weather the proposed voyage was impossible for more than two weeks. Finally the winds veered, the vessel set sail, November 16,<sup>2</sup> and reached York two days later.<sup>3</sup>

It would be interesting to know the emotions of the cultivated Comte upon beholding the goal of his long journey. Did he recall that first memorial which had surprised the minister with its thought of this region as being inhabited?<sup>4</sup> Had his ideas concerning the country been adequately corrected ere he came? We may conjecture not. Only five years before the spot on which the town now stood had been a wilderness. Dense and trackless forests had lined the shore of the lake and the neighbouring marshes had been the uninvaded haunts of innumerable wildfowl.<sup>5</sup> The only human habitation had been a wigwam<sup>6</sup> tenanted by two families of Mississaguas.<sup>7</sup> Since that time some progress toward civilization had been made. In 1793 the survey of the harbour was begun,<sup>8</sup> and in the following spring the site of the town was fixed upon and building was commenced under the immediate supervision of Colonel Simcoe, then Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada.<sup>9</sup> In 1797 the legislature met

<sup>1</sup> That Marchand accompanied Puisaye is evident from the fact that his rations at York began on the same day. See list of French emigrants victualled at York between Nov. 25, 1798, and July 24, 1779 : *Settlers, 1794-1800*, p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> The Comte de Chalus to Prescott, Nov. 23, 1798 : *Ibid.*, p. 362.

<sup>3</sup> Russell to Portland, Nov. 21, 1798 : Report on Canadian Archives, 1888, p. 83.

<sup>4</sup> Mémoire [by Beaupoil] : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 57-2, p. 389.

<sup>5</sup> Bouchette, *British Dominions*, I, 89, note.

<sup>6</sup> Bouchette, *Topographical Description*, 607.

<sup>7</sup> Bouchette, *British Dominions*, I, 89, note.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Bouchette, *Topographical Description*, 607-8.

in the new capital but the ground round the government building was still encumbered with the stumps of trees.<sup>1</sup> In 1798, according to one who passed through it at that time, York was "a dreary dismal place, not even possessing the characteristics of a village. There was no church, school, nor in fact any of the ordinary signs of civilization. . . . There was no inn, and those travellers who had no friends to go to, pitched a tent and lived in that so long as they remained. . . . The Government House and the garrison lay about a mile from York, with a thick wood between."<sup>2</sup> But recent and crude as was the town, it was nevertheless the capital of Upper Canada, and it was to this place that word had been sent by the British Government concerning its intentions with regard to the proposed colony. On the 5th of July, 1798, the Home Secretary, the Duke of Portland, had written to Russell as follows:<sup>3</sup>

"It being proposed to grant a settlement in Upper Canada to Mr. De Puisaye, who was commander of the French Loyalists employed in conjunction with His Majesty's forces on the coast of France in 1795, and to about forty of the said Loyalists who it is expected will embark with him from hence for that purpose in the course of the present season, I take this opportunity of signifying the same to you in order that you may take such previous measures as may be necessary for making out for them allotments of lands in situations as favourable as circumstances will allow of, and in the proportion granted to the American Loyalists, considering Mr. De Puisaye as a field officer and such other officers as shall accompany him according to their rank, and the remainder as privates. They will be furnished here with the necessary funds and with such articles as are requisite to enable them to settle the lands which shall be allotted to them.

"As it is probable that His Majesty's Government may think it advisable to make provision within your Province for a considerable portion of those French emigrants now here, whose character and behaviour shall appear to entitle them to such a mark of His Majesty's beneficence, I am to require you upon previous consultation and communication with Mr. De Puisaye to consider the best means of carrying such a measure into execution, should it be adopted. With this view it will be necessary to consider in what situation, in what manner, under what services and circumstances and for what numbers lands can be allotted, so as to admit of their being occupied by them in the course of the ensuing year and so that if a considerable number should be sent out in the course of next spring, such previous steps should be taken, etc., and such a degree of preparation made for settling them down upon the lands which shall be designed for them as would render their arrival the least embarrassing to the Province, or should such an event not take place as would put Government to the smallest expense possible."

<sup>1</sup> Canniff, Sketch of the County of York, p. vi.

<sup>2</sup> Canniff, Settlement of Upper Canada, 530-531.

<sup>3</sup> Report on Canadian Archives, 1888, pp. 76-77.

This letter was followed on the 30th of July by one from the Secretary for War (Windham) also to Russell: <sup>1</sup>

"You will learn by the official letters from the Duke of Portland, what the intentions of Government are respecting the establishment of a certain number of Royalist French in the Colony under your direction, and the wish that you should communicate upon that subject with the Gentleman who is the bearer of this, Comte Joseph de Puisaye.

"My object in troubling you is partly to explain on some points more in detail than is done in the public letters, the views which Government entertain upon that subject, and partly to do away any unfavourable impression which the industry of M. de Puisaye's enemies may have contrived to convey respecting the conduct and character of that Gentleman.

"The Comte de Puisaye has been by far more known to me than to any other of His Majesty's Ministers, the whole of his transactions with the Government having in fact been carried on through me. The suspicions attempted to be fixed upon him by his own countrymen, and by which they seem to have succeeded best in poisoning against him the mind of his sovereign, have been, that he was sold to the British Government and, in favour of English interests, betrayed those of his own country.

"To those therefore with whom I may flatter myself with obtaining credit, it will be sufficient to say that no such sacrifice of the interests of his country was ever made, for one plain reason, that none such was ever required.

"But that moreover in all collateral and subordinate matters, nothing could be more direct, simple and open than the whole of M. de Puisaye's conduct, the while he adhered with perfect fidelity to all that his duty to his own Sovereign required, observed what was due to the wishes and interests of a Government on which he was to rely for assistance and of whose intentions he had not the smallest distrust.

"On the whole of his conduct in these respects I can speak with a degree of knowledge that does not admit of the possibility of my being mistaken, and with this responsibility for the truth of my report, I venture not only to vindicate him from every shadow of imputation of the sort attempted to be fixed upon him, but in the strongest manner to assert his merits and request accordingly to recommend him to your good offices, not only as a man who I am persuaded will not fail to prove deserving of them, but as one whom we are bound in an especial manner to support, knowing as we do, both that the calumnies circulated against him are unfounded and incurred by conduct which we must feel to be highly meritorious.

"Having stated this much respecting the character of the Gentleman with whom it has been recommended to communicate and whom it is wished to place in some sort at the head of the new establishment, there is only a word or two which I have to state respecting the establishment itself, the nature and object of which may of itself possibly be sufficiently apparent and sufficiently explained in the official letter to render any observation of mine unnecessary.

"The general purpose is to provide an asylum for as many as possible of those whose adherence to the ancient laws, religion and constitution of their Country, has rendered them sacrifices to the French Revolution.

"The more especial purpose in the present instance is to select by preference those who have served in the royalist armies and who having refused to be included in the Pacification, or having found that it afforded them no protection are exposed to almost certain destruction by remaining in France.

"It is wished that these latter should be kept as much as possible separate from any other body of French, or of those persons speaking French, who may be at present in America, or whom Government may hereafter be disposed to settle there, considering themselves as of a purer description

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 79-81.

than the indiscriminate class of emigrants and being in some measure known to each other, they wish not to be mixed with those whose principles they are less sure of and whose future conduct might bring reproach upon the Colony, from which under them and their descendants they hope it would be exempt.

"Whatever ground they may have for this confidence, their ambition is of an honourable sort and deserves to have a fair scope given to it. M. de Puisaye, who had a Commission under the French King of Lieut. General, and was at the head of those armies of Royalists which were lately most considerable, partakes of course of this ambition more largely than any other person, and is more proper than any other to be employed and consulted in the object to which it relates.

"With this general purpose in view, you will be able to judge much better than can be done here, or that<sup>1</sup> I at least will pretend to do even with such information and lights as I derived from much conversation with Gen. Simcoe of the most advisable means of carrying it into execution, so as to secure to this Country a safe and useful Colony; to prevent the misapplication of the bounties of Government to other objects than those which it has in view, and to extend them by management and economy to as large a number as possible of the respectable and unhappy persons whom it would wish to partake of them. It may be a question whether for all these purposes, and as the most effectual means of preserving to the Colony its original and proper character, that namely of a society founded on the principles of reverence for religion and attachment to monarchy, it may not be desirable to continue amongst them something of the same system of subordination under which they have hitherto acted, by throwing them into the form of regiments or of militia, and to give them as much of a feudal institution as the laws of the Colony admit of. One danger it will be necessary to guard against, that of the conversion into money of the grants which Government may make in Land, so as to render them a mere instrument of putting a present sum into the pockets of those who have no intention of finally becoming subjects of this country.

"M. de Puisaye himself, besides that he is a man of too much honour to act in views different from those which he professes, he marked his own wishes in that respect by the earnestness with which he has requested me to procure him Letters of Denization, which in compliance with his request and in consideration of his particular claims, I have taken care to do, though he is the only emigrant, I believe, as yet to whom that favor has been granted. They will follow him as soon as they can pass through the necessary form."

It was clear to Russell that the British Government stood at the back of the French colony and wished to obtain the hearty co-operation of the Council at York. It was equally clear that Puisaye's party might be only the first contingent of a possibly numerous addition to the population of Upper Canada. Under the circumstances the Executive felt a heavy weight of responsibility and sought the advice of Mr. Robert Hamilton, a merchant of Queenston, a member of the Legislative Council, and one of the most influential men of the province. Mr. Hamilton's reply was not reassuring. On the 1st of November he wrote:<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Evidently meant for "than."

<sup>2</sup> Letter in possession of Mrs. William Baldwin of Toronto.



"The Communication you honored me with, respecting the Emigration of French-Men to this Province, gives me very Serious Concern.—We do not want Settlers faster than we can Maintain them with ease and Comfort to ourselves, and these are found us, in my Opinion, Better disposed and fitter for our purpose, from the neighboring states, in sufficient numbers.—I would above all things deprecate the Idea, of settling any Considerable Number of such Emigrants, particularly under such leaders as you describe, in a Body together, as in such a Situation they could not fail of having the very worst effects, as well to the Peace and happiness of the Country, as to their own Comfortable Establishments. The Trade of Farming in this new Country, Requires to Europeans as much an apprenticeship, as any handcraft profession. Mixed with older Settlers it may be learned by such in time, & by patient perseverance. In such situations their numerous wants may be more easily supplied and they will in time be lost in the general Mass.—A separate establishment of French Emigrants in the Woods of the Country can never succeed.—They will be miserable, they will be idle, & they will certainly become Mischievous—

"Perhaps the Reservation of the Sevenths for the Crown in the Townships already settled granted to them might sufficiently mix them. Perhaps the Reservation of at least half the lands in any new tract granted them might lessen the evil by allowing the Introduction of other Settlers among them."<sup>1</sup>

Two days after the foregoing letter was penned, Mr. Russell wrote to the Home Secretary saying that he had laid the matter of lands for the French Loyalists before the Executive Council and had desired the members to form themselves into a committee and to inform him what allotments they thought most favourable for the Comte de Puisaye and his party. Furthermore, that as soon as the surveyor-general determined what waste lands remained ungranted and what amount would be necessary to satisfy the unfulfilled engagements of the Government, the report would be transmitted to His Grace that he might judge from it how many French emigrants could be accommodated with land in Upper Canada.<sup>2</sup>

Thus matters stood when Puisaye arrived. He brought letters to Russell from the Home Secretary, the Under Secretary of State,<sup>3</sup> and General Simcoe.<sup>4</sup> This was on the 18th. On the 21st, Russell wrote to the Duke of Portland:<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note in this connection that Puisaye wished that room might be left for the introduction of English settlers in the appropriation of land made for his colony. See Minutes of Executive Council, Nov. 22, 1798 : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 288, p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> Russell to Portland, Nov. 3, 1798 : Report on Canadian Archives, 1888, p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> Russell to Portland, Nov. 21, 1798 : *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Russell to Simcoe, Nov. 25, 1798 : *Simcoe Papers*, V, 346.

<sup>5</sup> Report on Canadian Archives, 1888, p. 83.

"The very high Character given to me by Mr. Windham of Mr. de Puisaye's Principles Integrity & Honor encourages me to place a Degree of Confidence in him which I should have been cautious of reposing at this important Crisis in any other Frenchman not so well recommended. Therefore, as the vacant land between this Town and Lake Simcoe offers a situation which is equally distant from the French Settlements in lower Canada, and on the Detroit River, I have chosen it, with Mr. de Puisayes approbation, for the Establishment of this Colony of French Royalists—because its Proximity to the seat of Government will not only facilitate the conveyance to them of any assistance they may occasionally want, but subject all their movements to the immediate inspection & Comptrol of the Administration. And indeed their numbers may moreover contribute to fill up an uninhabited space, thro' which an Indian Enemy may at present advance to the Destruction of this Town before we can possibly receive warning of their approach. I have for this purpose directed the Surveyor General to lay off four Townships immediately to the northward of Markham, Pickering & Whitby."

Official sanction for this act was, of course, necessary. Accordingly, the President at once called a meeting of the Council. The result of their deliberations was as follows:<sup>1</sup>

"Resolved that it appears to the Board, that it is the wish of His Majesty's Ministers that an appropriation of land shall be immediately made sufficient to accommodate not only Monsieur de Puisaye, and those who have come with him but such other French Loyalists as may be sent over by Government to join him.

"Resolved that the Townships of Uxbridge, Gwillimbury, a Township in the rear of Whitby not yet named, and the ungranted part of Whitchurch be appropriated for the present for this purpose. . . . ."<sup>2</sup>

"Resolved that Monsieur de Puisaye shall be considered as the head of this new Establishment and that no person shall be admitted to a location of land in it, but through his recommendation—unless by a special order of the Board.

"Resolved, that Monsieur de Puisaye be permitted to appropriate to himself five thousand Acres in any parts of the above Townships not reserved, that he may wish.

"Resolved, that appropriations shall be made in the said townships under Monsieur de Puisaye's recommendations, to all the Officers and Soldiers who served under him in the Expedition from England to the Coast of France in proportions corresponding with their respective Ranks, agreeable to the Scale observed with respect to the disbanded Troops of 1783. Viz. 5000 Acres to Field officers 3000 to Captains—2000 to Subalterns and staff and 300 acres to Non-commissioned Officers, Drummers, and Privates.

"Resolved, that the appropriations may be immediately made at M. de Puisaye's discretion—the individuals who receive them are to be informed that Deeds cannot issue to them before they have been resident in this Province seven years, and that if they shall leave the Province before the expiration of that time, they are to forfeit all claim to the land ordered them."<sup>3</sup>

The émigrés already in Upper Canada being thus provided for, Russell next turned his attention to those expected in the ensuing spring. This matter was laid before the Council

<sup>1</sup> Minutes of Executive Council, Nov. 22 : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 288, p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> "Reserving however to the Board a discretion of altering this arrangement should it hereafter be judged expedient to do so—and Reserving 1000 square Acres round Gwillimbury for a Town and other purposes of Government, and 100 Acres on the Lake for a Town and Common."

the day after the above resolutions were passed.<sup>1</sup> Puisaye added his word in the form of a memorial. He asserted that the British Government meant to send to Upper Canada some émigrés who, though they had not borne arms in the present war, were nevertheless deemed worthy of this favour. He wished to know in what proportion land would be allotted to them and whether they would be allowed rations, seed, etc. He promised, as soon as these questions should be settled, to choose from among the noble and unfortunate families in England, those most deserving of the bounty of the Government.<sup>2</sup> In spite of this appeal it does not appear that the Board took any action.

The question of the military corps was discussed at this same meeting. Russell spoke thus:<sup>3</sup>

"I have turned this subject very seriously in my thoughts—and I must confess that it appears to me to involve so many questions of expediency, prudence, and policy that I am at a loss to say which we ought to lean to, or whether they do not all unite in recommending the measure submitted to our deliberation.

"The present state of this Province unquestionably calls for additional Troops for the purpose of occupying advanced Posts between this Town and the Indians bordering on the Lakes—Attending Surveys—Opening Roads of Communication that the Seat of Government may receive early intelligence of what is passing in other parts of the Province, and be readily supplied with Provisions, —of intimidating an Enemy by the respectability of our apparent strength, and ultimately of contributing to the defence of the Province should it be attacked; For it is too well known that the Regular Force in the two Canadas is too small to admit of any addition being made to that trifling portion of it stationed here; and it is equally true that this portion is very inadequate to any purpose of effectual resistance against an Attack in Force; and one may be assured that no other will be attempted.

"These data being admitted no question can arise respecting the Expediency of obtaining if we can an additional Corps of 1000 disciplined men to be attached to the service of this Province for the above mentioned purposes. But the prudence and policy of arming that number of disciplined Foreigners for our defence may require deliberation.

"Mr. Windham assures me in his letter that the most unlimited confidence may be placed in the Comte de Puisaye, and that his companions in arms consisting of a purer description of French Loyalists than the common mass of French Émigrants may be equally trusted and moreover that they have all rendered themselves so obnoxious to the present Government of their own Country that they never can return to it. These are arguments which will of course have their due weight with us all; and therefore I do not hesitate to declare that I do not see any danger to the Province from putting Arms into the hands of 1000 men of that description, which is the only objection I can perceive to the policy of receiving that number of Mr. de Puisaye's followers, and forming them into Provincial Corps for the purposes before stated."

<sup>1</sup> Minutes of Executive Council, Nov. 23 : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 288, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 286-1, p. 49. The memorial is dated Nov. 24, yet it would seem to be the one presented by Russell to the Council, Nov. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Minutes of Executive Council, Nov. 23 : *Ibid.*, Q. 298, p. 145.

But there were those in the Council who objected to putting arms in the hands of a thousand foreigners. The Board reported that it was divided on the question of giving the proposed colony a military form either as regiments or militia, two members inclining one way and two the other.<sup>1</sup> Russell nevertheless held to his opinion and elaborated a plan by which, as it seemed to him, the French royalists would be of material service to the country. He proposed that 200 be added to the posts in the following proportions, viz. to Kingston 30, York 50, Fort George 20, Chippewa 10, Fort Erie 40, Amherstburg 30, St. Josephs 20. He suggested that 100 be attached to the engineers department and that 60 be employed in clearing roads and constructing bridges and causeways, and that each of the King's vessels be supplied with 10 seamen and each of the surveyors with 10 axemen from the same source. These men, he felt sure, would work for lower wages than those at present employed and would be less likely to desert. A second battalion, he urged, might be employed in cultivating the ground assigned for the mutual support of the whole. The land might be allotted in severalty and at the expiration of seven years each soldier might be given a title to the tract he had cultivated, provided he could produce a certificate of good behaviour countersigned by his chief.<sup>2</sup> Such were the suggestions of Russell. They are interesting as an indication of his faith in a project that was destined to remain unrealized.

## VI. THE SETTLEMENT BEGUN

Puisaye remained at York some weeks and received every courtesy at the hands of the government officials. At his request twenty-two lots on Yonge Street, each containing 200 acres, were given him as the nucleus for a town.<sup>3</sup> Yonge

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.

<sup>2</sup> Russell to Portland, Nov. 25, 1798 : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 286-1, pp. 45-48.

<sup>3</sup> Lots 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, and 61, on each side of Yonge Street and 62 on the west side were appropriated to him Dec. 1.—Minutes of Executive Council : Dec. 1 : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 288, p. 167. Lots 53 and 57 on the east side and 52, 53, and 57 on the west side were appropriated early in December.—Acting Surveyor-general D. W. Smith to Surveyor A. Jones, Dec. 8 : *Instruction Book 6*, p. 80. Lots 51 and 52 on the east side were appropriated

Street was one of the two roads which General Simcoe, when Lieutenant-Governor, had projected for Upper Canada—one to run east and west, the other north and south, the two to intersect at York. There were those who believed the latter of these two roads destined to be of great commercial significance. Connecting York and Lake Simcoe it would make possible a much shorter route between Montreal and Michilimackinac than that in use by the Ottawa river, and promised in time to become the highway of trade between the east and the northwest.<sup>1</sup> It was on this road, called Yonge Street, that Puisaye meant to plant his town. Though existing as yet only in his imagination, he had already memorialized the Executive Council for permission to call the future settlement Windham, in honour of the Minister who was so warm a friend of all the émigrés<sup>2</sup> and who had lent himself so readily to the plan of a colony in Canada.<sup>3</sup>

There were conditions attached to these Yonge Street lots. It was necessary that each would-be patentee build a dwelling-house and occupy it within one year,<sup>4</sup> and that he clear and fence five acres and open the road,<sup>5</sup> presumably within the

Dec. 31. Lot 51 had been granted to one Breton but effort was made to induce him to surrender his claim.—J. Small, clerk of the Council, to Smith, Dec. 31: *Executive Council Letters, 1793-1797*, pp. 221-222. We have Puisaye's word for it that he afterwards purchased lot 51 from Breton and paid him for the improvements on it.—Puisaye to Lieut.-Gov. Francis Gore, Dec. 5, 1811: *Immigration of French Royalists*.

<sup>1</sup> In 1799 the Hon. D. W. Smith wrote: "This communication affords many advantages; merchandize from Montreal to Michilimackinac may be sent this way at 10 or 15 lbs. less expense per ton, than by the route of the Grand or Ottawa river; and the merchandize from New York, to be sent up the North & Mohawk rivers for the north-west trade, finding its way into Lake Ontario at Oswego (Fort Ontario), the advantage will certainly be felt of transporting goods from Oswego to York, and from thence across Yonge Street, and down the waters of Lake Simcoe into Lake Huron in preference to sending it by Lake Erie."—Smith, 154-155.

<sup>2</sup> In this connection it is interesting to note the Earl of Malmesbury's opinion: "Windham is uncommonly and classically clever, but has the very fault he attributes to Pitt—no real knowledge of mankind, not from not living in the world, but from not being endowed with those qualities (inferior in themselves) which would enable him to judge of their real designs and character. From this reason he was the dupe of every emigrant who called upon him."—Harris, III, 590.

<sup>3</sup> Puisaye to Russell, Nov. 24, 1798: *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 286-1, p. 51.

<sup>4</sup> See notice issued from the surveyor-general's office, July 15, 1794: Canada Private Collection of D. W. Smith, property of Dr. James Bain.

<sup>5</sup> See Smith to Surveyor John Stegman [summer, 1801]: *Instruction Book 6*, p. 127.

same time. These conditions were calculated to spur the settlers to immediate effort but, in truth, Puisaye needed no such goad. Eager and indefatigable in this as in every other undertaking, he left York, in the depth of winter,<sup>1</sup> in the company of the deputy surveyor, Augustus Jones, to explore the site of his future metropolis. It must have been a difficult journey. Yonge Street residents had not met their requirement so far as clearing the road was concerned. What its condition was in the winter of 1798-9 may be judged from the report of the deputy surveyor in the summer of 1801: "From the Town of York to the three mile post on the poplar Plains the Road is Cut, and. . . .as yet, the greater part of the said distance is not passable for any carriage whatever, on account of logs which lay in the Street, from thence to Lot No. 1 on Yonge Street the Road is very narrow, and difficult to pass at any time."<sup>2</sup> Puisaye's grant lay, roughly speaking, a dozen miles beyond.<sup>3</sup> When he reached it, it did not answer wholly to his mental picture. That part of the land which was watered by streams was broken with high ridges and narrow swamps and the other part had no water at all. Hence he judged it best to give up his plan of a compact town and lay out the lots five chains wide on each side of the Street.<sup>4</sup> The survey was finished by January 4.<sup>5</sup>

Meanwhile, there had arrived in York, probably on Christmas Day, thirteen of the Comte's followers, the Vicomte de Chalus, Captain de Poret, Lieutenant de la Richerie, and ten others<sup>6</sup> who were to clear the forest and build the houses. And, indeed, they must have set themselves to the task with a will. We know, in truth, that they worked seven days

<sup>1</sup> The first letter of Jones to Smith regarding the survey is dated Dec. 29: *Surveyors' Letters, Jones*, p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> Stegman's report [summer, 1801]: *Surveyors' Letters, Stegman*, p. 243.

<sup>3</sup> The lots on Yonge Street were 20 chains wide, Puisaye's grant began with lot 51.

<sup>4</sup> Jones to Smith, Dec. 29, 1798: *Surveyors' Letters, Jones*, p. 255.

<sup>5</sup> Jones to Smith, Jan. 4, 1799: *ibid.*, p. 262.

<sup>6</sup> See list of French emigrants victualled at York beginning with Nov. 25, 1798: *Settlers, 1794-1800*, p. 108. They were the three given above and Champagne, Fauchard, Polard, Renoult, Pipet, Furon, Le Bugle, Padioux, Segeant, and Nathaniel Thompson. It is difficult to place Pipet. He does not seem to have been of the original party.

a week.<sup>1</sup> On the 14th of February the Vicomte de Chalus wrote that there were eighteen houses at Windham with the outside finished,<sup>2</sup> and before long a church and a parsonage were added to the number.<sup>3</sup>

During all this time Russell lent the little colony every assistance in his power. He ordered rations, material for building, tools, and seed for the spring sowing to be given them—and this on his own authority, the Commander-in-Chief having refused to sanction the issue on any other conditions.<sup>4</sup> It was Russell who lent Puisaye twelve stands of arms out of the hundred appropriated for the militia,<sup>5</sup> and it was a clerk in the President's office<sup>6</sup> who was appointed agent for the émigrés at York.<sup>7</sup> Nor did the Executive Council lag behind. It allowed Puisaye the services of the deputy surveyor, Augustus Jones, for more than two months,<sup>8</sup> it paid the chain-bearers<sup>9</sup> who assisted in the survey of Windham, and it provided for the transportation of the government supplies,<sup>10</sup> a favour which had never been accorded the United Empire Loyalists.

The breaking up of winter and the beginning of spring brought accessions to the French establishment. Letourneau

<sup>1</sup> The Bishop of Quebec to Puisaye, May 29, 1799 : *Puisaye Papers*, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> The Comte de Chalus to Prescott, Mar. 12, 1799 : *Settlers, 1794-1800*, p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> The Bishop of Quebec to Puisaye, May 29, 1799 : *Puisaye Papers*, p. 76.

<sup>4</sup> Russell to Portland, May 18, 1799 : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 286-1, p. 112. That the Government subsequently upheld him may be seen from the following extract of a letter from Woodford to Puisaye written Sept. 29, 1799. "Monsieur Russel paroît avoir poussé au dernier point son désir d'avancer votre Etablissement en fournissant les Vivres les Blés les Matériaux et les Utensils selon vos Requisitions et sur sa Responsabilité personnelle.—Monsieur Windham se flatte qu' il vient d'ôter à ce respectable Magistrat toutes craintes à cet égard assurément il sera Indemnisé de toutes les fournitures que les Usages de la Province et ses Réglements accordent aux nouveaux Venus." *Puisaye Corr. Add.* MSS. 7978, p. 130.

<sup>5</sup> Russell to Smith, Dec. 19, 1798 : *Papers referring to Surveyor-General and York Militia, 1800-1802*, p. 354.

<sup>6</sup> See Minutes of Executive Council, Sept. 1, 1800 : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 290-1, p. 262.

<sup>7</sup> See Puisaye to Prescott, Oct. 7, 1799 : *Settlers, 1794-1800*, p. 78.

<sup>8</sup> *Surveyors' Letters*, Jones, passim.

<sup>9</sup> Smith to Jones, Dec. 2, 1798 : *Instruction Book 6*, p. 75.

<sup>10</sup> Minutes of Executive Council, Sept. 17, 1799 : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 290-1, p. 153.

and Rouin came in February, Farcy, St. George, Boiton, and Marzeul arrived in March, and seven others including the Comte and the Vicomtesse de Chalus in May.<sup>1</sup> The servants brought from England had by this time abandoned the enterprise. It was, indeed, a mistake to bring them. The practice of enticing servants from their masters was common in this new country.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, many servants were demoralized by cheap rum;<sup>3</sup> and all, realizing how easily employment could be obtained, felt themselves more independent than in the Old World.

#### VII. THE BEGINNING OF DISILLUSIONMENT

There were five members of the party who went no further than Kingston—the Marquis de Beaupoil, his wife and son, his cousin, Gui de Beaupoil, and Coster de Saint-Victor. The story of the Marquis is touching. For years he had cherished a warm admiration for the Comte de Puisaye, whom he regarded as a man swayed by great but noble ambition and animated by the purest loyalty.<sup>4</sup> The Comte had painted the scheme for a colony in Canada in alluring colours, and the Marquis had accepted in good faith much which afterwards proved to be chimerical. Breton peasants were to till the fields and fill the common storehouses. Their stout arms would provide all the necessaries of life. The duties of the officers would be purely military.<sup>5</sup> Relying on these promises, the Marquis had embarked on the *Betsey* with his family and four servants.<sup>6</sup> But certain circumstances which occurred on shipboard led him to question Puisaye's truth and honour. When, however, Puisaye appealed to him for confidence, Beaupoil tried to put aside his suspicions. But though he succeeded in some mea-

<sup>1</sup> See list of French emigrants victualled at York between Nov. 25, 1798, and July 24, 1799 : *Settlers, 1794-1800*, p. 108. Letourneau and Rouin received rations beginning Feb. 22; St. George, Boiton, Farcy, and Marzeul beginning March 25; the Comte and the Vicomtesse de Chalus, Mrs. Smithers, Langel, Françoise Letourneau, Nancy, and Boyer beginning May 12. Rouin, Nancy, and Boyer were not of the original party. They were doubtless servants employed to replace some of those who had deserted.

<sup>2</sup> Lambert, I, 527.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 526.

<sup>4</sup> Mémoire [by Beaupoil] : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 57-2, p. 394.

<sup>5</sup> Beaupoil to Prescott, Jan. 28, 1799 : *Settlers, 1794-1800*, p. 47.

<sup>6</sup> Mémoire [by Beaupoil] : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 57-2, p. 390.



sure, he would nevertheless have abandoned the enterprise at Quebec except that he had only five guineas in his pocket, and was assured that the Alien Law would not permit him to remain in Lower Canada.<sup>1</sup> Arrived at Kingston, he expected and planned to go with Puisaye and D'Allègre to York, but they put him off with the excuse that Russell had written that there was no accommodation in the town.<sup>2</sup>

As the weeks passed the truth dawned upon the Marquis that the Breton peasants and the military corps lay, if anywhere, in the dim future ; and that the time was near when he would be expected to earn his livelihood by tilling the soil. Knowing that his tender nurture wholly unfitted him for such a life, and being without means to pay labourers, he determined to cut loose from the enterprise for the time being. On the 28th of January, 1799, he wrote to General Prescott asking to be allowed to go to Lower Canada and to remain there until he could exchange the waste land which the Government was about to give him for a small cultivated tract, or until he should receive sufficient funds to clear some land or should have obtained the means of returning to Europe.<sup>3</sup> General Prescott thought the Marquis had best remain in Kingston until the time of his embarkation,<sup>4</sup> apparently taking it for granted that his heart was set upon returning to England. And in this supposition he was right. The marriage of Madame Royale with the Duc d'Angoulême, so long opposed by the court of Vienna, seemed to this loyal adherent of the Bourbons to put new life into the royalist cause. In the second letter to General Prescott he said that he would implore Heaven and earth to obtain his return to Europe. He must go to serve his king. As for staying at Kingston until all should have been arranged, that was manifestly impossible, since Puisaye had said there would be no more rations after the party set out for York, and the order had been given to start the moment the ice in the lake gave way.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 395.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 396.

<sup>3</sup> *Settlers, 1794-1800*, p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> See Beauport to Prescott, Mar. 25, 1799 : *ibid.*, p. 58.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

Coster de Saint Victor was of a like mind. He, too, was disappointed that no military corps had been formed. Without money, without servants, without the smallest knowledge of agriculture, he deemed it useless to go to York. Moreover, the news from Europe stirred his blood. He had left the continent at peace, now it was at war. Honour bade him return, and upon this course he was irrevocably decided; yet he did not wish to relinquish the land which had been promised him. After all, the future was uncertain. Writing to Russell he begged for a certificate which should attest that he was of the number of those officers who had come with the Comte de Puisaye, that duty had recalled him to Europe and that he had obtained permission to return, and that he was entered upon the government records for 5000 acres of land in virtue of his grade of colonel in the service of the King of France and of instructions given by the English Minister. As though to win Russell to his request, he promised that if the title were assured him he would endeavour to induce his relatives to sell all their property in France and seek out Upper Canada; or, if he failed in this, to obtain from them enough money to set up an establishment for himself which would subject him to no other dependence than that of the law.<sup>1</sup> This last was perhaps an oblique thrust at Puisaye.

During his residence at Kingston the Marquis had learned to know the Honourable Richard Cartwright, a prominent merchant in the town and a member of the Legislative Council. This gentleman interested himself in the welfare of the unfortunate family. It was he who applied for passports<sup>2</sup> for the Marquis, Gui de Beauvoir, and Coster de Saint-Victor. The Council granted the passports on the 2nd of July and justified its ready response on the ground that the conduct of the gentlemen had been unexceptionable and the reasons given for their return were partly of a military nature.<sup>3</sup> The matter of the journey presented some difficulty since the

<sup>1</sup> Coster to Russell, [spring, 1797] : *ibid.*, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Minutes of Executive Council, June 25, 1799 : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 288, p. 285. Brymner is incorrect in giving 1800 as the year for this and the following reference.

<sup>3</sup> Minutes of Executive Council, July 2, 1799 : *ibid.*, Q. 288, p. 286.

little party was altogether without money. Again it was Mr. Cartwright who came to their assistance. He secured accommodations to Montreal<sup>1</sup> for them, the expense ultimately to be met by the Government. On his departure, late in July,<sup>2</sup> the Marquis left with this merchant to be sold a wooden bedstead, mattress, feather-bed, pillows, counterpane, and curtains—the whole valued at fifty-six piastres, the proceeds to be remitted to the Marquise.<sup>3</sup> These articles of furniture were of the kind ordinarily used in Canada and had been the gift of Puisaye.

It is at Berthier that we next meet these wanderers, a town on the north bank of the St. Lawrence about forty-five miles below Montreal. The summer passed and the three men still waited for the coveted passage to Europe. Anxious to get to the place of embarkation the Marquis requested the service of one of the King's bateaux to convey his baggage and that of Gui de Beaupoil and Coster de Saint-Victor to Quebec. This was in September, and the request was probably made with the expectation that the Lieutenant-Governor, Peter Hunter, would succeed in securing a passage at the expense of the Government on board the frigate *La Prévoyante*—a hope that was doomed to disappointment.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile the Marquis endeavoured to make arrangements for the comfort of the Marquise and his son, who were to remain in Lower Canada for the present. He petitioned that provisions, wood, and candles be allowed them. His pension had ceased upon his departure from England but he hoped upon his return to London to induce the Government to remit to him the sum which he should have received had he remained there, and to continue its aid to Madame de Beaupoil and her son in Canada and to himself and Gui de Beaupoil until such time as they should depart for the seat of war.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cartwright to Messrs. J. & A. McGill, July 22, 1799 : *Letter-book of Hon. Richard Cartwright*.

<sup>2</sup> Cartwright to the Comte de Chalus, July 31, 1799 : *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> For Hunter to Beaupoil, Oct. 8, 1799 : *Settlers, 1794-1800*, p. 97.

<sup>5</sup> Beaupoil to [Isaac ?] Todd, Sept. 3, 1799 : *ibid.*, p. 65.

During all this time there appears to have been little intercourse between Puisaye and these disillusionized members of his party. Coster de Saint-Victor wrote to him once, stating his intention to return to Europe, but he did not bespeak the good offices of his chief toward this end.<sup>1</sup> He doubtless knew that such a request would be unavailing. Puisaye was in no mood to aid these deserters from his company, however justifiable their course. When Russell gave them permission to return, Puisaye wrote to him saying that he himself was thus freed from the disagreeable duty of refusing this permission. He added that he was pained that the Government should have incurred so much expense on their account, and equally pained that their conduct in closing to them without doubt the entrance into England should reduce them to a miserable and humiliating position.<sup>2</sup> It would seem that Puisaye had already written to the Secretary for War asking him not to permit the three men to return. But Windham felt reluctant to adopt so extreme a measure. He promised however that they should receive neither countenance nor protection and should be closely watched.<sup>3</sup> The three finally set sail; the Marquis and Gui de Beaupoil went to London and Coster de Saint-Victor to France.<sup>4</sup> How long the Marquise dwelt a stranger in a strange land is not known. We get a last glimpse of her in June, 1802, when she waited upon the same Mr. Clarke who had been so kind to the immigrants upon their first arrival in Montreal and anxiously

<sup>1</sup> May 5, 1799 : *Puisaye Papers*, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> May 23, 1799 : *Puisaye Papers*, p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> See Woodford to Puisaye, Sept. 29, 1799 : *Puisaye Corr.*, Add. MSS. 7978, p. 130.

<sup>4</sup> Report concerning the émigrés by the Comte de Chalus, June 7, 1802 : *Settlers, 1801-1818*, p. 100. The Marquis entered the service of Russia in 1806 and distinguished himself in the wars against France. He returned to his own country in 1817 and was made Field-Marshal the following year.—Hoefler : *Biographie Générale*. Coster's later life is a series of dramatic episodes. Soon after his return from Canada he entered into relations with the agents of the Bourbons and engaged in the plot against Napoleon called the Infernal Machine. Far from being daunted by the failure of the plot, he continued to remain in Paris and even entered into relations with the police. Suspicion finally attaching to him, he fled to England. After a short absence he returned to take part in the scheme of Cadoudal and Pichegru. Arrested and put on trial with them he was condemned June 10, and executed June 25, 1804. Accepting his fate with gay courage he cried with his last breath, "Vive le roi !" —Ibid.

inquired whether the government dispatches had been received from England, saying that she had been advised that orders had been sent to pay her £100 to enable her and her son to return to Europe. There the records close.<sup>1</sup>

#### VIII. PUISAYE AND THE MISSISSAGUA LANDS

To return now to Puisaye, it appears that he stayed at Windham only long enough to see the land surveyed and the erection of the houses well begun. Then leaving the Vicomte de Chalus in charge of those members of the company who had already arrived and relying upon him to make arrangements for those who were to come,<sup>2</sup> he himself sought fields afar. He was bent upon no less an errand than that of finding a more desirable site for his settlement. If we may accept his own word, the Mississagua tract of land at the west end of Lake Ontario had been pointed out to him before he left England—he thought by the advice of General Simcoe—as most suited for his enterprise. But upon his arrival in York, Mr. Russell had told him that the tract was still owned by the Indians and that they were disinclined to part with it,<sup>3</sup> and he had therefore accepted the townships set aside for him by the Council. But subsequent events prove that he by no means renounced the hope of obtaining the Mississagua lands. Just how he meant to achieve his end is not wholly clear. It would seem that he judged it expedient to win first of all the great Indian chief, Captain Joseph Brant. Whatever his schemes he divulged them to the government agent for the émigrés, Angus Macdonnell,<sup>4</sup> and in part at least to the deputy surveyor, Augustus Jones, and availed himself of the services of both these men.

Brant's name was still a great power in the country. The part he had taken in the American Revolution as chief of the Six Nations had won for him the gratitude of Great Britain

<sup>1</sup> I. W. Clarke to Green, June 18, 1802 : *Settlers, 1801-1818*, p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> The Comte de Chalus to Green, Mar. 12, 1799 : *Settlers, 1794-1800*, p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> See Minutes of Executive Council, Feb. 27-28, 1799 : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 288, p. 229.

<sup>4</sup> Macdonnell to Puisaye, Jan. [after 17, 1799] : *Puisaye Papers*, p. 37.

together with very substantial favours.<sup>1</sup> In the United States he was regarded as perhaps the greatest warrior and the most influential leader of his race, and efforts were made to win him as an advocate for the treaties which the federal Government hoped to make with the tribes of the Northwest.<sup>2</sup> When Simcoe came from England he brought with him a very hearty letter of introduction from the Duke of Northumberland to Brant,<sup>3</sup> and this was the beginning of an acquaintance which ripened into intimacy.<sup>4</sup> The two men were often associated in the conduct of Indian affairs of one kind and another.<sup>5</sup> Simcoe knew that Brant had great power not only with the Mohawks but also with various neighbouring tribes, notably the Mississaguas, and as lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, he was acquainted at first hand with the extraordinarily fertile region which the Mississaguas possessed at the west end of Lake Ontario. It is, therefore, altogether probable that he did mention it, as Puisaye alleges,<sup>6</sup> as a desirable place for the French colony. It is probable also that Simcoe said the lands could be obtained only if Brant were willing to sell. Hence Puisaye's desire to win the great chief.

Brant, on his part, had been attracted by rumours of Puisaye's great wealth. The Comte was believed to be worth 100,000 livres. Those with whom he had business dealings, notably Mr. McGill of Montreal and Mr. Cartwright of Kingston, did not contradict this report but rather lent it credence.<sup>7</sup> And he certainly had large means, as will appear later on. Other motives doubtless wrought with Brant. Though he was too keen to accept the rumour current among many of the Indians that France was about to resume her sway over

<sup>1</sup> Compensation was made to the Mohawks for losses sustained in the war. See Stone, II, 252. A tract of land was given them.—Ibid., 240. Brant was given a pension and captain's half pay.—Ibid., 328.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.*, 318-322.

<sup>3</sup> For this letter see *ibid.*, 337.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 338.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 343 et seq.

<sup>6</sup> Minutes of Executive Council, Feb. 27-28, 1799 : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 288, p. 229.

<sup>7</sup> Mémoire [by Beaupoil] : *ibid.*, Q. 57-2, p. 404. Livre is probably used here as meaning pound sterling.

them, such a rumour must have quickened his interest in the Frenchman who came to Canada under such remarkable auspices. Be that as it may, Brant went to York about the middle of January. Macdonnell wrote to Puisaye at once<sup>1</sup> that Brant had come to town ostensibly to accompany a friend but probably to visit him, and he closed his letter with the following significant sentence : "If he speaks of Windham and of paying you his respects, I will escort him but I shall not go a step farther in the plan in view than he puts me on the scent."<sup>2</sup> The words are a little dark but they suggest that Puisaye had already made some sort of a tentative proposal to the Indian chief, perhaps with regard to his land. Macdonnell was right in his surmise. Brant went to Windham.<sup>3</sup>

What the outcome of this visit was we do not know. It cannot have been such as to discourage Puisaye in his plans, for not long after he prepared to visit the Indian chief in his own home. Taking Augustus Jones with him as guide and interpreter he set out from Windham, probably on the 4th of February.<sup>4</sup> It was an overland journey of between sixty-five and seventy miles to the Mohawk village on the Grand river where Brant lived. To the Comte who had endured for nearly two months the hardships of life in a wilderness, the luxuries of the chief's home must have afforded a pleasant change. Here were fine china, liveried servants, a generous table.<sup>5</sup> Brant himself had the manners of a European gentle-

<sup>1</sup> Jan. 17.

<sup>2</sup> "S'il parle de Windham et de vous y faire ses respects, je l'accompagnerai mais ne m'avancerais pas plus qu'il ne me mettera sur la trace dans le plan en vue."—*Puisaye Papers*, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Macdonnell did not, however, accompany him. "Je croyais qu'il n'y aurait que lui et moi du parti. mais il emmène Givens et un autre dans son cortège de sorte que J'ai peur que l'on ne pourra rien entammer cependant il serait bon de casser un peu la Glace si une occasion s'offre dans l'absence de Givens. Je serait de trop si j'augmentait la compagnie qui part ce matin. Vous pouvez avec l'assistance de Mons. Jones vous passer de moi à la première entrevue."—Macdonnell to Puisaye, Jan. [after 17], 1799: *ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> Windham, Feb. 3, Jones to Smith : "I expect to set out early tomorrow for the Grand River with the Count."—*Surveyors' Letters, Jones*, p. 289.

<sup>5</sup> See Campbell, 192, 194-195. This was in 1792, but that Brant continued to live on the same scale is evident from his own statement in 1797—See Stone, II, appendix, xlv.

man.<sup>1</sup> His military career over, he was devoting himself to the achievement of order and prosperity among his people.<sup>2</sup> Puisaye had been his guest for some days when he wrote to Russell as follows:<sup>3</sup>

"Soon after my arrival in the province you did me the honour to say that emissaries from the French Republic circulated among the Indians and spread abroad that their former Father, the King of France, who had been stricken down, was now on his feet and that he would soon aid them to drive the English from their country. Since then you have honoured me by writing that these same emissaries, aided by Spaniards, sought to raise the nations bordering on the Mississippi against England, and that there was reason to fear that they would rush as a torrent upon this still feeble and defenceless country.

"You did me the honour to repeat this same thing the day I had the pleasure of meeting you on Yonge Street, adding that you had received intelligence on this subject from Captain Brant, and you were kind enough to request me to gather the most ample information on the spot. Ever since your first intimation, it has been my utmost care to welcome and undeceive those Indians who inhabit the shores of Lake Simcoe and who roam about in my vicinity and I have easily succeeded with the aid of Mr. Jones. . . . .

"I have been happy to think that my arrival in this country has been a means of dissipating the error into which these emissaries have sought to lead this good people. And Mr. Jones has made them understand, that if they had believed themselves deceived and had felt called upon to doubt the truth of the horrors of the French Republic, they ought now to take the word of a French general who at the head of faithful subjects of his King had thrown himself into the arms of their common Father who had graciously pleased to adopt them and to take the place of the Father whom the vandals had slain. . . . .

"The visit with which Captain Brant honoured me furnished me an occasion to see his establishment and that of the Indians whose confidence I think he merits well. Mr. Jones has enabled me to achieve the same success with these as with the others. I have seen them all and they have rendered me the honour which they believed due to a general officer, whom his Britannic Majesty had deigned to employ in the command of an army in his pay. . . . .

"In short the result of our amicable conversations has been that since a general officer, a Frenchman faithful to his Father, attested to them the truth of what they had doubted, they ought no longer to indulge any suspicions and should always be ready to shed their blood to repulse the enemies of our common Father, whoever they might be. This way of thinking will circulate among all the nations from one end of America to the other and they will cease to lend the least credence to the impostors sent by the Directory. I therefore congratulate myself, Mr. President, that Providence has made me the instrument of this enlightenment, and I am persuaded that the persons who doubted the British Government, by regarding us as strangers to the common cause when you spoke in our favour, will be grieved at their errors and will be forced by our services to render justice to our loyalty.

"As for me, Mr. President, I put all this in that category of indirect efforts which the French Government makes to rouse the whole world, and I regard these emissaries only as a few vagabonds who work at their own

<sup>1</sup> Campbell, 190.

<sup>2</sup> Stone, II, 396.

<sup>3</sup> Feb. 11, : *Puisaye Papers*, p. 48. The part given in the text is a translation. For the original see Appendix I.



risk without any sure hope of being sustained. The limits of a letter do not permit me to enter into the reasons of the details which form the bulk of my opinion, but the private advices which I have of the disposition of the court of Madrid does not allow me to believe that it enters at all into this project which would insensibly destroy its most important colonies and would deprive it of the immense resources which they furnish."

It is open to question whether Puisaye really thought his influence with the Indians as great as this letter would indicate. We may rest assured that he lost no opportunity to impress them both with words and with his naturally dignified and courtly bearing. And we may feel pretty certain that Brant rendered him the honours due to a distinguished guest. It is probable that his innate self-esteem, quickened by his high-sounding speeches to the Indians and Brant's warm regard, did incline him to believe that he was playing an important part in holding the tribes loyal to Great Britain; but it is equally probable that he yielded to the temptation of magnifying himself with Russell in order to pave the way for the request which he meant soon to make. On February 23, Puisaye wrote to Russell again. This letter would seem not to be extant but its contents may be judged from the minutes of the council meeting at which it was read. The writer stated that the French royalists consisted of different classes

"whose former habits and occupations required different kinds of employment. Some from age, sex, or tenderness to which they had been accustomed were utterly incapable of encountering the hardships and the privations to which they must be exposed in the depth of a wilderness. Others having been bred to different trades were equally ill-suited to that situation; therefore the remaining class consisting of soldiers and men inured to labour was the only part of his followers he could with propriety destine to the Establishment at Windham.

"..... Finding by what he saw with his own eyes and experience on the spot... that on account of the scarcity of Provisions, and the extreme badness of the Roads, which the impracticability of the land they passed thro' would render unfit for Carriages for ages to come; the Colony at Windham could not possibly prosper unless he could procure another Establishment on the borders of the Lake for forming Depots of Stores, Flour, Cattle, and Horses from whence its wants may be supplied at proper seasons.... he had cast his eyes upon a part of land belonging to the Messasaguas, and the Government house with the land belonging to it at the Head of the Lake which was at the Presidents disposal, as being places very properly suited for the purpose, and for the Settlement of the two first classes of the French Emigrants who were ill calculated for the labours of the woods."<sup>1</sup>

He believed that the Mississaguas would sell to please the French and he offered to negotiate the purchase at a

<sup>1</sup> Minutes of the Executive Council, Feb. 27-28, 1799 : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 288, pp. 229 *et seq.*

price set by the President. Finally he requested that the government house and the land belonging to it be leased to him for three years. He would indemnify the present possessor and build another tavern for the accommodation of travellers by the 25th of the following May.<sup>1</sup>

The Board gave the contents of this letter due consideration on the 27th and 28th of February and expressed its opinion that Puisaye's offer should not be accepted but that the agent for the district should be sent to the Mississaguas to discuss the matter with the chiefs and that no specific appropriation should be resolved upon until the lands were acquired.

"It would be . . . . . improper in the meantime to hold out encouragement to the French Emigrants to expect an establishment there, as such expectation would only retard the advancement of that at Windham, which for many considerations the Board considers (in a political point of view) as the properest situation they can be placed in, in this Province, and the most nearly corresponding with the advice given the President by the Secretary at war, to place them at as great a distance as possible from any other body of French, or of persons speaking French." <sup>2</sup>

So far as the government house was concerned the Comte might deal privately with Bates and if the latter surrendered his claim, the Board saw no objection to giving the Comte a lease, provided that he agreed to establish another tavern equally commodious.<sup>3</sup>

If the attitude of the Executive Council was such as to discourage Puisaye in his efforts to lay hold of the Mississagua lands, the letters of the agent were of a different tenor. What the ulterior designs of Angus Macdonnell were in attaching himself to the Comte is not known. The relations between the two are enveloped in a good deal of mystery. Puisaye was doubtless influenced to make a confidant of Macdonnell by the fact that he was clerk in the lieutenant-governor's office,<sup>4</sup> and thus cognizant of government affairs. Macdonnell on his part, seems to have regarded Puisaye's confidence as a mark of favour and wrought zealously in behalf of his schemes. It was Macdonnell who kept Puisaye in-

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> See Minutes of Executive Council, Sept. 1, 1800 : *ibid.*, Q. 290-1, p. 262.

formed of the opinions of the individual members of the Council. Whether he always reported these opinions correctly may be open to some question though it is not apparent that he had any particular motive for colouring them. Still, at just this juncture of affairs he may have wished to be the bearer of good news, in order to curry favour with his uncertain friend who seemed about to cast him off.<sup>1</sup> Referring to the matter of the Mississagua lands Macdonnell wrote to Puisaye<sup>2</sup> that Russell favoured the project, that he believed its consummation would result in bettering the roads and in making commodities more abundant and less costly, but that he seemed to fear some sort of opposition. In the letter of five days later the source of opposition was made clear. It originated with certain members of the Council. But Macdonnell thought these would be outvoted when Parliament opened its session. The Council would then, he said, consist of a more considerable number and the newcomers would not be imbued with the caprices and prejudices of the others.<sup>3</sup>

It must be admitted that the character of the agent and his peculiar relation to Puisaye make his letters rather unreliable evidence. But the impression which they give that Russell was willing to see the coveted lands in possession of the French is verified by testimony from another source. Late in May Russell himself wrote to Puisaye<sup>4</sup> saying that he had desired to comply with Puisaye's wishes regarding the Mississagua lands but that the conduct of the Indians had made this impossible. What this conduct was will be seen later on.

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, Macdonnell to Puisaye, Mar. 7, 1799 : *Puisaye Papers*, p. 59. Macdonnell's fears were confirmed. Oct. 17, 1799, Puisaye asked that Macdonnell be discontinued as agent for the émigrés at York. (Puisaye to Prescott, Oct. 7, 1799 : *ibid.*, p. 78.) Puisaye lodged a complaint against him but the Board thought "that many of the charges, and allegations contained in the Count de Puisaye's Memorial, as well as Mr. Macdonnell's answer to it, are of a nature too delicate and too serious for us to take cognisance of." The Board felt, nevertheless, that Macdonnell's conduct in engaging in transactions respecting Indian lands was blame-worthy. (Minutes of Executive Council, Sept. 1, 1800 : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 290-1, p. 262.) Thereupon the Governor dismissed him from his office as clerk to the House of Assembly. (Cartwright, 115.)

<sup>2</sup> Mar. 2, 1799 : *Puisaye Papers*, p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> Macdonnell to Puisaye, Mar. 7 ; *ibid.*, p. 58. See also Macdonnell's letter to Puisaye of Mar. 29 : *ibid.*, p. 67.

<sup>4</sup> May 26, 1799 : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 286-1, p. 187.

So much for the attitude of Russell. Now for that of Brant. Desirous to accelerate the progress of his people, he was eager to have the land near them settled by a white population which would introduce the arts and customs of civilization.<sup>1</sup> Puisaye told him that thousands of Frenchmen were on the eve of coming to Canada and we have the testimony of at least one witness that Brant relied on this statement.<sup>2</sup> Their hopes and wishes being thus in accord, it was natural that the two men should work together. There was still another bond of union. The chief felt himself drawn toward the Comte by the fact that they had both, as he conceived it, suffered in the cause of loyalty.<sup>3</sup> The Mohawks had held to Great Britain even after her defeat and had felt themselves called upon to forsake their original hunting-grounds; the émigrés stood by their unrecognized King and were barred out from their native land. There was a certain parallelism and it is not at all difficult to believe that it influenced Brant. Since his removal to Canadian soil he had had some bitter experiences, and another's sorrows arising from what seemed to him a like cause would be quick to awaken his sympathy. Finally, he believed that the present site of the colony was bad owing to the dearth of water, the difficulty of clearing the lands, and the great cost of transportation.<sup>4</sup>

All things considered it is not strange that Brant, acting for the Mississaguas, determined to give Puisaye a tract of land. He knew that the Government claimed the préemptive right to the soil but he had never conceded that it possessed this right, and he made it a principle always to act on the contrary assumption.<sup>5</sup> Thus, in this instance, he wrote to Russell<sup>6</sup> that the Mississaguas had determined to give Puisaye some land, and that they flattered themselves that this would be satisfactory to His Honour. He went on to say that the

<sup>1</sup> Stone, II, 398.

<sup>2</sup> Mémoire [by Beauport] : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 57-2, p. 406.

<sup>3</sup> Stone, II, 403, Note †.

<sup>4</sup> Mémoire [by Beauport] : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 57-2, p. 404.

<sup>5</sup> Stone, *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> Apr. 10, 1799 : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 286-1, p. 105.

Government would have cause to rejoice that this part of the country between York and Burlington Bay was to be settled and that the inconveniences which at present attended travelling there would thus be removed. But objections were at once raised. Brant endeavoured to meet them by offering to sell the land to the Government on condition that it be afterwards given to Puisaye. The tract lay at the west end of Lake Ontario on the York side of Brant's land. It was to have a frontage of five miles on the water and to reach far enough back to contain 69,120 acres. The price set was 1s. 3d. per acre, Halifax currency, to be paid in money or goods.<sup>1</sup>

But the Board judged it best not to accept the offer because "it would establish two points injurious to the King's interests in this country—The first an implied assent to the right claimed by the Indians of giving their lands to whom they please by permitting their grant to His Majesty to be clogged with conditions—The other establishing a price for Indian lands many times greater than ever demanded from the King before—which would certainly prevent our ever hereafter being able to obtain them cheaper."<sup>2</sup>

The decision of the Board may well have been a disappointment to Puisaye. The richness of the Mississagua lands and their ease of access would have conduced much to the prosperity of the colonies which he hoped to plant upon them. And in any event they were desirable property. That he so regarded them may be seen from the fact that years after the colonization scheme had fallen through he begged that this gift of the Indians be confirmed to him by a royal patent.<sup>3</sup>

To return to the matter of the government house which Puisaye wished as a dépôt for his stores. We may conclude that either he did not attempt to treat with Bates or that the two came to no accommodation, for the property did not pass into the Comte's hands. Something short of two years later he purchased a farm in the near vicinity,<sup>4</sup> presumably destined for the same purpose.

<sup>1</sup> Brant to Sir John Johnson, supt. of Indian affairs in Upper Canada, May 10, 1799 : *ibid.*, Q. 286-1, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> Minutes of Executive Council, May 28, 1799 : *ibid.*, Q. 288, p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> Puisaye to —, Sept. 4, 1807 : *ibid.*, Q. 310, p. 289.

<sup>4</sup> Puisaye to Hunter, June 4, 1801 : *Settlers, 1801-1818*, p. 49.

## IX. PUISAYE AT NIAGARA

His visit to Captain Brant over, Puisaye continued his journey to Niagara. According to a contemporary account the town was about a mile square, the streets running at right angles and the houses numbering approximately 150. Here it was that the court of general quarter sessions met and also the court of King's Bench. The same account says that the land for many miles about the town, though not so good as that further back, was wonderfully fertile. "In many places there is little for the farmer to do, than cut a sufficiency of timber to fence his fields, girdle or ring the remainder and put in the harrow, for in few places only is it necessary to make use of the plough, till the second or third crop, there being little or no underbrush; yet in many places, there is beautiful white pine, oak and black walnut timber; sugar wood which is also found here in plenty mixed with beech, hickory, and bass woods."<sup>1</sup>

Wearied with his wanderings, in need of a place where he might rest and still on the lookout for a *dépôt* for stores, Puisaye bought a farm of 300 acres about three miles above the town. He paid £600 for the land and the house upon it. The situation was beautiful. The house stood upon a high point whose precipitous sides were clothed with great trees while below lay the broad expanse of the Niagara.<sup>2</sup> Regarding this as his home the Comte at once set about making extensive improvements. The house was rebuilt and fitted out with the best furniture from London.<sup>3</sup> The floors were covered with common and Turkey carpets, the walls were adorned with numerous mirrors, pictures, and engravings, the library

<sup>1</sup> Letter Descriptive of Upper Canada, pp. 10-11. It is probable that the Hon. D. W. Smith supplied the facts for this letter. The author says (pp. 10-11) that his intimacy with the surveyor-general gave him a particular knowledge of the country. Dr. James Bain, of the Toronto Public Library, has an interleaved copy purchased at a sale in London, the blank pages interspersed with notes in the hand of D. W. Smith, and clippings. Dr. Bain writes (Feb. 20, 1904) that "the number of those able to compile the little book was not large in Newark in 1793 and assistance may have been given by Simcoe."

<sup>2</sup> Scadding, 189.

<sup>3</sup> Statement by Puisaye of transactions between himself and the partnership of St. George and Farcy : *Puisaye Papers*, p. 124.

boasted 1500 volumes,<sup>1</sup> some of the furniture was of mahogany, and a wonderful chime clock told the hours by playing twelve different tunes.<sup>2</sup>

The grounds, too, were enlarged and beautified. Fruit trees and shrubs of many kinds were planted. Some were imported from England,<sup>3</sup> others came from the surrounding country.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Cartwright sent lilac slips and rhubarb seed from his own garden.<sup>5</sup> Stables were built and cattle, horses, asses, sheep, turkeys, and guinea-fowl purchased. Stock-raising became one of the chief industries of the farm.<sup>6</sup> Barns, houses for workmen and for stores were put up, and large vaulted cellars were built.<sup>7</sup> If we may accept the word of the Comte himself, and there seems no reason for doubting it in this connection, the cost of the improvements made by him amounted to £5,400.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Upper Canada Gazette, Jan. 26, 1805. The advertisement reads as follows :

"List of the Household Furniture which will be sold at the House of the Count de Puisaye at Niagara, on the 1st of February next—Mahogany Chest of Drawers, Chairs, Sopha do, large Looking Glasses, middling size do, Pictures and Copper-plates, Turkey Carpets, common do, two clocks, one of which is a Chime clock, and plays twelve different tunes, Kitchen Utensils, Horses, Waggon, &c. &c. &c.

Books.

Buffon's Natural History, 54 vls. French

Rappin's Hist. of England, 28 vls. Eng.

Salmon's Traveller in fol. 2 vols. do.

Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, 2 vols.

Modern Architecture, 4to. 2 vols.

Pope's Shakespear, 4to, 2 vols.

10 Vols. Du President de Thou and a great number of Novels and other Books too tedious to be mentioned."

This represents only a part of Puisaye's household belongings. He had sold 107 or 108 pieces before leaving for England in 1802. See statement by Puisaye of transactions between himself and the partnership of St. George and Farcy : *Puisaye Papers*, p. 124.

<sup>3</sup> See Woodford to Puisaye, Apr. 22, 1799 : *Puisaye Corr.*, Add. MSS. 7978, p. 68. These are doubtless the trees and shrubs forwarded by Mr. Cartwright. See Cartwright to Robert Hamilton, May 5, 1800 : *Cartwright's Letter-book*.

<sup>4</sup> See Cartwright to Puisaye, Oct. 27, 1799 : *ibid*. The peaches doubtless came from Puisaye's farm. We know that he had fruit trees in full bearing. See statement by Puisaye of transactions between himself and the partnership of St. George and Farcy : *Puisaye Papers*, p. 124.

<sup>5</sup> Cartwright to Puisaye, May 5, 1800 : *Cartwright's Letter-book*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, *passim*.

<sup>7</sup> Statement by Puisaye of transactions between himself and the partnership of St. George and Farcy : *Puisaye Papers*, p. 124.

<sup>8</sup> Statement of lands in Canada belonging to Puisaye : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 321, p. 172 A.

Here Puisaye settled with his housekeeper, Mrs. Smithers, and his servants, Marchand and Thompson, all of whom he had brought with him from England. And here he lived three years. He went often to York and he had a house built for himself there, Chief Justice Elmsley supervising the work.<sup>1</sup> He remained the head of the colony at Windham and kept in close touch with its members. But he regarded his estate at Niagara as his home, and from the many and costly improvements which he made it may be judged that he looked forward to a long sojourn there. He seems to have been interested in the general welfare of the country. Thus in 1800 he wrote to the Lieutenant-Governor, Hunter, that since mills were necessary and sites for them rare and in the hands of speculators, he had resolved to build a wind-mill, not only for his own particular wants but also as an example to be followed.<sup>2</sup> The project failed owing to the inability of the Comte to find anyone who would undertake the work. Even the advertisement in the *Gazette* brought no one forward.<sup>3</sup>

This was doubtless only one of many disappointments of the kind. In truth, life in this new country had its trials. The Comte must needs wait nearly a year for kettles which he had ordered because they had to be imported from England,<sup>4</sup> he must put up with the loss of earthenware sent him from Montreal and stolen by the sailors,<sup>5</sup> he must suffer from the scarcity of servants and must often personally superintend the work on his farm.<sup>6</sup> It was all very different from the easy ways of life in the Old World. Moreover, ambitious as he was to be the leader of a great movement, he must have chafed under the fact that his thousands of émigrés delayed coming, and he must have felt that his presence was needed in England to further his project there. It is not surprising, therefore, that in May of 1801 he wrote to General Hunter<sup>7</sup> saying

<sup>1</sup> Puisaye to Gore, Dec. 5, 1817 : *Immigration of French Royalists*.

<sup>2</sup> Puisaye to [Hunter ?] Feb. 19, 1800 : *Settlers, 1794-1800*, p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> Cartwright to Puisaye, May 5, 1800 : *Cartwright's Letter-book*.

<sup>4</sup> Cartwright to Puisaye, Oct. 3, 1799 : *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Cartwright to Messrs. J. & A. McGill & Co., Nov. 17, 1800 : *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Puisaye to Hunter, May 19, 1800 : *Settlers, 1794-1800*, p. 126.

<sup>7</sup> May 24, 1801 : *Settlers, 1801-1818*, p. 4.



that he hoped to go to Europe towards the end of the autumn to seek the aid for his colony which he could not find in Canada. But he did not set out for another year, delaying probably in the hope of a peace.<sup>1</sup> He would seem to have left Windham in charge of the Comte de Chalus,<sup>2</sup> and he left his estate at Niagara in the hands of St. George and Farcy who agreed to open a store there.<sup>3</sup> The little party began its journey in May, Puisaye, Mrs. Smithers, D'Allègre, and St. George. They travelled in Puisaye's own boat as far as Schenectady, taking with them three oarsmen and a black servant. From Schenectady they proceeded to New York. There Puisaye supplied St. George with £125 and introduced him to a prominent agent through whom St. George made the purchases for his store.<sup>4</sup> The rest of the party set sail on the 8th of June.<sup>5</sup> St. George returned to Schenectady with his supplies, loaded them in Puisaye's boat and continued his journey to Niagara.<sup>6</sup>

#### X. THE FURTHER HISTORY OF THE COLONY

To return now to the colony at Windham. Puisaye arranged that, to begin with, all should labour together<sup>7</sup> to clear the land and build the houses. Indeed in the hard work of cutting down trees and handling the heavy logs this was imperatively necessary. For the time being the little company lived in temporary barracks.<sup>8</sup> Strange it must have seemed to them to waken to absolute stillness, to go out each morning to a frozen wilderness, and to hear little during the day but the occasional word of a comrade

<sup>1</sup> Cartwright to Jas. & A. McGill & Co., July 11, 1801 : *Cartwright's Letter-book*.

<sup>2</sup> Reports to the Government concerning the colony at York are made out by the Comte de Chalus. See, for instance, that dated June 7, 1802 : *Settlers, 1801-1818*, p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> Statement by Puisaye of transactions between himself and the partnership of St. George and Farcy : *Puisaye Papers*, p. 124.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Puisaye to Hunter, June 8, 1802 : *Settlers, 1801-1818*, p. 102.

<sup>6</sup> Statement by Puisaye of transactions between himself and the partnership of St. George and Farcy : *Puisaye Papers*, p. 124.

<sup>7</sup> See Puisaye's distribution of lands at Windham, July 23, 1801 : *Settlers, 1801-1818*, p. 56.

<sup>8</sup> See Jones to Smith, Dec. 2, 1798 : *Instruction Book 6*, p. 76.

and the steady stroke of the axe. It was all very different from their former home across the water with its warm sunshine, its cultivated fields, and the close proximity of friends. True, these exiles had borne much suffering since leaving their native land, yet this first winter in the primeval forest of a northern climate must have seemed to them long and cold and lonely. Spring brought with it trials of its own. The melting of the snow and the thawing of the ground made the road to York impassable for weeks at a time.<sup>1</sup> There must have been long delays in the arrival of needed supplies. There must have been, too, an anxious waiting for the Canadian servants for whom Puisaye had sent. These arrived in June, J. B. Valière,<sup>2</sup> blacksmith, his wife and six children, Benjamin Mainville, labourer, his wife and six children, Louis Garaux, blacksmith, and [Marguerite] Robinson.<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile the land had been parcelled out among the members of the colony. Puisaye had determined upon the assignment of lots as early as February 3, 1799,<sup>4</sup> though not all of the company had as yet arrived at Windham, and those already there must have delayed taking possession until their houses were built, some time in early spring.<sup>5</sup> There seem to be no records to show what this first division of land was, but it probably did not differ materially from the one made later<sup>6</sup> when some of the members had cut loose from the enterprise. The following division was then made :

<sup>1</sup> The Comte de Chalus to [Hunter], Aug. 24, 1800 : *Settlers, 1794-1800*, p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> H. J. Morgan in his *Biographies of Celebrated Canadians* says that there are those who aver that Joseph Remi Vallières de St. Real was a son of J. B. Valière.

<sup>3</sup> See *Settlers, 1794-1800*, p. 99. This is the original list made by the Comte de Chalus, June 7, 1799. It differs from the list of President Russell (*ibid.*, p. 104) and from that of the commissariat (*ibid.*, p. 108, undoubtedly a copy of the preceding) not as to the numbers nor as to the names but as to the identity of the persons. The last two lists do not recognize Charles Allorix, Gillis Henry, Peter Ignara, and Damus Cleandre as the sons of J. B. Valière and Marguerite Cornelier, yet they are clearly given so by the Comte de Chalus. Moreover only by recognizing them as such can we make the list agree with the statement of the Comte de Chalus (*ibid.*, 103) that there are six Canadians at Windham in the service of Puisaye.

<sup>4</sup> Jones to Smith, Feb. 3, 1799 : *Surveyors' Letters, Jones*, p. 289.

<sup>5</sup> See the Comte de Chalus to Prescott, Mar. 12, 1799 : *Settlers, 1794-1800*, p. 53.

<sup>6</sup> July 23, 1801. See *Settlers, 1801-1818*, p. 56.

the Comte de Puisaye 850 acres, the Comte de Chalus 650 acres, D'Allègre 450 acres, St. George 400 acres, the Vicomte de Chalus, Farcy and Boiton 350 acres each, Marzeul 300 acres, Renoult and Segeant 150 acres each, Fauchard, Furon, Le Bugle, Marchand, and Letourneau 100 acres each.<sup>1</sup> It was designed that each officer should live upon the 50-acre lot given him while he placed farmers upon the rest of his land.<sup>2</sup> These fifty-acre lots were approximately in the middle of the settlement. The Comte de Chalus, Puisaye, Farcy, and St. George were neighbours in the order named. Opposite them were the Viscomte de Chalus and Boiton.<sup>3</sup> D'Allègre was not given one of the small farms, perhaps because his friendship with Puisaye was so close that he lived much of the time with him. The difference in the quantities of land assigned to the various members of the colony was due to the inequality of rank existing between them and to the fact that some of the lots had been cleared to a greater extent than others by the common labour and had thus to be balanced against a larger number of acres.<sup>4</sup>

In due time each individual began life upon his own farm. Fortunately for him the Government still provided rations,<sup>5</sup> and though he may have tired of bread and pork still it was such that he did not go hungry. But there were many real difficulties. For most of the émigrés the art of farming had still to be learned. Puisaye might send seed,<sup>6</sup> fruit trees, cattle,<sup>7</sup> and oxen; but seed must be planted and crops cared for, and cattle, turned into the woods as they were during the summer,<sup>8</sup> might stray and do much damage. The hardships that fell to the lot of these inexperienced farmers are

<sup>1</sup> See *Private Letters, 1794-1803, D. W. Smith Collection*, p. 160, for original draft in Puisaye's own hand, dated July 25, 1801, and sent to [Smith].

<sup>2</sup> Puisaye's distribution of lands at Windham, July 23, 1801 : *Settlers, 1801-1818*, p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> Draft by Puisaye, July 25, 1801 : *Private Letters, 1794-1803, D. W. Smith Collection*, p. 160.

<sup>4</sup> Puisaye's distribution, July 23, 1801 : *Settlers, 1801-1818*, p. 56.

<sup>5</sup> See Minutes of Executive Council, Dec. 14, 1799 : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 290-1, p. 172.

<sup>6</sup> See Macdonnell to Puisaye, Jan. 24, 1799 : *Puisaye Papers*, p. 39.

<sup>7</sup> See Puisaye to Russell, May 23, 1799 : *ibid.*, p. 72.

<sup>8</sup> Rochefoucault, II, 260.

vividly pictured in a letter from Marzeul to Puisaye, dated August 27, 1799.

"I determined to write to you to let you know what obstacles oppose themselves to my establishment. A felon which has made me lose the joint of a finger has long prevented me from working. Add to this the time I had laboured on another lot. When seed-time came I had only a little land cleared. I wished to plant it. Then the fences being poor the oxen ate everything. Those which you had the goodness to send me strayed two months ago and notwithstanding my search I am not able to get news of them. I am afraid I shall lose them. After having worked to repair some of the imperfections of my house, the fall of a great oak crushed the front part of the roof and damaged the floor and other parts. The house is repaired now but I sleep on the ground."<sup>1</sup>

The letter makes clear the difficulties under which the pioneer in this region laboured. The woods were dense and the trees of massive size.<sup>2</sup> It needed hundreds of blows from the axe to level a single one. And once the trees had been cut down there remained still the task of getting them out of the way. If, indeed, they were to be used in the construction of a log cabin, as was usually the case with the settlers of this region, they must first be freed of their branches. These and the thick underbrush which had likewise to be cut must then be burned. It was a long and laborious process. To continue it meant a determined will and a steady disregard of the present in the hope of a better future. And, at its best, that future cannot have looked very bright to these exiles. They must often have longed for their own land and their own people, and the thought of never returning must frequently have weighed them down with sadness.

It is no wonder then that there were those in the colony who cast about for a means of escape. Poret abandoned the enterprise after a few months' trial.<sup>3</sup> La Richerie soon

<sup>1</sup>"Je me Détermine à vous écrire et vous faire part De obstacles qui parroissent vouloir s'opposer à mon établissement un panari qui m'a fait perdre le seinture d'un doi ma empêché longtemps De travailler a cella joint le temps que j'avais travailli sur un autre lot au temps des semences je n'avais que fort peu de terrain défriché, je voutu en semer ensuite fait Des Clotures trop imparfaites les boeufs m'ont tout mengé Ceux que vous avez eu la bonté De m'envoyer sent partis il y a Deux mois malgré mes recherches je n'en puis avoir De nouvelles je Crains Beaucoup De les perdre après avoir travaillé a reparez partie Des imperfections De ma maison la chute d'un gros chène est venu pulveriser toute la Couverture sur le Devant et a fort endomagé le plancher et autres partie elle est réparée Maintenant mais je dors à terre."—*Puisaye Papers*, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup>Scadding, p. 468.

<sup>3</sup>Puisaye to [Smith], July 25, 1801 : *Private Letters, 1794-1803, Smith Collection*, p. 160.

grew restless and looked about for something better. Illinois seemed to him the promised land and thither he wished to go. He had an acquaintance there, M. de Céré, through whom he expected to make a fortune in a short time. In October, 1799, he asked Puisaye for a letter which should win for him the consideration and confidence of the distinguished men of the country and promised not to abuse this mark of favour.<sup>1</sup> It would appear that Puisaye refused the request. Soon after, La Richerie, Polard, and Champagne left the country and made their way toward Matchedash and Lake Simcoe. Efforts were made to overtake and apprehend them but without success. They were last heard of in Montreal.<sup>2</sup> Letourneau was another restless and dissatisfied spirit. He, too, went to Montreal but returned to York after a time,<sup>3</sup> and apparently to Windham, since after his dereliction his name appears on Puisaye's plan for the distribution of land on Yonge Street and he received a patent for the assignment made him.<sup>4</sup> Fauchard also fled the colony but was ordered back by Puisaye<sup>5</sup>. It is evident that he returned, since his name, too, appears on the above mentioned plan, made out after his flight.

Still others of the colony sought relief in trade from the irksomeness of an agricultural life. Puisaye arranged with a prominent Montreal firm to give the Comte de Chalus credit for £500 in order that he might engage in the business of supplying the settlement at Windham with such commodities as it needed and might collect furs from the Indians and other inhabitants of that neighbourhood. This was in the autumn of 1799.<sup>6</sup> St. George began an inconsiderable trade with the Indians soon after his arrival in Canada.<sup>7</sup> Tra-

<sup>1</sup> La Richerie to Puisaye, Oct. 18 : *Puisaye Papers*, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> See the Comte de Chalus to Green, June 10, 1800 : *Settlers, 1794-1800*, p. 132.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix II, table 8.

<sup>5</sup> Puisaye to Hunter, Sept. 28, 1801 : *Settlers, 1801-1818*, p. 66.

<sup>6</sup> Cartwright to J. & A. McGill, Oct. 2, 1799 : *Cartwright's Letter-book*. Puisaye arranged likewise with Mr. Cartwright to start Kent in business, on a much smaller scale, however. See Cartwright to Puisaye, Oct. 3, 1801 : *ibid.* As noted elsewhere, Kent was the assumed name of William Smithers, one of the English servants whom Puisaye had brought with him.

<sup>7</sup> Statement by Puisaye of transactions between himself and the partnership of St. George and Farcy : *Puisaye Papers*, p. 124.

dition has it that he carried a pack and it is not at all improbable that he did move from place to place to meet the demands of his small business and that he took some of his wares with him. It has already been noted that he opened a store with Farcy near Niagara in the summer of 1802. On August 7 of that same year the following advertisement appeared in the *Niagara Herald* :

"New Store at the House of the French General, between Niagara and Queenston. Messrs. Quetton St. George and Co., acquaint the public that they<sup>1</sup> have lately arrived from New York with a general assortment of Dry Goods and Groceries, which will be sold at the lowest price for ready money, for from the uncertainty of their residing any time in these parts they cannot open accounts with any person. Will also be found at the same store a general assortment of tools for all mechanics. They have likewise well-made Trunks; also empty barrels."<sup>2</sup>

Late in 1802 St. George went to York to open a store there<sup>3</sup> leaving Farcy in charge of the one at Niagara. Still later at Puisaye's request, St. George furnished Boiton and Marzeul each with \$100 worth of goods at New York prices to enable them to start in trade for themselves.<sup>4</sup> Of the subsequent fortunes of the Comte de Chalus little is known, but it may be noted here that none except St. George succeeded in business. He amassed great wealth and, according to Puisaye, regarded himself at one time as the richest merchant in Canada.<sup>5</sup>

## XI. THE LAND QUESTION

While the colonists were thus seeking to make a livelihood by agriculture or trade, they did not lose sight of the profit that might accrue to them through the grants of land offered them by the Government. It will be remembered that in his letter of July 5, 1798, the Home Secretary<sup>6</sup> had written to Russell requesting that allotments of land be made to the émigrés in the proportion granted to the American loyalists, considering Puisaye as a field officer and such officers

<sup>1</sup> This was true only of St. George. See *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in Scadding, 188.

<sup>3</sup> See brief on the suit between Puisaye and St. George [1816?]: *Quetton St. George Papers*, p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> Statement by Puisaye of transactions between himself and the partnership of St. George and Farcy: *Puisaye Papers*, p. 124.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> The Duke of Portland.

as accompanied him according to their rank, and the remainder as privates.<sup>1</sup> But the American loyalists had not been treated uniformly. The instructions to General Haldimand of August 7, 1788, directed that field officers be given 1000 acres, captains 700, subalterns or staff or warrant officers 500, non-commissioned officers 200, privates 100, and for every person in their families 50.<sup>2</sup> Subsequently it was provided that the members of the 84th Regiment receive—field-officers 5000 acres, captains 3000, subalterns 2000, non-commissioned officers 200, privates 50; and a little later the amount given to non-commissioned officers was increased to 400, and the amount to privates to 300 acres.<sup>3</sup> In 1788 the bounty to the 84th Regiment was extended to the disbanded provincial regiments.<sup>4</sup>

It is not to be wondered at, considering the cordiality of Windham's letter to Russell, that the Council at York put the most favourable interpretation upon the order to treat the émigrés as American loyalists. The resolution of November 22, 1798,<sup>5</sup> already noted, provided that Puisaye and his field officers be granted 5000 acres each, his captains 3000, his subalterns 2000, and his non-commissioned officers and privates 300.

The next step was to ascertain the rank of those members of the colony who had been officers. Application was made to Puisaye and he replied that he would bring to York a list of the émigrés whom he had brought with him together with the rank each had held in the army. He added that he meant to present three officers to the Council for grades inferior to those they had really borne. He frankly avowed that they had distinguished themselves by their services, but he assigned them less land than would rightly fall to their share because they had not held considerable property in France and had not been on the same social plane as the others before the

<sup>1</sup> Portland to Russell, July 5, 1798 : Report on Canadian Archives, 1888, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> See Hunter to Portland, Sept. 2, 1801 : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 291-2, p. 332.

<sup>3</sup> Art. 41 of the Royal Instructions of Aug. 23, 1786. See *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Minutes of Executive Council : *ibid.*, Q. 288, p. 140.

Revolution. He meant to present Boiton, who had been lieutenant-colonel and Chevalier de Saint-Louis, simply as captain, and Renoult, who had been captain, and Segeant, who had been second lieutenant, simply as soldiers, because he felt, as he said, that 3000 acres for the first, who was distinguished beyond the others by a less common birth, and 300 acres for each of the two latter, who before the war were simply country workmen, were amply sufficient. He did not wish to preserve in Renoult and Segeant the remembrance of a rank which could not profit them and which might dis-incline them to work for wages.<sup>1</sup> When, however, Puisaye made out his list six weeks later, he put Boiton on the same plane with others of his rank, and he then stated that Renoult and Segeant had served without commissions and recommended the former for 1200 and the latter for 500 acres.<sup>2</sup>

The Council was not satisfied with Puisaye's ranking and referred to the Colonial Office for information, but to no purpose.<sup>3</sup> Finally after Puisaye's departure for England, recourse was had to St. George and Boiton. They put down all the officers for 5000 acres each except Farcy to whom, as being only a captain, they gave 3000. They did not commit themselves as to Renoult and Segeant who, it would appear, had served without commissions.<sup>4</sup>

One difficulty presented itself in the very beginning. The émigrés were aliens and as such were debarred from receiving grants of land.<sup>5</sup> His Majesty's Attorney-General and Solicitor-General proposed that they be naturalized by an Act of Parliament;<sup>6</sup> and a list of such as wished to be included in this arrangement, and embracing all but Puisaye and D'Allègre then in England, and Farcy who feared thus

<sup>1</sup> Puisaye to Hunter, June 4, 1801 : *Settlers, 1801-1818*, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Puisaye to Hunter, July 23, 1801 : *ibid.*, p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> See Portland to Hunter, July 4, 1800 : *Settlers, 1794-1800*, p. 138.

<sup>4</sup> Memorandum submitted by St. George and Boiton to Sur.-Gen. Chewett, Nov. 23, 1803 : *Immigration of French Royalists*. The privates were put down for 300 acres each.

<sup>5</sup> See report of His Majesty's Attorney-General and Solicitor-General, Jan. 5, 1802 : *Settlers, 1801-1818*, p. 87.

<sup>6</sup> See report of the Executive Council, Dec. 13, 1810 : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 312, p. 5.



to lose his property rights in France, was prepared by the Comte de Chalus and transmitted by Hunter, the Lieutenant-Governor, to the Colonial Secretary, then Lord Hobart.<sup>1</sup> This was in December, 1802, but nothing had been done by August, 1804. By that time the Earl of Camden<sup>2</sup> had become Colonial Secretary and he proposed that the Lieutenant-Governor be empowered to grant the French letters of denization if that were deemed sufficient to enable them to obtain patents.<sup>3</sup> This plan, too, came to naught. The next year the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General gave it as their opinion that they saw no objection to an Act of the colonial legislature authorizing the King to grant lands to such aliens as he chose and enacting that, so far as these lands were concerned, the grantees should have all the rights of natural-born subjects.<sup>4</sup> Such a bill was prepared but the House of Assembly would not allow it to be brought in.<sup>5</sup> There the matter rested for some years.

In the meantime those of the little band of émigrés still in Upper Canada busied themselves in determining the location of their lands. No doubt appears to have been entertained by them or by the government officers at York as to the granting of patents. Indeed it is probable that the émigrés knew very little of the interchange of letters concerning their disability as aliens to acquire property from the Crown. The Lieutenant-Governor Gore himself, when he assumed office and for some years afterward, appears to have been equally unacquainted with the difficulties of the situation. At least this may be inferred from the fact that he knew nothing of the bill prepared for the colonial legislature and from the fact that he signed the patents for the lands taken up by the émigrés.<sup>6</sup> When finally he learned all the circum-

<sup>1</sup> Hunter to Hobart, Dec. 2, 1802 : *ibid.*, Q. 293, p. 116. The list was made up of the Comte de Chalus, the Vicomte de Chalus, Marzeul, St. George, Boiton, Renoult, Segeant, Fauchard, Le Bugle, Furon, Marchand, and Letourneau. See *ibid.*, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> John Jeffries Pratt, afterwards Marquis of Camden.

<sup>3</sup> Camden to Hunter, Aug. 2, 1804 : *ibid.*, Q. 299, p. 51.

<sup>4</sup> Percival and Gibbs [Attorney-General and Solicitor-General] to Camden, April 11, 1805 : *Settlers, 1801-1818*, p. 157.

<sup>5</sup> Report of the Executive Council, Dec. 13, 1810 : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 314, p. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Gore to Liverpool, Jan. 2, 1811 : *ibid.*, Q. 314, p. 2.

stances of the case, another difficulty had added itself to those already existing. It then appeared that General Hunter, who had succeeded Russell in 1799, had received instructions from England to provide the émigrés with lands in the proportion of 1000 acres to a field officer, and that, not knowing or forgetful of the action of the Executive Council, November 22, 1798, he had replied that no promise for a larger amount had been made.<sup>1</sup> Yet the faith of the Government of Upper Canada was pledged to 5000 acres for a field officer. All the difficulties having been fully brought out, the matter was dropped for a second time.

As above stated, the émigrés, though still aliens, were given patents for their lands. Marzeul rounded out the number of 4965 acres, October 27, 1807;<sup>2</sup> Boiton 3362 acres, January 29, 1808;<sup>3</sup> the Comte de Chalus 4650 acres, March 28, 1808;<sup>4</sup> and St. George 3542 acres, February 5, 1811.<sup>5</sup> The Vicomte de Chalus was slower than the others because of ill-health, but he ultimately obtained his full quota of 5000 acres, the last patents being given him on October 9, 1815.<sup>6</sup> It has already been noted that Farcy caused his name to be struck off the list of the émigrés who wished to be naturalized. He did so because his mother was urging him to return to France to sell his property there.<sup>7</sup> Whether owing to the uncertainty of his residence in Canada or to some other reason, he delayed taking up any lands beyond the two parcels assigned to him on Yonge Street. For these, amounting to 337 acres, he received patents in 1806.<sup>8</sup> Finally, he selected the remaining 2663 acres due him, but with the understanding that he could get the title only under special authority of the English Government.<sup>9</sup> This was in 1816

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix II, table 4.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., table 6.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., table 2.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., table 5.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., table 3.

<sup>7</sup> See St. George to Green, Dec. 1, 1802 : *Settlers, 1801-1818*, p. 119.

<sup>8</sup> See Appendix II, table 7.

<sup>9</sup> Information furnished the Foreign Office by Farcy, Sept. 21, 1827 : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 345, p. 38.

just a few months before he sailed for France. It was not until eleven years later, November 3, 1827, that the patents were granted him.<sup>1</sup>

The experience of Puisaye is unique. He had either forgotten the provision that the patent could issue to the émigrés only after they had been resident in Canada for seven years,<sup>2</sup> or else he deemed himself an exception to the rule. So far as the Yonge Street lots are concerned it may be that the provision did not extend to them, although it was apparently understood that patents could not issue until seven years after the land had been allotted. Before Puisaye returned to England he built a dwelling-house on each of his four large farms<sup>3</sup> on Yonge Street, made the requisite number of acres ready for the plough, and cut and cleared the road.<sup>4</sup> Having met these requirements, he expected to receive the patents, but they were never granted him. He felt himself the more injured since he did not labour under the disabilities of the other émigrés. He was not an alien. The Secretary for War had promised him letters of denization before he set out for Canada.<sup>5</sup> For some reason these did not follow him but they were given him upon his return to England, and they empowered him to receive grants from the Crown and to purchase, hold, and sell land.<sup>6</sup> For a long time he tried to make good his claims to the Yonge Street lots, the 5000 acres granted him by the Council but which he never selected, and the 69,500 acres given him by the Mississaguas;<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II, table 7.

<sup>2</sup> Minutes of Executive Council, Nov. 22, 1798 : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 288, p. 140.

<sup>3</sup> He did not improve his small farm of 50 acres.—See Stegman's report on Yonge St. [summer, 1801] : *Surveyors' Letters*, Stegman, p. 253.

<sup>4</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 252; also U. C. Gazette, Jan. 11, 1806 and Aug. 9, 1806. The Yonge Street lots belonging to Puisaye are here advertised for rent and are said to have good improvements and dwelling-houses.

<sup>5</sup> Windham to [Puisaye], Dec. 17, 1798 : *Puisaye Corr.*, Add. MSS. 7976, p. 88.

<sup>6</sup> Puisaye to Gore, Dec. 5, 1811 : *Immigration of French Royalists*; Abstract of His Majesty's Letters Patent to Puisaye : *ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> See Puisaye to —, Sept. 4, 1807 : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 310, p. 289. The object of the letter is to obtain a royal patent for lands acquired from the Mississaguas.

but finally, seeing the futility of his efforts, he desisted<sup>1</sup> except with respect to the Yonge Street lots upon which he had spent a good deal of money. After his death patents were granted to the administrator of his estate, Rowland Winbourne, for lots 52, 53, 54, and one-fourth of 58.<sup>2</sup>

D'Allègre improved the two lots assigned to him<sup>3</sup> but in spite of Puisaye's interested endeavours<sup>4</sup> in his behalf his right to this property was never acknowledged by the Government.

It will be seen from the tables in the appendix that the Vicomte de Chalus was the only one of the émigrés who received patents for the whole of 5000 acres. Marzeul fell short 45 acres and the Comte de Chalus 350 acres. It is possible that a further study of the *Domesday Books* would show that these men completed their quotas. With regard to St. George there is another more probable supposition. He had so keen an eye to profit that the chances are that he waited his opportunity, availing himself of his privilege only when he came upon an especially desirable parcel of land. For him there was no need of haste. He looked upon Canada as his home, and when he went to Europe late in 1815,<sup>5</sup> it was with every intention of returning in the near future.<sup>6</sup> Then came his marriage,<sup>7</sup> his resolution to remain in France,<sup>8</sup> and his sudden

<sup>1</sup> See Puisaye's claim for damages done his property during the war of 1812 : *ibid.*, Q. 321, p. 172 A. He says he will set no price upon the 5000 acres granted by order of the Duke of Portland or upon the land given him by the Mississaguas since he means to remit both to the Government.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix II, table 1.

<sup>3</sup> For lot 55 see Stegman's report on Yonge Street [summer, 1801] : *Surveyors' Letters, Stegman*, p. 252. This shows the clearing to have been made and the street cut. For lot 51 see *Upper Canada Gazette*, July 21, 1804. The lot is advertised to let and is said to have a house and barn and about 20 acres clear.

<sup>4</sup> See Puisaye to Gore, Dec. 5, 1811 : *Immigration of French Royalists*.

<sup>5</sup> He was still in Montreal Oct. 15, 1815. But Feb. 16, 1816, W. W. Baldwin wrote to him : "It has given us all great pleasure to hear of the very flattering reception you have met with in your native country."—*Quetton St. George, W. W. and J. S. Baldwin Letters*.

<sup>6</sup> The letters of W. W. Baldwin to St. George show that St. George was expected to return soon. See especially that dated Nov. 28, 1818 : *Quetton St. George Papers*, p. 68.

<sup>7</sup> See A. L. Juchereau Duchesnay to St. George, Aug. 23, 1820 : *Quetton St. George Papers*, p. 74.

<sup>8</sup> W. W. Baldwin to Quetton St. George, July 29, 1819 : *Quetton St. George, W. W. and J. S. Baldwin Letters*.

death.<sup>1</sup> With Boiton the case is not quite so clear. He does not seem to have exercised much choice in the land which was given him and was dissatisfied with it,<sup>2</sup> perhaps so thoroughly dissatisfied that he did not trouble himself to take out patents for the whole.

A glance at Table 8 in Appendix II will show that of the seven men entitled to 300 acres apiece only Le Bugle and Furon availed themselves fully of their privilege. Renoult contented himself with 157 acres, Segeant with 148, Marchand with 115, and Fauchard and Letourneau with 95 each. It seems a little curious that these men, poor as they were, did not take all they could get. But it must be remembered that they were ignorant and somewhat at a disadvantage in a country whose language they did not understand and whose customs were new to them.

It is interesting to note how eager most of these Frenchmen were to dispose of their lands as soon as they had acquired titles. Perhaps they were spurred to this action by the need of money, perhaps they wished to cut the ties that bound them to an alien soil. On May 15, 1807, the Comte and the Vicomte de Chalus each came into possession of approximately 500 acres in the township of Saltfleet and on June 20 an advertisement appeared in the *Upper Canada Gazette* offering these lands for sale. The Comte de Chalus obtained patents for lands in the townships of Sidney and Thurlow on March 9, 1808, and disposed of these lands in little more than three months.<sup>3</sup> Boiton was even more speedy. Of the 2000 acres acquired on December 30, 1807, he sold 1700 on January 20, 1808.<sup>4</sup> Le Bugle got rid of his two farms, the one within three days and the other within twenty-four days after he had acquired them;<sup>5</sup> and Renoult disposed

<sup>1</sup> June 8, 1821. See Act concerning the estate of St. George : Statutes of Upper Canada, 4th Sess., 9th Provincial Parliament, 1828, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> See Boiton to Puisaye, Oct. 21, 1806 : *Puisaye Papers*, p. 109.

<sup>3</sup> See Book A. No. 83, Registry Office, Belleville, County of Hastings.

<sup>4</sup> See memorial of sale referred to under Boiton, Lot 19, 3rd Concession of Township of York, West of Yonge Street, in *Abstract Index, Book B, Township of York*, p. 444, Registry Office for East and West York, Toronto.

<sup>5</sup> See *Township of Vaughan, Book A, Plans 9 to 275*, p. 72, and *Abstract Index, Book A, Township of Markham*, p. 285, Registry Office for East and West York, Toronto.

of his only farm eighteen months after he had become the owner.<sup>1</sup>

Often it was Quetton St. George who became the purchaser. In the course of time either he or his administrator assumed this relation toward the Comte de Chalus, the Vicomte de Chalus, Boiton, Marzeul, Farcy, Renoult, and Segeant.<sup>2</sup> The prices varied necessarily with the situation and the general desirability of the land. Le Bugle received £150 for 105 acres in the township of Vaughan.<sup>3</sup> This was in 1808. But the land was on Yonge Street and only fifteen miles from York. He received only £50 for 200 acres in one of the back concessions of Markham.<sup>4</sup>

It is a curious fact that while these grants were thus changing hands and the owners were acting on the supposition that their patents were good, the discussion as to the validity of these patents was still being carried on by the officers of the Government. Thus in 1811 Gore, the Lieutenant-Governor, wrote to the Colonial Secretary, then Lord Liverpool, that since the patents given to the French royalists were invalid it might be advisable that the King grant them a special charter of denization in order to enable them to come into legal possession of their land.<sup>5</sup> And in 1812 Puisaye sent a Memorial to this same Minister requesting that commissioners be appointed to inquire into his own claims and those of the royalists whom he had brought into Canada.<sup>6</sup> By 1816 the difficulties of the situation had obtruded themselves upon the consciousness of the government officers at York. It was at this time that Farcy was told that he could get patents for his land only under special

<sup>1</sup> Sept. 29, 1821. *Township of Vaughan, Book A, Plans 9 to 275*, p. 71, Registry Office for East and West York, Toronto.

<sup>2</sup> See Act concerning estate of St. George : Statutes of Upper Canada, 4th Sess., 9th Provincial Parliament, 1828, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> See *Township of Vaughan, Book A, Plans 9 to 275*, p. 72, Registry Office for East and West York, Toronto.

<sup>4</sup> See *Abstract Index, Book A, Township of Markham*, p. 285, Registry Office for East and West York, Toronto.

<sup>5</sup> Jan. 2 : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 314, p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Aug. 20 : *ibid.*, Q. 316, p. 217.

authority of the British Government.<sup>1</sup> It was at this time also that Pipet and Renoult had some difficulty concerning their land.<sup>2</sup> Mr. W. W. Baldwin in writing to St. George of this last said that he would greatly neglect his own interest if he did not obtain his naturalization.<sup>3</sup> Nor was Mr. Baldwin wrong. When St. George died, his alien birth threatened to bring about the forfeiture and escheat of his estates, to prevent which a special Act of the legislature was deemed necessary. Such an Act was passed in 1828<sup>4</sup> but was disallowed.<sup>5</sup> In 1831, however the law was re-enacted in a somewhat modified form.<sup>6</sup> So far as the other émigrés were concerned, though technically without legal titles to their land, it does not appear that they were ever disturbed in the possession of them.

Still a word remains to be said with regard to the lots allowed the French officers in the town of York. Chief Justice Elmsley interested himself particularly in this matter. The entries in *Domesday Book I*<sup>7</sup> are in his hand and the location report of these lots has a note in his writing to the effect that the lots are reserved for the French gentlemen.<sup>8</sup> But they never received patents for them. Perhaps they did not comply with the requirement that all the trees must be felled and the brush burned.<sup>9</sup> St. George did indeed obtain a patent for a lot in York<sup>10</sup> as did also the adminis-

<sup>1</sup> See information furnished the Foreign Office by Farcy, Feb. 3, 1816 : *ibid.*, Q. 345, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Just what the difficulty was is not apparent. See W. W. Baldwin to Quetton St. George, Feb. 16, 1816 : *Quetton St. George, W. W. and J. S. Baldwin Letters*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Statutes of Upper Canada, 1828, p. 35.*

<sup>5</sup> Because of some official informality in the manner of passing the law and because the law did not, in the opinion of the Privy Council, sufficiently protect the son and heir of St. George from the possible maladministration of W. W. Baldwin, to whom St. George had given large powers with regard to his estate in Canada.—See W. W. Baldwin to Madame Quetton St. George, Oct. 21, 1829 : *Quetton St. George Papers, p. 90.*

<sup>6</sup> *Statutes of Upper Canada, 11th Parliament, 1831, p. 103.*

<sup>7</sup> For the Comte and the Vicomte de Chalus see p. 3; for Boiton, D'Allègre, and "a French Gentleman" [Puisaye] see p. 4; for Farcy and St. George, see p. 7.

<sup>8</sup> See Sept. 9, 1800 : *Location Reports, 1800-1802.*

<sup>9</sup> *Instruction Book 6, p. 123.*

<sup>10</sup> Lot 5, Front Street. See *Domesday Book, I, p. 5.*

trator of Puisaye's estate,<sup>1</sup> but these were not those put down in the above mentioned report.<sup>2</sup>

## XII. THE FORTUNES OF THE INDIVIDUAL COLONISTS

The further history of the colony can be told in few words. It resolves itself, indeed, into the history of its individual members. Though Puisaye's direct connection with the enterprise ceased in 1802, a brief note concerning his later life may perhaps not be amiss. He employed the first few years after his return to England in writing his Memoirs, intended to be a vindication of his conduct at Quiberon. It would appear that he kept up his connection with the British Government and that he served it in some capacity.<sup>3</sup> He certainly harassed it with letters, memorials, and petitions of one kind and another, relative chiefly to the money which he had advanced the colony and which he conceived the Government to owe him,<sup>4</sup> and to the titles of his property in Canada,<sup>5</sup> and claims for damages done this property in the War of 1812.<sup>6</sup> The mind of Louis XVIII had been so effectually poisoned against him that he was not permitted to be one of the émigrés who returned to France in 1814. Feeling himself shut out from his native land forever he took out naturalization papers in England<sup>7</sup> and settled there permanently with his wife,<sup>8</sup> the one time Mrs. Smithers whom he had taken with him to Canada as his housekeeper. He died at Blythe House near Hammersmith, December 13, 1827.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Water lot A, Old Town. See *ibid.*, 6.

<sup>2</sup> See Sept. 9, 1800 : *Location Reports, 1800-1802*. Since all the officers are provided for in this report except Puisaye, we may infer that the extra lot was for him, although the place for the name of the applicant is left blank.

<sup>3</sup> This may be inferred from the fact that Puisaye wrote to Lieutenant-Governor Gore in 1811 that D'Allègre since his return to England—1802—had been almost constantly employed by the Government under his (Puisaye's) orders. See Puisaye to Gore, Dec. 5, 1811 : *Immigration of French Royalists*.

<sup>4</sup> See Puisaye to Liverpool, Aug. 20, 1812 : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 316, p. 218.

<sup>5</sup> Memorial to Liverpool, Aug. 20, 1812 : *ibid.*, Q. 316, p. 217.

<sup>6</sup> Puisaye's claim for damages, Oct. 8, 1816 : *ibid.*, Q. 321, p. 172; Puisaye to Goulburn, July 15, 1818 : *ibid.*, Q. 324-2, p. 423.

<sup>7</sup> Larousse : *Grand Dictionnaire Universel*.

<sup>8</sup> See W. W. Baldwin to Madame Quetton St. George, Oct. 21, 1821 : *Quetton St. George Papers*, p. 78.

<sup>9</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1827, vol. XCVII, pt. 2, p. 639.



The fortunes of the Comte de Chalus after 1802 are obscure. He lost the trust and friendship of Puisaye<sup>1</sup> who openly accused him of machinations against him;<sup>2</sup> and he forfeited also the confidence of the chief members of the colony.<sup>3</sup> The cause of this change of attitude toward him does not appear, though Marzeul hints of harsh business dealings.<sup>4</sup> The Vicomte remained in Canada sixteen years. During a part of this time he lived either in York or on his farm at Windham. While at the latter place he had to contend with ill-health<sup>5</sup> and lack of servants.<sup>6</sup> One wonders a little where the gently nurtured Vicomtesse found strength to minister to her home and growing family of children.<sup>7</sup>

It has already been noted that St. George and Farcy opened a store in Puisaye's house near Niagara, and that, leaving this in charge of Farcy, St. George opened another store in York late in 1802.<sup>8</sup> Judging from the advertisements which appeared in the *Upper Canada Gazette* he soon carried a large and very diverse stock of goods. To his activity as merchant he joined other tasks. He acted as agent for renting and selling real estate,<sup>9</sup> he received advertisements for the *Gazette* at his store,<sup>10</sup> he sold goods on commission<sup>11</sup> and he undertook errands on his trips to New York.<sup>12</sup> During these early years also he was in the habit of taking long journeys into the interior to trade with the Indians. At one place in particular, Lake Couchiching, the outlet of Lake Simcoe, he opened out his wares regularly.<sup>13</sup> The vocabulary

<sup>1</sup> Puisaye to Hunter, June 8, 1802 : *Settlers, 1801-1818*, p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> Puisaye to Hunter, Feb. 14, 1807 : *ibid.*, p. 122.

<sup>3</sup> Farcy, St. George, D'Allègre, and Boiton to the Comte de Chalus; Apr. 2, 1802 : *Puisaye Papers*, p. 101.

<sup>4</sup> Marzeul to Puisaye, Mar. 7, 1804 : *ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Ridout to Edward Macmahon, Jan., 1813 : *Immigration of French Royalists*.

<sup>6</sup> The Vicomte de Chalus to President Grant, Jan. 26, 1806 : *ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Brief on the suit between Puisaye and St. George [1816 ?] : *Quetton St. George Papers*, p. 42.

<sup>9</sup> See U. C. *Gazette*, Feb. 15, 1806; June 14, 1806; Apr. 7, 1808; Oct. 29, 1808; and elsewhere.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 10, 1803; and elsewhere.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, June 30, 1804.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, May 19, 1804.

<sup>13</sup> Dr. James Bain.

of the Mississagua language which he wrote out for his own purposes at this time is carefully preserved in the Public Library at Toronto. Quick to note the points where trade centred and to take advantage of the opportunities there, he opened stores at Queenston, Fort Érie, Lundy's Lane,<sup>1</sup> Amherstburg,<sup>2</sup> Kingston,<sup>3</sup> and Niagara.<sup>4</sup> The last was opened immediately on the dissolution of his partnership with Farcy. Indeed, it was understood at the time of the dissolution that each was henceforth to carry on business for himself.<sup>5</sup> St. George's many stores, his willingness to serve his customers in every way possible, and the confidence he inspired in them won for him an extensive trade and enabled him to amass a large fortune. He was perhaps the best known merchant in Upper Canada during the early part of the last century. Although he obtained most of his goods from New York and Montreal<sup>6</sup> he also imported directly from England.<sup>7</sup> Under the circumstances it is not strange that St. George should have been well known, nor, considering his absolute probity, is it strange that he should have been universally respected. When he returned to France he carried with him testimonials from some of the most eminent men in Canada.<sup>8</sup> And he carried with him also the warm affection of a very large circle of friends. Chief among these was William Warren Baldwin. The tie between these two men was of rarest worth and dignity.<sup>9</sup>

Even before Puisaye's departure for England Farcy had

<sup>1</sup> The Spectator (printed at St. Davids) Sept. 20, 1816.

<sup>2</sup> U. C. Gazette, Nov. 11, 1807.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Sept. 20, 1806.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Dec. 10, 1803.

<sup>6</sup> See U. C. Gazette. Advertisements of goods expected from these two cities are numerous.

<sup>7</sup> See Montreal Herald, Dec. 31, 1814.

<sup>8</sup> *Quetton St. George Papers*, p. 26. This is an attestation of the honour and probity of St. George and is signed by twelve prominent men, among them William Campbell, judge of King's Bench, afterwards chief-justice and later Sir William Campbell—James Baby, inspector-general and executive councillor—Thomas Scott, chief-justice—John Strachan, afterwards Bishop Strachan—and J. Beverley Robinson, solicitor-general, afterwards chief-justice and baronet.

<sup>9</sup> See for instance what St. George says in his last will. Statutes of Upper Canada, 11th Parliament, 1831, p. 105.

gone to live at Niagara.<sup>1</sup> He had no talent for business but he kept a store until 1806 or 1807.<sup>2</sup> Then he went to live on his farm at Windham<sup>3</sup> and there he remained until his departure for France in 1816.<sup>4</sup> Poor through all these years and having a large family<sup>5</sup> to support, he was obliged to borrow the money to enable him to make the journey.<sup>6</sup> When the idea of a colony in Canada had been first broached to him he wrote to Puisaye that he was "enchanted"<sup>7</sup> to be of the number. Eighteen years of hard experience had disillusionized him. It may safely be conjectured that he was "enchanted" to return to Europe.

Boiton married into the well-known Willcocks family<sup>8</sup> but lost his wife in about two years.<sup>9</sup> Shortly before her death he wrote to Puisaye of a note for \$256, for payment of which the Comte de Chalus was pressing him.<sup>10</sup> We may infer that the little business which he had tried to carry on for himself did not prosper.<sup>11</sup> In 1806 he was at Kingston in charge of a store belonging to St. George but still poor and in debt.<sup>12</sup> In 1810 he returned to Europe.<sup>13</sup>

The record concerning Marzeul is brief. His age, wounds, and feebleness unfitted him for hard work. Puisaye requested the Government to allow him one ration after the other émigrés had been dropped from the list of the commis-

<sup>1</sup> Report by the Comte de Chalus concerning Windham, June 7, 1802 : *Settlers, 1801-1808*, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> See Farcy to W. Jarvis, Jan. 28, 1806 : *Correspondence Miscellaneous, 1796-1822*, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> U. C. Gazette, Dec. 15, 1807. Farcy advertises for cattle that have strayed from his farm.

<sup>4</sup> Farcy to Colonial Secretary, Aug. 10, 1826 : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 343-2, p. 319.

<sup>5</sup> He had six children when he left Canada. See *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> See Farcy to Brecourt, June 6, 1798 : *Puisaye Papers*, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Puisaye to ———, June 8, 1802 : *Settlers, 1801-1818*, p. 102.

<sup>9</sup> He married in 1802, his wife died in 1804. See Boiton to Puisaye, Oct. 21, 1806 : *Puisaye Papers*, p. 109.

<sup>10</sup> Boiton to Puisaye, Mar. 10, 1804 : *ibid.*, p. 102.

<sup>11</sup> Statement by Puisaye of transactions between himself and the partnership of St. George and Farcy : *ibid.*, p. 124.

<sup>12</sup> Boiton to Puisaye, Oct. 21, 1806 : *ibid.*, p. 109.

<sup>13</sup> Boiton to Puisaye, Feb. 15, 1811 : *ibid.*, p. 115.

sariat,<sup>1</sup> and there is reason to believe that for a time at least the Government complied.<sup>2</sup> The little trade which Marzeul engaged in did not succeed and he lost nearly all that Puisaye had advanced to him and was, moreover, burdened with debt. Early in 1804 he wrote to Puisaye that he had taken a wife and that her economy promised to do something toward mending his broken fortunes.<sup>3</sup> The last word concerning him is found in a letter from the Assistant Quartermaster-general at Quebec to the Civil Secretary and is to the effect that Marzeul cannot be accommodated with a passage to England because no government transport is on the point of sailing. This letter was written September 7, 1815.<sup>4</sup>

It was despair for the cause of royalty and persecution at the hands of republicans that drove the little band of émigrés across the sea. The restoration of the Bourbons recalled them to their own. With the exception of St. George they had never been happy in their adopted home. It was perhaps not so much due to the hardships of the new life as it was to the absence of the politer usages and the charms of society of the Old World. We have seen that nearly half of the little company abandoned the enterprise within a year after their arrival. Those who stayed had doubtless many hours of regret. When Louis XVIII took his seat upon the throne and welcomed and showered favours upon the émigrés who gathered round him, the longing to go back must have been quickened in the hearts of these far-away exiles. The Comte de Chalus, the Vicomte de Chalus, and St. George started at about the same time, probably late in 1815.<sup>5</sup> Farcy fol-

<sup>1</sup> Puisaye to Hunter, July 23, 1801 : *Settlers, 1801-1818*, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Puisaye to Hunter, June 8, 1802 : *ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> Mar. 7, 1804 : *Puisaye Papers*, p. 98.

<sup>4</sup> George Fowler to Major Loring : *Immigration of French Royalists*.

<sup>5</sup> The Comte de Chalus was still in Montreal Aug. 21, 1815. (See his certificate of that date concerning Quetton's adoption of the name of St. George : *Quetton St. George Papers*, p. 24.) The Vicomte de Chalus was in Montreal July 12, 1815. (See his certificate of that date concerning the same : *ibid.*, p. 20.) Feb. 16, 1816, W. W. Baldwin answered a letter from St. George describing his reception in France and indicating the presence there of the Comte and the Vicomte de Chalus. (See *Quetton St. George, W. W. and J. S. Baldwin Letters*.)

lowed toward the end of 1816.<sup>1</sup> We know definitely that St. George met with a warm reception,<sup>2</sup> and that he was made Chevalier de Saint-Louis soon after his arrival.<sup>3</sup> We know also that some sort of a happy prospect presented itself to the Comte and the Vicomte de Chalus.<sup>4</sup> So far as the Comte is concerned this may have something to do with his being made Chevalier de Saint-Louis.<sup>5</sup>

The officers having returned to Europe there were left in Canada only the humbler members of the colony. Of their subsequent history almost nothing is known. Some of them may have gone back to their native country, some of them certainly remained in Canada. The descendants of Segeant are still to be met with in the province of Ontario, though the name is now spelled Saigeon.

After a good many years the son of the Vicomte de Chalus returned to Canada, married a Miss Porteous,<sup>6</sup> and lived in Montreal until his death. He left no children. Soon after his return to France Quetton St. George married Adèle de Barbeyrac de Saint-Maurice.<sup>7</sup> Their only son went to Canada in 1846 or 1847<sup>8</sup> to take possession of his father's estate which had been administered for 30 years by William Warren Baldwin.<sup>9</sup> This estate had included in 1831 26,000 acres of land.<sup>10</sup> So close had been the tie between Quetton St. George and some of the prominent families of Toronto that the son found at once a warm place in the hearts of his

<sup>1</sup>Farcy to Colonial Secretary, Aug. 10, 1826 : *Col. Off. Rec.*, Q. 343-2, p. 319.

<sup>2</sup>W. W. Baldwin to St. George, Feb. 16, 1816 : *Quetton St. George, W. W. and J. S. Baldwin Letters*.

<sup>3</sup>Aug. 12, 1816. The original commission is still preserved in the Public Library at Toronto. See *Quetton St. George Papers*, p. 40.

<sup>4</sup>W. W. Baldwin to St. George, Feb. 16, 1816 : *Quetton St. George, W. W. and J. S. Baldwin Letters*.

<sup>5</sup>Hozier, I, 727.

<sup>6</sup>Judge George Bâby of Montreal.

<sup>7</sup>Act concerning the estate of St. George : Statutes of Upper Canada, 11th Parliament, 1831, p. 105.

<sup>8</sup>He was married in 1846 (See W. A. Baldwin to H. Q. St. George, July 23, 1846 : *Quetton St. George, W. W. and J. S. Baldwin Letters*) and came over soon afterwards.

<sup>9</sup>See *Quetton St. George, W. W. and J. S. Baldwin Letters, passim*.

<sup>10</sup>Act concerning the estate of St. George, schedules A and B : Statutes of Upper Canada, 11th Parliament, 1831, p. 112.

father's friends. A man of unique individuality, he stamped his estate with himself. His tall, quaint, spacious house, now rapidly falling into dilapidation, has a character all its own. The curious shrubs brought from foreign shores bespeak the hand that planted them. The stately avenue of pines is a living index of the courtly dignity of their former owner. Though Glenlonely, some twenty miles from Toronto, has passed into the hands of strangers it is still known as the farm of Quetton St. George, and his name is so deeply ingrained in the mind of the community that it will be remembered for long years to come. But aside from this name there is little trace of the old French colony. The very name of the so-called town of Windham has been forgotten. Where it once stood are now cultivated farms. The giant boles that were the despair of arms unused to wield the axe have all been felled. The log cabins have been replaced by comfortable farm houses, and the road that was impassable for months of every year is now traversed by electric cars. The changes and the progress of a century have eradicated even the remembrance of Puisaye and his followers. And did they come and go and leave no trace? Perhaps none in the consciousness of men. But nature permits no activity to be without effect. And we may be sure that some of the threads in the warp and woof of Upper Canadian society are other than they would have been but for the sojourn in its midst of these émigrés.

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APPENDIX I.

PUISAYE AND THE INDIANS

(Puisaye to Russell, *Puisaye Papers*, pp. 48-53).

De la maison du Capt. Brant  
ce 11 fevrier 1799.

Monsieur le President.

.....

Des les premiers jours de mon arrivée dans cette province vous me fêtes L'honneur de me dire, que des émissaires de la France république circuloient parmi les Indiens et repandoient que leur ancien *Père le Roi de France* qui avoit été abattu étoit maintenant sur les pieds *qu'il les aideroit bientôt à chasser les Anglois de leur pays*. Depuis vous m'avez fait L'honneur de m'écrire que les mêmes émissaires aidés des Espagnoles cherchoient à soulever contre L'Angleterre les nations voisines du Mississippi et qu'il y avoit lieu d'appréhender qu'elles ne vissent comme un torrent se précipiter sur ce pays foible encore et sans defence.

Vous m'avez fait l'honneur de me répéter la même chose, le jour que j'ai eu le plaisir de vous rencontrer dans Yonge Street adjoutant que vous aviez reçu à cet égard des avis du Capt. Brant, et voulûtes bien me prier de prendre sur les lieux le plus amples information.

Aussitôt après le premier avertissement que vous m'avez donné, mon unique soin a été d'accueillir et de détromper ceux des Indiens qui habitent les Bords du Lac *Simcoe*, et qui circuloient dans mon voisinage, j'y facilement parvenu à l'aider de M. Jones,.....

J'ai été heureux de penser que mon arrivé dans ce pays ait été un moyen de dissiper l'erreur dans laquelle on cherchoit à induire ce Bon peuple et M. Jones la employe avec succès en leur faisant entendre que s'ils avoient cru être trompés et devoir douter de la vérité des horreurs de la république française, ils devoient aujourd'hui en croire un Général françois, qui à la tête des fidèles sujets de son Roi s'étoit jetté dans les Bras de leur Père commun qui avoit daigné les adopter et remplacée pour eux le père que des Barbares avoient assassiné.....

La visite que le Capt. Brant m'a fait L'honneur de me faire m'ayant fourni une occasion de visiter son établissement et celui des indiens dont il a et il me paroît bien mériter la confiance. M. Jones m'a procuré auprès de ceux-ci les mêmes succès qu'auprès des autres. Je les ai tous vus, et ils m'ont rendu les honneurs qu'ils ont cru devoir à un officier Général que sa Majesté Britannique avoit daigné employer dans le Commandement d'une armée à sa solde..... Enfin le résultat de nos conversations amicales a été que puisque un officier Général françois fidèle à son père, leur attestoit la vérité de ce dont ils avoient douté, ils ne devoient plus permettre aucuns soupçons et qu'ils servoient toujours prêts à verser leur sang pour repousser les ennemis de notre Père Commun n'importe quels ils fussent. Cette manière de penser va circuler parmi toutes les nations d'un bout de L'Amérique à l'autre, et on cessera de donner la moindre croyance aux imposteurs envoyés par le directoire. Je me félicite donc moi-même monsieur le président de ce que la Providence m'a rendu l'instrument de cet éclaircissement et je suis persuadé que les personnes qui faisoient au Gouvernement Britannique L'injure de nos considérer comme Étrangers à la cause commune, Lorsque vous élevâtes la voix pour nous, seront affligés de leur erreurs et forcés par nos services à rendre Justice à notre Loyauté.....

Quant à moi M. le Président je range tout ceci dans les classes des efforts peu directs que fait le gouvernement françois pour soulever le monde entier et je ne considère ces Émissaires que comme quelque Vagabonds qui entreprennent à leur risques et périls sans un espoir fondé d'être soutenus. Les Bornes d'une Lettre ne me permettent pas d'entrer dans les raisons de détails qui forment la masse de mon opinion mais les connoissances secrettes que j'ai des dispositions de la cour de Madrid ne me permettent pas de croire qu'elle entre pour rien dans ce projet qui détruiroit insensiblement ses plus importantes colonies et la priveroient des immenses ressources qu'elles lui procurent.

.....

Lettre de moi<sup>1</sup> à M. Russel







APPENDIX II.

TABLES OF LANDS FOR WHICH THE ÉMIGRÉS RECEIVED PATENTS

Table 1.

ROWLAND WINBOURNE  
Administrator of the Estate of the Comte de Puisaye

Township	Concession	Lot	Acres	Date of patent <sup>1</sup>	Reference <i>Domesday Book</i>
Vaughan	Yonge St. West Side	52 } 53 } 54 } 58N½ of S½	630	Feb. 5, 1834	IV, 170
"	" "		57	"	"
Total			687		

<sup>1</sup>Dates of patents are taken from the *Registers of Patents*, the rest of the tables from the *Domesday Books*.

Table 2.

RENÉ AUGUSTIN, THE COMTE DE CHALUS

Township	Concession	Lot	Acres	Date of Patent	Reference Domesday Book
Markham	Yonge St. East Side	53	285	Oct. 21, 1806	IV, 170
"	" "	54S $\frac{1}{2}$			
Vaughan	Yonge St. West Side	58S $\frac{1}{4}$	52	"	"
"	" "	60	210	"	"
King	" "	61S $\frac{1}{2}$	105	"	"
Saltfleet	7 " "	11	150	May 15, 1807	V, 69
"	" "	12N $\frac{1}{2}$			
"	" "	4			
"	" "	5	300	"	"
"	" "	6			
Portland	1	14	118	Mar. 8, 1808	III, 351
"	2	14	200	"	III, 252
"	3 " "	14	400	"	III, 253
"	" "	15			
"	4 " "	14	600	"	III, 254
"	" "	15			
"	" "	16			
Thurlow	Broken Front	13	50	May 9, 1808	III, 285
Sydney	3	27E $\frac{1}{2}$	100	"	III, 271
Beverly	1 " "	19	600	May 28, 1808	IV, 10
"	" "	20			
"	" "	21			
Scott	6 " "	18	400	May 29, 1808	VIII, 35
"	" "	19			
"	" "	25			
Pittsburgh	11 " "	16	1000	Oct. 28, 1809	VIII, 50
"	" "	17			
"	" "	18			
"	" "	19			
"	" "	20			
"	13	17	180	"	VIII, 53
Total			4950		

Table 3.

JEAN-LOUIS, THE VICOMTE DE CHALUS

Township	Concession	Lot	Acres	Date of patent	Reference Domesday Book
Markham	Yonge St. East Side	54N $\frac{1}{2}$	285	Oct. 21, 1806	IV, 170
"	"	55			
"	"	58S $\frac{1}{4}$	47	May 15, 1807	"
Saltfleet	7	12S $\frac{1}{2}$			
"	"	13	150	"	V, 69
"	8	19			
"	"	20			
"	"	21	300	"	V, 70
Gwillimbury N. Lake Concession	"	18			
"	8	1	200	May 26, 1808	III, 316
"	"	4			
"	"	5	300	"	III, 321
Scott	4	22			
"	6	21	200	"	VIII, 33
"	"	22			
"	"	23			
Uxbridge	2	16	600	Oct. 31, 1808	III, 355
"	"	17			
"	"	18			
Gwillimbury E.	5	3	400	Aug. 23, 1809	IV, 246
"	"	4			
Reach	10	6	600	Oct. 9, 1815	VIII, 71
"	"	7			
"	"	8			
"	12	7	600	"	VIII, 73
"	"	8			
"	"	9			
Burgess	9	19	318	"	VIII, 3
"	"	20			
"	10	19	400	"	VIII, 112
"	"	20			
Total			5000		

Table 4.

RENÉ FRANÇOIS DE MARZEUL<sup>1</sup>

Township	Concession	Lot	Acres	Date of patent	Reference <i>Domesday Book</i>
Markham	Yonge St. East Side	56N½ }	285	Dec. 31, 1806	IV, 170
"	"	57 }			
Whitby East	7	17	200	Aug. 6 1807	IV, 78
Gwillimbury N.	6	17 }	400	Oct. 21, 1807	III, 320
"	"	18 }			
"	7	13	200	"	III, 321
"	"	16	200	"	"
Gwillimbury E.	"	12 }			
"	"	13 }	600	"	IV, 246
"	"	14 }			
"	8	19	200	"	IV, 247
Uxbridge	1	25 }			
"	"	26 }			
"	"	28 }	980	Oct. 21, 1807	III, 354
"	"	29 }			
"	"	37 }			
North Crosby	7	14	140	Oct. 22, 1807	III, 367
"	"	15	200	"	"
"	8	13	60	"	III, 368
Montague	3	15S½	100	Oct. 23, 1807	III, 46
"	7	15 }	400	"	III, 50
"	"	16 }			
"	"	18	200	"	"
Scott	5	22 }	400	Oct. 27, 1807	VIII, 34
"	"	23 }			
"	6	28 }	400	"	VIII, 35
"	"	29 }			
Total			4065		

<sup>1</sup>Spelled Marseuil in *Domesday Book*.

Table 5.

QUETTON ST. GEORGE

Township	Concession	Lot	Acres	Date of patent	Reference Domesday Book
Markham	Yonge St. East Side	59N $\frac{1}{2}$	95	July 12, 1806	IV, 70
Vaughan	Yonge St. West Side	58N $\frac{1}{4}$	263	"	"
	"	59			
Gwillimbury N.	Lake Concession	16	244	Dec. 31, 1806	III, 316
Mersea	"	2	200		VII, 80
Barton	"	6	200	Aug. 6, 1807	V, 76
"	"	7			
Ancaster	"	24	200	Dec. 14, 1807	
Saltfleet	"	8	200	"	V, 69
"	"	9			
"	"	12	200	"	"
"	"	13			
Pittsburgh	"	31	400	Feb. 24, 1808	VIII, 52
"	"	32			
"	"	34	540	"	"
"	"	35			
"	"	36			
"	"	37			
"	"	38	180	Aug. 4, 1809 <sup>2</sup>	VIII, p 17
Trafalgar	4, South of Dundas St.	21			
"	"	22			
Reach	4	6	400	Feb. 5, 1811	VIII, 65
"	"	7			
"	6	1	200	"	"
Gainsborough	1	23	200	"	V, 102
"	"	25	200	"	"
Total			3722		

<sup>1</sup>No reference in *Domesday Books* but see *Descriptions O. R.*, 11409, also in Patents Branch of Crown Lands Department.

<sup>2</sup>The date given in *Registers of Patents* is wrong. The above is taken from the *original patent*.

Table 6.

AUGUSTIN BOITON

Township	Concession	Lot	Acres	Date of patent	Reference Domesday Book
Markham	Yonge St. East Side	58N $\frac{1}{2}$ } of S $\frac{1}{2}$ }	47	July 8, 1807	IV, 170
King	Yonge St. West Side	61N $\frac{1}{2}$ }	105	"	"
"	"	62	210	"	"
York	3	19	200	Dec. 30, 1807	IV, 38
Uxbridge	4	10E $\frac{1}{2}$ }	100	"	III, 357
"	6	9 }	400	"	III, 359
Gwillimbury N.	"	10 }	4	"	III, 320
"	"	7	200	"	"
Scott	1	27	200	"	VIII, 30
"	3	26 }	400	"	VIII, 32
"	"	27 }			
Walsingham	5	1	200	"	VI, 7
"	"	6S $\frac{1}{2}$ }	100	"	"
Pittsburgh	11	12	200	Jan. 29, 1808	VIII, 50
"	"	26	200	"	"
"	"	27	200	"	"
Total			2962		

Table 7.

AMBROISE DE FARCY

Township	Concession	Lot	Acres	Date of patent	Reference Domesday Book
Markham	Yonge St. East Side	60	190	Oct. 21, 1806	IV, 170
Vaughan	Yonge St. West Side	58S $\frac{1}{2}$ } of N $\frac{1}{2}$ }	52	"	"
Whitchurch	Yonge St. East Side	61S $\frac{1}{2}$ }	95	"	"
Cartwright	9	1	100	Nov. 3, 1827	VIII, 122
"	10	2	100	"	VIII, 123
"	"	4	200	"	"
"	"	6	200	"	"
"	11	6 }	400	"	VIII, 124
"	"	7 }			
"	12	1	200	"	VIII, 125
"	"	7 }	400	"	"
"	"	8 }			
"	13	1	200	"	VIII, 126
"	14	1 }	400	"	VIII, 127
"	"	2 }			
"	"	4 in part	33	"	"
"	"	6	180	"	"
"	"	7 }	250	"	"
"	"	8 }			
Total			3000		



Table 8.

JEAN FURON

Township	Concession	Lot	Acres	Date of patent	Reference <i>Domesday Book</i>
Markham	Yonge St. East Side	59S½	95	Dec. 10, 1806	IV, 170
Whitchurch	9	26 E. end	15	Dec. 18, 1806	IV, 237
Whitchurch	Yonge St. East Side	65	190	July 22, 1809	IV, 170
Total			290		

JULIEN LE BUGLE

Vaughan	Yonge St. West Side	57S½	105	Mar. 5, 1808	IV, 170
Markham	5	35	200	Mar. 29, 1808	IV, 226
Total			305		

MICHEL SEGEANT<sup>1</sup>

Vaughan	Yonge St. West Side	56S¼	53	Mar. 22, 1820	IV, 170
Whitchurch	Yonge St. East Side	61N½	95	"	"
Total			148		

FRANÇOIS RENOULT<sup>2</sup>

Vaughan	Yonge St. West Side	56N.P.	157	Mar. 21, 1820	IV, 170
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JACQUES MARCHAND

Vaughan	Yonge St. West Side	57N½	105	June 26, 1820	IV, 170
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MICHEL FAUCHARD

Markham	Yonge St. East Side	56S½	95	July 8, 1807	IV, 170
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RENÉ LETOURNEAU

Markham	Yonge St. East Side	58N½	95	May 17, 1807	IV, 170
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<sup>1</sup> Spelled Saigeon in *Domesday Book*.

<sup>2</sup> Spelled Renoux in *ibid*.

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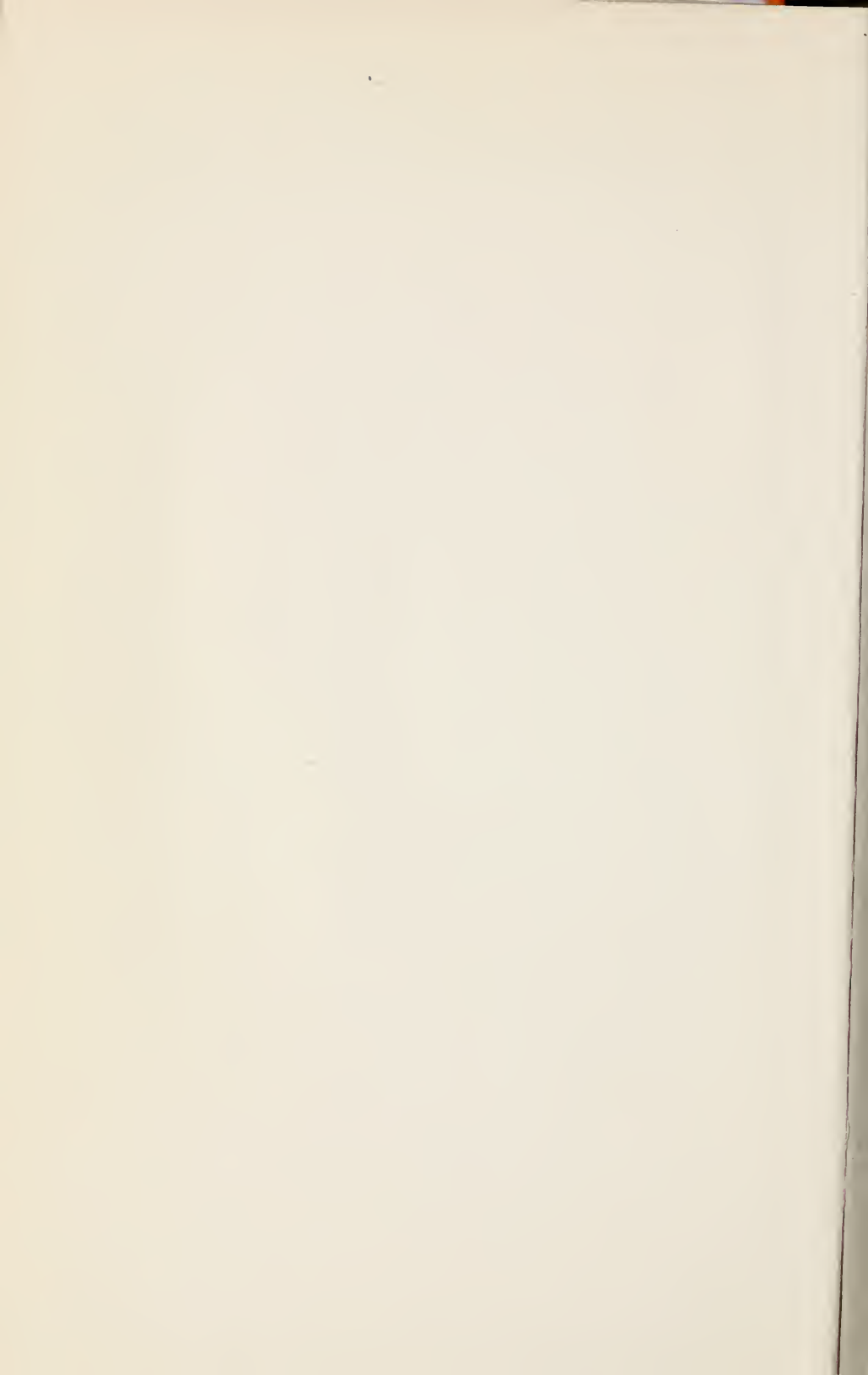


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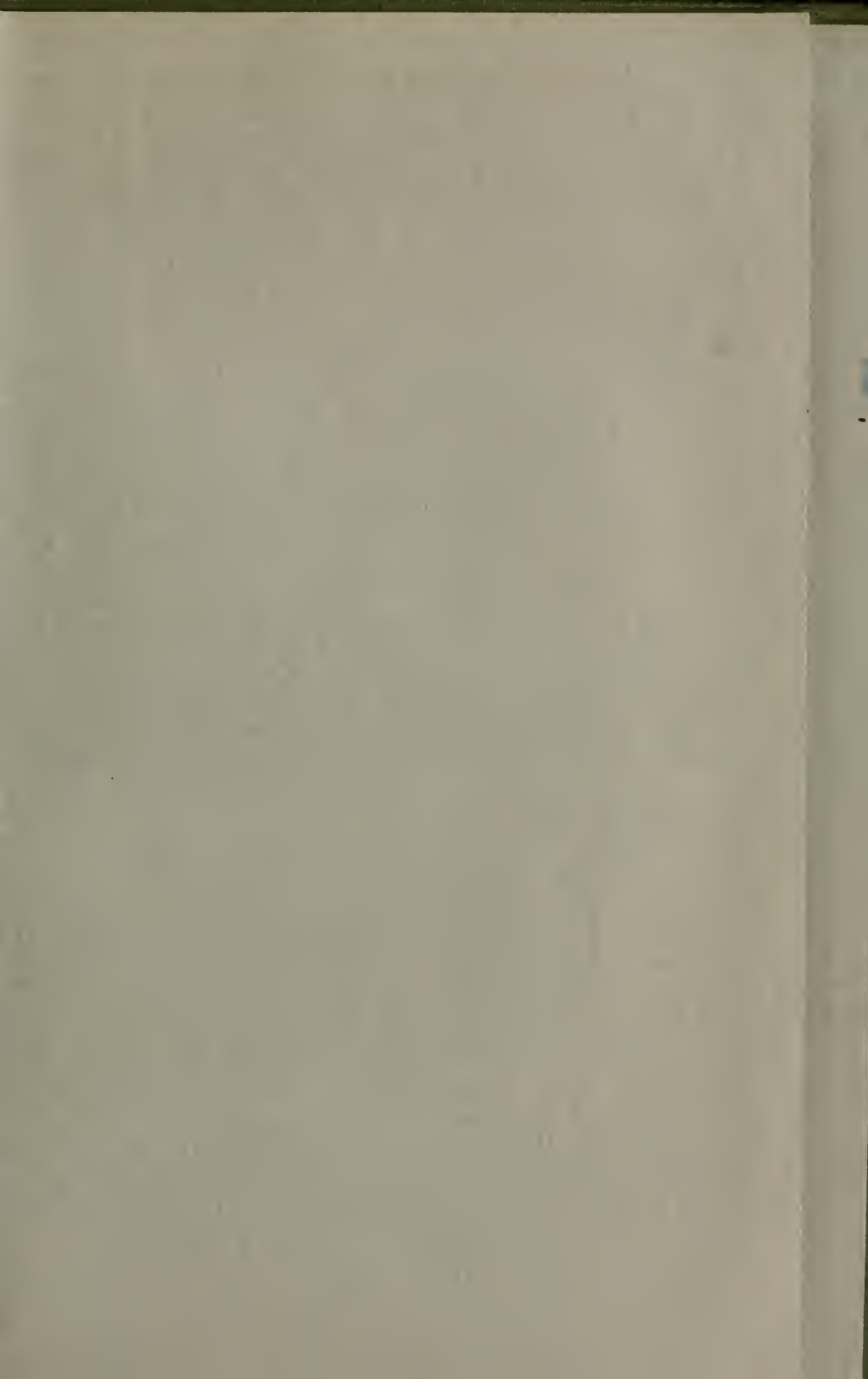
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