

bitually improvident where money matters were concerned, Captain Meyers at the conclusion of the war was involved in serious financial difficulties from which his only hope of extrication seemed to consist in the sale of his prospective half pay.<sup>8</sup>

This last letter from Captain Meyers brought a most disappointing reply on January 15, 1784, from Major Mathews, secretary to the Governor General, to the effect that His Excellency had declined settling the King's lands in the district in question on account "of the inconveniences that would infallibly arise to settlers in that quarter from their proximity to the Americans, who cannot be expected at least for some years to become good neighbors." Mathews added that "very valuable tracts have been discovered in other parts of the province, fully as favorable for cultivation and infinitely more so in point of climate with a certainty of being in peace and tranquillity; their situations will be particularly communicated to the Loyalists as soon as the several Returns of the Corps shall be received and every arrangement for their settlement will be made in the course of the winter so as to begin the moment the season will permit."<sup>9</sup>

While Captain Meyers was conducting this correspondence with Quebec, other Loyalists were likewise bombarding headquarters with applications for grants of land in the Missisquoi area.<sup>10</sup> Among these was the petition of John Peters, who had served with such unfortunate consequences as commander of a Provincial corps under Burgoyne, reciting that "certain Loyalists objecting to so remote a place as Cataragui, ask leave to go to Missisquoi Bay."<sup>11</sup>

Still another of these applications was received from Mr. Alexander Taylor and other Loyalists at St. Johns. During the war the authorities had experienced considerable trouble at St. Johns in the matter of illicit sales of liquor to the sailors of the lake flotilla from a building near the fort known as the "Rookery."<sup>12</sup> After having been sharply called to account for their conduct, the inhabitants of the "Rookery" undertook to put their own house in order and selected from among their number John Martin, Thomas Benton, and Alexander Taylor to act as a committee for such purpose.<sup>13</sup> This com-

8. *Ibid.*, 1888, p. 711.

9. *Haldimand Papers*, Book 63, p. 42.

10. *Ibid.*, Book 162, p. 161.

11. *Ibid.*, Book 215, p. 206.

12. *Canada Archives*, 1887, p. 493.

13. *Ibid.*, 1887, p. 365.

mittee had evidently been able to adjust matters to the official satisfaction for on December 30, 1782, General Riedesel reported to Haldimand that the affair of the "Rookery" was settled.<sup>14</sup> Mr. Taylor on February 5th received a reply from Major Mathews declining his application for lands at Missisquoi Bay and referring him to Captain Meyers, who had been fully informed of His Excellency's reasons for such refusal, adding that it was the General's intention to grant other lands equally good but in more convenient situations.<sup>15</sup>

In the meantime, Captain Meyers, not content with one refusal, had renewed his application which was answered by Major Mathews on February 16th. The Major did not mince matters. After giving assurance of His Excellency's inclination to gratify the wishes of the Loyalists in all things consistent with propriety, he concluded by saying that the General "does not think fit, merely to gratify a few individuals whose views point to a paltry traffic with the colonies rather than a spirit of cultivation, to risk the consequences mentioned in my former letter."<sup>16</sup>

This was a plain intimation of General Haldimand's evident belief in the existence of an ulterior motive back of the repeated petitions for lands at Missisquoi Bay, and that it was the opportunity for illicit trade afforded by the proximity of the international boundary and not its agricultural advantages that rendered the locality on the line of the forty-fifth parallel so attractive to the Loyalists of St. Johns.

#### CHAPTER IX. *A Connecticut Yankee*

THE Governor General's suspicions, as indicated by the reference to "a paltry traffic with the colonies," may have been aroused by the presence among the proponents of the Missisquoi project of individuals such as Meyers, Peters, and Taylor, whose reputations at headquarters were none too good. Then there was also a certain Azariah Pritchard, captain in the King's Rangers. Major Rogers, his commanding officer, had written to Mathews on January 26th that Pritchard had induced a number of men to go to Missisquoi Bay, that he had been telling them that the plan was to take

14. *Ibid.*, 1887, p. 417.

15. *Haldimand Papers*, Book 63, p. 79.

16. *Ibid.*, Book 63, p. 91.

the men to Cataragui to make slaves of them.<sup>1</sup> Major Mathews had replied that the conduct of Pritchard, if proved, was unpardonable.<sup>2</sup>

Azariah Pritchard, the most colorful character engaged in this episode, was from the town of Derby in the Nutmeg State.<sup>3</sup> According to his own statement, Pritchard had always been loyal in conduct and principle, but conveniently for him his father and brother were violent partisans of the Rebel cause. Under cover of this family reputation for regularity he had been able to make some lucrative ventures in the profitable contraband trade; in fact, he held a written agreement with Lord Howe to supply provisions to the British fleet at New York. All had gone well until 1777 when Pritchard had the misfortune to have one of his cargoes intercepted by the Rebels and the fact of his ownership come to light. The fat was now in the fire and Pritchard was brought before a General Court-Martial at New Haven, the consequences of which he evaded by the naïve expedient of bribing the prosecuting officer.

As Connecticut was no longer a comfortable environment, Pritchard fled to Canada where he succeeded by a subterfuge in recruiting a company and was duly posted as a captain in the King's Rangers. The monotony of garrison duty proving irksome to his roving spirit, he then obtained a detail as a guide and scout for the Secret Service on the eastern side of Lake Champlain, a much more congenial employment and one that offered greater scope to his varied talents. In this service Pritchard was extremely active and efficient, repeatedly gaining the commendation of his superior officers.

In November of 1782 two Vermonters, John Nichols and Nathaniel Holmes, were intercepted while attempting to smuggle beef into the Province of Quebec.<sup>4</sup> The beef, much to their chagrin, was sunk in the Lake in their presence, and as there was reason for suspicion they were brought before a court of inquiry where they implicated Pritchard as the real owner. The latter vehemently denied the charge, but after an investigation that lasted for some weeks, Captain Sherwood and George Smyth of the Secret Service were able to produce enough evidence to clearly establish his guilt.<sup>5</sup> General Riedesel, in command at Sorel, wrote Haldimand that "Pritchard's

1. *Canada Archives*, 1888, p. 683.

2. *Ibid.*, 1886, p. 411.

3. *Ontario Archives*, 1904, Vol. 1, p. 349.

4. *Canada Archives*, 1887, p. 336.

5. *Ibid.*, 1887, p. 415.

plausible story of the beef transactions was enough to make it appear that he was innocent, were the facts not known";<sup>6</sup> he was working hard on the case and the papers would show the "genius of deceit made use of by this man in the desire for gain."<sup>7</sup> During the investigation it also developed that Pritchard had been selling tea up the Lake for \$1.00 per pound and had employed one Uriah Baldwin to retail it for him.<sup>8</sup> In addition to these charges there was another involving the passing of counterfeit money, which, however, was not pressed.<sup>9</sup>

To make matters worse, the news of the beef episode in some manner reached General Washington, who sent a sharp rebuke to the Vermont authorities for permitting supplies to be sent to Canada. As the Vermonters were then still engaged in their rather delicate negotiation for a separate peace with the Quebec government, they could ill afford to be placed in such an unfavorable light. Consequently, Governor Chittenden and General Ethan Allen sent a request to Haldimand to keep Pritchard out of Vermont as he had been the cause of all the trouble about the beef!<sup>10</sup>

Riedesel was placed in something of a quandary in dealing with Pritchard. If punished, he was liable to desert to the Americans where his intimate knowledge of confidential affairs would enable him to take vengeance; if pardoned, his shame and his hatred of Sherwood and Smyth might lead to the same mischief. The General had in mind the fact that the British Secret Service had numbers of agents and correspondents scattered through Vermont and the region south of the Lake, whose safety depended on the continued concealment of their identity; Pritchard knew who they were and once safely over the border would be in a position to betray these people to the Americans, with tragic results.

This was indeed a dilemma which Riedesel solved, army fashion, by passing the disposition of Pritchard's case along to General Haldimand, adding the recommendation that Pritchard be "transferred to New York with orders that he is not to be employed toward Canada, as the best way to get rid of him, especially as his first ideas

6. *Canada Archives*, 1887, p. 417.

7. *Ibid.*, 1887, p. 427.

8. *Ibid.*, 1888, p. 831.

9. *Ibid.*, 1887, p. 365.

10. *Ibid.*, 1888, p. 828.

of clandestine trade were obtained in New York."<sup>11</sup> Haldimand decided not to bring Pritchard to trial; he had been culpable but very serviceable and might be made use of again. Instead, he directed that Pritchard be sent to Quebec as it was dangerous to leave a man of his stamp at St. Johns.<sup>12</sup> On January 13, 1783, the Captain was still cooling his heels in the frigid climate of Quebec, from where he wrote to Riedesel asking to be allowed to return to St. Johns to join his regiment,<sup>13</sup> and to his wife, telling her that His Excellency was angry with him and God knows what was to become of him.<sup>14</sup>

#### CHAPTER X. *Pritchard's Purchase*

OWING to the absence of Captain Meyers, Mathew's letter of February 16th, reiterating His Excellency's refusal to permit a settlement at Missisquoi Bay, was answered on March 2nd by Lieutenant Wehr over his own signature.<sup>1</sup> Christian Wehr, a native of Germany from Claverack, Albany County, had joined the British forces in August, 1777. During the Burgoyne Campaign he had served as a captain in Jessup's corps with forty men in the field,<sup>2</sup> but in 1781 he had accepted an appointment as a lieutenant in the King's Royal Regiment of New York, as he preferred it to his chance of raising a company for one of the other Provincial corps.<sup>3</sup> The letter in which he now replied to Mathews was so typical of Wehr's unique literary style, and withal so fervently eloquent an exposition of the aims and aspirations of this group of Loyalists that it is well worth reproducing in full, as follows:

*St. Johns, March 2d. 1784.*

*May it Please Your Excellency*

*We humbly beg to inform your Excellency That we received a letter from Major Mathews dated Feby 16th in answer to a letter to your Excellency, concerning the Kings lands East of Missisquoi Bay,*

11. *Canada Archives*, 1887, p. 427.

12. *Ibid.*, 1887, p. 461.

13. *Ibid.*, 1887, p. 418.

14. *Ibid.*, 1887, p. 418.

1. *Haldimand Papers*, Book 162, p. 192.

2. *Ibid.*, Book 166, p. 195.

3. *Canada Archives*, 1888, p. 728.

and we are very sorry to hear, that your Excellency has so bad an opinion of us, as to our views of settling them lands we Petition for, as if it were only for the sake of Trafficing with the Colonies, we humbly beg to inform your Excellency, that it is nowise our intention, nor never was, to settle East of Missisque Bay with a view to Traffic with the Colonies, no, it is quite otherwise, for we do assure Your Excellency, that our only aim is, the cultivation of the lands and not Traffic—We can not but think that the spirit of cultivation will fail, if we consider that we shall or must go, to a place, where our labor will be in vain, because we must almost expend the value of our produce before we can bring it to a market, and moreover it borders very nigh upon exile, if a man that possesses any spirit of Freedom, must Go to a place where he does not wish to go, and if Your Excellency is of opinion, that there is but a few of us, and them few has no spirit of cultivation, we humbly beg your Excellency will Please to order, or Permit, two or more men, to go round to the Loyalists, and let them signefy, by signing their names to what Place they would wish to go, and then your Excellency will find, that it is not a few individuals only who now so earnestly, and humbly Petition Your Excellency for their lands, East of Missisque Bay but that there are more than three hundred, of whom the most General Part have been well liveing Farmers, and sons of able farmers, before the Rebellion in America, and those People who were brought up to cultivate the ground, have no other way, nithere do they desire any other ways to maintain themselves and Families, than by cultivation, therefore we humbly beg since we all have been such Great sufferers by being driven from our homes and connections, that we might have our land Granted in the Parts we have Petitioned for, which would afford us some satisfaction.

And as for quarrelling with our nighbors we have not the least apprehension, of being in any more danger from the United States by being settled in the Place we Petition for, as in the upper countrys or on Caldwell's Manor.

We most humbly beg Pardon of Your Excellency for troubling you so much concerning the aforesaid lands, but since it is of so much consequence to mankind to live in the Place, where they can make the most of their labour, and where they are most inclined to settle, that it constitutes the Greater half of their Happiness in this world. Therefore, we can not find it in our hearts to leave off begging and Praying, until Your Excellency in your Clemency, are most Graciously

*Pleased, to Grant us our lands in the Parts we Petition for, I humbly beg to subscribe myselfe, with due respect.*

*Your Excellencys  
Most obedient, and very humble serv.,  
Christian Wehr.*

N.B. *Since Captain Waldemeyer is from home, and we do not know when he will return again, the rest of the Officers and men which are at this place Desired that I might write the foregoing letter in my name, and humbly beg, that if Your Excellency will Please to condescend, to send us an answer, do direct it to Chn. Wehr Lieut.*

General Haldimand's resolution must have been very firmly taken to resist such a moving appeal as that contained in the foregoing letter, but on March 8th Mathews replied that His Excellency was surprised at Wehr's persistence; reasons had been given that were still effective and although His Excellency was most anxious to satisfy the Loyalists, he could not give an acre to gratify individuals at the expense of the public good.<sup>4</sup>

As this correspondence was in progress, Pritchard, Meyers, Wehr, *et al.*, had been far from idle. On February 24th Captain Justus Sherwood of the Secret Service reported to headquarters that the Missisquoi Bay party had given up the project except a few headed by Pritchard and Ruter, who had purchased what they called an old Indian title, from which they were selling lots and had actually begun a settlement.<sup>5</sup> A week later Sherwood informed Mathews that most of the people at St. Johns were inclined for Cataraqui except those dictated to by Meyers and others, who had begun a settlement at Missisquoi Bay, from which they said that they would be driven only by force.<sup>6</sup>

What had happened was the reappearance on the scene of Mr. James Robertson, now an old man, who represented to Meyers and the others that he had a good lease of a large tract of land signed by a number of the chiefs of the St. Francis Indians, and referred them to Richard Dobie, lawyer of Montreal, for further particulars. This

4. *Canada Archives*, 1886, p. 414.

5. *Ibid.*, 1888, p. 844.

6. *Ibid.*, 1888, p. 710.

was a proposition of definite interest, so Captain Meyers and Lieutenant Ruiters repaired to Montreal to consult Mr. Dobie, who confirmed Robertson's statements and apparently added that the lease was founded on the old grant to Levasseur. Here there arose a very serious misconception, intentional or otherwise, that was further enhanced by an uncertainty as to the exact compass course of the Missisquoi River. Meyers and his associates evidently assumed that the boundaries of the tract covered by Robertson's lease were coextensive with those of the grant to Levasseur, which included lands along the Missisquoi River three leagues in depth on either side. It was a convenient assumption, but one that hardly squared with the facts, for it will be recalled that James Robertson's lease specified a depth on either side of the river of only sixty arpents, which would amount to about a mile and a half on each side.

Nevertheless, Meyers, Ruiters, and Best took the trouble to go to the locality at Missisquoi, where they ran the east and northwest line. Having done so, and being under the impression that the river emptied into the Lake west by north, they persuaded themselves that some 20,000 acres of the tract would fall within the Quebec line. Accordingly, a bargain was struck with Mr. Robertson by Pritchard, on behalf of himself and the others, and the lease purchased for the sum of sixty pounds.<sup>7</sup>

According to Dr. George Smyth, Secret Service, eleven men were equally concerned in this venture, namely, Captains Pritchard, Meyers, and Ruiters; Lieutenants Wehr, Ruiters, and Best; Ensign Best, Martin and Taylor; and two others, Lieutenant Tyler and Ensign Burt or Bird.<sup>8</sup> Of these, Captains Pritchard and Meyers, Lieutenant Wehr, and the two gentlemen from the "Rookery," Martin and Taylor, have already been introduced. The Ruiters, brothers from Pittstown, Albany County, had excellent war records and were esteemed highly by their superior officers; Henry, a captain in the King's Rangers, had served first in Phister's corps under Burgoyne, while John was a lieutenant in the Loyal Rangers (Jessup's). The two Bests, Conrad and Hermanus, were also brothers and from Hoosick, Albany County; they were both Loyal Rangers. Lieutenant William Tyler of the King's Rangers, the man who had searched the records at Quebec, was from Kingsbury in Charlotte County; he had served with Burgoyne and after the return to Canada had been active in the

7. *Haldimand Papers*, Book 152, p. 392.

8. *Ibid.*, Book 162, p. 214.

recruiting and scouting service. Ensign Burt or Bird is not accounted for, and his name does not appear further in these proceedings.

Captain Pritchard, although participating in the purchase, had been sceptical as to any of the land extending into the province, inasmuch as one Abner Barlow, a man well acquainted with the locality, was of the opinion that the river emptied north or nearly so. To verify matters, he sent Barlow to the spot within four acres of the falls to run a due north line, which Barlow did and reported that he had struck Rock River a mile outside of the Canadian boundary line. Convinced that the lease covered no land that could be settled, Captain Pritchard shortly after got clear of his eleventh share, and, according to his own statement, acquainted Major Campbell of his discovery, who thereupon advised Lieutenant Ruiter to lay out no more money on the land.<sup>9</sup>

#### CHAPTER XI. "*Them Indian Lands*"

APPRISED of the fact that a settlement was actually being made at Missisquoi Bay contrary to orders, Mathews wrote to Captain Sherwood on March 8th that the refusal to settle the locality had been arrived at after mature deliberation, but His Excellency desired to have a full account of any Loyalists that might be there, their situation, etc.; he did not believe that any of them would venture to settle there contrary to express commands.<sup>1</sup>

Sherwood replied on March 12th that the Loyalists already enumerated had erected some houses about three miles south of the mouth of Pike River and on that part of Rock River that ran in the province; Captain Ruiter had taken up a yoke of oxen, while Captain Meyers had already cleared a sufficient quantity of land to raise a thousand bushels of corn. He intended to send a confidential person to make a detailed report. After relating the story of Pritchard's purchase from old Mr. Robertson, Sherwood continued that Pritchard had disposed of his share as he had found by measurement that the Indian title fell all or mostly in Vermont, but that the others, by a trick of measuring lately performed by themselves, had brought the Indian title into the province as far as the mouth of Pike River. Doctor Harris, son-in-law to old Mr. Robertson, was then endeavoring

9. *Haldimand Papers*, Book 152, p. 392.

1. *Canada Archives*, 1886, p. 414.

to render Pritchard's bargain invalid by proving that Mr. Robertson was insane. Captain Ross and Dr. Moseley, lately come from New York, were in pursuit of the same lands under a French grant to one Levasseur and were, so he understood, on the point of concluding a bargain for one thousand pounds with an unnamed gentleman in Montreal. They had offered Sherwood a sixteenth share, but he wanted Mathews' advice as to whether Levasseur's title was good or not, before giving them his answer.<sup>2</sup>

Agreeable to instructions, Sherwood despatched Sergeants Closson and Sweet to make an investigation of the new settlements. Their report, which follows, gave the names of the settlers with lots attached, "upon the east side of Messisque Bay who says they have bought lands of Mr. Robertson at St. Johns who bought it from the Indians nine miles south of Missisque River and nine miles north of Missisque River, bounding upon the Lake":

- |         |  |   |
|---------|--|---|
| Lot #1. | <i>Harmonus Best</i>   | <i>Ensign</i>   |
| 2.      | <i>George Feller</i>   |   |
| 3.      | <i>Christian Wehr</i>  | <i>Lieutenant</i>   |
| 4.      | <i>Messers Martin &amp; Taylor Merchants in Rookery occupied by John Mock with a hut built, his family in it, &amp; one horse.</i> |   |
| 5.      | <i>John Ruiter</i>   | <i>Lieutenant. House built and his family in it, has a horse and cow.</i> |
| 6.      | <i>Captain Ruiter</i>  | <i>with a hut built and is building a house and has a yoke of oxen.</i>   |
| 7.      | <i>Conrad Best</i>   | <i>beginning</i>  |
| 8.      | <i>James Loveless</i>  |   |
| 9.      | <i>Abraham Hyatt</i>   |   |

*All north of the province line.*

*N.B. There are thirteen hired men in the officer's employ viz: W. Meyers and the two Ruiters, and the lots are all laid in this province.*

This report was signed by Caleb Closson and Oliver Sweet, both Loyal Rangers detailed on Secret Service duty, who also told Sherwood that the officers had sworn that they would have the lands, and settle them, whatever the consequences might be.<sup>3</sup>

2. *Haldimand Papers*, Book 162, p. 200.

3. *Ibid.*, Book 162, p. 210.

George Smyth, Sherwood's associate in the Secret Service, also reported to headquarters on March 19th his information of the new settlements at Missisquoi Bay. He stated that, "if there is not a stop put to them, I believe they are still determined to settle on those Lands, as some of them was stop'd yesterday from going there, when on their way with furniture, baggage, etc."<sup>4</sup> He had already informed Captain Sherwood that those people were determined not to "move off from that land for the General's order or any other nor to be drove off except by a superior force, for by Lord North's declaration they had a right to settle on any of the King's land they should choose in this province."<sup>5</sup>

The next development was a letter on March 22nd from Mathews to Major Campbell at St. Johns, desiring him to send an officer to the new settlements. This officer was to have orders, if the settlements were within the province line, to notify the people that His Excellency required that they desist from settling in that quarter; the principal men were to report without loss of time at Quebec; all others were to go to St. Johns. Should the settlements prove to be within the American lines, he was to acquaint the settlers of His Excellency's command with the fact and notify them that they were no longer to expect provisions or any indulgence experienced by His Majesty's loyal subjects within the province. The officer was to be very particular in his remarks and specify in his report the names and descriptions of all persons that he might find there.<sup>6</sup>

Lieutenant William Buckley of the 29th Regiment, the officer chosen for this mission, made his report on March 31st. He first had visited the house of Lieutenant Ruitter, who had with him his wife, two sons (one small), and a son of Captain Ruitter. A short distance north Captain Ruitter had built the frame of a house. Lieutenant Best had begun to cut some wood for the purpose of building. Abraham Hyatt, late private in Jessup's corps (Loyal Rangers), had begun to build; with him were two sons (one had been a corporal in Jessup's corps), and a servant. John Mock, also a private in Jessup's, had built a hut; he had a wife, five daughters, and two small sons. Captain Meyers had built a hut a short distance from Rock River about three miles from the Bay; he had in family his wife's brother, a small son, and a servant (late private in Jessup's). Ensign Har-

4. *Ibid.*, Book 162, p. 214.

5. *Ibid.*, Book 162, p. 200.

6. *Ibid.*, Book 63, p. 139.

monus Best, Lieutenant Wehr, and George Feller, lately come from New York, were not on the spot nor had they cut any timber for building. Lieutenant Buckley found that all the lots were situated a mile or two within the lines. According to instructions, he had ordered the heads of families to Quebec, all others to St. Johns; however, he added the observation that the women and children would be unable to leave until there was a water communication.<sup>7</sup>

Buckley's report was forwarded to headquarters on April 2nd by Major Campbell. Although informed that Pritchard had disposed of his share in the land, the Major had thought it proper, in view of the fact that Pritchard had been a leading figure in the whole transaction, to order him to Quebec also. Lieutenant Ruiter was ill of the rheumatism and unable to travel with the others; Campbell regretted that Ruiter and his brother were concerned in the affair, as they had always been looked upon as honest, inoffensive men of approved loyalty and ever forward in the service of the government. He added that, as Mr. Buckley had observed, the condition of the swamps and rivers was such that it would be impossible to move the families until the spring was farther advanced.<sup>8</sup>

Campbell's letter enclosing Lieutenant Buckley's report was acknowledged on April 8th, with permission for the families to remain where they were until the season would admit of their being removed with convenience.<sup>9</sup> A few days later Captain Meyers wrote to Mathews from St. Johns, reciting the hardship it would entail for him to be obliged to proceed to Quebec.<sup>10</sup>

Finding himself again in trouble, Captain Pritchard addressed a memorial to headquarters, couched in the most extravagant terms, in which he piously disclaimed any intention of opposing the wishes of the government. After reviewing the details of the purchase, he stated that having satisfied himself that none of the land lay within the province line, he had not only communicated the fact to Major Campbell but had also strongly urged his associates to desist from the project, but that a subsequent offer of 750 gns. for their lease had given them great encouragement; whereupon he had repudiated any further connection with the affair and had made preparations to settle at the Bay of Chaleurs (which he later did). He concluded his

7. *Haldimand Papers*, Book 134, p. 309.

8. *Ibid.*, Book 134, p. 312.

9. *Ibid.*, Book 63, p. 187.

10. *Canada Archives*, 1888, p. 713.

disclaimer with the fervent hope that he would "not be under censor for something of which he was not guilty," and the declaration that he would "rather risk himself in a field of battle than to incur a frown from His Excellency."<sup>11</sup>

Returning to St. Johns after his enforced visit to Quebec, Lieutenant Wehr learned from Major Campbell of the foregoing declaration by Pritchard, in which the Captain had stated that he had told Wehr and the others that the Indians had no lands in the province. Christian Wehr, evidently in a state of high indignation, thereupon wrote again to headquarters on April 27th denying that Pritchard had said any such thing to him or to any of the others concerned in the Indian lease. These now included in addition to himself, the following: Captains Ruitter and Meyers, Lieutenants Ruitter and Best, Ensign Best, George Feller, George Street, Jacob Baer, John Mock, John Martin, Alexander Taylor, Edward Carscallen, James Loveless, James Henderson, and Abraham Hyatt. Captain Pritchard, of course, had sold his holdings, as had also Lieutenant Tyler and Ensign Burt of the original eleven, while several of the above names appear for the first time. Carscallen was one of the Irish Palatines who had leased lands in Camden District from James Duane; he had served as an officer under Peters, MacKay, and Jessup. James Loveless was a young man, the son of Thomas Loveless who had been executed as a spy by General Stark at Saratoga in the fall of 1781.

After having given the lie direct to Pritchard, Wehr then went on in his letter to ask leave again "to proceed in settling them Indian lands, as we have begun, for it is to be considered that the season is at hand, for to make gardens and have some little spots of land cleared for Indian corn, potatoes, etc., without which, it is hard to make a living, and money we have none to buy them, and since I think, and am persuaded, that we are not on the King's lands, and His Excellency knowes, or at least might know better (if he pleases to take that trouble) as I do, how that Indian land lays, wherefore we humbly hope and beg, His Excellency will be most Graciously pleased to acquaint Major Campbell, that we, only the concerned may proceed in settling our Indian lands, which I can assure you would be the greatest happiness we the concerned have met with, since the beginning of this late unhappy Rebellion in North America."<sup>12</sup>

11. *Haldimand Papers*, Book 152, p. 392.

12. *Ibid.*, Book 162, p. 266.

It was an impudent letter and Wehr followed it up two days later with another, enclosing the names of some three hundred Loyalists desirous of settling at Missisquoi Bay.<sup>13</sup> As might be expected, these letters drew a reply from Major Mathews in which the conciliatory tone previously taken was exchanged for one betraying marked impatience.

He wrote: "I have laid your letter before His Excellency, and am commanded to repeat to you, what you were with much pains, and by every official Authority here informed of, that no part of the Indian lands are within the Boundary line of this province, and that His Excellency will not, upon any account whatever, grant a single acre of the Crown Land in that quarter, nor permit any person whosoever to settle there. All persons who shall think fit to withdraw themselves from this province and retire within the American line, have His Excellency's permission to depart whenever they shall think fit, but as they cannot in that event be any longer considered subjects of the King, they will of course forfeit all pretensions to the protection of His Government. In regard to the general request for the lands east of the Missisqui Bay, His Excellency was in hopes that the strong terms, in which his pleasure upon that subject was (from the necessity of repeated applications) conveyed to you in my letter of 8th. March, would have been sufficient to convince the parties concerned of His Excellency's determination and to have prevented another application from them, to that letter I am directed to refer you, for His Excellency's ultimate resolution."<sup>14</sup>

The preceding letter was enclosed in another under a flying seal to Major Campbell, in which Mathews acquainted him of His Excellency's determination and referred to the "indecent perseverance of the parties concerned, which was beyond conception." Campbell was directed to send for Mr. Wehr and to inform him that he (Major Campbell) had orders to make enquiries from time to time if any person should presume to settle at Missisquoi Bay, and that if they did he was to destroy their houses!<sup>15</sup>

13. *Haldimand Papers*, Book 162, p. 268.

14. *Ibid.*, Book 63, p. 264.

15. *Ibid.*, Book 63, p. 269.

It was an impudent letter and Wehr followed it up two days later with another, enclosing the names of some three hundred Loyalists desirous of settling at Missisquoi Bay.<sup>13</sup> As might be expected, these letters drew a reply from Major Mathews in which the conciliatory tone previously taken was exchanged for one betraying marked impatience.

He wrote: "I have laid your letter before His Excellency, and am commanded to repeat to you, what you were with much pains, and by every official Authority here informed of, that no part of the Indian lands are within the Boundary line of this province, and that His Excellency will not, upon any account whatever, grant a single acre of the Crown Land in that quarter, nor permit any person whosoever to settle there. All persons who shall think fit to withdraw themselves from this province and retire within the American line, have His Excellency's permission to depart whenever they shall think fit, but as they cannot in that event be any longer considered subjects of the King, they will of course forfeit all pretensions to the protection of His Government. In regard to the general request for the lands east of the Missisqui Bay, His Excellency was in hopes that the strong terms, in which his pleasure upon that subject was (from the necessity of repeated applications) conveyed to you in my letter of 8th. March, would have been sufficient to convince the parties concerned of His Excellency's determination and to have prevented another application from them, to that letter I am directed to refer you, for His Excellency's ultimate resolution."<sup>14</sup>

The preceding letter was enclosed in another under a flying seal to Major Campbell, in which Mathews acquainted him of His Excellency's determination and referred to the "indecent perseverance of the parties concerned, which was beyond conception." Campbell was directed to send for Mr. Wehr and to inform him that he (Major Campbell) had orders to make enquiries from time to time if any person should presume to settle at Missisquoi Bay, and that if they did he was to destroy their houses!<sup>15</sup>

13. *Haldimand Papers*, Book 162, p. 268.

14. *Ibid.*, Book 63, p. 264.

15. *Ibid.*, Book 63, p. 269.

## CHAPTER XII. *The Loyalists Move On*

AS the government proceeded steadily with the plans for a settlement in the vicinity of Cataraqi, there was a widespread feeling of dissatisfaction among the Loyalists, many of whom were loath to depart for a remote wilderness peopled by wild savages. On April 20th Major Edward Jessup, Loyal Rangers, wrote that "the fears of the Loyalists that they are to be tenants and sent far from a market have determined many to settle at Missisquoi Bay and if not allowed then to apply for a grant in England." He was afraid "that these things originated in Congress and were nursed by men ambitious to be at the head of a new party."<sup>1</sup>

On April 22nd Captain Sherwood, writing from St. Johns, said in part, "Wehr is urging the Missisquoi Bay settlement. Moseley & Ross are trying to draw the Loyalists to their seigniory at Yamaska. In short, if we are not soon removed from this accursed place every intention for the good and union of the Loyalists will be counteracted by underhand, designing fellows."<sup>2</sup> Captain Pritchard on April 29th reported from Machiche that advertisements were posted there in regard to settlements at Missisquoi Bay, Cataraqi, and the Bay of Chaleurs, and that strong efforts were being made to dissuade the people from the latter two places.<sup>3</sup>

Sherwood wrote again on May 1st that the sentiments of the Loyalists were much divided by the intrigues of a few designing men. He was informed that a subscription for Missisquoi Bay was being handed about privately at Sorel, Montreal, and St. Johns, and that the people who chose to settle there or on private seigniories were promised their provisions by contribution from private gentlemen for so long as the other Loyalists received theirs from the government, provided His Excellency should refuse them. He continued, "It is not in my power to describe to you the many artful measures taken to dissuade the people from settling at Cataraqi; it is industriously reported that the Indians have protested against that settlement and have already kill'd & sculp'd several Loyalists—that the Mohawks are to have all the land worth settling in that country—that the people will have no security for their lands or provisions, but will be liable to be deprived of both at any time."

1. *Canada Archives*, 1888, p. 713.

2. *Ibid.*, 1888, p. 845.

3. *Ibid.*, 1888, p. 714.