

D – IN PURSUIT OF A BRITISH ESTABLISHMENT

To say that Sir John Johnson was fixated on the question of his regiment being elevated to the British Establishment would be an understatement. In his copious correspondence with higher command in which he pleads and argues his case, often with deep frustration and at times with anger, he routinely compared his regiment's status to that of Allan Maclean's Royal Highland Emigrants. In consequence, it is useful to examine Maclean's background and the conditions surrounding the raising of his Highland Emigrants.¹

In 1760, Captain Allan Maclean of the British 3rd New York Independent Company was on convalescent leave in London after being wounded at Ticonderoga while on secondment to the 60th Royal American Regiment. The Seven Years' War was raging and the ambitious Maclean decided to advance his rank by raising his own corps in the Scottish Highlands. The Secretary at War approved his proposal and gave him permission to raise his corps entirely at his own expense for recruitment, equipment and pay. Upon completion, the regiment would be numbered the 114th and Maclean would be reimbursed his expenses.

Recruiting was brisk and Maclean spared no expense to equip his fledgling corps. He soon had six companies complete and they were stationed at Edinburgh for training. Then, Maclean's money ran out. In the face of a staggering £1900 debt, he went into self-imposed exile in Paris. When the Peace of Paris was signed in 1763, his regiment was disbanded and Maclean was reduced to major and put on half pay. His family unsuccessfully attempted to pay off his creditors; however, through the exiled Jacobite Society, he developed a friendship with Lauchlin Maclean, a rather disreputable stock market speculator, who paid off the debt.

Lauchlin had influential friends and Allan made many useful acquaintances including Lord Barrington, the Secretary at War, who was well aware of Maclean's earlier success in raising men to the Colours. When Maclean proposed in 1773 to raise a new regiment of Highlanders in the colonies, he had Barrington's ear, yet the idea simmered for two years until the outbreak of hostilities in Massachusetts prompted the Secretary to enlist the assistance of the Prime Minister, Lord North, to put Maclean's concept before the King.

Maclean was an ambitious fellow, but because of his near tragic experience with raising a corps at his own expense, his proposal for raising the new regiment not only included full financial support from the government at the outset, but made many unusual requests for himself and family which prompted the King to write to Lord North,

I am not inclined to say harsh things but I am so astonished at the very unreasonable demands that Lieutenant Colonel² Maclean had drawn up they have the air... of being actuated by the over cunning his countrymen are accused of.

Neither Lord North nor Maclean was deterred, and, as the war progressed, the King accepted elements of the proposal. Allan had requested the new corps be immediately placed on the British Establishment, but the King demurred and imposed a condition. The Emigrants would be placed on the Provincial list

until complete and then raised to the British Establishment and numbered. His Majesty named the regiment the Royal Highland Emigrants and authorized it to have the same uniform, accoutrements and arms of the 42nd Royal Highland Regiment – the Black Watch. Upon Maclean's arrival in America, General Thomas Gage, the Commander in Chief in America would authorize him to raise men in America.

Before departure, Maclean ordered uniforms, accoutrements and arms. Upon landing, Maclean discovered that an old acquaintance, Captain John Small, had been authorized by Gage for the exact same purpose; however, his instructions overrode Small's, who in good heart accepted the secondary role of raising and commanding a second battalion of the RHE.

General Gage gave Maclean his Beating Order.

By His Excellency the Honourable Thomas Gage, General and Commander in Chief of all His Majesty's Forces in North America, etc. etc. etc.

To Lieutenant Colonel Allan Maclean

You are hereby empowered, with the Officers under Your Command, by Beat of Drum or otherwise to enlist for His Majesty's Service in any of his Provinces in North America such Highlanders, or such other Loyal Subjects, as you may be able to procure; to be formed in a Corps of two Battalions, to be paid as His Majesty's Other Regiments of Foot, and to receive Forty Shillings Bounty; they are to consist of ten companys each, which companys are to be composed of one Field Officer or Captain, two Subalterns, three Serjeants, three Corporals, two Drummers, and fifty Private Men. The whole number of Officers to consist of one Colonel in Chief, one Lieutenant Colonel Commandant, two Majors, one of the two Majors to be Major Commandant, seventeen Captains, two Captain-Lieutenants, twenty Lieutenants, eighteen Ensigns, two Surgeons Mates, and one Chaplain. The whole Corps to be **cloathed, armed and accoutred in the manner, with His Majesty's Royal Highland Regiment**, and are to be called the Royal Highland Emigrants. You are to rendezvous on Lake Champlain or bring them to this place, as you shall find most Practicable; but should they be formed in Canada, you will act under the Command of General Carleton until Further Orders.

Given under my Hand at Head Quarters, Boston 12th June 1775.

The Emigrants' recruiters had advantages over other regiments, beyond the lure of traditional Scottish uniforms and arms. For example –

Conditions to be given to such soldiers as will engage in the Royal Highland Emigrants. They are to engage during the present troubles in America only. Each soldier to have two hundred acres of land in any province in North America, he shall think proper. The King to pay the Patent fees, Secretary's fees and Surveyor General, besides twenty years free of Quit Rent, each married man gets fifty acres for his wife, and fifty for each child, of the same terms, one Guinea Levy money.

Unfortunately, Sir John Johnson's Beating Order of June 19, 1776 has not been found, but a letter from Governor Carleton to Lord George Germain, the

Secretary of State for America, describing the order is transcribed below, as is Germain's return letter of approval to Carleton which mentions the King's approbation. Sir John's commission as Lieutenant Colonel Commandant is extant, as is Major General John Burgoyne's letter explaining why Johnson was expected to bear the cost of recruiting the regiment. Years later, when Sir John attempted to persuade Governor Haldimand of the KRR's special status, he enclosed copies of his commission and Burgoyne's letter, but strangely not his Beating Order; however, the 1780 Beating Order for his Second Battalion is transcribed below. Examining these transcripts provides a picture of the KRR's status.

Several important differences between Maclean's situation and Johnson's are apparent.

1. Sir John did not receive a clear-cut promise that his corps would be raised to the British Establishment upon completion.
2. The King himself named Maclean's regiment and conferred a special status upon it by allowing its clothing, accoutrements and arms to match those of the famous Black Watch.
3. The expenses of recruiting the RHE were to be met by the Crown.
4. The RHE was given a Colonel-in-Chief, which was never allowed the KRR.
5. RHE recruiting was permitted across the American continent and many of Maclean's previous officers of the failed 114th regiment were included. Johnson's recruiting was primarily in New York, although men from other provinces including Quebec were accepted with the governors' approvals.
6. Maclean was allowed two battalions at the outset. Johnson was given permission to apply for the opportunity to raise a second when he had his first complete.

Sir John was off the mark in assuming that Maclean's status and his own were of a piece. Nonetheless, he yearned to have the regiment elevated to the British Establishment. Understandably, the elevation of five loyalist regiments in the Central Department to the American Establishment³ fueled his angst.

The Beating Order given by Carleton to John Butler for his corps of Rangers is included in this study, although Butler never had any expectation of his regiment being raised to the Establishment. His Beating Order provides clear evidence that the structure of Provincial battalions could be substantially different. Also included are excerpts of letters from Butler and his officers regarding their ranks and the regiment's pay and status.

24Jul75 Dartmouth to Carleton, Whitehall⁴

... the Number of Men to be raised in Canada should be double what was first proposed; It is His Majesty's Pleasure, that instead of 3,000 Men which you were authorized to raise by my letter of the 1st of July, the Number to be raised by 6,000; and I have accordingly given Directions for an Additional Supply of Arms, Cloathing, & Accoutrements in proportion, which will be sent out in another Store Ship that will be ready to sail in about ten Days.

The manner & form of raising this additional 3,000 is also left to your Judgment, and the Commissions which you are to give the Officers must be on the like Conditions

as are prescribed in my Letter of the first Instant, Viz, "that none of them when reduced are to be intitled to half Pay, or to Rank in the Army from having served in this Corps."

19Jun76 Sir John Johnson's commission, Chamblee⁵

(Copy) Guy Carleton General & Commander in Chief of His
Majestys Forces in the Province of Quebec and the
Frontiers thereof &c &c &c

To Sir John Johnson Knight & Baronet

By virtue of the Power & Authority in me vested, I do constitute and appoint you to be Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of the King's Royal Regiment of New York: You are therefore carefully & diligently to discharge the duty of Lieutenant Colonel Commandant by exercising & will disciplining both inferior Officers & Soldiers of that Regiment. And I do herby command them to obey you as their Lieutenant Colonel Commandant, And you are to observe & follow such Orders & directions as you shall receive me or any other your Superior Officers, according to the Rules & discipline of War, in pursuance of the Trust hereby reposed in you. – Give under my hand & Seal at Arms at Chamblee the nineteenth day of June One thousand Seven Hundred & Seventy Six in the Sixteenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third by the Grace of God of great Britain, France & Ireland, King Defender of the faith & so forth –

By His Excellencys Command}

Guy Carleton

E. Foy

}

08Jul76 Carleton to Germain, Chamblee⁶

The day after His Majesty's Troops took possession of Montreal and the communication with the upper country, thereby, become open, Sir John Johnson and about two hundred followers arrived there from the province of New York. He represents to me that there are considerable numbers of people in the part of the country he comes from who remain steadily attached to His Majestys Government and who would take up arms in its defence had they sufficient protection on which account, in the mean time They suffer all the miseries that the persecuting Spirit of the Rebels is able to inflict upon them.

In consequence of this representation and taking it for granted that the King's pleasure is, not only to furnish all his good and Loyal Subjects, with the means of defending themselves against rapin and Violence, but further to grant them all possible assistance, I have therefore given Sir John Johnson a Commission to raise on that Frontier of this province a Battalion of men (to be called The King's Royal Regiment of New York) of equal numbers with the other His Majestys marching Regiments serving in America and I have appointed him Lieutenant Colonel Commandant thereof.

20Jan77 Sir John to Daniel Claus, New York City⁷

Speaking of Governor Carleton, "... wou'd give me a Commission as Lieut. Colo. Commandant of one or two Battalions if I wou'd raise them with a Command on the frontier..."

11Jul77 Burgoyne to Sir John, Chambly⁸

I mentioned to Genl Carleton according to your desire the Subject of **Levy money**.⁹ His Excellency is of opinion that the Corps to be raised by you, & that raised last Year by Lt. Col. Maclean are upon very different Grounds. **The latter was undertaken by a Gentleman without any personal weight or Authority in the County, He received no Additional Rank in the Service, & the Regiment, when raised, was like all others upon the Brittish Establishment, liable to be sent to any part of the World at the pleasure of the King.** This consideration alone made pecuniary Encouragement more necessary; & the Lt. Col. receiving no advantage by what he was well entitled to

from his military pretensions, cou'd not be expected to advance any money from his private purse.

The light in which your proposal, Sir, is regarded, is that of a great, opulent distinguished Subject, who after the Example of a most honourable Predecessor, steps forward in a time of difficulty & danger, to vindicate the Rights of his Majesty's Crown, & restore the blessings of legal Government, combining, as is most just, with those elevated principles the protection of private property, not only that of the Chief, but also of every Individual who shall take Arms under his Banner, and for this purpose, the Corps is not to be removed out of America, nor unless upon Exigencies in which every well affected American Subject is interested, is it intended, I believe, to march them from their own Province. Your plan therefore is exactly upon the footing with that of the several English Noblemen, who in the year 1745 raised Regiments in their own Counties, and at their own Expense, **receiving in return military Rank, 'though they had never served in the Army, together with pay according to that Rank.** It is presumed upon the whole that upon the Representation of so respectable a Chief, as yourself, the Inlistments will be made with little Expense; or should it be otherwise, that the Commander in Chief would not be justifiable in advancing it without express Orders.

I hope all the arrangement as it now stands will upon reflection be acceptable to you. Every thing appears fair for the execution of the project we conversed upon. [i.e. the expedition to the Mohawk Valley] I shall think myself happy in that opportunity, as in every other, to recommend myself to, your friendship...

*Previously, I had only seen the excerpt of this letter published in Cruikshank's [King's Royal Regiment of New York (Toronto: OHS, 1931)] and had understood that **all** expenses of raising the regiment were to be covered by Sir John. Having seen the whole letter, it is now clear that it was the recruiting expenses he was to front and he was given the government's support in the supply of uniforms, arms, accoutrements and camp equipage.*

25Dec78 Haldimand to LCol Mason Bolton, Quebec¹⁰

I received... a letter from Major Butler, copy of which I enclose to you, acquainting me of his intention to draw upon me for the subsistence of the [Butler's] Rangers and he mentions, as you will see, Bounty for them, which I beg he may be informed I cannot learn was intended by Sir Guy Carleton as it ought not to be allowed for a Corps put upon so much more advantageous footing than any other, and therefore he must omit that charge in his accounts...

Being on the subject of this Corps which it appears Sir Guy Carleton intended should be raised under your inspection, I hope some means will without fail be fallen upon to muster and review the several companies that the exact state of them and whether they have been composed agreeable to the true intent and meaning of the beating order.

31Mar79 Memorandum Prepared by Captain Walter Butler, Quebec¹¹

The disproportion of the pay of the Privates of the four and two shilling companies of the Corps of Rangers creates much uneasiness between the men. Major Butler, therefore, wishes the pay might be leveled, and after duly considering the hardships the men are subject to, the very great expense they must be at for extraordinary clothing in a service of this kind, the high price of every article in the quarter they serve and the losses they must meet with on service with the Indians, proposes for His Excellency General Haldimand's approbation, the reducing the Corps to seven companies and lowering the Corporals' pay to four shillings, the Drummers' to three, the four shilling companies to three, and raising the two shilling companies to three shillings.

This will be of less expense than the Corps completed to eight companies and not much more than seven companies in the present footing, and nearly equal at six companies...

A State of the Corps Complete to 8 Companies on the Present Footing:

| | |
|---------------------|---------|
| 24 Sergeants at 5/ | £ 6.0.0 |
| 24 Corporals at 4/6 | 5.8.0 |
| 16 Drummers at 4/6 | 5.8.0 |
| 100 Privates at 4/ | 20.0.0 |
| 300 Privates at 2/ | 30.0.0 |

[this table was followed by four variations on the same theme]

10May79 Sir John Johnson to Haldimand, La Chine¹²

I inclose herewith two returns for Arms, half-mounting &c wanting to compleat my Regiment[. A]t the same time I must beg leave to remind your Excellency of a Return given in last fall for Blankets which, I believe, was given to Captain Barnes, as the Men can no longer do without them.

I wish your Excellency would allow me to give in a Return for every thing Necessary to Compleat the Regiment to its full Establishment as I am in daily expectation of getting Numbers sufficient to fill the Regiment, and should it be ordered upon service, it would be best to have more than is Necessary for the Regiment, as I am pretty confident great Numbers of Men will be coming in from the frontiers, if they find us near them.

In this context, the word 'establishment' refers to the regiment's authorized full strength.

20May79 Return of Regimentals & Blankets wanting to Compleat The Kings Royal Regiment of New York agreeable to the Establishment, Montreal – signed by John Johnson

| | |
|-------------------------|-----|
| Sergt Majors Suit | 1 |
| Sergeants Suits | 2 |
| Drum Majors Suit | 1 |
| Sergts Shirts & Rollers | 4 |
| Sergeants Stockings | 4 |
| Sergeants Hatts | 4 |
| Privates Suits | 151 |
| Drummers Suits | 4 |
| Privts Shirts & Rollers | 187 |
| Privates Stockings | 187 |
| Privates Hatts | 187 |
| Shoes | 188 |
| Blankets | 188 |

This return supports Jim Kochan's contention that the KRR NY drew clothing from general stores during the first clothing period – 1776-1779. As the regiment's strength was considerably in excess of the numbers shown here, the indent begs the question of how long clothing was expected to last in the Provincial corps. That is, as a complete suit of clothing was allowed once a year, why was clothing for the full strength of the regiment not being indented for?

30Aug79 Supplemental Beating Order, 84th Royal Highland Emigrants, Quebec to Donald McIntosh, recruiting Sergt.¹³

By His Excellency Frederick Haldimand Genl. & Commander in Chief of the Province of Quebec, &c. &c. &c.

To Brigadier General Maclean, Lieut. Colonel Commandant of the 84th Regiment of Foot or Royal Highland Emigrants.

It being the King's intentions that the Battalion of Royal Highland Emigrants under your command, should be augmented with twenty private men to each company and that this Augmentation should be recruited in North America, you are hereby authorized by Beat of Drum or otherwise to raise so many men as shall be wanted to complete your Corps to this Establishment; and you will have due attention, that the proper instructions be given to the officers you send upon this duty, so that none but men fit for active service be enlisted, as all others will be rejected. And as a due encouragement, Three guineas pr. Man and no more will be allowed for every recruit approve of.

Here is another example of the word 'establishment' referring to the full strength of a regiment. Note – Maclean was allowed three guineas bounty for recruiting, while Sir John and John Butler recruited at their own expense.

06Sep79 Extract of a Letter from Coll. Sir John Johnson, Montreal¹⁴

I hope the Colours Drums &ca have been obtain'd as it would hurt me much to be refus'd so small a favour, when I have made so great a sacrifice. I even flatter'd myself from the assurances of General Haldimand, that both he & Sir Guy Carleton would make use of all their Interest to get my Regiment establish'd, that I should have heard of that also; I think it is poor encouragement for those who have given up their all in support of Government, & have rais'd Corps on the same Terms with those lately rais'd & establish'd at home, not to be put at least upon the same footing. They cannot mean to consider my Corps on the same footing with those rais'd to the Southward by the Kings bounty, all of which have only provincial Commissions, where as my Regiment was rais'd entirely at my own expence, & my Commission by the Articles of War, gives me the same rank as the Kings would. [N]othing but the situation of Affairs in this Country has hitherto prevented me crossing the Atlantic once more, to endeavour to do my Friends, family & self that Justice, I think them & myself entitl'd to, but I am almost determin'd never to leave the Country, 'till affairs take a favourable turn, or we are drove to the unhappy alternative of giving up, & quitting our native Land, or submitting to the Damnable Government that now but too generally prevails, which God of his infinite goodness avert. A very bad conduct on the part of some of our Commanders, has hitherto prevented the unhappy dispute from being settled in the manner all good Subjects would wish, which must have been the Case long since, had not jealousies in some, & a predetermination in others to persue the plans of self Interested Men, frustrated the well concerted plans of Government.

12Sep79 Haldimand to Sir John, Quebec¹⁵

His Majesty is well acquainted with your Merits and you will no doubt share the favor they entitle you to – Tho' Your Corps is not yet Established, I think it is likely it soon will be until that happens should your duty call you to Niagara, I wish to give you my opinion relative to the Rank you would have there. Lieut Colonel Bolton has been long invested with the sole command of that whole Communication, and by long Experience is acquainted with the complicated circumstances attending it, besides though his is a Junior Lieut Colonel[,] being in our Established Corps entitles him to Command all Officers of the same Rank, in all others. [i.e. YOU! - Sir John]

16Sep79 Sir John to Haldimand, La Chine¹⁶

I am most sensibly hurt that notwithstanding I have Sacrificed everything I had in the World to assist in supporting the Laws and honor of my King and Country, and raised my Regiment to what it now is, without any Expense to Government, and after the many assurances of promoting the Establishment of it, that I am at length told to look

upon it in no other light than a Provincial Corps, notwithstanding the tenor of my Commission, and the written assurances of Sir Guy Carleton through General Burgoyne to the contrary and Your Excellencys own assurances to me to the Contrary in April last – I flatter myself that when Your Excellency reflects upon my former Situation, and at least equal pretentions with most, if not all the Gentlemen to the Southward who now have Superior Rank to me in the Provincial line, you will not think me unreasonable when I beg to be put upon a footing with them, or to Command the several Detachments now going up, independently of Colonel Bolton, or to return to this Country this fall, if time and the Situation of affairs will permit, and if necessary to make a Voyage to England, to endeavour to obtain for myself and family that Justice I cannot from the Distance and Situation of Affairs Obtain here.

Nothing but the Disagreeable Situation I am reduced to, could urge me to Wish to leave this Country till affairs take a more favorable turn, and I hope Your Excellency will do me the justice to believe that it is not from any objection I would have to Serve under Colonel Bolton, as I have always heard a most amiable Character of him, but for the reasons before assigned.

20Sep79 Haldimand to Sir John, Quebec¹⁷

I acknowledge the justices of the Comparison you have drawn with Gentlemen in the Provincial Line to the Southward – I admit that your pretentions are such as to entitle you to Expect that your Regiment should be established, or if a precedent of the kind should not be thought proper, that an equivelent should be made you, and I may with great Truth, add You have my heartiest wishes for the accomplishment of that, and every mark of favor His Majesty may be pleased to distinguish you by, however strong these may be, I am sure Your candour will point out to you the propriety, and the necessity for my acting as I think right, and as the Army will Expect of me, till His Majesty's Pleasure shall be further known. – In the mean time, if it can give you the least pleasure, you shall have the sole, independent Command of the Detachment you march into the Indian Country as well at Niagara, as in the Field, that is, separating it, in every Respect, from the Command of the Post and Garrison, which I cannot either in Justice to the Service, or to Colonel Bolton, supercede him in...

What Sir Guy Carletons assurances to you were founded upon, I cannot pretend to say – I am sure it is not in my power to declare Your Regiment Established, or to give the Officers belonging to it, Rank, with those upon the Establishment, until they are in the same predicament, You must have misunderstood me Exceedingly, to suppose I had intended it – I never promise unless it is in my power and that I intend to perform, but from the approbation I have expressed of your Conduct and my wishes to serve you, you cannot doubt that it will give me pleasure, if I can by any means Contribute to that End, and from the time of my appointing you to this command, the Sentiments of Attachment and Duty that interest me so deeply in Your Success, first considered, I have wished that it might afford me, an opportunity of strongly recommending you to His Majestys further attention. I cannot think that the Rank of Provincial Brigadier General, is in any view, an object worth Your Sanguine Wishes, it is not only local, but Temporary and of none, or very little future advantages and on the contrary I think, that your not having been appointed to that Rank, may be a motive, perhaps for Establishing Your Corps, or something permanent being done for you – I cannot conclude without signifying the pleasure Your Conduct as an Officer has, in the present instance given me, by that cheerfulness, with which You are forwarding the Service, under circumstances that you conceive, rather greivous.

11Nov79 Major John Butler to Haldimand, Niagara¹⁸

As I have now nearly completed my Corps and would 'ere this had the eight companies full had I not given men to fill up the casualties that had happened in every company previous to their being mustered. I beg leave to mention to Your Excellency a promise

made by Sir Guy Carleton signifying that from my long and approved services, joined to his good opinion of Captain Butler, he would give me the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, Commandant, and him that of Major, whenever there was a sufficient number of companies raised to admit of his doing so with propriety. This, I am given to understand, was approved of by Your Excellency, and I hope will now be taken into consideration.

13Nov79 Major John Butler to Haldimand, Niagara¹⁹

I have charged for the contingent men agreeable to the custom of the Army, and for expenses and bounty money for the enlistment of effective men. The latter has been allowed me for former enlistments by Sir Guy Carleton and for that purpose delivered me on receiving his orders for raising the Corps a sum of money for which I have accounted with him for the former.

I humbly conceive my Corps entitled to agreeable to the usage and custom of the Army, particularly as I was told on raising the Corps, both by the General and his secretary, that the Rangers would be entitled to every allowance made other troops in His Majesty's Service, not otherwise directed in the Beating Order, and when it is considered that the Officers of Chasseurs or Rangers in other countries (and in this those belonging to the foreign troops) are paid as cavalry, it will not be thought unreasonable.

15Nov79 Sir John to ?, Montreal

I have Received Your Letter of the 11th Inst. Enclosing a Warrant, by His Excellency's Command for £1350 on account of twenty months off-Reckonings for my Regiment – You will observe by the Account herewith enclosed, which, is made out Agreeable to a state of Twenty Months Off Reckonings for the Royal Highland Emigrants which, I also transmit you that, you must have made a considerable mistake in Your Calculation, the Balance being £1473..13..11½...

You will Observe that the Establishment of the Emigrants was 500 and my Regiment 530.

24Feb80 Haldimand to Sir John²⁰

With regard to Compleating Your Corps by forming the Loyalists into a Second Battalion, you must Remember it was my Intention as the most Eligible method at the Time I wrote to you the Letter to which you refer me, but that afterwards difficulties arose which prevented its being carried into execution.

Haldimand refers here to an earlier abortive attempt to combine the remnants of several loyalist corps that had fought under Burgoyne into a KRR 2nd battalion.

17Mar80 Germain to Haldimand, Whitehall.²¹

Sir John Johnson's great merit intitles him to particular Attention upon this occasion and if it should happen that the Service in which he is engaged should prevent him from availing himself of the Encouragement now given to complete his Corps as soon as others, you will nevertheless preserve to his Corps it's Rank & Seniority when it's Condition shall enable you to report in it's favour.

Jim Kochan believes that something happened to alter the KRR's status in 1779, which allowed Sir John to purchase his own design of uniforms for the following year, i.e. the second clothing period; however, a thorough search of correspondence has not revealed what that 'something' might have been.

Does this arcane letter from Germain tell us something? It certainly raises the question of what value it would be to Sir John and his regiment to be allowed to retain seniority on the Provincial establishment in Canada other than pure hubris? It would not give the

officers half-pay for life. It would not allow the men access to the Sorel Pensioners' Hospital (the Canadian equivalent of Chelsea) if their health failed.

19Apr80 ? to Sir John, Quebec²²

... in Consequence of Your Last Letter to His Excellency General Haldimand upon the subject of Your Off Reconings, I received his Directions to Examine the Account, and after having Ascertained the Ballance, to prepare a Warrant for the Amount, Acquainting You therewith – In Conformity to which it becomes by Duty to inform You that, I fear you have been already over paid on that account, seeing that in the computation I had the Honor to Receive from You, 40 Warrant men are Charged instead of 30 – I perceive that yours is justly copied from that of the Royal Emigrants, which is likewise overcharged – While upon the Subject of Accounts, I beg leave to observe to you, that there appears to be some Omissions in Your Private Contingent Account from July 1778 to June 1779 – A Copy of which, with an Abstract of the Monies that have been paid to you on that account, together with all that relates to the Off Reconings shall be sent to you for Your Information by the next Post...

01May80 Sir John to Captain Mathews, Montreal²³

With regard to my Off Reckonings Account, I cannot find out that I have made any mistake, or that there has been any made in that of the Royal Highland Emigts. Seeing by Brigadier General Macleans accounts that, the Agent of His Regiment, who it is to be supposed must be well acquainted with his business, did draw for forty Warrant Men, Vizt ten for the Lieut Col Commandant, ten for the Agent and Twenty for the Captains, as a non Effective fund, which accounts passed through The Treasury Office and were transmitted to the Commander in Chief for Payment up to December 1778 and have been paid Accordingly. According to Your Computation there is a Balance of £85..6.. 10³/₄ due to me on that account having only received £2850[.] You will oblige me if you will enquire of Mr. Dunn, who received the money from him for the two Orders of July 23d and August the 13th 1778, as I only recollect the one, which was received by Lieut Morison of my Regiment and which Mr. Genevay gave me a Memorandum of with the other sums I credited Government for some time afterwards.

13Jul80 2nd Battalion, Royal Yorkers Beating Order²⁴

Whereas it appears from the number of men you have already over and above the Establishment of a Regiment, that a second Battalion to it, through your assiduous exertions may speedily be formed and completed, and as such a Levy at this Juncture can but prove advantageous to His Majesty's Service and induce many loyal subjects from the neighbouring rebellious Colonies to enroll under your command, I do for these reasons and by virtue of the Powers in me vested authorize you by beat of Drum or other-wise forthwith to raise a second Battalion, consisting of Ten Companies, that is to say One Major & Captain, nine Captains more, Twelve Lieuts, eight Ensigns, one Chaplain, one Adjutant, one Quarter Mr., one Surgeon, one Mate, Thirty Serjeants, Thirty Corporals, Twenty-six Drummers or Fifers, and Five hundred and thirty Privates to be paid, clothed & accoutred in the same manner as the First and called the Second Battalion of the Royal Yorkers, to both of which you are hereby appointed Lieut. Colonel Commandant, whereof all Officers & soldiers to them belonging are ordered & directed to obey you as their Lieut. Colonel Commandt, according to the Rules & discipline of War.

Given under my hand and seal at arms at Quebec this 13th day of July, 1780.

Fred. Haldimand.

03Aug80 Sir John to Haldimand, La Chine²⁵

The Service being much at a stand for want of Officers to the Second Battalion, too many of the first being absent on different Services to allow of more than one or two to

take charge of the Men, I must beg your Excellency will be pleased to Commission or put in orders, those returned for your Approbation, or as many of them as you may judge Necessary – and the sooner they proceed to the Coteau du Lac, the sooner the Service will be benefitted by them, they are now only a Burthen to the Inhabitants where they are.

04Sep80 Jessup's Orderly Book A trew Coppy Head Quarters, Quebec

The Commander in Chief has the Kings Orders to Signify to the Provincial Troops that his Majesty ancious to reward Their faithful and Spirited Conduct uppon several occations has Been Pleased to confer uppon them the following Marks of His Royal favour[.] All officers of Provincial Corps that are or shall be Raised in America Shall when On Service with Regular Troops take rank as juniors of the Rank to which They belong[.] Such Officers as May be wounded in action so as to loose a limb or be Maimed Shall be intitled to the same Gratuity of One Years advanced Pay as Officers of [the] Established army in that Predicament are intitled to receive and it is further his Majesty's Gracious intention to make Provision for all Such Non Commissioned officers and Privates as Shall be disabled from Wounds received in his Service –

In Order to Distinguish the zeal of Officers of Such Regiments as Shall be Completed to Ten Companies of Fifty six Rank and file each Company Including Three Contingent Men pr Company His Majesty will uppon reccommendation of the Commander in Chief make the Rank of those Officers Permenant in America and will allow them half Pay uppon Reduction of their Regiments in the Same manner that the officers of British reduced Regiments are paid and facilitate as possable those Leveys His Majesty is further Pleased to Order that the Sum of Twenty Two Shillings and Six pence Sterling to be Given as bounty Money to Each Able Bodied Man.

22Sep80 Sir John Johnson to John Blackburn, regimental Agent, Oswego

I wrote you sometime ago and enclosed you a Bill on Drummond's Bank for £2,000 and an order on Mr. Baker for whatever money of mine he might have in his hands. Letters to him have miscarried. I send you another which makes the third, having sent them by Halifax in the month of January. You will also receive herewith a second Bill of Exchange for £2,000 which I must earnestly wish may come safe to hand having been so long already kept out of it to my no little mortification. The favourable opinion entertained of my constant endeavours to promote the service of my most gracious Sovereign are highly flattering to me, and I hope the result of the expedition I am now going upon will prove serviceable and that my conduct will merit further approbation and be the means of procuring an establishment for my regiment, which now consists of two battalions, the Generals Beating order for which, dated 12th July last I have ordered to be sent to you that you may apply for the 20 months offreckonings to enable you to send me their cloathing and accoutrements which I would have you do by the safest conveyance next year, together with the cloathing for the first battalion which must be ordered to be made larger than the last, they proving too small for most of the men. You will find by the Beating order that the establishment of each battalion is five-hundred-and-sixty rank and file whereas you only sent cloathing for the provincial establishment.

You should also send a sergeant major's and drum major's suit, the appointments to be the same for both battalions. [discussion of a four-man band of Musick and their instruments] When I see the arms coming out for the officers of the first battalion I shall send for the like proportion if they are approved of for the gentlemen of the second.

Where this alteration to the establishment figure for Other Ranks came from is a mystery, as the 2nd battalion Beating Order clearly stated 530. Probably, the 30 corporals were being included which would make 560.

02Nov80 Sir John to Haldimand, Montreal²⁶

As I find my Regiment is Ordered into Quarters with the 84th at Sorell, I cannot any longer with Justice to the Officers of my Regiment, and particularly to myself, pass over the hardship of being refused the Rank we have enjoyed in Common with Established Regiments and always thought we had a right to from the enclosed Copy of my Commission and Letter from General Burgoyne, conveying Sir Guy Carletons Sentiments on that, and the subject of Levy money – I flatter myself if Your Excellency will take the trouble to peruse those papers and to Consider the Subject impartially, of which I have not the least doubt, you will think my Regiment entitled to everything specified in the enclosed Letter, or myself and Regiment to the same Provincial Rank and Encouragement which others with no more pretentions, enjoy in every other place to the southward.

06Nov80 Haldimand to Sir John, Quebec²⁷

Your Letter of the 2nd Instant covering Copies of Your Commission and General Burgoyne's Letter, Give me much Concern as it seem to rest upon my decision the Rank you and the Officers of Your Regiment hold in the Army. Your Officers I am persuaded have their Respective merits no person can be more sensible than I am of Yours and I have taken every occasion to Express in the strongest terms my Sentiments thereon, where I flatter myself it will be useful to you, and I hope You have no doubt of my Personal Regards, and wishes to serve you – Under these Circumstances it would be extraordinary, as well as unjust were I to withhold from you and distinction or Benifit in my Power to bestow, but at the same time, it cannot be expected that I should take upon me to confer Rank not intended or considered at home to Exist, all Regiments raised in the Country being upon no other Footing than that of Provincial, which was the case with the 84th Regiment until put upon the Establishment – Wishing to give you every information that may tend to satisfy you on this subject, I annex a Paragraph of a Letter from Lord George Germain in answer to one I wrote enumerating the difficulties you had to Encounter in compleating Your Regiment, notwithstanding Your unwearied endeavors, supported by a decided Superiority of Fortune and Influence in the Country, knowing that Messrs Jessups & Peters's Friends have represented it at Home as an Easy matter to raise Corps of any Strength and (foreseeing that it might be considered as an objection to its being put upon the half pay Establishment[)] in regard to Your Commission it is Expressed in the same Words with those of all Lieutenant Colonel Commandants and such as must be given when the Provincial Corps now raising shall be Complete.

The Hope that Yours, and the other Excursions upon the Frontiers would draw men nearly sufficient from the Colonies to compleat Your Second Battalion made me defer appointing the Officers You wish to Serve, from the First to the Second Battalion, which must be in a Situation for me to Report before they can be entitled to half pay – Upon the whole Your Regiment must be considered until it is Established, as a Provincial Corps, and upon the same Footing with all others raising in America who have no other where doing duty with Established Corps than Provincial Rank.

I entreat you will not listen to whoever may endeavor to persuade and urge you to think that Your Corps is not a Provincial One, because the Order for raising it was issued by the Commander in chief, for all Regiments raised and raising to the Southward are in the same Predicament, but rest assured that in that and every circumstance in which I can be concerned, every possible Justice will be done You.

08Nov80 Sir John to Haldimand, Montreal²⁸

I am extremely sorry to have given Your Excellency so much trouble upon the subject of my own, and the Regiments Rank, I shall only add that when the subject is thoroughly understood, it will appear that I have been unjustly dealt with, and because I began to

act much earlier, and have, hitherto, not had that assistance, in the Raising of my Regiment that all others to the Southward have, I am not even to enjoy the same Rank, and consequently Emoluments that they do – the enclosed papers will prove to Your Excellency that nothing but Your friendship and approbation is wanting to accomplish what I so earnestly desire – in full confidence that you will give me this mark of Your approbation of my Conduct I drop the subject, and never shall resume it here again.

The following letters were enclosed.

Whitehall 23d Novr 79

Sir

In answer to Your Letter to me enclosing an Extract of a Letter you had received from Sr John Johnson relative to the Establishment of his Regimt, I am to acquaint You my Lord George Germain's Directions, that His Lordship is fully sensible of the Merit & Services of that Loyal, and able officer, but that a proposition of the nature he describes must be transmitted and Recommended by Govr Haldimand before it can with propriety be adopted at Home. Thos De Gray

Whitehall 16th Febr 80

My Dr Sr

I can find no return in the Office of Sr John Johnson's Regt. that can give you any satisfaction, it cannot be Established till Govr Haldimand recommends that it should. There's a Lieut Slack lately come from Canada that is a very likely person to give you more information about it than any body else... Thos de Gray

John Blackburn Esqr.

Mr. Slack's Compts to Mr. Knox, he believes the Strength of Sr John Johnson's Regt. is nearly as follows

| Sergts. | Drms | R. & File |
|---------|------|-----------|
| 28 | 17 | 387 |

30Nov80 Sir John to Haldimand, Montreal²⁹

I have been honored with Your Excellency's Letters of the 23rd Instant; and cannot but say I am much disappointed to hear, contrary to what I thought I had a right to Expect that the Officering of my Second Battalion is to be deferred; had I been made acquainted with that at first, and that the Battalion was in every other respect to be, only upon a footing with those of Jessup, Peters &c, and that I was to keep filling up all Casualties that might happen in the first, before I could proceed to compleat the Second Battalion, I would have preferred having my first Augmented to twelve Companies according to the present Strength of Established Regiments, which would now have been compleat, and which Your Excellency promised me, if I could not fill a second Battalion; however, I have the Vanity to think, that had I been so fortunate as to have gone to New York, in place of Coming to Canada, and met with the same Countenance and encouragement that the New Levies in every other part of the Continent have done, and I hope I have not forfeited my pretensions by being the foremost in opposition to Rebellion, I would have had at least three Battalions in place of one and an half formed one; and still without taking the unwarrantable means that others seem now to be countenanced in, of handing enlistments through Prison Grates to be signed by any Persons who may chuse to be enlarged upon so easy terms without regard to their principles or Character, I hope to Compleating my second Battalion, but I must beg to know what numbers, are necessary to Justify the appointment of the Officers. Jessup and Peters were promised it, whenever they could engage two thirds of their Compliment of men for a Battalion.

As His Majesty has been pleased to order a certain Bounty for the Encouragement of Raising New Corps, and it will appear that I have enlisted, including Captain Leakes

Company, one thousand and odd men, I must beg Your Excellency will be pleased to grant me a Warrant for such Part of the Levy money I am intitled to, as you may think fit, untill a proper account can be given in...

04Dec80 Haldimand to Sir John, Quebec³⁰

The Receipt of A Letter breathing Complaint and accusation from a Person for whom I have always felt and Expressed the Regard I have for Sir John Johnson has Sown much concern and disappointed me.

Without ever taking the least Notice of those Parts of my Letters which Friendship for you and attention to the Officers of Your first Battalion, to be transferred to the 2d prompted me to write, and of my Reasons Expressing the Necessity for my considering Your Regiment a Provincial one, You Complain that the Officers of the Second Battalion are not yet appointed, and that your Regiment is put upon a Footing with Provincials.

Perfectly ignorant as I am of the means which have been practiced by recruiting Officers and Serjeants of the New Levies to procure men; You say, they seem to be countenanced in the unwarrantable means of handing in Papers thro' Prison Grates to be indiscriminately signed by men of All Characters.

Upon the first Subject, if you are determined to doubt my Inclinations to Serve You because I cannot consistently with the Authority Transmitted to me from Home, and consequently with my Duty, Declare Your Regiment any other than A Provincial Corps, I have only left to regret it. – and upon the latter, I must desire you will in future avoid all Reflections of the kind.

My Promise to Messrs Peters and Jessup was to appoint their Officers by Companies as they were completed[. I]t never entered into my idea to draw any Comparison between Yours and their Corps, much less between their Commanders but as these Corps must be considered Provincials, and as they are Authorized to form them, they will certainly, tho' not so well entitled, expect the same apparent Advantages.

When you have Completed two thirds of Your Compliment of Men, I should hope the Officers will not run any great Risk of being Excluded from the Benifit Half Pay, particularly, as I flatter myself, if there should be a dificiency, my Recommendation will have some weight.

In Regard to your first Battalion, You never have Returned it to me Compleat; it must, to intitle the Officers to the King's gracious Intention, have been completed to some period – from that Time, You shall undoubtedly have Credit in Your Second Battn. For Casualties. Had the Corps of Messrs Peters and Jessup, quoted in Your Letter, had Credit for their Casualties from the first Order for their being formed, they would by this time be near Compleat.

07Dec80 Sir John to Haldimand, Montreal³¹

... am extremely sorry to find that what I wrote concerning Your promise of the Augmentation of my Regiment, in case I could not Compleat a Second Battalion and what I mentioned relative to the seeming countenance shewn to the unwarrantable means used in recruiting indiscriminately without regard to Character &c, has been entirely misunderstood, I therefore hope your Excellency will do me the justice to believe that, I am not so uninformed as not to know where to look for the Establishment of my Regiment from, should such a thing ever take place, or that I am so incredulous as to doubt your inclination to serve me on account of that not taking place; and I must beg Your Excellency will not harbour an Idea, that I could be so lost to a sense of my duty and the Respect that is due to you, as to presume, especially in my Letters, to cast any reflections upon you; the Countenance I meant was shewn here, and that too, when I could not obtain our order for two men, who had been permitted to work upon Mr. Grants Island, and were Afterwards enlisted for me –

It was Sir Guy Carleton I meant who had promised Jessup and Peters that their Officers should be commissioned whenever they could compleat their Corps to two

thirds of their Compliment, but they never had anything like that Number, but upon Paper, and if that would have answered I gave in to General Burgoyne, the names of upwards of seven hundred men, exclusive of those I now have, which were handed to me by their own desire to serve under me, many of them I suppose are now in the different Corps.

My First Battalion will appear to have been seventy odd more than Compleat, including Casualties, by a Return given in, I believe, in March or June, and I think it would be hard not allow for those Casualties, as the men had been on the spot, and were expended in the Service, and I believe it is always Customary.

I am much obliged to Your Excellency for the Honorable manner in which You have been pleased to mention myself and Regiment to Lord George Germain.

11Dec80 Haldimand to Sir John, Quebec³²

In order to throw the Provincial Corps now raising, into some Form, and at the same time to fulfil my Promise of Appointing Officers as the Companies are Completed – I purpose immediatly after the Board of Officers (which will assemble next month to determine the different Claims for Recruits now depending) have made their Report to form as many Companies in Mr Peter's and Jessup's Corps as their strength will admit of.-

Being still ignorant of Your idea, and the wishes of the Officers of Your first Battalion who are to form the Second, respecting the Risk attending their appointment, I leave it entirely in Your option, either to form Companies in the Manner above mentioned, or to have, all the Officers appointed, at the same time when the Battalion shall be two thirds Compleat...

The matter of Casualties, you may be assured of it, shall be made as Easy to you as possible, but it is a Subject which must rest entirely between us – Mr. Peters Affirms that he lost 210 Killed in the Action at Bennington and 30 made Prisoners others in Proportion, if these were to be allowed little could be expected from the New Levies.

14Dec80 Sir John to Haldimand, Montreal³³

As Your Excellency is pleased to leave it in my option either to form the men of the second Battalion into Companies as far as their Numbers will admit of, or to wait till I get two thirds of my Complement of men for the Appointment of all the Officers, I shall first observe that I have within fifty of it at present, and that when the men belonging to the Gentlemen of other Corps who are recommended as Officers in the Battalion, join, I shall have above that number... I shall wish to have them appointed as far as the number of Companies that can be formed, will admit of, provided it will not interfere with the appointment of the whole when I give in a return of two thirds of my Compliment. – I cannot with Justice to the Officers recommend'd think of accepting the Company upon the terms Your Excellency offers, I could have had it by recommending the two Officers for Lieutenancies, which I declined for several Reasons, tho I wish the Gentlemen very well. I find Companies are forming in which Officers are nominated, who I had recommended and were approved, for the second Battalion, and tho' the Gentlemen are Ordered to join contrary to their wishes, or to be cutt off of their subsistence, I would not interfere till I made Your Excellency acquainted with it.

I shall rest satisfied that Your Excellency will do me justice in the settlement of the Casualties.

21Dec80 Haldimand to Sir John, Quebec³⁴

I have Received Your Letter of the 14th Instant, expressing Your wish that the Officers should be appointed to Your Second Battalion as far as the Number of Companies that can be formed will admit of, which shall be done agreeably thereto but it will be necessary to delay these appointments until the Result of a Board of Officers shall be Known.

27Sep81 Sir John to Haldimand's secretary, Montreal³⁵

In a letter from my Agents, Messrs Bisshopp and Brummell, is the following Paragraph, "We hope our proceedings herein, will meet with Your approbation, and that on receipt of the Gross sum, wherein the Agency is included, you will be so obliging as to favour us with a Remittance for the same as we apprehend General Haldimand will not except to it, being no more than the usual allowance in like cases.["]

I beg you will be so obliging as to lay this matter before His Excellency, in order, to Enable me to make the Necessary remittances and that you may not be at a loss, I herewith transmit you a Copy of a Computation of 365 days off-reckonings which they have sent me.

21Mar82 Sir John to Daniel Claus, London.³⁶

I have now the further pleasure to inform you that I have the Appointment of Superintendent General, and Inspector General of Indian Affairs and am to be Appointed Colonel Commandant with the Rank of Brigadier General on the American Establishment and have Obtained with some difficulty an American establishment for my first Battalion[,] the Second must wait the Generals [Haldimand's] recommendation of it, which I have no doubt but he will favor it with...

22Apr82 Lord Shelburne to Haldimand, Whitehall³⁷

Sir John Johnson's Merit and Services, and his early exertions in the Royal Cause, entitle him as an Officer to particular attention. His Majesty is therefore pleased to approve of your appointing him Brigadier General in Canada as you proposed, and as the first Battalion of his Regiment appears by the Returns to have been completed, and you have recommended it, His Majesty approves of your assuring the Officers of permanent Rank in America, and that in case of their reduction they will be recommended to Parliament for Half Pay.

18Oct82 The Memorial of the Officers of the second Battalion of the King's Royal Regiment of New York, Oswego³⁸

That Your Excellency's Memorialists in consequence of a Letter from Sir John Johnson wherein he mentions that his first Battalion has been put on the American Establishment, and gives reason to hope, through Your Excellency's recommendation, the Second may be put on the same footing, humbly take the liberty to lay this Memorial before Your Excellency.

That Your Excellency's Memorialists from the thoughts of an approaching Peace are prompted to trouble Your Excellency on this occasion being apprehensive without Your Excellency's interposition in their behalf, a Reduction, without the benefit of Half=Pay, may take place...

That Your Excellency's Memorialists are ever sensible of the attention Your Excellency has paid to the Regiment, and of the Honor conferred on them by the Services on which they have been employed.

21Oct82 Jessup's Orderly Book

G. Orders} Lieut Colnl. Sir John Johnston to be Brigadier General of the Provincial Troops and Captain Scott of the 53rd Regt. to be his Major Brigade the 1st October 1782.

31Oct82 Sir John to Major Lernoult, Quebec³⁹

I have been honored with your two letters enclosing the Orders of this day relative to the Establishment of my first Battalion, and my appointment as Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, and return you my thanks for your kind Congratulation on the Occasion -

01Jan83 State of the Provincial Troops in Canada..., Quebec⁴⁰

| Corps | No. of Coys | Effective Rank & File |
|---|-------------|-----------------------|
| 1 st Battn. King's Royal Regt. of New York | 10 | 538 |
| 2d. Battn. King's Royal Regt. of New York | 10 | 404 |
| Lieutenant Colonel Butler's Rangers | 10 | 525 |
| King's Rangers | 3 | 200 |
| Loyal Rangers | 8 | 455 |
| Captain John Peter's Company of Invalids | 1 | 32 |
| Captn. Ebenezer Jessup's Company of Pensioners | 1 | 61 |
| Total | 43 | 2215 |

So, two months after Sir John wrote to Lernoult to thank him for recognizing the elevation of the 1KRR to the American Establishment, which should have moved the battalion to being listed amongst the British Regulars, we find the battalion listed as Provincials. Was this simply a matter of bureaucratic sluggishness or ineptitude, or...?

09Jun83 Sir John to Haldimand, Montreal⁴¹

By Letters from Lord Adam Gordon⁴² and Mr [John?] Watts I find I have been hardly treated relative to the Establishment of my Regiment, many of the Southern ones being put upon the British Establishment with less Pretentions, unless recommendations are to be considered in lieu of them. – Lord Adam writes me that he has still some hopes of it being Effected, but desires me not to be too sanguine and the Enclosed Extract will point out the Necessity of Your Excellencys Interference in Our behalf to accomplish it, and I flatter myself that you will not deny us the same Justice that has been shewn to the Provincials under the Command of Sir Henry Clinton, nor suffer us to consider what we thought an honour, to be our Misfortune.

06Mar83 Extract of a Letter from Messrs Bishopp and Brummell Agts to Sir John, London⁴³

In the mean time, if you could get from General Haldimand, a recommendatory Letter, or Certificate of Service, it will much facilitate the Business, -- Sir Henry Clinton having done the same for such Provincial Corps, as were under his Command, and with Effect.

21Sep83 Capt Robert Leake to Captain Mathews, Montreal⁴⁴

The Gentlemen of the Regiment [2KRR] made it their last request to me, to use my Interest to procure their Commissions, and I will beg of you to mention it to the Commander in Chief as a matter that give them great Concern.

Almost two years after these men had been named as officers of 2KRR, they were still waiting for formal commissions.

16Oct83 Capt Angus McDonell [1KRR] to Haldimand⁴⁵

To forgive the trouble of this Address; as it is caused by a Report, that a late act of parliament excludes all Officers of Provincial Corps from half Pay, who sold out of regular Corps since the Commencement of the War; - tho' I think I do not come within that description, my resignation haveing been signed the 31st of May 1775; some time before War commenced; and before, the raising Provincial Corps were thought of haveing by this lost my Promotion in the 60th Regiment and haveing spent what I received for my Commission during two years and a half cruel Confinement with The Rebels the Idea of being reduced to a beggar after Forty years faithfull service in my old days is Shocking[,] all my dependence being on Your Excellency.

03Nov83 Major Gray to Major Mathews, Montreal⁴⁶

I beg leave to trouble you with a Memorial which I must in the name of myself and the Gentlemen Concerned request you will please to present to His Excellency the Commander in Chief the purport of which is, a claim to the yearly allowance of Twenty Pounds Granted by Government to the Captains of the Army in Lieu of the Non Effective Fund – the President of other Provincial Corps, & Sir Johnsons Warrant from His Agent in London for Back Reckonings Specifying Forty Warrant Men, gives us reason to think that we have a Right to this gratuity and we should be wanting in attention to ourselves to neglect laying this matter before His Excellency.

Nov83 The Memorial of Brigadr. Genl Sir John Johnson Bart. – Major James Gray, and the Captains of the first Battalion, of the King's Royal Regt of New-York

Humbly Sheweth,

That your memorialists having been informed that the Captains of the 84th Regiment while a Provincial Corps, were paid the Yearly allowance of Twenty Pounds per Annum granted by Government in lieu of the non Effective Fund, and having great Reason to believe, that other Corps serving to the Southard, in the same predicament with themselves, have also received this allowance.

20Nov83 Major Gray to Mathews

We have, however transmitted by last Post another Memorial to his Excellency, as we think, More Correct and pointed, than the former, accompanied by an Extract from the Instructions of Mr. Ogilvie Agent in London to Captn Macolm Fraser Paymaster to the 84th Regt by this Authority it appears to us beyond a Doubt, that the Captains of said Regt were entitled to two Warrent men per Company, and that they Received it, and we are Warranted to assert that they also Received Bounty Money which was drawn masterly from the Paymaster of the Regt as Recruits were Inlisted, I must beg leave further to add that we never Recievd any Bounty Money and that we have been all at more or less Expense in Recruiting our respective Companies.

Sir John does not deny his having been allowed Forty Warrant Men, for his 1st Battln and says that he only want to be Convinced whether his Captains have a Right to any Part of that fund or not – as the Precedent of the 84th Regt and the General Custom of the Army seems to Justify our Demand, I cannot account for our being so singularly unfortunate, as to be excluded from the Common benefit, we therefore hope His Excellency will in consequence of Our second application, resume the consideration of Our Claim, and grant us a more favorable Answer, in which, should we still be disappointed, we could wish to be indulgd with a Court of Enquiry to decide upon Our Claim.

13Nov83 Major Mathews to Major Gray, HQ Quebec⁴⁷

Having laid before His Excellency that Commander in Chief the memorial transmitted in Your favor of the 3d Instant, claiming, in behalf of the Captains of the Royal Regiment of New York “the yearly allowance of £20 _ _ granted by Government in Lieu of the non effective Fund” upon information that the Captain of the 84th Regt. were paid that Allowance previous to the Establishment of the Corps – I am directed to acquaint you that all payments to that Corps, when considered as Provincials, were made from the Extraordinaries of the Army, by virtue of the Commander in Chief's Warrants, and that no such Allowance was ever Paid to them, or to any Regiment belonging to this Army, in that Predicament, Bounty Money having been issued from the Extraordinaries, by His Majestys Command, for the Purpose of Recruiting.

24Nov83 Sir John to Haldimand⁴⁸

Regarding the reduction of the regiment, "... but I must Confess that from the peculiar Circumstances attending the raising of my Regiment without the previous Encouragement of Bounty, which was given to all the Corps raised in the Southern Provinces, and my being confined to an Inferior Rank to many of the Officers of a later standing, and as I presume without greater pretentions, I flattered myself that I would, previous to the Reduction of my Regiment, be Honored with the same Rank that those enjoyed – and from the Orders being withheld so long and from the Severity of the Approaching Season in this Province I, as well as Every Person Interested could not but think and hope the Reduction would be put off at least until Spring, when all would have gone Chearfully to work to reestablish themselves upon the Lands...

Return Your Excellency my thanks for your promise of attention to my Recommendation in favor of The Officers of my Regiment.

24Nov83 Haldimand to Sir John, HQ Quebec⁴⁹

In two, or three days, it will be in my Power to write to you, at large, upon the Subject of the disbanding Your Regimt. – Sensible of the Anxiety you will naturally feel for Information, I write this to Acquaint You that my Orders are to Disband the Troops serving as Provincials, forthwith. – In Order to give every facility & advantage possible, in making up accounts, I shall defer it until the 24th of December next, but it must take place on that day.

01Dec83 Sir John to Haldimand, Montreal⁵⁰

I must own my disappointment has been very great, as I once had Vanity enough to flatter myself that my early Exertions and struggles in support of His Majesty's Crown and Dignity and that Laws of my Country, together with my having raised the first Corps at my own Expense, and that previous to the arrival of His Majesty's Forces at New York, after which all the Southern ones were raised would (without considering the very great Sacrifices I made) have entitled me, at least to the some Notice and preferment that some others have met with, without the same strong Pleas – but I have been unfortunate, and must endeavour to console myself, and submit to my fate.

17Nov88 Henry Motz to Edward Jessup, Quebec⁵¹

Motz advised that an Order-in-Council had placed all reduced officers since the Peace of 1783, who have improved lands already granted to them, on an equal footing with those of the 84th Regiment.

There is reason to believe that this elevation of status pertained to officers of the KRR NY as well as Jessup's Loyal Rangers. If not, I would suspect that Motz's note would have read, "on an equal footing with those of the 84th and the KRR NY." I believe this note by Motz is further proof that, despite all of Sir John's struggles to be put on the Establishment, he failed.

¹ For the information regarding Allan Maclean and the founding of the RHE, I am indebted to Kim R. Stacy's unpublished work, "No One Harms Me With Impunity – The History, Organization, and Biographies, the 84th Regiment of Foot, (Royal Highland Emigrants and Young Royal Highlanders) During the American Revolutionary War, 1775-1784. (1994)

² Note: the King referred to Maclean as a "Lieutenant Colonel," although he was apparently only a half pay major at the time.

³ When the American Establishment was created, it became the third element of the British Army system. The first was the British Establishment itself and the second the Irish Establishment.

⁴ **NAC, HP, AddMss21687**, f.102.

⁵ NAC, HP, AddMss21818.

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- ⁶ **NAC, CO42/35**, p.96.
- ⁷ **AO, Claus Papers**, Vol.1, 230.
- ⁸ NAC, HP, AddMss21818.
- ⁹ "When it was proposed to raise a regiment from scratch... the enterprise was launched by an allowance of 'levy money.' The usual method of providing levy money was to issue a warrant permitting the unit to be mustered as if complete from the date of the beating order which authorized the officers to raise recruits by beat of drum... As an alternative to mustering complete, it was possible for the regiment to be credited with a lump sum of levy money, and in other circumstances the War Office appealed to ambitious officers to provide their own bank of levy money in return for promotion into the new unit." Alan J. Guy, **Oeconomy and Discipline – Officership and administration in the British army 1714-63** (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985) 63&64.
- ¹⁰ **Smy Transcripts**. BL, AddMss21756. LCol Bolton commanded at Niagara at this time.
- ¹¹ Smy Transcripts. NAC, WO24/8.
- ¹² NAC, HP, AddMss21818, 69.
- ¹³ General Staff, Historical Section of, ed., III, "The War of the American Revolution, The Province of Quebec under the Administration of Governor Frederic Haldimand, 1778-1784," **A History of the Organization, Development and Services of the Military and Naval Forces of Canada From the Peace of Paris in 1763 to the Present Time With Illustrative Documents [GSHS]** (2 vols, Canada, King's Printer, n.d.) 124.
- ¹⁴ Sir Jno Johnson to ?, Montreal 06Sep79. *ibid*, f.203.
- ¹⁵ NAC, HP, AddMss21819, 49.
- ¹⁶ NAC, HP, AddMss21818, 107.
- ¹⁷ NAC, HP, AddMss21819, 59.
- ¹⁸ Smy Transcripts. BL, AddMss21765.
- ¹⁹ Smy Transcripts. BL, AddMss21756.
- ²⁰ NAC, HP, AddMss21819, 75.
- ²¹ **CO42/40**, p.35.
- ²² NAC, HP, AddMss21819, 93.
- ²³ NAC, HP, AddMss21818, 151.
- ²⁴ GSHS, III, 162, ex NAC, HP, B47, p.10.
- ²⁵ NAC, MG13, WO28/5, 54-56.
- ²⁶ NAC, HP, AddMss21818, 209.
- ²⁷ NAC, HP, AddMss21819, 154.
- ²⁸ NAC, HP, AddMss21818, 213&216.
- ²⁹ NAC, HP, AddMss21818, 225.
- ³⁰ NAC, HP, AddMss21819, 168.
- ³¹ NAC, HP, AddMss21818, 227.
- ³² NAC, HP, AddMss21819, 170.
- ³³ NAC, HP, AddMss21818, 229.
- ³⁴ NAC, HP, AddMss21819, 172.
- ³⁵ NAC, HP, AddMss21818, 273.
- ³⁶ **NAC, Claus Papers, MG19, F1, 3**, 115-17.
- ³⁷ **CO42/42**, p.139.
- ³⁸ **NAC, HP, AddMss21874**, 293.
- ³⁹ **NAC, WO28/5**.
- ⁴⁰ NAC, WO1/11.
- ⁴¹ NAC, HP, AddMss21818, 354.
- ⁴² Gordon: a close family friend of the Johnson clan and Sir John's mentor and companion during his tour of Britain in 1765. Sir John's fourth son, born 17Feb80, was christened Adam Gordon. Adam Gordon Johnson became the 3rd Baronet of New York; **Watts**: this is likely John Watts, Sir John's father-in-law, who had left New York City early in the war and returned to Britain. Earle Thomas, **Sir John Johnson, Loyalist Baronet** (Toronto – Dundurn Press, 1986)
- ⁴³ NAC, HP, AddMss21818, 330. This extract is filed substantially out of order in the Manuscript Group, but fits well with Sir John's letter.
- ⁴⁴ NAC, HP, AddMss21818, 362.
- ⁴⁵ NAC, HP, AddMss21818, 367.
- ⁴⁶ NAC, HP, AddMss21818, 382&83.
- ⁴⁷ NAC, HP, AddMss21819, 292.
- ⁴⁸ NAC, HP, AddMss21818, 392.
- ⁴⁹ NAC, HP, AddMss21819, 300.
- ⁵⁰ NAC, HP, AddMss21818, 400.
- ⁵¹ AO, Jessup's Papers, Finding Aid F485.