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THE ENROLLED PENSIONER SCHEME IN CANADA WEST, 1851-1858,
WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE PLAN AT AMHERSTBURG.

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WINDSOR
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

BY



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② Timothy D. Dube, 1982

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ABSTRACT

This thesis attempts to describe one of Britain's plans at reducing colonial defence costs. Fundamentally, it is an historical narrative of the enrolled pensioner scheme in Canada West during the years 1851 through 1858, with special emphasis on the plan at Amherstburg.

The Introduction sets the scene. Responsible government has been achieved in the Canadas and with it Britain begins a withdrawal of its garrison forces. "As one of the salient features of this withdrawal, it was decided to enroll retired military men as a substitute for the regular army.

The use of military pensioners, in lieu of the regular army, had a long tradition, both in the United Kingdom and the Empire, and British North America was no exception. As well, there was a long, albeit less successful, history of military settlements in the Canadas. To implement a successful substitution of pensioners for regular army personnel, and to avoid many of the problems experienced by earlier military settlement schemes, a study was undertaken in 1849 under the direction of Captain J. D. G. Tulloch. These topics are covered by Chapter One.

Chapter Two outlines the conditions and terms of service of the enrolled pensioners in Canada West. As one of

the features of the enrolled pensioner scheme, the pensioners and their families were offered residences and small land grants on the Ordnance Reserves in Canada West. A long and bitter feud involving a number of rival British departments, and later officials in Canada, developed over this issue. Despite the fact few pensioners received their grants, the scheme achieved the strategic aim of reducing the regular garrison forces of the colony.

The enrolled pensioners were successfully employed by the Province as police and as an interim military force. This use of the pensioners is detailed in Chapter Three.

One of the stations at which the enrolled pensioners were located was Fort Malden and its reserves at Amherstburg and Bois Blanc Island. Chapter Four provides a brief historical description of the town and fort until the coming of the pensioners.

Chapter Five outlines the various administrative problems experienced at Amherstburg; as well as the general economic successes enjoyed by the enrolled pensioners and their families.

The aim in settling the pensioners had been the enrolment of that force of veterans as a substitute for the regular garrison of Fort Malden. Chapter Six details the Amherstburg pensioners' military and police actions. The story of the Amherstburg scheme is covered to the termination

of the plan. Also included is a brief note of the pensioners' later life in the town.

The Conclusion sums up the general successes and failures of the scheme.

Two Appendixes are included. The first combines various pieces of information in an attempt to detail the uniform and accoutrements of the enrolled pensioners in Canada West. The second lists the names of those enrolled pensioners who it has been confirmed were part of the establishment at Amherstburg.

Also included are five Plans detailing the settlement of the enrolled pensioners on the Ordnance Reserves at Amherstburg and Bois Blanc Island.

The requisite supporting Endnotes and Selected Bibliography form the end-matter.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Timothy D. Dube

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INTRODUCTION

British military policy in Canada, as it was formulated in the eighteenth century and developed throughout the first half of the nineteenth, was predominantly one in which Britain sought to govern and defend the colony from home. Speaking generally, the colony was free from almost all obligation of contributing either by personal service or money payment, towards its own defence.¹ This expenditure, in terms of both British men and money, was justifiably the subject of critical examination by the Imperial Government.²

The middle years of the nineteenth century saw decisive changes in Britain's colonial policies with respect to the Canadian provinces, with the question of defence attracting a good deal of attention. Having granted self-government in all that related to Canada's internal affairs, it now appeared to Her Majesty's Government that this advantage ought to carry with it corresponding responsibilities. Using such logical arguments as 'self-government begets self-defence', Britain sought an end to the 'expensive paternalism' that saw the provinces being defended almost entirely by the British Army and at the expense of the British taxpayer.

With nothing more formal than a letter of instruction from the Colonial Secretary, Earl Grey, to the Governor-

General of Canada, Lord Elgin, a new policy was inaugurated in the colony.³ While Britain would continue to acknowledge her obligation to defend the colony against foreign aggression, she now regarded the use of Imperial troops as a police to maintain internal security as improper. To replace the Imperial force, whose numbers in future would be greatly reduced, Canada would have to supply her own police or some other force for the purpose of local defence. Although no general statement defining the respective military responsibilities of colony or mother country was laid down, the British Government, hereafter, endeavoured to establish, and to implement, consistent with colonial safety, the principle of colonial self-reliance in matters of local defence.

As to the actual measures to be taken, Grey, in the first place . . . intended that, in future, with the exception of a certain number of enrolled pensioners, for whose location in the Province arrangements are in progress, the troops maintained in Canada should be confined to the garrisons of two or three fortified posts of importance⁴

However, Grey's "notion was not . . . to cease at present paying for the defence of Canada but to substitute a cheaper & More effective defence."⁵ Along with a properly maintained militia, it was felt that these measures would not only be sufficient to provide the necessary security for the colony, but, also, the requisite savings to the British Treasury.

Although British garrison forces would remain in the Canadas until the 1870s, the initiative in providing for the defence of Canada had been shifted from the Imperial to the Colonial Government.

Within this evolution, a small but interesting chapter is provided by the Enrolled Pensioners, old soldiers who were recruited for further light duty as part of an emigration scheme. Experience, throughout the United Kingdom, in the Australian and New Zealand colonies, and in the Hudson's Bay Territory, having shown the advantages derived by Great Britain, the enrolled pensioners were introduced, after study, into Canada West, with a view to effecting retrenchments in military expenditure. As a leading feature of the plan, the pensioners, under certain conditions, were offered a residence and small allotment of land on the Ordnance Reserves, near the towns or in the localities where their military services were likely to be required. It was hoped that this measure would ultimately prove to be of advantage both to these old soldiers and the security of the province. The system, itself, had the advantage of costing almost nothing, while, nevertheless, making available a force through which British military obligations could be met.

Not wishing to claim for it an importance which it does not merit, the enrolled pensioner scheme, and the men themselves, deserve more consideration, if only because of

their extraordinary ubiquity. This paper summarizes some research on the implementation of the enrolled pensioner scheme in Canada West during the years 1851 through 1858. Having presented a general outline of the plan's successes and failures, emphasis is then focused on the plan and the men at one of the enrolled pensioner stations; Amherstburg, Canada West. Although enrolled pensioners were located throughout Canada West, the nature and scope of this paper is primarily directed towards the Amherstburg experience.

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGINS OF THE ENROLLED PENSIONER SCHEME

As one of the salient features of the plan by Earl Grey to withdraw the great body of British troops from Canada, thereby forcing the colony to assume the responsibility of its own local defence in times of peace, the enrolled pensioners have until this time been for the most part overlooked. While historians have not neglected this period of Canadian military development, their treatment of the pensioners have been somewhat uneven; the pensioners being conspicuous by their absence from these studies.

The history of these military pensioners commenced with the founding of the Chelsea Hospital in 1682 by Charles II as a home for aged veterans and men broken by war.¹ The granting of pensions originated shortly thereafter as an alternative to hospitalization and as a reward for long and valuable service. With enlistment in the army at that time for life or until a discharge on medical grounds was granted,² pensions promised, or seemed to promise, financial reward and security for the men in their later years. Awarded at the discretion of the Board of Commissioners of the Royal Hospital, Chelsea, normal pension rates for invalidity varied from 8d. to 2s. per

day for privates and up to 3s. per day for serjeants, depending on the nature and extent of the disability. Long service pensions varied with the length of service over twenty-one years and with the soldier's rank, but normal rates started at 8d. to 1s. 6d. per day for a private and ran as high as 3s. per day for a top serjeant.³ These pensions, in their aggregate form, soon became a considerable drain upon the Treasury.

In an attempt to reduce the cost of pensions or to funnel them into constructive channels, numerous proposals were adopted over the years, chief of which were the employment of pensioners in lieu of regular army personnel and for the maintenance of public order.

Beginning with the closing years of the seventeenth century, pensioners were selected for service in special units of the regular army, known at that time as Independent Companies of Invalids. These pensioners were paid as regular soldiers out of Army funds. The motive for this was mainly to relieve the expense of pensions by transferring the cost of maintaining them to the estimate for guards, garrisons, and land forces. These formations soon gained recognition, however, as a means for providing for home defence in cases of emergency.⁴

Twenty-five companies of Chelsea pensioners had been raised to relieve field force units from static duties by the eve of the Jacobite Rising of 1715, when the need for adequate home forces was demonstrated. In 1719, ten of these companies

were constituted as a regular regiment of the line under the title of Fielding's Invalids.⁵ The Forty-Five resulted in a further increase in their numbers. During the American Revolution, pensioners performed garrison duties, both at home and in North America where the Royal Garrison Battalion was stationed from 1778-1783.⁶ The strength of the pensioner force rose dramatically during the French Revolutionary Wars when the number of companies rose from thirty-six containing 1,620 men altogether, to sixty-six with 7,175 men in 1808.⁷

When the threat of invasion gave place to that of internal uprisings in the post-war years, pensioners took over garrison duties in Great Britain and Ireland, thus releasing the regulars for more active service preserving public order. This service amounted, in fact, to a temporary re-enlistment in the regular army which provided a reasonable compensation for the men and also employment to which they were accustomed.

During the 1820s and 1830s, pensioners were employed as special constables, performing such multifarious tasks as assisting regular police in their routine duties, guarding threatened objects from attack or dispersing unruly mobs. However, the services of the pensioners on those occasions were not obtained without difficulties. Great inconvenience, as well as delays in actual service, were occasioned by requiring whole classes of pensioners to report for examination prior to serving. It was discovered, also, that frauds were

perpetrated on the government by the relatives of deceased pensioners continuing to draw their pay.

In 1843, however, in an effort to make more effective use of the services of the pensioners, an Act⁸ was passed which rendered these impositions impossible by their re-organization. Selecting the most active and energetic of the men, the pensioners were organized into a permanent reserve force. Under the command of half-pay officers, the corps of 'enrolled' pensioners were organized upon a military basis, ready to be called out in case of emergency by the authorities responsible for maintaining the public peace. Called out for inspection and exercise for a specified period each year, the pensioners at other times lived freely in their own homes following their normal occupations. Through this re-organization, the pensioners would see extensive service throughout the United Kingdom, being rendered a body capable of affording valuable assistance.⁹

Noting the success of the scheme, the size of the corps of enrolled pensioners was increased considerably by the enrolment of the naval out-pensioners of Greenwich Hospital in 1846,¹⁰ and of the out-pensioners in the colonies in 1847.¹¹ An Act¹² of 1848 extended the enrolment to such of the East India Company's pensioners as volunteered for the service. Ever mindful of economies, Britain saw through these extensions of the act an opportunity to expand the pensioners' services without increasing costs.

In an effort to reduce the charge on the British Treasury for the defence of the colonies, a two part program utilizing the enrolled pensioners was developed. First, and most important, was the withdrawal of the greater part of the regular army force from the colonies. This would result in a concentration of their remaining forces, as well as reduced defence costs. Secondly, at the stations vacated by the regular army, it was planned to settle retired British military men and their families, who would form a ready reserve through which British military obligations might be met. Thus there was a specific policy, and a clear set of goals; cheaper colonial defence. When viewed in this way, as a corollary to the reduction and withdrawal of British troops from the colonies, the enrolled pensioner scheme may be understood for what it was, the substitution of a costly defence force with a less costly one.

Commencing in 1847, the enrolled pensioners provided a military-police presence in the Australian-New Zealand colonies, where ultimately a force of 1,500 men was armed and organized, ready for service in an emergency. By replacing an equal number of regular troops, the pensioners afforded a considerable savings to the British Government and also entirely obviated the necessity of sending regiments to the colonies, as would otherwise have been the case to carry on the military duties and afford the security and protection necessary. As

a further savings, the men earned their passage as convict guards, and thus relieved the regular army of a disagreeable and discouraging duty.¹³

As one of the conditions for obtaining their services and to prevent their dispersion throughout the country, the pensioners were offered cottages with a small allotment of land attached to each. The Government of New South Wales also offered a premium of £18 per head to entice them into that colony.¹⁴ Once settled, the local government had at short notice the services of the pensioners as a 'battalion' whenever they were required. The pensioners thus provided an internal military force in these colonies, where they were reported to have "assembled with the same facility as regular troops and with equally good effect."¹⁵ Noting the successes exhibited by the pensioners, as well as the savings enjoyed by the British taxpayer in colonial defence costs, similar plans were adopted for settling enrolled pensioners in the other colonies.¹⁶

The unsettled question of Canadian military responsibility following the granting of responsible government in 1848 made Canada a prime choice for the expansion of the enrolled pensioner scheme. Expensive British regulars could be recalled to Britain and replaced by suitable retired personnel who would not only perform the duty cheaper than regulars but whose pensions would be used in a productive manner. The plan, therefore, offered both strategic and

financial benefits.

This, however, would not be the first attempt at using pensioners in lieu of regular army personnel in British North America. As previously related, the Royal Garrison Battalion had been stationed at Halifax from 1778 to 1783. The 4th Battalion King's Royal Veterans was in Halifax in 1812. During the years 1813 to 1815, the 10th Royal Veteran Battalion was stationed at Halifax, with one detachment at Isle-aux-Noix in 1814, and another on the Niagara Frontier, participating in actions at Michilimackinac, Frenchtown, and Miami.¹⁷ From 1824, the practice of garrisoning Newfoundland with veteran companies of Chelsea out-pensioners was adopted.¹⁸ Although not a pensioners battalion in the strictest sense, the Royal Canadian Veterans Regiment, later renamed the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, was formed in 1840 for solely Canadian service. Manned with volunteers from the nineteen regiments then serving in Canada who had completed fifteen years of military service, its makeup and service closely resembled that of a pensioners battalion.¹⁹

Further, the service of the enrolled pensioners was expanded to the North American continent in 1848, when the 6th Foot was relieved from Fort Garry, in the Hudson's Bay Territory, by a company of fifty-six pensioners under the command of Major W. B. Caldwell, Governor of the settlement. A second body of twenty pensioners followed in 1850, both parties having been accompanied by wives and children.²⁰ Serving under the same terms as those pensioners in Australia

and New Zealand, the pensioners settled on small holdings along the Assiniboine River west of Fort Garry,²¹ where they provided a military-police presence until their term of enrolment expired in 1855. While some went back to England or went to the Canadas, many stayed on in the settlement, settling down more or less quietly in their new locale.²²

† As well, proposals were advanced in 1850 to settle two or three companies of pensioners in Prince Edward Island so that the regular force could be withdrawn.²³

Despite this lengthy experience, the proposed expansion of the enrolled pensioner scheme to Canada did not go unopposed. The Duke of Wellington, in general, doubted whether pensioners could be used for the intended purpose. They

have been discharged and pensioned from the army after due examination of their unfitness for further permanent Military Service . . . it would . . . be an extremely unsafe measure to place any reliance on their performance of more active military duty, or to consider them as being in any manner constituted to form a component part of the effective military force of the empire.²⁴

In 1848, Governor-General Lord Elgin expressed the opinion that ". . . Canada is the last Colony on which such experiments should be Made."²⁵

The scheme, however, had already proven successful in the United Kingdom and in the Australian and New Zealand

colonies, and there was little reason to doubt that the pensioners would not succeed in the Canadas. Having served their terms of enlistment and having received their discharges when no more than forty years of age, or having been granted earlier discharges because of wounds that would not incapacitate them from garrison duties, the enrolled pensioners would be quite capable of performing the military duties that would be required of them. Moreover, the pensioners could man the scattered outposts more cheaply than the regulars, as the men would only be paid for the days they were on actual duty.

Others, however, on hearing that it was intended to combine the dual operations of farmer and soldier in the intended corps, questioned the scheme at an early stage. Richard Bullock, long native to Canada, put forward the following personal view:

how utterly unsuited is an old soldier or even an old Country farmer for the business of clearing and cultivating the soil in this Country, and Climate, without practical instruction.²⁶

Views such as this were no doubt based on the belief that old soldiers, having spent more than twenty years at their trade, could not easily train into the habits of sober and persevering industry. Numerous examples were available to support the belief.

Like the military use of pensioners, the principle

of establishing military colonies had a long, albeit less successful, tradition in North America. The disbandment of the Carignan-Salieres Regiment in the Richelieu-River district was a French 17th century example of military colonies in North America.²⁷ The relocation of the American Loyalists in British North America had been a military settlement, with the disbanded soldiers often located along with their officers.²⁸ In 1790, the proposal of settling the border areas with veteran soldiers was advanced by Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe.²⁹ The disbandment and settlement of the De Meuron and De Watteville Regiments, as well as the military settlements at Perth, Lanark, and Richmond, were examples of military settlement following the War of 1812.³⁰ In most of these early attempts, however, administrators, in selecting the land for settlement, unfortunately used strategic concepts rather than fertility, accessibility to markets, and other economic criteria, which resulted in varied degrees of success for the military settlements.³¹

However, much of the opposition that was raised over the introduction of the enrolled pensioner scheme was no doubt fostered because of an extremely unsuccessful attempt at settling 'commuted' Chelsea pensioners in the early 1830s.

By 1830, the total number of pensioners throughout all the North American provinces probably did not exceed 1,000 men, of whom about 700 were in the Canadas. Most of these men had belonged to regiments serving in North America which had been

reduced there.³² While soldiers who had completed their engagement in the colonies had long been encouraged to remain where they were, saving the cost of transport to Britain, an Act³³ was passed in 1830 providing free passage and free colonial land to pensioners. Upon renouncing or 'commuting' their pensions for a sum not exceeding four years' pension, the act offered non-commissioned officers and soldiers a lump commutation of their pensions and a grant of land, 200 acres to serjeants and 100 acres to privates. Receiving this, they had no further claim whatsoever upon the Government or Chelsea Board and, in fact, ceased to be 'pensioners'. The act thus promised both to save the Government money and rid it of the pensioners.

Beginning in 1832, approximately 3,200 of these 'commuted' pensioners went to British North America, with at least 1,000 and probably 1,500 of them settling in Upper Canada. The lot of these commuted pensioners soon, however, became one of general distress. Although guidelines had existed as to necessary funds, fitness, and character, these requirements seem to have been ignored, many pensioners proving too old, infirm, improvident, and unused to backwoods agriculture.³⁴ Moreover, the land that these men received was often very poor, so that raising crops was difficult at best. Without a pension or the possibility of good harvests, many of these commuted pensioners and their families were forced to leave their holdings, to beg in the

cities, in order to survive.³⁵ Ultimately, those pensioners who were in actual need were restored to pension at a flat rate of 4½d. per day. It was decided, therefore, that no more pensions would be commuted and no more pensioners, unless they could pay their own way, would emigrate to Canada.³⁶

Following this, in 1847, a number of pensioners and their families, after agreeing to reductions in pension to pay for supplies advanced, were permitted to emigrate to Canada in the Blenheim and Maria Somers transports. While it was expected that in the majority of cases the men and their families would derive great advantages from their emigration, these expectations were largely not achieved. Because of the deplorable state of starvation of these persons prior to leaving Ireland, a high rate of mortality had resulted on board.³⁷ This was seen as yet another reason for questioning the proposed expansion of the enrolled pensioner scheme to Canada.

Notwithstanding these experiences, and the opposition of many, both at home and in the colony, the plan to proceed with the settlement of enrolled pensioners in Canada was commenced.

One of the chief obstacles to the success of the earlier schemes had been the lack of a regulated system. Grey, himself, felt that "if the Govnt shd ever attempt directly to convey emigrants to the American Colonies it must be by placing them under the restraint of Military discipline."³⁸ Experience had demonstrated that old soldiers left to themselves were

altogether unsuited from previous habits of life to make good settlers.³⁹ Yet Grey felt, "when placed under the restraints of Military law & discipline . . . the semibarbarians of Mayo and Donegal wd be fitted for becoming far more useful Settlers than they otherwise wd be."⁴⁰ It was hoped that when placed under the superintendence of half-pay officers, their experience and trained habits of military obedience could be turned to benefit.

In an effort to obtain information that might prove useful in settling and organizing the pensioners in Canada, Captain J. D. G. Tulloch, one of the staff officers employed in the payment and superintendence of pensioners in the United Kingdom, was sent to Canada in April 1849 on a mission from the War Office. Tulloch was to enquire and report upon the feasibility of placing the pensioners there under the same system of payment and military organization as had been adopted in the United Kingdom in 1843.⁴¹ One of the chief objects of his enquiry was to ascertain the number and probable efficiency for local duty of the men in the Canadas.⁴²

From his inspection, Tulloch discovered that, despite handicaps, many pensioners had become successful farmers. On the evidence of official returns, he was able to show that, when favoured with a good soil and climate, these men were little behind others in agricultural progress, though they were not likely to have had the same advantages in respect to capital,

age, and intelligence. Besides supporting their families on their land, a large portion of the pensioners were able to make from £20 to £30 a year from the sale of produce. As a further instance of the success of these men, Captain Tulloch reported that in Canada West, six were magistrates, five were militia field officers, sixteen were captains, and fifteen were subalterns of militia, positions which they were not likely to have attained unless they had raised themselves to a certain degree of respectability and independence. It was also shown that, at least in Canada West, the commuted pensioners of the early 1830s had not fared nearly as badly as previously assumed.⁴³ Thus, from the evidence presented by Tulloch, it was seen that any condemnation of the idea of military settlement in Canada West, based purely on the belief that soldiers were inherently poor settlers, would be somewhat of a hasty judgement.

Although it would prove necessary to initially send out a small number of pensioners and their families from the United Kingdom, it was concluded from Captain Tulloch's inspection and report, that provided there existed a means of locating the pensioners on small allotments of land in the vicinity of the large towns or villages, the enrolled pensioner scheme could be adopted in Canada. By locating pensioners in this way, employment for themselves and families, and a certain market for their produce, could readily be obtained, without

exposing them to the difficulties attending life in the interior that had been experienced by earlier pensioner schemes in Canada. From the military point of view, any advantages which were likely to be derived from the settlement of pensioners also required their concentration.⁴⁴

In order to effect this purpose, however, great difficulty was likely to be experienced in procuring sufficient land, except at an expense which would prove a serious obstacle to the arrangement.⁴⁵ Free Crown land, essential to the scheme, was no longer available for military settlers in Canada. While officers could receive a remission of part of the purchase price of land, no such grants had been available to the rank and file after 1834.⁴⁶

To meet this difficulty, Captain Tulloch proposed taking advantage of the Ordnance Reserves, several of which were available in those localities where it was most expedient to locate the pensioners for purposes of defence.⁴⁷ Located at Kingston, Bytown, Toronto, Hamilton, Niagara, Chippewa, Fort Erie, London, Chatham, Sarnia, Amherstburg, Windsor, and several other important stations . . . [were] reserves . . . extending in some cases to upwards of 1000 acres, for the most part clear of wood, with good soil, in the immediate vicinity of towns, and possessing every requisite for the settlement of pensioners on small allotments.⁴⁸

In Tulloch's view, the Ordnance Reserves in Canada appeared "to afford a most eligible opportunity for settling Pensioners

in that Country, in such a manner as to contribute materially to the defence of the Province."⁴⁹

These reserves were vested by the province in the Ordnance Department for the purpose of military defence as the sites of possible defence works and buildings, which, given British reluctance to defence spending in the colony, were never likely to be built. Being vacant, the lands were consequently useless and in many instances had lapsed into the condition of public nuisances. In Tulloch's words

these reserves being uncultivated, and in most instances unenclosed even when in the neighbourhood of large and populous towns present a barrier to every improvement; and are a positive injury to the locality. In several instances, they have been occupied by Squatters, and the encroachments even of persons of a better class have been considerable.⁵⁰

If left unused it would be difficult to resist the claims of the Canadian authorities to obtain possession of them, claims which were becoming more difficult to resist as Britain was no longer inclined to incur the expense of building stone walls on them.⁵¹ The appropriation of these reserves for the settlement of enrolled pensioners seemed, however, to be "legitimately defensible as a direct application of those lands to purposes of military defence."⁵²

By utilizing the Ordnance Reserves, military settlements more efficient than any yet attempted might be formed

in Canada. The enrolled pensioners could be given small grants on these military reserves near the towns and villages where the staff officers could watch over them and easily assemble them for duty. Everyone, the pensioners, the colony, and the Imperial Government, would benefit. Colonial and War Office officials at once accepted Tulloch's plan.⁵³

CHAPTER II

THE ENROLLED PENSIONER SCHEME

AND THE ORDNANCE RESERVES OF CANADA WEST

After careful study, it was decided to implement the enrolled pensioner scheme in Canada, with a view to effecting retrenchments in colonial defence costs. By substituting the enrolled pensioners for the regular garrison forces in the colony a double savings could be achieved. The pensioners would not only man the scattered outposts in Canada more cheaply than regulars, who could be maintained much more economically in the British Isles, but the use of pensioners in active service would direct part of their pension payments into productive channels.¹ Moreover, the enrolled pensioner scheme would allow the necessary reductions in the Imperial forces in Canada, without requiring the Province to undertake any additional expenditure in consequence. Governor-General Lord Elgin, although not personally enthusiastic, was quite certain that whatever came of the proposed changes, there never was likely to be so favourable an opportunity for attempting them.²

With the submission of Captain Tulloch's favourable report,³ a plan, modelled on the scheme in existence elsewhere

in the Empire, was drawn up to put enrolled pensioners on the Canadian Ordnance Reserves. Arrangements were soon also made with the Admiralty to give over its reserves to the pensioner project, with the assurance that naval pensioners, more especially those who had served in the Marines and were available for military organization, would be allowed the same privileges as those from the army.⁴

Taking into account Captain Tulloch's findings and suggestions, it was decided to initially confine the enrolled pensioner project to the reserves of Canada West, because it was there that the improvement in the condition of the pensioners had been most apparent.⁵

In Lower Canada the long continuance and severity of the Winter, the precarious nature of the crops, the low price of labour, and the comparatively high price of provisions and fuel, particularly in the vicinity of large Towns, [had] . . . proved serious evils to the pensioners settled there of late years.⁶

By restricting the plan to the upper province, however, the pensioners were likely to have fewer difficulties to contend with. In fact, Captain Tulloch believed that if industrious, they would have no difficulty in the course of a year or two in maintaining themselves and families without touching their pensions.⁷

Originally, a settlement plan encompassing very nearly all the reserves in Canada West, which included the reserves at

Penetanguishene, Amherstburg, Chatham, Pointe Pelee, River St. Clair, Niagara, Fort Erie, Hamilton, Toronto, and London, was contemplated.⁸ Other reserves which were listed as possible sites for the settlement of pensioners had included those at Bytown and Kingston.⁹ The locations of these reserves were soon cut back to more modest numbers.

The reserves which were to be required first for the settlement of pensioners were those at Amherstburg, including Bois Blanc, and Penetanguishene, from which the troops were ordered to be removed, and at Toronto.¹⁰ It was intended to settle 120 pensioners with their wives and families at Amherstburg, and 70 pensioners with their wives and families were to be located at Penetanguishene. The pensioners to be located at Toronto were to be selected from the men who were on the spot.¹¹ These reserves were to be settled early in 1851.

The next reserves required were to be those at London, Niagara, and Fort Erie, at which pensioners were probably to be settled in the course of the summer. The remainder of the reserves would be required by the spring of 1852.¹² As a temporary measure, until arrangements were completed for settling them, it was proposed only to locate a non-commissioned officer and two or three privates at each of these latter reserves to ward off squatters.¹³

Because of the 'experience obtained' by Captain Tulloch on his tour of 1849, he was selected to implement all the

arrangements for the settlement of the pensioners on the Ordnance and Naval Reserves, and for making their services available in local companies at the most important of the stations. His duties were to include the complete superintendence over both the officers and men belonging to the pension districts in Canada, the overall control of the expenditures which would be required for rendering the reserves available for the settlement of the pensioners, the regulation of the division of the reserves among the men, and the issue of such advances from pension as were necessary to enable the pensioners to settle on the reserves successfully. All correspondence pertinent to the pension districts to be formed in North America was to be carried on through Tulloch. The pay lists, however, were to be forwarded direct to the War Office.¹⁴

James Dundas Gregorie Tulloch was the son of John Tulloch, a captain in the British army, and his wife, the daughter of Thomas Gregorie of Perth. John Tulloch was descended from an ancient family residing at Newry which had suffered for its Jacobite principles. James' older brother was Major General Sir Alexander Murray Tulloch, at the time of James' appointment a lieutenant-colonel, and Superintendent of Pensioners in the United Kingdom.¹⁵ J. D. G. Tulloch's active career in the army was brief. He had entered the army, 22 August 1841, as a captain in the 84th Foot but was reduced to half-pay, 16 December 1844.¹⁶ Tulloch's duties after this

had included those of sub-division officer in Edinburgh, and acting-paymaster of a recruiting district, as well as staff adjutant.¹⁷

Tulloch was to enter into his new duties as Military Superintendent of Pensioners in Canada at the end of February 1851. While acting in this capacity, Captain Tulloch was to have the local rank of major in North America, effective 18 April 1851.¹⁸ He was to make his headquarters at Toronto, where he was expected to pay the pensioners there, and at its several out-stations. For these duties, Tulloch was to receive an allowance of £1.5.0 per day, in addition to his pay as staff officer of pensioners. After carrying the whole of the arrangements into effect, Tulloch was to be at liberty to return and resume his duties as Staff Officer of Pensioners of the Edinburgh District.¹⁹

Further arrangements were made with the Admiralty in 1851 for the sum of £2,000 being included in its estimates to cover any expense attending the transit of the pensioners to Canada. While the number of pensioners to be sent out initially was to be very limited, probably not exceeding 120 men, the uncertainty as to the numbers who might offer themselves as candidates had resulted in the War Office making provision for the maximum number. It was anticipated that not much more than half of the £2,000 would be required for that year.²⁰

A like amount in the Army estimates for the year was taken to cover the expense of bringing these men and their families from their homes to the ports of embarkation, forwarding them through Canada to their destinations, preparing the reserves, and also for the pay and allowances of the officers. With this expenditure, the War Office hoped not only to provide a sufficient force for the garrisons of Amherstburg and Penetanguishene, but also to be able to begin the formation of two battalions at London and Toronto. These latter two posts would rapidly be brought up to strength by the number of soldiers about to be discharged to pension in Canada in the course of the next year.²¹

The Treasury, which by virtue of its powers of disbursement had a general interest in each of the other departments' estimates and their application, was also solicited. After little or no discussion, Treasury approval of the scheme was granted when Charles Trevelyan of that department reported 25 March 1851,

that the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury have not seen reason to object to the provision for the Expenses of Conveyances & Location of Military Pensioners in Canada being included in the Parliamentary Estimates for Army & Navy Services²²

With this authorization, implementation of the plan was pushed forward, Ordnance and Commissariat officials being petitioned to make arrangements for the reception of the pensioners.²³

With arrangements in progress, a warrant for the enrolment of one thousand pensioners in Canada was authorized. It was not anticipated, however, that more than five hundred would be made available in the course of the first year, but that that number would rapidly increase to the authorized limit as more of the reserves were made available to settlement.²⁴

In making the selection of men for the first draft, the number of pensioners to be recommended was not to exceed two from each pension district. These pensioners, however, were not to be taken from the map without selection, for the earlier experience of the 1832 scheme had demonstrated that the military settlement experiment "could only successfully be tried, in the case of picked men, of known and tried steadiness of character, combined with physical activity and strength."²⁵ There was a further reason for ensuring a high standard; the men were to form a large part of the colony's ready defence force.

In fact, every care appears to have been taken to ensure the selection of individuals of high calibre. Candidates were to be men of good character, and sober industrious habits, their maximum age was not to exceed 45, and they were to be medically approved prior to being recommended.²⁶

So as not to create embarrassment by taking men who might not have the means of maintaining themselves and their

families after their arrival, financial conditions were also set; candidates were to have £15 capital to assist them in settling, and none were to be recommended whose pension was under 9d. a day. As a further condition, the number of their children was not to exceed three.²⁷

Eligible candidates who did not possess all the required amount of £15 were to have their cases considered.

Staff Officers of Pensioners, however, were notified that

should there be more Candidates in the District with the required [£15] than the two you are authorized to recommend, you may report the excess, with a view to their case being considered if the numbers are not completed in other Districts.²⁸

By enforcing these conditions it was hoped to obtain a class of candidates who had been in the habit of exercising prudence and economy. Also, the problems associated with the mass of applicants who would otherwise be brought forward by the prospect of a free passage to Canada was resolved.

Benjamin Hawes of the War Office, reporting later on the process noted:

In making a selection of the pensioners for this Service it has been usual to give preference to those whose families are best provided, and it affords good evidence that they have not gone to Canada as paupers, since they have taken with them an average of from 6 to 7 Cwt of Baggage each for themselves and families.²⁹

These pensioners were carefully chosen from among those engaged

in agricultural pursuits, or who had been well acquainted with Canada.³⁰ It was recommended that "a few of them should be mechanics, particularly, Carpenters, Masons, Blacksmiths, and Bricklayers. The remainder [might] be day laborers accustomed to agricultural pursuits."³¹

A major problem exhibited by earlier pensioner schemes had been the tendency to issue too much land and at too great a distance from markets. In order to obviate this difficulty, the pensioners would be settled near the towns on two to three acre plots, requiring little capital or extensive knowledge of farming operations. By limiting the size of their lots, it was hoped that their occupations would not withdraw them or their families too much from the labour market, or involve them in greater expenditure than their pensions would cover. The cultivation of these small allotments would, however, provide both a constructive pastime and the means for a comfortable subsistence.³²

It was to be distinctly understood, however, that the grant of land was to depend entirely on there being a sufficient quantity of Government-owned land available, and that the absence of it could not be used as a basis for compensation. All that was guaranteed to the pensioners was a free passage to Canada West, where provisions were cheap and employment was likely to be obtained.³³

Coupled with the £15 requirement, which would be repaid in full upon the pensioner's arrival at his destination, the Government proposed advancing him a six months advance of pension, to be applied under the direction of his officer, in providing him with a house, and in the purchase of stock, agricultural implements, seeds, and other requisites to bring sufficient land into cultivation for the subsistence of himself and family. No part of the amount was to be expended in the conveyance of himself or family to Canada West. All advances of pension were to be repaid, beginning six months from the date of the advance, by the stoppage of at least one third of the pension till the amount was made good. In the case of those who wished to support themselves by day labour, rather than by settling on land, no advance of pension was entitled.³⁴

Pay was to be issued to the pensioners from the date of leaving home till embarkation. Privates were to receive 1s. 3d. a day, corporals 1s. 6d. a day, and serjeants 1s. 10d. a day. No advance of pension was to be given to any candidate on leaving his District, beyond what was absolutely necessary for the outfit of himself and family. Conveyance for themselves and their families to the port from which they sailed was to be at public expense.³⁵

With each company of pensioners, a Staff Officer of Pensioners was to be sent out. These officers, in charge of the settlement and organization of the pensioners into local

companies, had long been accustomed to the management of pensioners, each having been employed in the organization of a similar force in the United Kingdom.³⁶

Each officer and his family, like the pensioners, were provided with a free passage. This included the expense of their conveyance and the carriage of their baggage, provided it did not exceed double the usual quantity for a Regimental Officer of the same rank, from his residence to the port of embarkation. If he required it, each officer would receive, prior to embarkation, an advance of two months pay and allowances to aid in provisioning himself and family during the voyage. To aid in their messing, the officer was to receive £5 for his wife, £3 for each child above 14 years of age, and £2 for each child under that age. The officer himself was to receive an allowance of 4 shillings a day on shipboard. Suitable cabin accommodation was to be provided for each officer and his family. Cabins were to be not less than 8 feet by 10 feet for the officer and his wife, and the same for every three children.³⁷

An opportunity similar to that offered to pensioners in the United Kingdom was extended to pensioners resident in the Canadas. Pensioners of good conduct who were unable to find employment at Montreal and Quebec, and their respective out-stations, were given notice of the opportunity to enlist in the force of enrolled pensioners to be raised for service

in Canada West. The whole number to be selected from these districts was to be limited, however, to sixty. If accepted, they were to be provided with a free passage for themselves and families to Amherstburg or Penetanguishene, with the privilege of settling there on the same conditions as those of the United Kingdom, except that pensioners then resident in Canada were not required to produce the £15, and could be taken up to the age of forty-eight. They, however, were to "still be sufficiently effective to do duty in a Local Company for a few days in each year."³⁸

Tulloch, in addition, was prepared to accept any good men about to be discharged to pension from regiments in Canada, who had acquired a sufficient knowledge of the country to be useful in assisting the others.³⁹ In subsequent years, additional numbers might be added from the number of soldiers annually discharged in the colony, the whole of whose military services would be lost if some system of organization of this kind was not attempted. As Tulloch noted: "The Canadian Rifles alone must soon discharge from 150 to 200 annually, their time of service being complete, and an equal number at least may be expected from other corps serving in the country."⁴⁰ Under a system such as now proposed by Tulloch, those discharged in the province would be encouraged to settle down in one of the districts with their former comrades, adding to the ranks of the enrolled pensioner force, and saving the cost of transport

home. It would also do away with the necessity of annually sending out men to fill vacancies created by death or infirmity.⁴¹

Beginning in July 1851, a systematic withdrawal of the regular garrison in Canada was commenced with the arrival of the first draft of pensioners. To facilitate this matter and to assist in the initial settlement of the pensioners, Major Fulloch was directed to proceed to the selected stations so that the withdrawal of the troops might be regulated according to the strength of the force to replace them.⁴² This appears to have been accomplished with only minor problems having been encountered.

As soon as the first difficulties of settlement were overcome, the system of payment and superintendence of the pensioners was to be assimilated to that which prevailed in the United Kingdom, thereby releasing the Commissariat Department of that duty.⁴³ These changes would hopefully facilitate a reduction in the number of persons employed by that department in Canada.

The enrolled pensioner force in Canada West showed creditable progress in its first year of operations. By the fall of 1851, approximately 500 pensioners had volunteered their services, 117 of whom had come from the United Kingdom.⁴⁴ Benjamin Hawes of the War Office reported shortly thereafter, in January 1852, that:

The number of Pensioners already organized and drilled in

Canada amount to about 350 men, and by the next summer the force will be nearly 600, so that the withdrawal of a Regiment will leave nearly as large an effective Force in the colony as before, besides causing a very considerable savings.⁴⁵

Grey and War Office officials, therefore, had every reason to be pleased with the scheme; savings in defence costs had been achieved, reductions in the regular garrison force were about to take place, and the pensioners were showing progress on the reserves.

This success was to be short-lived. Although the project of settling the pensioners on the reserves at Amherstburg and Penetanguishene proceeded well enough, problems had arisen at Toronto and the other planned pensioner settlements. It was discovered, only after plans had been finalized, that the Ordnance Reserve at Toronto had been granted to the city as a place of recreation.⁴⁶ Offers had also been submitted by other individuals and communities to lease or purchase some of the best parts of the other reserves.⁴⁷ Further, as a consequence of the detachment of the Royal Canadian Rifles having been relieved by the pensioners at Amherstburg, the strength at the headquarters of the corps at Niagara was greatly increased. Because of this, no barrack accommodation could be found for the pensioners to be formed there in 1852.⁴⁸ The whole scheme appeared headed for an administrative morass.⁴⁹

For the enrolled pensioner scheme to succeed in Canada West, it was crucial that the men and their families be settled on the Ordnance Reserves near the towns where their services were required. To achieve this end, organizers of the plan would have to work closely and in harmony with the Ordnance Department. This, unfortunately, failed to happen.

It should be remembered that the military reserves in Canada were the property of the Ordnance Department, an independent department of state within the Imperial Government. These lands were held by that department with a view towards works of defence deemed necessary for the security of the colony. Ordnance officials, however, had no desire to see their authority undermined by the activities of Tulloch. When officers of that department realized the scope of the pensioner scheme, they made their objections known, arguing most strenuously against giving over the reserves to the pensioners, and doing their best to delay the further implementation of the plan.

The reserve at Toronto, which was likely to have been the most valuable for the settlement of pensioners, was unavailable for settlement. Ordnance officials in Canada had leased a portion of the reserve to the corporation for a period of 999 years.⁵⁰ There were, however, ways around the problem. The corporation of Toronto had failed to make improvements to this property, and having failed to do so, the Ordnance was at

liberty to terminate the lease.⁵¹ Grey, as Colonial Secretary, therefore, gave notice to the Ordnance to resume this grant immediately in order that the land might be appropriated to the pensioners. As well, no part of the Ordnance Reserves or buildings at Niagara, Amherstburg, or Fort Erie were to be sold or leased.⁵² The Ordnance, a department junior to the Colonial Office, had to agree, but did so reluctantly.⁵³ However, the background of animosity was now in the process of being established, against which several critical decisions would be made, including one that would have a profound impact on the course of the scheme.

In the minds of the Ordnance authorities, any further application of the reserves as sites for pensioner settlements would only

perpetuate for an indefinite time the unprofitable and to the neighbouring Country unsightly and injurious condition of these Lands upon anticipation only of their future occupation by Pensioners, or in other words the Stewardship of the Ordnance would be at an end⁵⁴

The Treasury supported the Ordnance, complaining that they had not been informed of the true extent of the plan, and implying that the Colonial and War Offices had proceeded without Treasury approval.⁵⁵

It was suggested by these departments that instead of giving up the reserves to pensioner settlements, all those not immediately needed for defence works should be sold. Since

the Toronto reserve was particularly valuable, it should be sold at once. Thirty-four acres of this land, valued at £8,055, had already been appropriated by the Toronto and Lake Huron Railway Company. Having ascertained which lands might be profitably sold, the Ordnance would 'maturely' consider any proposal which Grey or the War Office might think proper to make with regard to the location of military pensioners on any portion of the remaining reserves.⁵⁶

Although parts of the Toronto reserve were undeniably of more value when used other than as pensioner settlements, it was noted that the pensioners "would be seriously discouraged if they found that they were only to have benefit of Grants where the ground was not sufficiently valuable to attract the wishes of others."⁵⁷ Many of the Canadian pensioners, Tulloch reported, had "made arrangements to give up their Farms in the Woods, for the purpose of living comfortably on the Reserves."⁵⁸ There was a very real fear that these men, being armed, might turn to violence if their claims were not met.⁵⁹

Toronto was a disappointment. As the largest of the proposed pensioner settlements, the controversy over the transfer of these lands had seriously affected the total scheme in a negative manner. As well, Tulloch and the War Office had become deeply sensitive to and irritated by what they considered unfair, unjustified criticisms about the scheme. There were more to come.

The Treasury, now fully alerted by the Ordnance lands question, launched an attack upon the enrolled pensioner scheme.⁶⁰ In November 1852, the Treasury's permanent secretary, Charles Trevelyan, wrote a scathing critique on the concept.⁶¹ Basing his attack on the experience of the commuted pensioners of the early 1830s, Trevelyan stated such men could never make effective settlers, let alone provide any kind of substantial defence force. In his view, the enrolled pensioner scheme in Canada was "certain to end in discreditable failure after the lapse of a few years."⁶²

In reply to Trevelyan's attack, Benjamin Hawes of the War Office issued a long memorandum, refuting every point, and listing the plan's many successes.⁶³ Unless the Treasury could suggest a substitute, Hawes did

not feel disposed to withdraw his support from a measure which tend[ed], at a very trifling expense, to secure the services of these old Soldiers, at a time when so economical an addition to the Military resources of the Colonies [was] so much to be desired.⁶⁴

Arrangements, as originally proposed by Earl Grey for the settlement of the Ordnance Reserves in Canada, should, therefore, be carried into effect without further delay, and the necessary instructions should be given to the Ordnance Department accordingly.⁶⁵

The land problem had created an impasse between the War Office on the one hand, and the Treasury and Ordnance on

the other. The Colonial Office was caught awkwardly in the middle. Grey's successors at the Colonial Office, first John Pakenham from February 1852 and then the Duke of Newcastle after December 1852, were not personally enthusiastic about the pensioner scheme. It was therefore left to the War Office to continue the battle alone.

Disregarding the administrative problems, the Imperial Government derived most of the expected benefits from the enrolled pensioners. In the space of little more than a year from the time of the pensioners' introduction in 1851, it was able to permanently withdraw the regular garrisons of Amherstburg and Penetanguishene, and by doing this, to reduce the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment from ten to six companies.⁶⁶ In addition to this, the effective strength of all ranks in Canada was reduced from 6,106 to 4,960 men, and eight minor stations were abandoned.⁶⁷

These reductions had resulted in the substitution of a Lieutenant-General for a Commander of the Forces in Canada, and the elimination of one Major-General, one Aide-de-camp, one Adjutant-General, one Assistant Adjutant-General, one Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, one Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, one Commandant, four Clerks, and their consequent costs.⁶⁸

With this diminution in the number of regular troops and their staff establishment, a more concentrated arrangement of the remaining force in the colony had taken place. The

Canadian Government, generally uninterested in military matters, accepted these reductions in force because they involved no additional charges on it. Although it would be difficult to state with any sort of authority that these reductions had been made possible chiefly because of the enrolled pensioners, the fact that Imperial defence expenditures were reduced, while Britain was still able to claim she was providing the colony with military protection must be noted.

In an effort to keep the military skills of the pensioners sharp, drills were held regularly. This duty was taken seriously by both the authorities and the pensioners. By the June 1853 drill, the enrolled pensioner force organized and armed in Canada West consisted of 641 men of an authorized establishment of 855. There were then, 119 men at Amherstburg, 62 at Penetanguishene, 71 at Niagara, 159 at London, and 230 men at Toronto, as well as the requisite staff officers.⁶⁹ War Office officials believed that "had the system now pursued been adopted ten or twelve years ago, the whole of Canada West might now have been independent of regular troops."⁷⁰

In the spring of 1854, an opportunity was presented to the Fort Garry pensioners to enroll in the pensioner force of Canada West. The settlement at Fort Garry had not been a success. Floods had destroyed much of the pensioners' agricultural work, and land problems, similar to those being encountered

in Canada West, had been experienced.⁷¹ Several of the men at Fort Garry had expressed a desire to leave that station, and because their services were not to be continued beyond the coming year, a number, not exceeding twenty, were to be permitted to proceed with their families to Canada at their own expense. Those stations to which the pensioners might be transferred were Amherstburg, Penetanguishene, London, Toronto, and Bytown.⁷²

This group of pensioners, as well as others who were to be enrolled at Bytown and Fort Erie in 1854,⁷³ would be seriously affected if the number of pensioner stations was limited, as was the wish of Ordnance and Treasury officials. In 1854, Provincial authorities in Canada were added to this group opposed to the further expansion of the enrolled pensioner scheme.

With the withdrawal of most of the regular troops from Canada West, the Provincial authorities had begun casting covetous eyes on the Ordnance lands. Encouraged by offers from the Imperial Government to give over the considerable areas of the Ordnance Reserves surrounding stations no longer occupied, on the general condition of the colony providing for the defences, the Canadian Government decided to undertake the small expenditure involved in the task of upkeep. When the terms of transfer were being discussed in the spring of 1854, pensioner lands were included in the general transfer agreement.

With the exception of the Ordnance Reserves at Quebec, Kingston, and Montreal, the lands and property of the Ordnance Department were to be transferred to the Province, subject to meeting the claims of the pensioners to these lands. While the pensioners at Amherstburg, Penetanguishene, and Fort Erie were 'not to be disturbed',⁷⁴ the reserves at Toronto, London, Bytown, and Niagara were to be taken over by the Province. As compensation for their claims to these latter reserves, the men there were to receive payments to consist of £4 annually from the date of their enrolment.⁷⁵

War Office and pensioner officials, weary of the long battle, had decided finally to accept monetary compensation in lieu of these lands. If the Canadians were slow in initiating this compensation, Lieutenant-Colonel Tulloch⁷⁶ was to begin payments, an estimate of £3,500 having been submitted to Parliament to cover the possibility.⁷⁷ However, this precaution was not necessary, the authorities in the province beginning payments almost immediately.⁷⁸ The payment of this life annuity was to continue in the event the services of the men of the enrolled force were dispensed with.⁷⁹ Tulloch felt this arrangement would "prove satisfactory to the Pensioners and highly advantageous to the Imperial as well as to the Canadian Government."⁸⁰

Interdepartmental disputes had effectively ended the settlement of pensioners in Canada West. Although the pensioners

had fulfilled their obligations and were ready to turn out for duty in case of civil or military emergencies, only those at Amherstburg, Penetanguishene, and Fort Erie received their promised lands. At Toronto, Niagara, London, and Bytown, although they were provided with free housing in barracks, the pensioners and their families remained landless because of opposition by the municipalities, the Ordnance, and the Treasury, to the whole project. Instead of locating the pensioners on small plots of ground, the Ordnance land which would have been devoted to this purpose was sold and formed a fund out of which annual payments were made to the men. Although the plan would remain in operation until 1858, the pensioner scheme was carried no further, no more pensioners were sent out, and the system was considered to be virtually abandoned.

CHAPTER III

THE PROVINCIAL USE OF THE ENROLLED PENSIONERS; CIVIL AND MILITARY

The chief aim in settling the enrolled pensioners on the Ordnance Reserves of Canada West had been the enrolment of that force of veterans as a substitute for the regular garrison forces of the colony. Despite the fact few of the pensioners actually received their grants, the Imperial Government realized the anticipated savings in defence costs through the substitution. Expensive regulars were removed from the colony, and in their place pensioners were enrolled, ready to be called out for duty in case of civil or military emergency. By supplying enrolled pensioners, Britain was still able to claim that she was providing Canada with some measure of defence. The enrolled pensioners, therefore, served as an important element in colonial defence plans.

Along with the Imperial use of the enrolled pensioners, this force of veterans also figured prominently in the schemes of the colony. During the time the British regulars were stationed in Canada, the local government had made use of them to help it with police work. With these soldiers of the line beginning to leave, it turned to the enrolled pensioners and made good use of them on numerous occasions.

In August of 1851, the Canadian Legislature entered into discussions to secure the services of the enrolled pensioners as a local police. As the pensioners had been sent out by the Imperial Government, the Province had the opportunity to avail itself of their services at little cost.

References were made during this discussion to prove that the force proposed was needed. It had proven impossible to depend upon the services of the local constabulary force. In fact, disturbances owed much of their success to the inefficiency of the prevailing machinery of public order, so that the result of every outbreak of disorder had been to immediately make demands upon the military to aid the civil power. With the withdrawal of the line regiments, this option would no longer be available. As Attorney General Baldwin stated so succinctly:

It was necessary to do more than put down a disturbance, it was necessary to show the riotously disposed that you are prepared to put down all future attempts at disturbance.¹

The Government felt the pensioners offered the cheapest and most effective means of realizing this end. However, when a bill to authorize the employment of 500 military pensioners as a local police was presented to the Legislative Assembly, it met an extremely vocal opposition which was against the raising and use of a force of this kind.

While the old question of the effectiveness and suitability of the pensioners as a class was raised, the opposition, in general, felt that the introduction of any organized police force would lead as a matter of course to the introduction of a standing army, and such a plan belonged to the Imperial Government, rather than the government of a dependency. In the view of this opposition, the pensioner bill was

deemed a most dangerous infringement of the position which Canada, as a colony should occupy towards the Imperial Government. It was the beginning of a system which would end in making the Province to bear the whole of the military expenses.²

Fear, accordingly, existed that once begun it would impose very heavy expenses and proportionate taxation upon the Province.

Reassurances that no such actions were contemplated or possible were made by the Government. It was not proposed to employ any pensioners as a permanent police force, but only to take advantage of them if required. While the expense of the force would be some £2,500 a year, the Province would be put to no expense in regard to it unless there was occasion to call for its service.³ William Lyon Mackenzie, however, detested the idea of a force of the kind. He had had some experience in mobbing, but would run the risk of it rather than set up a . . . force of this kind.⁴

If any force was needed, the organization of voluntary companies

of militia was preferred.

After a rather lengthy and heated debate, in which many of the recent riots were enumerated, the bill was passed by a 35 to 14 vote. The Act⁵ was to continue in force for five years from the passing, and from then to the end of the next session of parliament.

Under the terms of this act, Tulloch, as the officer in command of the enrolled pensioners in Canada, became, ex officio, a Justice of the Peace for every part of the province, while the staff officers were to serve as justices of the peace for the locality of their command. However, to ease the fears of those who felt these officers "without any Provincial control might shoot down the citizens at their own will",⁶ no such officer would have any power to act as a Justice of the Peace when called out or acting with pensioners in aid of the civil powers.⁷

The enlisted members of the pensioner force were to benefit materially from the act. As well as the two shillings per day they were to be paid when on actual duty, the enrolled pensioners were each to receive a free grant of fifty acres of public land after five years service, on condition of actual settlement. The pensioners were also entitled to all the privileges and exemptions of those of Her Majesty's Army on actual service or full pay after volunteering for this service.⁸

It should be noted, that while authorizing the enlistment of up to 500 of the enrolled pensioners as a local police

force, the act was of a rather limited nature. Limitations were placed on the pensioners' range of operations because of the Imperial terms of enrolment, under which the pensioners were not required to serve outside their district.⁹ With stations at Penetanguishene, Amherstburg, London, Niagara, and Toronto, much of the province was left without protection. This would later be corrected somewhat with the enrolling of a force in the Prescott-Bytown District by the Imperial authorities, but all of Canada East remained without the services of the pensioners.

Their services had also been made unavailable, except by their own consent, for less than four days at any one time, as a means of precluding unnecessary call-outs. While many disturbances did not warrant action of this duration, it had been proven that the mere appearance of an armed, disciplined body of men under orders had in many cases been in itself enough to overcome a crowd and cause it to disperse. This option, however, was not available to the Province.

Finally, it was noted specifically within the act that the service of the pensioners as a local police force was not to conflict with any duty when "required in any other capacity by the Imperial or Military Authorities".¹⁰ The pensioners remained first and foremost an Imperial force.

Having passed the act in August 1851, it was not until 13 August 1853 that the Governor-General issued his warrant in pursuance to the enrolment act to the mayors of Toronto,

London, and Niagara, as well as the wardens of the United Counties of Essex and Lambton, and the County of Simcoe,

authorizing them respectively in certain cases where the public peace may be endangered, to call out the whole or such parts of the Enrolled Military Pensioners as they may consider necessary, in aid of the Civil Powers.¹¹

Prior to this a number of requests had been issued for the services of the enrolled pensioners. Earlier in that summer Montreal had urgently requested the service of pensioners for riot control duty.¹² Pensioners were called to police the 'lawless men' engaged in the construction of the Grand Trunk Railway line in the vicinity of London.¹³ Toronto had asked for the pensioners to prevent public disturbances in July 1853.¹⁴ As a means of explanation for these numerous requests, Tulloch later reported:

It is supposed at home that the Pensioners take charge of the Barracks in their Districts and thus allow the Regular Troops of the Line to march to where their services may be required to put down Riots though in this Country it has generally been the reverse the Regular Troops have remained in barracks & left the Pensioners to do the duty of putting down Riots.¹⁵

In October of 1853, Tulloch answered yet another urgent request from Montreal and marched 200 pensioners there in short order. This action, one of the first in which pensioners took part, is deserving of a detailed description.

After discussion 12 September, an Order in Council

was approved 14 September 1853 for the raising of 200 pensioners under the provisions of the enrolment act. 'Immediate measures' were to

be adopted for the organization of a Police Force to be stationed there, [Montreal] at least during the Session of the Court and to consist of 200 Pensioners under the Command of some Officer of experience and energy appointed by and responsible to the Provincial Government.¹⁶

For this duty, B. C. A. Gagy and W. Ermatinger were appointed, respectively, as Inspector and Superintendent of Police for the Montreal District. Colonel Gagy was also to serve as Superintendent of the Pensioners for the district.¹⁷ Tulloch was requested to select two hundred of the most efficient pensioners from those who had enrolled themselves as a local police force, and to have them in readiness to proceed to Montreal at the approach of the next Criminal term. Provincial measures would be adopted for the conveyance to Montreal of the men and for their lodging in the city.¹⁸

Tulloch, however, had to inform the authorities 12 September that:

In Canada East no Pension Districts have yet been formed, consequently the Services of the Pensioners in Canada West can only be obtained by accepting of those who Volunteer to leave this for duty at Montreal.¹⁹

It should be remembered that as part of the terms of enrolment, the pensioners were not required to serve outside their district. Nevertheless, their services were obtained, and Tulloch, on 5

October, ordered 120 pensioners from Toronto, 20 from Niagara, and 60 from Amherstburg to proceed to Montreal. All arrived there by the required time.²⁰

After one month in the city, the pensioners were allowed to return to their homes, no serious disturbance having taken place. Reporting on the incident, Tulloch stated: "No serious disturbance, as anticipated, took place, which may be attributable to the judicious arrangements made to prevent it."²¹ He further noted that: "With very few exceptions I have had every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the men whilst employed here."²²

The government and officers involved also noted their satisfaction with the pensioners. R. Bruce, Secretary to the Governor-General, expressed the Governor's

approval of the orderly conduct of the Pensioners during their stay in Montreal, and of the highly efficient and creditable manner in which the Force has discharged the duties which have devolved upon them whilst employed for the first time as a Civil Police.²³

Colonel Gagy acknowledged Tulloch's "cordial and effectual co-operation".²⁴ With regard to the pensioners themselves, he stated:

I have formed a very high estimate of their efficiency as a Police Force. Uniformly temperate and orderly in their habits, supplying by zeal, intelligence and docility their want of Experience in the peculiar functions so newly assigned to them. They appear to be qualified for the

performance of the most difficult and delicate duties of Civil life; nor, should they continue to be so employed, can they fail to attain therein distinctions as marked as those which they have acquired by their Military Virtues.²⁵

The cost to the local government for the expenses connected with the employment of the pensioners on this occasion was reported by Tulloch to be upwards of £1,500.²⁶

Officials in Britain had been quick to note the savings to the British tax-payer. Benjamin Hawes of the War Office reported with satisfaction that

the numerous instances which have of late occurred of the employment of the Pensioners in aid of the Civil Power in Canada and elsewhere, and the satisfactory manner in that duty has been performed without expense to the Imperial Government, is sufficient to shew [sic] how useful that Force is and how its utility is becoming appreciated.²⁷

Hawes, accordingly, believed that the requisitions for the services of the pensioners would become more frequent, now that a large proportion of the troops had been withdrawn.²⁸ In fact, the enrolled pensioners had rendered such valuable service that Canada had asked the authorities in London for more of them.

At this juncture, however, the interdepartmental disputes which had arisen over the Ordnance Reserves effectively finished further expansion of the enrolled pensioner scheme. As previously related, Sir Charles Trevelyan, permanent under-secretary for the Treasury, had written a scathing critique in November 1852 on the whole concept and costs of the pensioner

settlements and the use of the pensioners as a defensive force. The Treasury's viewpoint on the present subject, therefore, was predictable. As the employment of this increased force was now required exclusively for Provincial purposes, the Treasury believed,

that the whole expense connected with this Body of Pensioners, including their Passage and other preliminary charges should be defrayed from local sources, and that there should be a clear understanding to that effect with the Provincial Government before any steps are taken for raising this increased Force.²⁹

As a result, the position ultimately taken was "that no more should be sent out, and that the system should be considered to be virtually abandoned."³⁰ Although no more pensioners were to be sent from the United Kingdom, it would appear that a number of troops reduced in the colony were enrolled to raise the companies to their proper establishment and to maintain that strength without the expense of sending pensioners.³¹

Despite the fact no further expansion of the enrolled pensioner scheme took place, the British Government continued with its reduction of the regular garrison of the province. With the withdrawal of the line regiments from Canada West, the garrison of the province consisted, with the enrolled pensioners (750), of a force of 4,110 bayonets. British officials felt, ". . . the amount of force . . . is larger than the prosperous and tranquil state of Canada demands . . ." ³² It was their

opinion that the charge of occupying any place for purposes unconnected with the defence of main fortresses and the preservation of important works, should be defrayed by the Provincial Government.³³

In fact, officials in Britain stated: "Our chief object in keeping any troops still among them is the organization of their local forces."³⁴ The Royal Canadian Rifles and the enrolled pensioners would serve, however, as useful occupation forces for the numerous petty outposts, which had been held by the regular troops at a large expenditure to the British Government and which for various reasons it was deemed inconvenient to abandon. This was seen, nevertheless, as "a fitting occasion for moving the Provincial Government to consider the expediency of reorganizing the Militia upon a basis of efficiency."³⁵

The Crimean War helped to bring about a further widening of colonial military responsibilities. The approach of the war, hostilities seeming probable for the better part of a year, had led Britain to accelerate the reduction of troops in Canada. It had been decided prior to the actual invasion to remove three more regiments of infantry and three companies of artillery. The war saw their immediate removal when an expeditionary force was sent to the Crimea, so that by the end of fiscal year 1854-55, there remained only 1,887 Imperial troops in the Canadas. In addition to the Royal Canadian Rifles at Kingston, with two companies detached to Montreal, the

remaining force then consisted only of one regiment of the line and two companies of artillery stationed at Quebec.³⁶

In these circumstances some substitute to the regulars was necessary, both as a military force and as a supporting body to the civil powers. As officials pointed out:

. . . it cannot be said that there is any recognized system of military defence now applicable to Canada. All that can be said is that there are several military posts which are more or less susceptible of being defended according to circumstances.³⁷

With the regular forces thus being withdrawn, the pensioners were directed to be employed on permanent duty, to occupy the military stations from which the troops had recently been withdrawn. Authority for such action was found in the Enrollment Act of 1843, which declared that whenever any of the regular forces were removed from any fort, town or garrison within the United Kingdom, it was lawful to direct that the pensioners be kept on duty and pay.³⁸ This had been extended to the colonies in 1847.³⁹ During a period of difficulty in the Australian colonies, two companies of pensioners, amounting to 140 men, had been raised and placed on permanent pay at the expense of the local government in Victoria.⁴⁰

Governor-General Edmund Walker Head later reported that he felt the employment of the pensioners on 'permanent duty' to be "consistent with the existing number of men and with the principle now governing the general arrangement of

H. M. Forces in this Province."⁴¹ In order to prevent any question arising in regard to the legal constitution of the force about to be raised in Canada, however, it was recommended by the War Office that a warrant be transmitted to Canada without delay, outlining the arrangements under which the pensioners had been placed on permanent duty at the expense of the colony.⁴² Though only 150 men were required, there was a probability of the force being extended ultimately to 200 men and therefore the proposed warrant included the latter number.⁴³ This warrant would, according to the terms of the Acts, have to be renewed every six months, but as the arrangement was likely to prove permanent, the Secretary at War proposed, before the warrant expired, to introduce an amended act which would obviate the necessity for such renewals.⁴⁴

In September 1854, 150 pensioners were placed on 'permanent military duty'. Tulloch had previously inspected those who had volunteered their services from among those stationed at Niagara, London, Toronto, Bytown, Amherstburg, and Penetanguishene. This inspection lead Tulloch to conclude that 200 good, steady men, whose ages would average 44 years, could be obtained for garrison duty. Tulloch, therefore, suggested

that 200 men, instead of 150, be employed, as by doing so a sufficient force will be raised to give a 'daily guard' for the protection of the Barracks and Military Store in Canada West and performing the Garrison Duties usually

required from Detachments at the stations 45 :

The Province, nevertheless, decided that 150 men would be sufficient. These men were distributed so that there were 54 at Toronto, 24 at Niagara, 35 at London, 25 at Bytown, and 12 at Prescott. The men at Prescott had been detached from the force at Bytown. No pensioners were placed on 'permanent duty' at Amherstburg or Penetanguishene at this time. 46

Tulloch was well pleased with the performance of his men. In a report dated 18 November 1854, he stated:

They are all men who from their years, strength and steady habits are well fitted to perform Garrison duty, and I have every reason to be satisfied with their good conduct since they entered Barracks. I may add that out of 150 on duty I have only one man reported sick. 47

Tulloch, anxious to know if the Lieutenant-General Commanding had any orders to give relative to the employment of these men, found, however, that the general had not yet been informed by the Provincial Government of any such force having been raised! This oversight was soon corrected. 48

Along with maintaining a guard at various of the vacated stations, the 'permanent duty' pensioners were "called on to perform a sort of Military duty in attendance on the Governor General, by affording Guards of Honor on the ordinary public occasions and by supplying the usual sentries &c &c." 49

With the withdrawal of the regular troops from Canada West and the pensioners taking the protection of the vacated

stations, Tulloch received the services of two subalterns from line regiments in Canada East. These subalterns, while employed with the pensioners, were issued, in addition to their daily pay, an allowance of five shillings a day from the Provincial Government. The subalterns were employed when and where staff officers of pensioners were not available. Tulloch in requesting the services of these subalterns noted the great frequency of the pensioners being called out and of the staff officers being detained for considerable time making payments at the out-stations.⁵⁰

The pensioners, themselves, were to provide their own supplies in the markets out of their pay of two shillings a day. However, in the event of some difficulty arising because of this, their officer was instructed to contract for what was required.⁵¹ This latter point did not prove necessary. Tulloch had earlier reported that "the pay of the Local Government is generally so liberal, that I will find sufficient volunteers for the duty."⁵² In fact, the inducements offered were such that upwards of forty pensioners had joined from England at their own expense and been found fit for enrolment.⁵³

The possibility of using the pensioners as recruiting agents for the army in the Crimea was proposed at this time. Tulloch felt he "could by means of the Pensioners in America raise a Battalion of Young Men for Service in Turkey."⁵⁴ By using pensioners, he felt the risk of desertion, which would

probably take place to a 'considerable extent' if soldiers were employed away from their regiments could be avoided, for pensioners, faced with the loss of pension and allotment of land, would be less likely to desert than the regular soldier. As well, the expense of employing recruiting parties would be avoided through the use of pensioners. This proposal does not appear, however, to have been acted upon.

Tulloch, in 1857, again advanced his proposal of using the pensioners as recruiting agents for the army. He offered the

opinion that if the Staff Officers of Pensioners in this country received the required instructions to recruit in Canada for the different Regiments of the Line, a number of eligible recruits could be obtained from amongst the Sons of the Pensioners, as also from Emmigrants and men who have already served in the Army.⁵⁵

He suggested granting a reward of £2, a sum felt to be sufficient inducement without any other pay, to the pensioner for each recruit found fit and embarked for England. The different staff officers would draw from the Commissariat the money required for the recruiting, attaching an account to the quarterly pension payments sent to him to be audited. Tulloch considered "a Canadian Regiment of a superior Class of Recruits could be obtained"⁵⁶ in this manner. Along with his job of Superintendent of Pensioners in Canada, Tulloch envisioned himself as Acting Inspecting Field Officer, if approval was granted to his

scheme of encouraging recruitment in Canada.⁵⁷ Again, however, Tulloch's proposal would appear to have been rejected.

When, in 1856, hostilities appeared possible with the United States because of earlier British attempts at obtaining recruits in that country for the Crimea, the Province was fortunate to have the military services of the enrolled pensioners. To bolster the defence of the Western District at this time, a small force of pensioners was placed on 'permanent duty' at Fort Malden. Later, small groups of pensioners were despatched to Sault Ste. Marie and Isle-aux-Noix.⁵⁸ The 'permanent duty' pensioners, as the only ready means of defence west of Kingston, were Canada West's first line of defence against sudden attack.

With nearly all the regular troops removed from the province, Colonel de Rottenburg, Adjutant General of Militia, had reported in January 1856, "that there can be no question regarding the importance of the Pensioner Force generally as a valuable auxiliary to the defence of the Province."⁵⁹ He felt, "800 trained soldiers, armed and accoutred as these Pensioners are must be valuable in Province with a frontier little short of 1200 miles in extent."⁶⁰ While it would appear very doubtful whether the presence of these men would be equivalent to that of a regular military force, they would have provided effectual aid in an emergency. The British garrison had been kept in Canada as much to encourage the loyal and rally the waverers as for

military objectives. A minority of disciplined soldiers, such as the pensioners, would have provided a vital stiffening to an otherwise unstable volunteer force.

Responsible for guarding the posts from sudden attack, the 'permanent duty' pensioners' actual duties probably more closely resembled those of custodians. The pensioners, however, "would in some measure, have supplied the want of regular troops"⁶¹ until Canada was able to provide her own defence.

By 1856, the annuities to the pensioners as compensation for their land, as well as the pay of the 'permanent duty' force, were becoming a very considerable charge upon the revenues of the Province. In its aggregate form these charges amounted to a sum approaching £20,000.⁶² Against this it was anticipated that the Ordnance lands would be set off.⁶³ Their speedy transfer consequently became a matter of much importance to the Province.

It was not, however, until June 1856 that the completion of the transfer of the Ordnance Reserves was achieved. With the exception of those lands already related, nearly all the lands and buildings at the stations which had been held by the Imperial troops were handed over to the Province. Situated in forty-three different localities, the total area of these transferred lands was in the neighbourhood of 60,000 acres.⁶⁴ Despite efforts by Tulloch to the contrary, it was specifically noted by the provincial authorities that the retention of the

'permanent duty' force formed no part of the consideration for the surrender of the reserves.⁶⁵

One of the early consequences of the Canadian acceptance of these lands had been the appointment of a commission, consisting of Sir Allan McNab, Colonel Tache, Colonel de Rottenburg, and Major Campbell, in October 1854, to investigate and report upon the best means of reorganizing the Militia of Canada into an efficient and economical system of public defence and to report upon an improved system of police.

Submitting its report in February 1855, the commission suggested comprehensive plans for the development of the local forces of Canada. Retaining and improving the old Sedentary Militia with its basis of universal compulsory service, the commission urged the formation of a new and separate force of approximately 4,000 Volunteers; a small, partially-trained force, immediately available, capable of dealing with sudden minor emergencies.⁶⁶ In this way a comparatively large force might be kept up for a cost approximating that of the 150 pensioners. A bill embodying the report's recommendations was passed in that year.⁶⁷

The commission's report had been critical of the pensioners. Although certain of the Canadian presses questioned the need or desirability of retaining the pensioners' services, many of whom they felt had "already passed, for the most part, the period allotted to human life",⁶⁸ real physical strength was

not the issue. Unable to avoid making appropriations for defence, the colony preferred to expend them, not on the 'temporary rent' of pensioners, who were subject to the orders of the Imperial Government and its officers in Canada, but rather on organizing local forces over which its control would be complete. With the organization of a Canadian volunteer force, the commissioners saw no necessity for the continuance of the pensioner force in Canada. They, therefore, recommended that once the volunteer force was established and in operation, the 'permanent duty' pensioner force no longer be kept up by the Provincial Government.⁶⁹ At that time de Rottenburg felt, "A portion of the Pensioner force may perhaps be hereafter advantageously employed as Police."⁷⁰

The pensioner force was, nevertheless, considered essential for the occupation of posts for which there were no regular troops available and at which the volunteer force was not yet sufficiently advanced in drill or had not received arms to render their services efficient. To meet this duty, expenses totalling £8,000 were budgeted by the Legislative Assembly for the services of 150 of the enrolled pensioners on permanent duty in Canada West for 1856. Compensation to pensioners in lieu of land totalled £2,433.6.8 for the year.⁷¹

By comparison, militia appropriations in 1856 amounted to £25,145, of which £10,000 was for the purchase of arms and ammunition.⁷² The regular military establishment in the Province of Canada

cost the mother country £280,312, in that same year.⁷³

Although the pensioners were to serve only in the interim, until the organization of the Canadian Volunteer Force was completed, they were to have a continuing military role in the training of the new force. The commission had recommended that an allowance of 7s. 6d. a day be granted to the pensioner or other competent person appointed to drill the troops or companies of the Volunteer Militia.⁷⁴ Others, however, did play more active roles, holding commissions in the militia.⁷⁵

Despite the commission's recommendations, Tulloch continued, as late as October 1857, to press that if it was desirable to form a Battalion of six Companies of 80 Men, each, at the present rate of pay under the Act 16 & 17 Vict. Cap. 95, [sic] there would be no difficulty in doing so from the Pensioner Force in this Country.⁷⁶

By this time though, the conditions which had necessitated the use of pensioners had passed. The war in the Crimea had ended and it had been decided to dispatch five infantry regiments and a reinforcement of artillery to Canada. Also, the organization of the new Canadian Volunteer Force was showing creditable progress.⁷⁷

Many of the pensioners first enrolled had by now attained the age at which it was no longer usual to employ them under arms. Numerous casualties had now also occurred. While these vacancies might have been filled by other pensioners drawn

either from the United Kingdom or by volunteers from among those in Canada, the Canadian Government had declined offering to them the same annuity of four pounds or allotment of land on one of the reserves as had been granted to the original force, wishing rather to take advantage of the savings effected by the vacancies.⁷⁸

Therefore, after 1 April 1857, no vacancies arising from death or permanent disability were to be filled in the enrolled force. As an Imperial force, the enrolled pensioner force was to be allowed to decrease gradually until it became inefficient in the respective ranks at which time authority would be given from the War Office for its disbandment. It was to be optional on the part of the local government to keep up the body of pensioners on permanent pay, but so long as these pensioners were kept up, all expenses attending their employment would have to be defrayed by the Province.⁷⁹ Notice was given at this time that should any of the staff officers of pensioners have time to spare from their duties, no objections would be made to their rendering any assistance in the command or payment of the 'permanent duty' pensioner force, but, as the force was now to be entirely for local purposes, no extra charge against the Imperial Government was to be admitted.⁸⁰

In the plan's final year, the Legislative Assembly voted \$17,600 in pay for the services of the enrolled pensioners on permanent duty for 1858. Compensation in lieu of land, which

would continue despite the termination of their services, totalled \$8,000 for the year.⁸¹

The 'permanent duty' pensioners, while serving as an interim force, had been used by some members of the legislature as a point to keep militia appropriations down. Jacques Olivier Foley stated that while Canada "still had to pay for 'enrolled pensioners' . . . we surely did not require an addition to the militia."⁸² The member from Waterloo North, M. H. Bureau, had been "disposed to affect as many reductions as possible . . . [while forced] . . . to maintain lazy pensioners on the state."⁸³

However, with the militia now considered sufficient for the defence of the country, Attorney General John A. Macdonald was able to report that the services of the 'permanent duty' pensioners as a provincial force had ceased 30 June 1858.⁸⁴ The Royal Warrant by which the pensioners on permanent pay had been kept up was allowed to lapse.⁸⁵ Henceforward the pensioners would not be chargeable to Canada.⁸⁶

The warrant which had authorized the enrolment of up to one thousand pensioners in Canada in aid of the civil and military powers was also cancelled.⁸⁷ Tulloch reported that he had, on 7 October 1858, "disbanded the Enrolled Pension Companies as an Imperial Force"⁸⁸ At that time, Tulloch proposed that a 'Discharge Certificate' should be given to each of the men to show that they were no longer liable to any military duty.⁸⁹ While they would no longer be enrolled as an Imperial

force in Canada, their pensions, of course, would still be paid by the Imperial authorities.

One of Tulloch's last duties as Superintendent of Pensioners in Canada was the completion of "a satisfactory agreement between the Imperial & Provincial governments, as to the lands claimed in Canada by the Pensioners for their services."⁹⁰ In those instances in which the pensioners received the promised allotment of land on the Ordnance Reserves, Tulloch was authorized to issue titles on the pensioners' discharge.⁹¹ Tulloch later reported that following the reduction of the 'permanent duty' force, the provincial authorities held out inducements to the pensioners to settle at Sault Ste. Marie, this presumably being the location in which the fifty acre free grants, as allowed by the enrolment act, were given.⁹² Attorney General Macdonald had reported on the termination of the Provincial service of the pensioners that many were going to settle at Sault Ste. Marie.⁹³

The formation of the 'permanent duty' pensioner force marked in many respects a turning point in the history of Canadian military organization. Reflected in the increased expenditure of the force was an assumption by Canada of larger military obligations, and a notable advance towards genuine self-defence. While costs remained only about one-fifth that of a single regular battalion,⁹⁴ the 'permanent duty' pensioners represented an important new departure for the Canadian provinces.

Their role, as catalyst in the formation of the Canadian Volunteer Force, has until this time been overlooked. As well, the Imperial Government had benefited from the plan for through the Provincial use of pensioners, the senior government had been able to withdraw the regular garrison from Canada West during the Crimean War without abandoning its obligation to provide the colony with military security. Admittedly, the pensioners' efficiency could not be expected to be high, but the force was capable of at least some degree of independent action. The idea, though, of having any kind of local trained force in Canada was almost entirely new.

CHAPTER IV
AMHERSTBURG AND THE COMING
OF THE ENROLLED PENSIONERS

One of the military stations initially selected to be turned over to the enrolled pensioners was Fort Malden and its reserves at Amherstburg and Bois Blanc Island. At this point we shall focus on the enrolled pensioner scheme as it applied to the post at Amherstburg. While the plan was in operation at many of the stations in Canada West and throughout the British Empire, the post at Amherstburg has been selected because it appears to have fulfilled the objectives and expectations most completely of those who organized and supported the enrolled pensioner scheme. Although the pensioners and the scheme at Amherstburg had problems, those problems were largely overcome. The plan at Amherstburg, therefore, appears as an example of the scheme which worked as intended.

Amherstburg and the military post established there in 1796 had grown out of the loss of the American colonies. Serving as a replacement for Fort Lernoult at Detroit, which then lay within United States territory, the site for the fort was selected because of its strategic position commanding the

entrance to the Detroit River. In its early years, Amherstburg had three major responsibilities; as a military base, as a branch of the Indian Department, and as a navy yard for the Upper Great Lakes.

The new British fort, which for several years was simply called the military post at Amherstburg or Fort Amherstburg, was a square shaped complex consisting of four small earthen bastions faced with framed timber and plank at the corners connected with a line of picketting. Troops were lodged within the fort in a large block house that contained quarters for about three officers and 80 men. There were also two small detached block houses occupied as officer's quarters.¹ By 1804, the post contained eleven buildings, most of logs and timber, and in addition a number of buildings, both military and civil, had been built outside the fort.²

The town plan of Amherstburg occupied the southern section of the military reserve. Peopled by merchants and craftsmen from Detroit, as well as disbanded soldiers, Amherstburg quickly mushroomed into the leading town on the Canadian side of the river, a position it held for more than half a century.

The navy yard, situated between the fort and town, provided the Provincial Marine and Royal Navy with a valuable port for ship building and repairs. The yard also served as a depot for supplying the British posts on the Upper Great Lakes.

As a headquarters for the British Indian Department, Amherstburg and the fort served the purpose of maintaining the allegiance of the Indian tribes of the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes regions of the northwest. Indeed, the Americans believed that the whole of the Indians on the frontier had been completely armed and equipped out of the King's stores at Amherstburg.³

During the War of 1812, the area was a major theatre of action. Although the fortifications were in a wretched state of decay and considered indefensible, the post served as headquarters for the Right Division of the British Army. Dependent upon naval supremacy of Lake Erie, the fort was burned by the retreating British in September 1813, after their defeat at the Battle of Lake Erie. The site was then occupied by a small American force until July 1815.

Upon re-occupying the site, the British reconstructed a smaller fort on the ruins of the first. The fort at Amherstburg was to be only a minor military site within the scope of defence plans. With a small garrison to keep watch over the frontier and protect the Indian presents and military stores lodged at Amherstburg, the fort was calculated more "to delay and impede an Enemy, and to encourage and protect a British feeling, in a rising District, than to prevent its conquest" In the event of attack, Amherstburg could be taken by a swift foray from the United States.

In 1817, the area about Amherstburg and Fort Malden, as it was now more commonly known, contained 108 inhabited houses with 675 residents. Two windmills were reported in operation in the settlement.⁵

Several accounts and descriptions provide a view of the area during the 1820s. William McCormick wrote in 1824:

The town of Amherstburg is a thriving place - It is situate at the Mouth of the Detroit River in the Co'y of Essex and has a very handsome appearance on Entering the Mouth of the River - The Garrison of the same name Commands the principal Ship Chanel [sic] . . . There is . . . a Church of England Church & Clergyman also a Catholic Church & Clergyman . . . Amherstburg contains a number of Good houses and many of the Inhabitants are highly Respectable.⁶

He further noted: "The Port of Amherstburgh is . . . one of the safest as well as most commodious Harbours in North America."⁷

Less kind, Thomas L. McKenny, a member of the American Indian Department, offered the following observations of the fort as he sailed past Amherstburg in 1826.

. . . at Amherstburg a sentinel was on guard; but the appearance of the place would very naturally lead to the inquiry, what is he guarding? There appeared to be little there that anybody would be at much pains to take away.⁸

In British defence schemes of the 1820s and early 1830s, Fort Malden and Amherstburg were seen as merely a supply depot to be guarded by a small detachment of British regulars. Yet whatever the deficiencies of its local contingent, this

supply function became an integral part of the activities of the post and the town.

The transport and supply policies of the Commissariat Department of the British Army, dependent upon civilian contractors, gave encouragement to the rise of mercantile and shipping groups in Amherstburg. Individuals, such as Angus Mackintosh, William and Charles Berczy, Daniel Pastorous, John Watson, Daniel Fisher, and John Hackett, were engaged in either the shipping or purchase of military supplies in the Amherstburg district. Through these policies and men, Amherstburg became an important point of transshipment for the upper lakes.⁹

The garrison at Fort Malden also gave rise to what might be called 'industrial' contractors in Amherstburg; the bakers, brewers, innkeepers, storekeepers, and the home-owners who provided quarters. Officers and men alike had to be fed and maintained, providing a source of ready money to local merchants in an economy not long removed from the pioneer stages. And while the other ranks may have been most popular with the Amherstburg tavernkeepers, the officers provided a welcome addition to what society there was.¹⁰

In addition, the Army subsidized professional men. Since no Army medical officers were assigned to frontier stations, a local physician was assigned. Similarly, the local Anglican and Roman Catholic clerics were called upon to provide

spiritual services for the garrison.¹¹

With these influences and stimulants, Amherstburg grew. In 1832 the town and fort were described as having nearly 200 houses, a church, court house and gaol, many good shops and a population exceeding 1,200 souls; the works have been partly restored and a military detachment is kept in garrison there, a subdivision of which is stationed on Isle au Bois Blanc.¹²

During the early 1830s, the military significance of Fort Malden received close scrutiny. In 1835, under increasing economic restraints, it was announced that the regular forces were to be withdrawn from Fort Malden. The advantages to the town when the British regulars were stationed there had not completely escaped the notice of certain of the more astute inhabitants, who petitioned against the withdrawal, asserting that the troops were necessary to support the civil authority.¹³ The Commissariat also questioned the wisdom of withdrawing the troops from Amherstburg, where it was pointed out, "a large quantity of Presents are annually delivered to the Indians by Government the value and safe keeping of which is of consideration."¹⁴ Further, Anna Jameson, the wife of the first vice-chancellor of Upper Canada, Robert Sympson Jameson, had little good to say of the reduction proposal at Amherstburg, having called there during her extensive journey through Upper Canada. Writing in scathing terms of the weakness of the British garrison there, she said;

Amherstburg . . . There is a wretched little useless fort, commanding, or rather not commanding, the entrance to the Detroit river on our side, and memorable in the history of the last American war as Fort Malden. There are a few idle soldiers, detached from the garrison at Toronto; and it is said that even these will be removed. In case of an attack or sudden outbreak, all this exposed and important line of shore is absolutely without defence.¹⁵

Despite these comments and protests, the troops were removed from Fort Malden in 1836. Thus, on the eve of the rebellions, the fort stood alone and abandoned.

The border troubles of 1837-38 showed the vulnerability of this outpost, forcing British military authorities to reassess their defensive strategy. A report of the works at Fort Malden at that time showed them

in such a ruinous condition as to afford little or no protection to Troops drawn up within it . . . the curtain of this work towards the river has been entirely levelled, and its place is now occupied by a pile of wood affording a temporary cover.¹⁶

The only pieces of artillery at Amherstburg were three captured iron guns which the American Army had previously condemned as unserviceable.¹⁷ Fort Malden was strengthened, therefore, to deal with the raids and to prepare for possible renewed conflict with the United States. During the period of 1838 to 1840, Fort Malden was substantially rebuilt and garrisoned to meet the potential threat. As well, the idea of improved fortifications for Amherstburg was planned. Proposals developed in

1840 called for the construction of a casemated tower within a pentagonal stone fortification, to be located north of the present fort, and the construction of two Wellington towers, each armed with a traversing 24 pr., on Bois Blanc Island.¹⁸

A number of descriptions of Amherstburg and the fort during the 1840s exist. Sir Richard Bonnycastle wrote:

. . . Amherstburg, otherwise called Malden, a small town of two parallel streets and divergences, famous for a miserable fort, for Negroes, Indians, fine straw hats, wild turkeys, rattlesnakes, and loyalty.¹⁹

William H. Smith provided a more objective view of the town.

It has a very old-fashioned look about it, most of the houses being built in the old French style. The streets are narrow, and the side-walks mostly paved with stones.

. . . A military reserve, just above the town containing one hundred and thirty acres, is a great convenience to the inhabitants, being all cleared, perfectly level, and forming a fine open common for exercise and recreation. Malden Fort is situated on the reserve; it is capable of holding a regiment, and is garrisoned by three companies of Rifles.²⁰

The increase of activity of the early 1840s was, however, short lived. With the political situation stabilized, the prospect of armed conflict along the Detroit River was minimized, and the justification for the extensive and expensive military works planned for Amherstburg no longer existed. As a result, the elaborate plans prepared during 1840 were quietly

shelved. By the end of the decade, the military authorities did not place a high value on the defensive capabilities of Fort Malden. Nor was Fort Malden worthy of high regard. Though minor repairs and alterations were periodically performed, the fort, both buildings and earthworks, gradually deteriorated. Sir B. D'Urban, Commander of the Forces in Canada, was inclined even, ". . . to raze the Fort, withdraw the Stores . . . and take away the troops altogether."²¹ By this time also, Amherstburg was steadily losing ground in its contest with the Detroit-Windsor area. The selection of Windsor as the terminus of the Great Western Railroad was the final decisive blow to Amherstburg.

Although the proposal, to level the fort and permanently remove the defence force, seemed, on the whole, too drastic, plans were under consideration for replacing the regulars, at Fort Malden and several other posts in Canada, with military pensioners. Captain J. D. G. Tulloch was sent by the War Office to investigate the feasibility of implementing the enrolled pensioner scheme in Canada.

At Amherstburg, Tulloch found 53 pensioners, about one-half of whom were judged fit for local company duty. Of these, however, only about eighteen resided in Amherstburg or within three miles of it.²² Also enumerated at this time were the pensioners' families. Including its out-station at Chatham, there were 38 wives and 172 children of pensioners reported in

the Amherstburg district.²³

Those pensioners already resident in and about Amherstburg did not give themselves much trouble in looking for work, most being able to live on their pensions without labour, although a diversity of occupations were found; some grew a little tobacco, others manufactured sugar from maple, while some engaged in fishing occasionally. Most of them had gardens in which they grew vegetables.²⁴ Reporting generally, Tulloch noted that although the pensioners

did not find much employment for themselves, their children were easily provided for, and soon became a benefit to them, being readily taken as apprentices at an early age by the tradesmen of the town, who either provide them with food and clothing, or make an allowance for their support, which assists the housekeeping of the family.²⁵

Tulloch reported that there were two military reserves at Amherstburg which might be made available for the settlement of pensioners; the one close to the town extended over 300 acres, the other on Bois Blanc Island contained about 200 acres.²⁶ The whole of these reserves were cleared of wood, and on the island several gardens had been formed by men of the detachment stationed at Amherstburg. The soil was excellent and yielded abundant returns with little expenditure either of labour or capital.²⁷

Also noted were various economic and climatic advantages enjoyed by the Amherstburg pensioners. In 1849, bread

cost only 3d. the four pound loaf. The price of good meat was 1½d. per pound, however, pork could be obtained much cheaper; little more than one halfpenny per pound. Beef was selling at 12s. 6d. a hundred weight, and good milk cows at £2.10.0 each, in the area. As well, the climate of the Amherstburg district was noted by Tulloch as a distinct material advantage. The comparatively short duration of the winter not only allowed the pensioner more time to turn his labour to account, but he was put to less expense in providing firewood for himself, and fodder for his cattle, both of which were very expensive items in many parts of Canada. The reserves at Amherstburg were, therefore, admirably suited for the settlement of pensioners.²⁸

As we have seen, Colonial and War Office officials at once accepted Tulloch's plan for settling the military reserves. Placing that officer in charge, the plan was put into action in the spring of 1851. The reserves of Amherstburg and Bois Blanc Island were selected as the sites of the first settlements because the Ordnance land there was unencumbered and readily available for settling the pensioners. In addition to the pensioners already residing in and about Amherstburg, it was planned to send out a sufficient number of pensioners and their families from the United Kingdom so that a local company of approximately 120 men might be formed at Fort Malden. It was hoped to have the reserves there ready for settlement by the end of May, so that the pensioners could begin

agricultural operations immediately on their arrival.²⁹

At Amherstburg, the whole of the reserve lying to the east of the Sandwich Road, as well as a large portion of the Island of Bois Blanc, were to be appropriated for the settlement of the pensioners, possession of the reserves being transferred to Major Tulloch on his arrival in Canada in the spring of 1851. With regard to the actual distribution of the reserves, it was not felt to be practicable to mark out the specific allotments for each pensioner until his arrival there, as the quantity of land to be given would in some measure depend upon its quality.³⁰ As well, Ordnance regulations required that military control be kept over all ground within 600 yards of the fort.³¹ It was requested, therefore, that the space desired for the purpose of settlement be traced out on a plan.³² This, accordingly, was done, Tulloch submitting an arrangement of ninety, 2 acre lots for approval, 20 June 1851.³³

Tulloch was instructed further to see that no construction was to take place within 300 yards of the fort, except the necessary fences, and that this portion of the ground was applied only to agricultural purposes.³⁴ Limited construction was to be allowed between 300 and 600 yards of the fort. In order to prevent the pensioners' cottages from being erected in positions where they were likely to interfere with the defences, proposed buildings in that area were to be sufficiently described to the Commander, Royal Engineers, and his assent obtained, before

they were constructed.³⁵ Any cottages built within the 300 to 600 yard range were to be "unobjectionable in their site and unobnoxious from their elevation or materials to the Defences of the Positions."³⁶ That part of the reserve lying west of the Sandwich Road to the water's edge was to be retained by the Ordnance, as some minor portions of it were under lease, though there was no objection to allowing the pensioners the use of its pasturage. All of Bois Blanc Island, with the exceptions of the part appropriated to the lighthouse keeper and that leased to James Cousins, was to be made available for the settlement of the pensioners and their families.³⁷ Final approval to Tulloch's plan was obtained from the Commanding Royal Engineer, 25 June 1851.³⁸

Further arrangements were made with the Ordnance Department for the accommodation of the pensioners at Amherstburg. This included preparing the barracks to receive the men and their families until their cottages were ready.³⁹ Some steps had also been taken during the fall of 1850, in anticipation of locating pensioners at Amherstburg. It was usual, with the withdrawal of military detachments, that Ordnance supplies at the vacated posts be disposed of, either by sale or removal to the nearest Ordnance Stores. It was noted by Tulloch, however, that the ultimate location of the pensioners on the reserves would be greatly facilitated if these supplies, more particularly the bedding, stoves, barrack furniture, and other Ordnance

supplies, could be retained for the use of the pensioners.

In that Climate the Stoves, blankets and bedding are absolutely indispensable for a body of settlers, and as the population . . . is very limited it is not likely, if disposed of in any other way that these Stores would realize scarcely as much as the Pensioners would gladly pay for them, if they could not be given as a free grant.⁴⁰

A further reason for retaining these goods was seen. The packing and carriage of these Ordnance supplies to the nearest Ordnance Stores at Kingston, a distance of nearly 400 miles, would probably cost as much as they were worth.⁴¹ Orders were given, therefore, by the Master General and Board of Ordnance, in September of 1850, that barrack furniture and stoves be retained at Amherstburg for the use of the pensioners.⁴² The bedding also appears to have been retained at Amherstburg for the pensioners' use.⁴³

Selected to lead the detachment at Amherstburg was Lieutenant Robert Naylor Rogers. Entering the army as a lieutenant, 14 June 1815, Rogers' active military career continued until 12 November 1836, at which time he was placed on half pay.⁴⁴ Prior to his taking command of the pensioners at Amherstburg, Lieutenant Rogers was Staff Officer of Pensioners in the Kilkenny District, Ireland.⁴⁵ As Staff Officer of Pensioners at Amherstburg, Rogers was to have the local rank of captain, effective 18 April 1851.⁴⁶

To aid in the superintendence of the pensioners, Rogers

was entitled to the assistance of a Staff Serjeant, on whom would devolve the charge of the arms, clothing, and accoutrements of the enrolled pensioners.⁴⁷ Selected for this duty was Joseph McKibbin Taylor. Taylor, who was born at Ballycastle, County Antrim, Ireland, 7 April 1802, had been Staff Serjeant and Serjeant Major of the enrolled pensioners of the Tralee District, from its formation in 1843 to 31 March 1848. He would hold similar positions at Amherstburg until 31 December 1858.⁴⁸

The first detachment of enrolled pensioners was sent from the United Kingdom aboard the ship Hope.⁴⁹ From newspapers and the account book of Serjeant Major Taylor, it is possible to trace the route the enrolled pensioners took to Amherstburg. The Hope left London on 23 April 1851,⁵⁰ with some 32 pensioners and their families gathered from points in Great Britain. About the ninth of May, the ship sailed from Cork with an additional 36 men and their families from Ireland aboard. Nearly all the districts in Ireland were represented by these men, gathered from many of the line regiments, Royal Artillery, Royal Marines, and East India Company.⁵¹

Although strict physical and financial guidelines were set in selecting the men; some of these were, in fact, either relaxed or ignored. For example, Serjeant Major Taylor and his wife had five living children at the time and another was born two months after their arrival at Amherstburg. Taylor

was also four years over the prescribed age limit. An examination of the Amherstburg returns reveals that the serjeant major was not the only exception.⁵²

A typical pensioner of this first draft was Corporal William Caur, late of the 86th Foot, from the Armagh District, Ireland. Corporal Caur was advanced £1.7.0 by his Staff Officer, Major Farmer, to convey himself, wife, and two daughters to Dublin. Of this money, three shillings was marching pay, the remainder being made up of travelling expenses; six shillings for conveyance by omnibus from Armagh to Castleblanc, and eighteen shillings for railway fare from Castleblanc to Dublin, one of the points of assembly. At Dublin, Caur and his family were joined by others, so that in total seven pensioners and their families left Dublin by train bound for Cork. They were, Serjeant William Henderson, late of the 89th, Private James Taylor, late of the 90th, Private John Morgan, formerly of the East India Company, Private David Williams, late of the 73rd, Private Charles Devlin, late of the 1st Foot, Gunner Bernard Mullen, late of the Royal Artillery, and Corporal Caur. Major Crompton of the Dublin District advanced the group £17.11.3 for railway fares. From Cork they were to receive a free passage with rations for themselves and families to Amherstburg.⁵³

There had been put on board the Hope for the use of the pensioners, 136 lbs of Cavendish tobacco, 136 lbs of marine soap, and 136 lbs of yellow soap. The men were to be issued

two pounds of each. A quantity of great coats had also been placed on board for the pensioners' use.⁵⁴ Joseph Taylor reported the rations were of 'the best description'.⁵⁵

After a lapse of four months from leaving home, the pensioners arrived at Amherstburg.⁵⁶ From an allowance paid to Serjeant Stewart, as Serjeant Major on board the Hope, we can surmise that the ship reached Canada, 27 June 1851.⁵⁷ July fourth is reported as the day the pensioners arrived at Fort Malden.⁵⁸

On the pensioners' arrival at Amherstburg, the detachment of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment was withdrawn, presumably aboard the same ship, by which arrangement the same conveyance was made available for their return to headquarters at Niagara.⁵⁹ The last detachment of the Rifles at Amherstburg, under the command of Captain Cox, had consisted of 54 Rank and File, 1 Trumpeter or Drummer, 4 Serjeants, and 3 Subalterns. Also removed from Amherstburg to Kingston was the seven man detachment of the Royal Artillery. The medical officers accompanied their respective detachments. The officers and others of the Commissariat and Ordnance Departments were to be removed under orders from their respective departments.⁶⁰ On this head, it had been decided earlier that the appointment of Fort Serjeant at Amherstburg was to be discontinued by the Ordnance Department.⁶¹ It was decided also to remove the Deputy Assistant Commissary General, one temporary clerk, and one labourer and messenger, for

a reduction of three Commissariat staff members at the post.⁶²
The families of the Royal Canadian Rifles, who had been living at Amherstburg, were probably also removed with the men. In May 1850, their numbers had totalled 53 women and 159 children.⁶³ Serjeant Major Taylor reported, 11 July, that there was then no longer any soldiers stationed at Fort Malden.⁶⁴

The transfer of the post at Amherstburg resulted in a few minor administrative problems. Deputy Assistant Commissary General Thomas McCann, because of the confusion and disruption of routine which occurred just as the troops were about to be relieved by the pensioners, failed to hold the usual survey of the money in the Commissariat Chest at the post on June 30th.⁶⁵ Further, although it had been hoped to have the reserves at Amherstburg ready for the settlement of pensioners by the end of May, so that they might begin agricultural operations immediately on their arrival in Canada, preparations for their reception had not yet been completed, so for most of the first summer the pensioners and their families resided in the barracks.⁶⁶ In any event, nothing could be done that first year, the pensioners being so late arriving, owing to the long passage.

The physical growth of Amherstburg, from its beginnings in 1796, had been closely linked to Fort Malden. Although only a small fieldwork, its presence had been important to the town for a number of reasons. By 1851, however, it was decided to permanently withdraw the regular garrison from Fort Malden. In

its place a force of approximately 120 military pensioners was enrolled. The enrolled pensioner settlement at Amherstburg was to be the first attempt at forming a force of this kind in Canada West.

CHAPTER V

THE ENROLLED PENSIONER SCHEME

AT AMHERSTBURG: PART I

As we have seen, the policy of settling retired soldiers in Canada had been adopted at various periods in the colony's history. The chief aim of these schemes had been cheaper defence. By locating the settlements in strategic areas, the schemes were designed to reduce the number of regular troops required for garrison duty. The enrolled pensioner scheme seemed, however, to offer the potential of success unknown by previous plans.

One of the first settlements of enrolled pensioners in Canada West was at Fort Malden and its reserves at Amherstburg and Bois Blanc Island. In July 1851, approximately 120 pensioners and their families arrived at Amherstburg, where they replaced the garrison of the Royal Canadian Rifles. By August 1851, the enrolled pensioner staff had assumed command of the station.

Soon after the pensioners' arrival, the greater portion of the Ordnance Reserve at Amherstburg, amounting to nearly 200 acres, was laid out into 'cottage lots' of approximately two acres in size. A double lot was set aside for a

schoolhouse and residence for a schoolmaster. (This lot was given, however, to the serjeant major, Joseph Taylor, while the lot assigned to him was taken by John Meek, the schoolmaster.) Streets subdivided the reserve. Apparently some of the streets were not named immediately for their names refer to the Crimean War fought a few years later; Balaclava and Alma streets were named for major engagements in the conflict, and St. Arnaud for the French general commanding the forces. The remaining streets of the tract were called Fort, William, and Victoria. This settled area became known locally as Cork Town.

Like all proposed pensioner settlements, a lengthy list of 'conditions' confronted the pensioners settled at Amherstburg and Bois Blanc Island with respect to receiving and maintaining their allotments of land. In short, these 'conditions' stipulated that: the allotments would consist, according to circumstances, of from two to three acres to each man; on the death of the pensioner his widow and family were entitled to the continued occupation of his house and land until they had been repaid the cost of erecting and improving the same, repayment in no case exceeding £20 for the house and £5 for each acre improved; in the event of misconduct on the part of the pensioner, the cottage and allotment were subject to forfeiture, remuneration being the same as in the case of death; and finally, no pensioner was to be permitted

to sell spirits or intoxicating liquors of any kind in his house or on his allotment, attempts to do so resulting in immediate forfeiture of the house and ground without compensation.¹ The term of the pensioners' leases was to be in perpetuity on payment of an annual quit rent of one shilling, and the continued observance of the stipulated conditions. The Ordnance, however, was to maintain the right to summary resumption at any time, on payment of the value of the buildings erected on the ground, and at the rate of £10 per acre of improved land. A power of entry upon the premises was also to be reserved to the officers of the Ordnance while discharging their public duties or for purposes of inspection.²

At Amherstburg, Staff Officer of Pensioners Captain Rogers was to "have Barrack accommodation to an extent of not less than 4 Rooms and a Kitchen."³ He was also to receive a grant of land on the reserve, which, however, was not to exceed three times that allowed to a pensioner at that station. In the event of his death or removal, the house and land were to revert to the public, to be made available for his successor. In that instance, a remuneration of up to £100 was to be granted for any improvements made to the land.⁴ (From all evidence, neither Captain Rogers nor his successor, Major Donaldson, took up grants of land.)

A conscious effort appears to have been made to lay out the reserve at Amherstburg in an orderly and attractive

manner. Lieutenant De Moleyn, Royal Engineers, who surveyed the reserve, reported that:

All the cottages are in an exact line and square to the road at five yards distance, and in the centre of the lot of ground with a ditch about two feet wide excavated along the front of each allotment for the purpose of drainage; the Roads made by the Pensioners are 22 yards wide; a row of Trees on each side of the road in front of the cottages has been planted by the corporation and given in charge of the Pensioners.⁵

From this survey, it will be noticed that changes had occurred in the settlement plan as originally submitted by Tulloch, 20 June 1851, the most obvious of which was the elimination of the central gore. Among the many other changes implemented in the new plan were; a reduction in the number of lots from ninety to eighty-six, a relocation of many of the lots which had fronted the Sandwich Road, the inclusion of Fort and Balaclava streets, and a widening and realignment of lots on Fort and Richmond streets. A road through the pensioners' settlement, Alma Street, had earlier been applied for by the municipal council of Amherstburg.⁶

Single-storey cottages, of wood frame construction, measuring approximately 18 by 22 feet, were constructed on many of the pensioners' lots. The builders were local carpenters, and the houses were erected at prices as low as £35. A surviving receipt records that J. B. Robideau received £35 for

erecting a cottage on the military reserve for pensioner Edward Tobin, late of the 22nd Foot. Tobin was then placed under a deduction from pension of four pence per day until the amount advanced him for the purchase was made good.⁷

Living-space in these cottages was divided into a combined kitchen-sitting room and one or two bedrooms. They were outfitted with stoves for heating and cooking purposes. In later years, a more pretentious, two-storey house was built for Serjeant Major Taylor on the edge of the gun range.⁸

The picket house and three block houses on Bois Blanc Island were also occupied by enrolled pensioners. Early proposals had called for making any houses erected on the island defensible because of their position on the frontier which would perhaps expose them to attack.⁹ This, however, proved impossible because of the extra expense that would have been incurred by the pensioners in erecting defensible houses, an expense which was estimated to "probably exceed in a tenfold degree the worth of the land to be assigned them, and would be quite beyond their means."¹⁰ Rather than building fortified residences, it was planned to merely adapt the picket house and three block houses on Bois Blanc Island for the use of the pensioners.¹¹ Officials believed:

If that . . . prove[d] insufficient the Pensioners would at all events have the alternative of withdrawing to the mainland and only crossing to the Island when necessary

for the purpose of carrying on their agricultural operations.¹²

Pensioners and their families known to have resided in the picket house and block houses of Bois Blanc Island include the families of Colour Serjeant John Bonnet and pensioner Thomas Jarmin.¹³ An official report produced in 1854 described the condition of these buildings as 'tolerable'.¹⁴ A report to the Provincial Secretary three years later noted, however, that they had seriously deteriorated: ". . . the Reserve on Bois Blanc Island is partly occupied by four pensioner families who reside in three blockhouses and the picket house - all in a very ruinous state."¹⁵

The Amherstburg pensioners considered their houses and two acre lots of as much value as their pensions.¹⁶ Tulloch reported that such was the anxiety of several of the pensioners to pay up the amount advanced for their cottages that many of them had requested to be placed under stoppages to the extent of one half of their pension instead of one-fourth. With very few exceptions they were all under stoppages to the extent of one-third.¹⁷

Perhaps partly because of this strong feeling, insurance policies were carried on the cottages. The premium on J. Healy's cottage for 1855 was recorded as 4s. 1½d., in the account book of Serjeant Major Taylor, while the insurance on twenty cottages was entered as £4.2.2½.¹⁸ Instructions

had earlier been forwarded to, if possible, "arrange that the cost of Insurance . . . be paid for all the Cottages on the same day."¹⁹ It is not known if these premiums were paid to the Crown or to a local company.

Further sums were charged against those pensioners holding cottage lots for advances to pay for dividing, railing, and fencing their lots. Rails were used to divide their lots and 'Fancy Fencing' fronted the street. All told, £198.13.0 was charged for railings, and £103.6.11 for the 'Fancy Fencing', by 1852.²⁰ In addition, these pensioners paid an annual quit rent of one shilling, as a condition of maintaining their leases.²¹ The enrolled pensioners, however, were exempt from taxes when in occupation of land on a military reserve.²²

The early operation of the fort by the enrolled pensioners resulted in a number of administrative problems. To some extent, however, these problems were to be expected until the administration of the pensioner scheme in Canada was fully operational.

Although the issue of the retention of officers and others of the Commissariat and Ordnance Departments had been left to the heads of their respective departments, the Secretary at War soon decided to withdraw the barrack serjeant from Amherstburg with the idea of ascertaining at how small an expense this station could be garrisoned by the pensioners.²³ The Board of Ordnance, which was responsible for the condition

of the buildings as well as the continued expense of their maintenance, protested. The Board felt it was necessary to employ a barrack serjeant at this station to call attention to any undue or injurious use of the buildings.²⁴ As a result, the Secretary at War was compelled to enter into a long, and sometimes hot, correspondence with the Ordnance Department on the whole matter.

In this, one of the first of many disagreements with the Ordnance Department, the Secretary at War was able to show that when the arrangements regarding the occupation of the barracks at Amherstburg by the enrolled pensioners were originally made, it was clearly contemplated that the services of the barrack serjeant would not be retained.²⁵ In fact, the discontinuance of the barrack serjeants at Amherstburg and its out-station Chatham had been decided on earlier by the Ordnance.²⁶ The fact, however, that the Ordnance Department had been slighted by the War Office and the pensioner scheme was noted.

As a result of the War Office decision, Fort Serjeant John Goodwin left Amherstburg in June 1852. 'Efficient and favourably reported of', he had only recently been sent out from England to fill that position.²⁷ Goodwin, however, was posted to Niagara where he was appointed to succeed Thomas Bradley as Fort Serjeant; Bradley having been admitted upon the Pension List.²⁸

With the removal of the barrack serjeant from

Amherstburg, the Staff Officer of Pensioners became responsible for "the due care and preservation of the Buildings and Stores thus given over."²⁹ It became his duty to periodically inspect the buildings and see that they were properly maintained. The pensioners were held liable to make good any damage not resulting from accidental circumstances or 'fair wear and tear'. It was hoped that these arrangements, coupled with the periodical inspection of the Royal Engineer Department, would not only ensure that the buildings were properly maintained, but, also, that a proper reduction of expenditure was effected.³⁰

Commissariat duties, such as the issue of straw or other supplies which had earlier devolved on the barrack serjeant, were also taken up by the Staff Officer of Pensioners. The staff officer was to provide the required articles for the pensioners by either receiving the quantity required for the year or by a fixed money allowance.³¹

It is through the argument over the retention of the barrack serjeant at Amherstburg that some insight into the staff allocations and expenses of the pensioner establishment is gained. The Ordnance, in defending their stand, fortuitously enumerated both the personnel and costs of this particular pensioner station. In 1852, half of the £619.2.3 total spent at Amherstburg, £310.5.0, was the pay of the Staff Officer, Captain Rogers. The pay of the Staff Assistant Surgeon³² accounted for a further £182.10.0. The pay of the Staff Serjeant, Serjeant

Major Joseph Taylor, was £30. Three pensioners were also employed, presumably as barrack guards,³³ at 10d. a day each. The remaining money was made up of servants' allowances. The retention of the barrack serjeant would have resulted in a further expenditure of £51.12.6, made up of pay and allowances.³⁴

The question of whether barracks in occupation of the pensioner force were to be kept in a proper state of repair, similar to buildings occupied by the regular troops, and who was to pay for these repairs, touched off another departmental row, when an estimate for repairs to the Amherstburg station was received by the Board of Ordnance in 1853. Despite the fact repairs were necessary at Fort Malden, the Ordnance Department did not feel compelled to provide repairs for buildings occupied by only enrolled pensioners.³⁵ It should be remembered, however, that arrangements had been made for the Ordnance Department to provide barrack accommodation for the pensioners and their families. Their proper maintenance would, therefore, be required.

To clarify the situation, various departments of government were solicited for their opinion on the matter. All, except the Ordnance, felt that the buildings should be kept up.³⁶ The fact that the buildings were occupied by the staff of the pensioners was an additional reason for incurring the expense to guard against them falling into decay.

Tulloch, therefore, proposed to keep the barracks at

each of the pensioner stations in as good repair as formerly by employing pensioners at the repair work. This proposal offered a number of benefits, chief of which were that "accommodation would thus be provided for the Pensioner Staff, and provision made for the Maintenance of the Barracks in an efficient State."³⁷ Cost benefits would also be seen. By employing the pensioners, Tulloch estimated the cost would be one half the sum which had been expended by the Ordnance in superintendence, repairs, and keeping the barracks clean.³⁸

Although the Ordnance Department disagreed with Tulloch's cost estimates, repairs necessary for the preservation of the barrack buildings at Amherstburg were, nevertheless, authorized to be made under the direction of the Staff Officer of Pensioners to the extent of £20.³⁹

The British authorities continued to maintain the military works at Amherstburg by this manner up until this property was officially transferred to the province. The wear and tear on the wooden buildings at Fort Malden was such, however, that increasing amounts of time and money were spent in maintaining them. Despite this, the overall condition of the fort was deteriorating. The annual sum of £20 set aside for repairs was clearly not sufficient to cover costs. During only the months of May through August 1856, a total of £33.10.3 was spent on repairs to the officer's quarters, mens' barracks, and out buildings at Amherstburg. The flag staff was also repaired,

on the authorization of Tulloch, for £3.10.0. Pensioners, Daniel Quinlan, James Quinlan, and Hugh Wishart, brought about these repairs.⁴⁰

Those buildings considered 'uninhabitable and unfit for repair' were recommended for removal by sale of their materials.⁴¹ Other Ordnance buildings located at Amherstburg were purchased by the pensioners and staff, removed from the fort, and served as accommodations for these groups.⁴²

Buildings vacated by the Commissariat Department at Amherstburg were considered to be valuable commercial buildings by the local merchants. Chief of these was the Commissariat Storehouse, a large, three-storey, wooden building. This building had formerly housed Indian presents and military stores.⁴³ Many of the problems encountered by the pensioners at Amherstburg were a result of petty feuds over this building and its grounds. These feuds highlight the general administrative difficulties experienced by the scheme in the province.

As early as October 1851, Thomas Salmoni offered the Ordnance Department the sum of £50 currency per annum for the use of the Commissariat Storehouse and Wharf.⁴⁴ This request was turned down by Tulloch for a number of reasons, chief of which was that the pensioner scheme was still in its infancy and use might be made of the building by the pensioners.⁴⁵

In March 1852, Mr. Park, the steam boat proprietor at Amherstburg, offered to fence in that part of the reserve between the Sandwich Road and the Detroit River if he was

allowed the use of the Commissariat Wharf for his vessel to land at for the season. It was necessary to enclose the ground Park alluded to as a preserve for the grazing of the pensioners' cattle. Tulloch, aware that the pensioners were under heavy stoppages to repay the advances made for their cottages and other articles, approved the offer, so as to prevent the pensioners getting further into debt by enclosing the grazing ground themselves. The pensioners would retain, however, the use of the wharf for fishing, or embarking and disembarking free of expense.⁴⁶ Ordnance officials saw "no objection to the proposed agreement."⁴⁷

In April of that year, requests were again received for the use of the Commissariat premises at Amherstburg. Messrs. J. Park and J. McLeod, through Captain Rogers, requested permission to dry some corn in the yard attached to the Commissariat Stores. The corn had been in a schooner which had sunk opposite the government wharf. Knowing of Tulloch's wish for the pensioners to be employed as much as possible, Park and McLeod to bolster their request promised to employ pensioners at the work.⁴⁸ Approval was granted by Tulloch, on the condition that Park and McLeod made good any damage that might happen to the Commissariat buildings from fire or otherwise during the time they were used for drying the corn.⁴⁹

The Ordnance Department, still smarting over its recent losses, made representations to the Treasury charging Tulloch

with misdirection of funds. Tulloch was accused, though he denied this charge, of letting the Commissariat Storehouse for £60 per annum and applying the rent for the improvement of the ground. Profits arising from the grazing of cattle around the fort were also said to have been applied in a similar manner.⁵⁰

Tulloch denied these charges emphatically. In a letter to the Military Secretary, he stated: "I never authorized the Commissariat Store at Amherstburg to be rented, and trust you will be pleased to inform me as to the name of the Parties who are said to have paid rent for the same."⁵¹ He, however, buffered this statement somewhat by stating that "the Commissariat Premises were allowed to be used for a temporary purpose but no rent was received",⁵² and that "the Commissariat Wharf was let to Mr. Park, on condition, of his paying for the fencing of the Reserve."⁵³ Tulloch later reported that Captain Rogers had allowed Mr. Park to take possession of the store as well as the wharf, but no extra rent was paid or demanded for its use.⁵⁴

Taken singly, the interests involved in Major Tulloch's actions at Amherstburg were of small account. The Treasury, however, felt that two important principles had been infringed upon; the first being that public monies had been applied without the previous sanction of Parliament, or the authority of the Treasury Board in the case of urgency, and secondly, that Government property had been used, or disposed of, without the

direction and control of the department responsible for its application.⁵⁵ However, in a marginal note to this Treasury statement, W. Peel of the War Office got to the heart of the matter when he wrote: "I take this to be a mere affect of the general quarrel of the Treasury versus the War Office & Major Tulloch."⁵⁶ Local merchants, allied with the Ordnance Department, and the Treasury, already sensitive about the pensioner scheme, were undoubtedly behind the whole affair. Nevertheless, as a result of this squabbling, the War Office was forced to spend much time and energy defending Tulloch, at the expense of the scheme as a whole.

Despite the administrative problems, which of course the pensioners could not be blamed for, the scheme at Amherstburg seemed to offer the potential for great success. The regular garrison had been removed, and the pensioners were showing progress. J. S. Elliott of the Ordnance Department said of the scheme at Amherstburg:

With respect to the allocation of Enrolled Pensioners upon the Ordnance Reserves in Canada, perhaps nowhere could a happier selection have been made for the men than at Amherstburg. The Village and its neighborhood, though of ancient settlement, are composed to a large extent of French descendents, who exhibit the same reluctance to laborious pursuits manifested by the lower classes of the same origin in Canada East, and of Colored people whose principal connection is with the flourishing American City on the opposite side of the Detroit River; consequently

the price of labor attainable by the Pensioners is proportionately great; the neatness and order of the Cottages and their apparently industrious habits were to me very conspicuous, but I doubt if there be any other place in Canada where results to the same extent successful can be expected.⁵⁷

A survey conducted at Amherstburg in October 1852 showed that this potential was largely achieved. On the average, the pensioners at Amherstburg earned £20.5.0 in wages for the year, £1.9.2 from their annual drill pay, and £1.3.10 for 'Guards over gaol'.⁵⁸ Those pensioners who held cottage lots earned, additionally, £15.10.0 from the sale of agricultural produce, and £6.15.0 from the sale of dairy produce, for a total of £46.3.0 for the year.⁵⁹ Added to these wages and earnings, both groups received pensions averaging one shilling a day, or about £18 per year. The assurance of this latter regular cash income could make a very considerable difference to how the pensioner and his family lived. With his other monies, it was often enough to raise the pensioner above the common labourer.

By comparison, a skilled worker in Canada could earn from four to six shillings a day, for a yearly figure just slightly higher than the pensioner's total earnings and pension. Unskilled work was worth from two to three shillings a day. A farm labourer's wage was usually about two shillings a day, or by the year, some twenty to twenty-three pounds. Maids and

servants earned from seven to sixteen pounds a year, with board and lodging provided.⁶⁰

Benjamin Hawes of the War Office, reporting on the progress of the Amherstburg pensioners, noted that not only were the pensioners there able to rear a sufficient number of pigs and poultry to supply their own families, and to raise garden produce for themselves and provide winter fodder for their cows, but most of the early vegetables in the market of the town were supplied from their allotments. There was no land in better condition at the settlement.⁶¹ In addition, during that first year after the pensioners' arrival at Amherstburg, there had also been an increase in their population; nineteen children had been born.⁶²

A representative example of the success of the enrolled pensioner scheme at Amherstburg is provided in the person of Charles O'Connor, late of the 31st Regiment. (O'Connor's cottage is preserved at Fort Malden National Historic Park.) He and his wife and five children had cultivated 100 bushels of potatoes and 40 bushels of Indian corn in 1852. Their livestock consisted of two cows and nine pigs. O'Connor was employed locally for three months of the year, at an average of three shillings a day. In addition, two of his children, Mary and Jane, were employed, earning four dollars a month. This, with his pension of 1s. 5d. per day, had allowed O'Connor to save £20.5.0 for the year.⁶³

Others, such as John Hugh, late of the Royal Canadian Rifles, chose only to work for themselves, and were able not only to provide for themselves, but to show an increase in wealth.⁶⁴

At Penetanguishene, in 1852 the only other Ordnance Reserve in Canada West available to the pensioners for settlement, not much hope for success was anticipated.

At Penetanguishene, as the country is comparatively little settled, the demand for agricultural labor must be proportionately less, and the Pensioner must . . . be thrown more upon his own resources, which the generally unfavourable nature of the Soil and the remoteness from market, must necessarily limit.⁶⁵

Had the pensioners at Toronto, London, and Niagara received their land, it is likely that they would have proven as successful as those at Amherstburg.

It is difficult from the information preserved to know just how hard or long the pensioners at Amherstburg worked each day. However, except when called out for civil or military emergency or while performing guard duty, the pensioners were private citizens, living and working in the community. Many of the pensioners worked as common labourers in the town, while others tended their ground on the reserves. There was little difference then between the pensioner and the average resident of Amherstburg.

Those pensioners with cottage lots would have plowed

their fields and planted their crops in May. Indian corn and potatoes were the chief agricultural products. Any summer grains were harvested during August and September; the corn was gathered in the first half of September, then the potatoes and other roots. Most pensioners had a few pigs and a cow or two. One of the important phases of late autumn work for those who had acquired a number of pigs was the killing, dressing, and salting of the hogs.

Those pensioners and their families who resided in the barracks, and were therefore without land at Amherstburg, worked as labourers in the town, or returned to callings practiced before they had entered the army. Many of their children were apprenticed to local tradesmen. Though Serjeant Major Taylor's letters mention it only in passing, the pensioners at Amherstburg also undoubtedly hunted and fished.⁶⁶

The vacuum left by the withdrawal of the British garrison from Fort Malden was not much filled up by the subsequent establishment of the enrolled pensioner settlement. For Amherstburg, the garrison had always been more than merely a defence against a possible invasion or a guarantee against social disturbance. It had stimulated a way of life, not only economically, through the local contracts it distributed, but also socially and culturally, which helped to maintain the British connection. The enrolled pensioners, however, were

largely self-sufficient, and because of their class and way of life, had little to offer in the way of social or cultural amenities.

Quarterly pension day, however, was a time for much celebration in Amherstburg. Merchants did a thriving business, as old scores were settled and new accounts opened, however, local taverns were the chief beneficiaries for many of the pensioners were in a mood to celebrate. The local constabulary was augmented, therefore, by a Town Serjeant to see these celebrants did not get too far away from the paths of peace and order.⁶⁷ During at least the years 1854 and 1855, pay agents were employed to make pension payments to pensioners in the Chatham and Sarnia areas.⁶⁸

The pensioners and their families at Amherstburg were neither more provident nor more temperate than others of their class. When given relatively large sums of money at once and when gathered together with old comrades, among whom intemperance more or less prevailed, many squandered their money. One of the commuted pensioners of 1832, who received his pension of 4½d. a day at Amherstburg, was suspended from pension for being drunk and using the 'most violent and abusive language' to Captain Rogers.⁶⁹ In later years, another pensioner was compelled to separate himself from his wife because of 'her grossly disreputable and immoral conduct'. Submitting the sworn statement of another pensioner showing that she had "committed the

crime of adultery with him, and actually enticed him, to have illicit communication . . .".⁷⁰ the pensioner asked that no more stoppages be made from his pension for the benefit of the woman.⁷¹ The pensioners required continual superintendence by the staff officers.

Many of the pensioners had 'leanings to matrimony', age never being considered an obstacle. Serjeant Major Taylor wrote to his son, as late as February 1865:

Old Meek was married in the Catholic Church last week to a Miss Lyle who has a brother in the lunatic Asylum, unless she is possessed of an extraordinary good temper, I believe she will shortly be an inmate of said institution.⁷²

Their widows never seemed to have any difficulty in marrying another pensioner.

To help the pensioners to become self-sufficient, Tulloch advanced a number of projects. At that point in time, fishing activity on the Detroit River was heavy. The survey conducted in 1852 had reported there were 'Fish in abundance'.⁷³ The profits from just the whitefish industry on the Detroit River were said to be 'very considerable'.⁷⁴ Tulloch intended for the pensioners to reap the benefits of this market. As early as August 1850, he had recommended that the nets and boats at Amherstburg be retained for the pensioners' use, for he felt these objects would prove useful in aiding the pensioners in maintaining themselves.⁷⁵ Serjeant Major Taylor later reported that he had bought a share of a boat.⁷⁶

In October 1853, Tulloch applied for a grant to a waterlot adjacent to the Commissariat wharf and barrack buildings to allow the formation of a fishing station at Amherstburg.⁷⁷ Tulloch was successful in his endeavour. In due course, a license of occupation was issued in the name of the Officer Commanding the Pensioners at Amherstburg for a waterlot comprising a frontage of one-eighth of a mile. The waterlots occupying the rest of the military reserve remained free to the inhabitants, in general, for fishing purposes.⁷⁸

Although purely speculative, it is probable that small fields or pens of water, fenced off with lumber, were constructed in the river to hold fish, as were platforms to land them, and buildings erected to store tools, nets, and other supplies. The whitefish season, which ran from mid-October, after the fall agricultural harvest, to mid-December, would have extended the working season of the pensioners. However, no details of the relative success or failure of this venture by the pensioners at Amherstburg has been found.

Propositions which were 'not calculated to improve the pensioners' or which were 'prejudicial to order and discipline' were quickly turned down by Tulloch and the staff officers at Amherstburg. These men sought especially to prevent "the sale of Spirits, and the . . . establishment of houses for this and similar purposes."⁷⁹

A number of communal projects were implemented at

Amherstburg. Adjoining the Commissariat Storehouse and Wharf was a large enclosed yard which was used exclusively by the enrolled pensioners and their families for storing their winter fuel supply.⁸⁰

The largest project at Amherstburg involved the common grazing of the pensioners' cattle on the unbuilt area of the reserve. J. S. Elliott, in his inspection of the Ordnance establishment and property at Amherstburg during the autumn of 1852, noted that upwards of 70 head of cattle (horses and cows) were counted upon the reserved radius of the fort.⁸¹

Although the grazing ground had been enclosed by Mr. Park, the pensioners were responsible for maintaining the fences and gates. Serjeant Major Taylor's account book illustrates that this was a never ending process. Tulloch reported in 1853 that

the Pensioners & 2 Civilians had subscribed 96 Dollars to pay for keeping the Fencing in repair which enclosed the ground set apart for grazing the Pensioners' Cattle, and giving a Pensioner one Dollar a week to look after them and attend to the gates.⁸²

The pensioners paid two dollars a head monthly for the repair of fences, ditching, and keeping a herdsman.⁸³ The duty of tending to the animals and the gates was done at various times by pensioners James Wilkinson, Thomas Craig, Peter Woods, James McVety, and William Farmer.⁸⁴ Some of the profits from the

grazing account were used by the pensioners to improve their stock; the pensioners paying for the services of two 'full bred Bulls' at various times.⁸⁵

Details gleaned from Taylor's account book and other sources also shows that during the operational years of the enrolled pensioner scheme at Amherstburg, a school for the children of the pensioners was maintained on the upper floor of the Artillery Barn.⁸⁶ For his duties as schoolmaster, Serjeant John Meek was paid £12.3.4 semi-annually. This sum, as well as monies for books, and firewood and light supplies, were regularly deducted from the Pensioners General Account, which the staff officer assessed against them each pay day.⁸⁷

It has been reported that a second body of pensioners arrived at Fort Malden in 1854.⁸⁸ No official evidence has been uncovered to confirm this. It is possible, however, that the group was from Fort Garry. Up to twenty pensioners from that station were given the opportunity of enrolling in the pensioner force of Canada West in 1854. A statement of expenses supplied to Major Caldwell, Staff Officer of Pensioners at Fort Garry, to ensure that each pensioner and his family were provided with adequate means for reaching Canada, listed Amherstburg as its final destination.⁸⁹ Conversely, at least one of the Amherstburg pensioners is known to have gone to the Red River station.⁹⁰

A serious blow was dealt to the scheme at Amherstburg when the pensioners there lost their staff officer to drowning, 5 May 1854. Leaving the fort in a skiff for the purpose of fishing, Captain Rogers' boat was seen shortly afterwards bottom upwards about three miles off. Although a most careful search was made, no trace of the body was found.⁹¹ Captain Rogers left a widow and four or five sons and a daughter.⁹²

The death of Captain Rogers caused some difficulty with the payment of the pensioners of the Western District. Because of his death, Major James J. Graham, Staff Officer of Pensioners at London, was required to annex the district to his own until another officer was appointed by the Secretary at War.⁹³

A number of officers submitted their names to succeed Captain Rogers as Staff Officer of Pensioners at Amherstburg. Ultimately, Major Robert Donaldson was selected. Donaldson took his rank in the army from 8 April 1826 in the 41st Regiment of Foot. He was promoted to ensign on 17 July 1828, to lieutenant, 18 September 1832, and to captain, 29 March 1842. He had retired from the 41st as a major in 1848 or 1849.⁹⁴ Major Donaldson served the pensioners at Amherstburg until the termination of the enrolled pensioner scheme in 1858, when he was transferred to the Ottawa District.⁹⁵

Despite some initial administrative problems, most

of which were the result of petty departmental jealousies, the enrolled pensioners at Amherstburg fulfilled the expectations of those who organized and settled them. Those pensioners at Amherstburg who received land on the reserves even achieved a degree of substantial prosperity. More than usual care seems to have been taken to ensure this success. It seems clear, however, that had the pensioners at Toronto, London, and Niagara received their land grants, they too may have obtained successes to the same extent. The fact that these men and their families remained landless must be the enrolled pensioner scheme's greatest failure.

CHAPTER VI

THE ENROLLED PENSIONER SCHEME

AT AMHERSTBURG: PART II

Apart from improving the condition of the pensioners, the aim in settling these veterans, at Amherstburg and the other military stations in Canada West, had been the enrolment of that force as a substitute for the regular garrison. Regular garrison forces were removed from the pensioner stations, and in their places pensioners were enrolled. Imperial, and Provincial authorities later, came to rely on the services of these men.

Unfortunately, the first impressions made by the pensioners, particularly those at Amherstburg, did little to suggest that they would be of great assistance to the military and civil authorities. While:

Great pains were to have been taken to select men of good character and of undoubted sobriety . . . the air of the Atlantic or the companionship and jolity consequent of their voyage seems to have produced a change of habits.

. . . at Amherstburg there is a great deal of irregularity.¹

In the critical eyes of the Canadians, the bands of children and bundles of household effects did much to detract from the pensioners' military character.

By June 1853, there were, at Amherstburg, 2 Serjeant Majors, 9 Serjeants, 8 Corporals, 2 Drummers, Fifers or Buglers, and 98 Privates, for a total enrolment of 119 men.² This force remained ready to be called out for duty in case of civil or military emergency. To maintain their military skills, drills were held regularly each spring and fall.

In October 1853, sixty of the Amherstburg pensioners were ordered to Montreal to act as a temporary police. Tulloch's letter to the Secretary at War states in detail the journey of these men.

. . . I think it my duty to call to your notice the rapidity with which the services of the Amherstburg pensioners were placed at the disposal of the Montreal Authorities, though they had to travel by Steam Boat, Railway, and waggon a distance of nearly 700 miles.

My letter instructing the Officer to embark without delay, and directing him to proceed through the States with the Pensioners in the dress of civilians he received only on Sunday, he embarked the Pensioners the following morning, and reported to me the arrival of his Detachment at Montreal on Thursday having accomplished the distance in half the time it took for the Canadian Mail to bring his letter intimating to me from Amherstburg, the date of his leaving that place for Montreal.³

This duty, coming as it did at harvest time, could have presented real hardship to the pensioners at Amherstburg who had invested much time and energy to the cultivation of their fields. This, too, was the time of the white fish run. Their services,

nevertheless, were eagerly offered. In November 1854, a request for volunteers at Toronto resulted in six of the Amherstburg pensioners being despatched.⁴

In 1854, the usual spring military drills held in May were postponed, owing to Tulloch's remaining in England to wait for final instructions on the settlement of the compensation to the pensioners in Canada West, and the enrolment of the men at Bytown and Fort Erie.⁵ Because Tulloch was required to inspect the men during these drills, it was decided to combine them with the fall period. At Amherstburg, this drill was held beginning Monday, 9 October 1854, at which time the pensioners were assembled at Fort Malden Barracks.⁶

In 1855, it was decided to again hold a single drill period of twelve days duration in the autumn. An examination of the 'Daily Statement of Parades, &c., of the Enrolled Pensioners at Fort Malden' provides some insight into the types and duration of these drills.

The enrolled pensioners at Amherstburg were called out for their twelve day period of drill from 24 October to 5 November 1855. (No parades were held on 28 October 1855.) During this time, the strength of the force varied from a low of 119 men on October 24th, to a high of 126 from 30 October to 5 November. Absentees during this period resulted from sickness, leave, or being in gaol.⁷ The pay for the Amherstburg force during the annual days of exercise amounted to £15 daily.⁸

Although more often called out to perform police duties, the enrolled pensioners' parades more closely resembled those of military actions. The first duty performed by the pensioners consisted of mustering and reading of the Royal Warrant. A typical day commenced at eight in the morning with manual, platoon, company, or battalion drill until ten. Afternoon drills usually covered similar duties and took place between eleven and one. After this, the pensioners were free for the day.⁹ During inclement weather the drills could be held in the former Commissariat Storehouse. This building was of a size that the whole of the Amherstburg enrolled pensioners could be drilled within it.¹⁰

Special parades during the 1855 exercise included attending the funeral of a pensioner¹¹ on 26 October, and the inspection by the Military Superintendent, Lieutenant-Colonel Tulloch, the following day. The final task of the pensioners during their annual period of duty consisted of an inspection of arms, accoutrements, and clothing, and returning them to store. It would appear from Major Donaldson's report of the 1855 drill that the men were model soldiers, abstaining from 'inattention or talking in the ranks', 'drunkenness or disorderly conduct', 'violence towards officer or non-commissioned officer', and 'wilfully damaging or making away with arms, clothing or accoutrements'.¹²

The Amherstburg pensioners continued with these drills on a regular basis, in an effort to keep their military skills sharp, until the termination of the scheme. This duty was taken seriously by both the authorities and the pensioners. It also has been reported that on the Queen's birthday a review was held so long as a guard was maintained, and on that occasion each man received a sovereign.¹³

Although 150 pensioners were placed on 'permanent military duty' in Canada West during the fall of 1854, it was decided not to mount a guard at Fort Malden. However, in 1856, when the threat of war with the United States was a very real possibility, Provincial and military authorities re-evaluated their decision. With no 'permanent duty' pensioners stationed at Fort Malden to raise the alarm, the fort and its armaments could be seized in the event of a sudden attack before a sufficient force could be assembled to repel the attack. Tulloch considered the situation 'risky'.¹⁴

In his correspondence of 12 March 1856, Tulloch alluded to earlier difficulties in the Amherstburg district.

. . . I am much more afraid of disturbances at Fort Malden as I remember 2 years ago the pensioners at an hours notice had to be called out & conveyed to the County Prison at Sandwich in consequence of the Sheriff at Detroit having sent across to the Sheriff on the Canada side to give notice that a number of Yankees intended the same night to cross over and rescue some friends confined in the

Sandwich prison and he had not sufficient force to prevent this.¹⁵

Tulloch went on to state: "It was at this place I was nearly shot going early one morning to visit the prison."¹⁶ Tulloch, therefore, informed the Military Secretary that if it was considered necessary to employ men at Amherstburg, enrolled pensioners might be found to do so.¹⁷

Francis Retallack, Military Secretary to the Governor-General, perhaps because of the above statements, informed Tulloch on the desirability of posting a Serjeant's Guard in the fort at Amherstburg for the protection of the arms stored there. This letter, dated 22 March 1856, also informed Tulloch that: "If fresh men are placed on permanent duty for this purpose, it should be understood that their services may be required for a limited period - say three months from this date."¹⁸

The term 'fresh men' is key, for this would result in an increase in the 'permanent duty' pensioner force above the required limit of 150. Tulloch, in previous correspondence, had stated:

If the General considers it necessary to place any men on permanent duty (as none are now employed) at Fort Malden I presume the Provincial Govt. will have to pay the expense if not it would come as a charge by me agt. the Imperial Govt.¹⁹

The Imperial Government had long felt the post at Amherstburg unworthy of increased defence expenditures, and it appears the

Provincial Government concurred. Retallack made it known that it was the Governor-General's opinion that it would not be necessary to continue the services of the Serjeant's Guard after they had completed their three months duty.²⁰ Tulloch, therefore, ordered the detachment of pensioners on 'permanent duty' at Fort Malden to be reduced on July first.²¹

Tulloch, however, considered it unadvisable to leave at present so large a Barracks without some protection, and therefore, . . . suggested to His Excellency that the Permanent Duty force in the By Town District be reduced by one Serjeant and eleven Rank and File, and a like number placed on permanent duty at Fort Malden.²²

This arrangement was approved, and a Serjeant's Guard was again mounted at Fort Malden commencing August first.²³ Later, this guard was increased permanently by one private, to thirteen men, effective the final quarter of 1857.²⁴ It would appear, therefore, that the Government did not feel that it was unnecessary to continue the detachment of pensioners on 'permanent duty' at Fort Malden, only that additional pensioners were unnecessary.

The Serjeant's Guard at Fort Malden, save for its last quarter, April through June 1858, was under the command of Serjeant Robert Lawson, late of the Royal Canadian Rifles. While Lawson had more than 120 men from which to choose his guard, only 28 different pensioners were ever placed on

'permanent duty'. Some of these pensioners, such as, John Brown, John Mears, Hugh Wishard, and Alex Black, served only one quarter, while pensioners, Edward Tobin, William Farmer, Stephen Walls, Patrick Ryder, Thomas Carney, Dennis Fowler, James Malone, Thomas Sharp, William Smith, and William Wilson, were regularly employed on this duty.²⁵ Presumably, those volunteers that served were the most effective or efficient of the men.

While on duty the men were paid by the province two shillings sterling per day. Serjeant Lawson received three shillings daily. As an added benefit during the period the pensioners were on 'permanent duty', those pensioners actually on duty, and their families, were attended to by a local doctor. For medicine and attending to these men and their families, Dr. R. Reynolds of Amherstburg was given an allowance of 3d. local currency for each man, woman, and child. With an average of better than 70 people to attend to, Dr. Reynolds received an allowance of roughly £12 per quarter.²⁶

Other monies were expended by the province in the upkeep of the pensioners. A 'contingent allowance' of one shilling per day was granted to Major Donaldson for the detachment on 'permanent duty'. Further sums were received for such varied articles as, fuel and light supplies for the guards, barrack repairs, postage, telegraph messages, and other assorted sundries.²⁷

The early fear that the "pensioners would be employed for improper purposes, such as a partizan force at elections"²⁸ became a reality at Amherstburg. During the 1857 election, the pensioners from Fort Malden were ordered by Major Donaldson to attend the election and 'support Mr. Rankin and the Government'. It was reported that pensioners were taken off guard duty and dressed in civilian clothes to attend the nomination in favour of Rankin. These men, as well as other of the pensioners, were marched through Amherstburg to the steamer with Serjeant Major Taylor at their head.²⁹

While the word 'Government' was coupled with Rankin's name, the pensioners being led to believe that they were supporting the Government, nearly as many pensioners offered their votes for Rankin's opponent, Mr. McLeod; 26 for Rankin, and 24 for McLeod. All the votes, except for Taylor's who 'went and voted in the Township' were refused, however, because the pensioners paid no taxes.³⁰

Responsible for guarding the post from sudden attack, the 'permanent duty' pensioners' actual duties probably more closely resembled those of custodians. However, in 1856, Governor-General Edmund Head put forward a proposal to make more effective use of the pensioners' military capabilities. In the autumn of 1854, following the reduction of the three companies of the Royal Artillery, Lieutenant-General Sir William

Rowan had ordered the guns on the works to be dismantled but not removed from all posts previously occupied by the Royal Artillery.³¹ Head now suggested that "half a dozen Royal Artillery gunners could instruct Pensioners or Militia Artillerymen sufficiently to make the Guns available in case of attack."³²

If Amherstburg is taken as a representative example, this would appear to have been a most judicious move. An examination of the returns at Fort Malden shows a number of pensioners, which included, Robert Purvis, Nathan Hagen, Johnson McCormick, and Patrick Nevin, as having formerly served in the Royal Artillery.³³ Little instruction would then seem to have been necessary. As well, the 'Return of Magazines' for 1855 showed Fort Malden with a considerable array of ordnance; four 24 pr., three 12 pr., two 8 inch mortars, and an 8 inch howitzer.³⁴ If attacked, Fort Malden would at least have had the guns and gunners with which to defend herself. Such had not been the case in 1813, nor in 1837-38. It is not known, however, if the proposal was acted upon.

Other military responsibilities were accepted by the pensioners. At least one of the pensioners at Amherstburg, Serjeant Major Joseph Taylor, played an active role in the militia of the area, holding a commission in that force.³⁵

Others were undoubtedly involved in training the new Volunteer Force. Following the termination of the enrolled pensioner

scheme in 1858, many of the other pensioners, and their sons later, joined the militia. During the Fenian scare of 1866, it was reported that:

The old members of the veteran companies patrolled the concessions and roads surrounding the towns, and the remainder of the volunteers and civilians stood ready to turn out upon a moments notice.³⁶

Despite their disbandment as a military force, the Amherstburg pensioners remained in the forefront of defence preparations.

Although it had been agreed upon at the time of the Ordnance transfer discussions in 1854 that the pensioners at Amherstburg, Penetanguishene, and Fort Erie were not to be disturbed, provincial authorities later thought it 'most desirable' that the commutation be extended to include these pensioners.³⁷ The Executive Council, with the approval of the Governor-General, recommended that the location rights of all the pensioners of the province be bought out on the basis of an annuity allowance, and compensation for improvements, according to the printed conditions of settlement.³⁸ War Office officials believed, however, that this action would seriously affect, 'in an injurious manner', the rights and interests of those pensioners settled on the reserves at Amherstburg, Penetanguishene, and Fort Erie, by dispossessing them, without adequate compensation, of their houses and allotments of land.³⁹ The whole legal question of the pensioners' rights to these reserves appeared to be challenged.

The question of the Ordnance Reserves set aside for the pensioners at Amherstburg proved to be a particularly contentious issue, John McEwan of the Windsor Herald stating that the transfer of the Ordnance lands would be seriously affected if the finest and most valuable portions of them were to be locked up by the occupation of military settlers, upon the pretence that they were necessary for defence.⁴⁰ Expressing an extreme viewpoint on this whole question in an editorial in December 1855, Mr. McEwan said:

At Amherstburg . . . there is, adjacent to the north side of the town, a very large tract of beautiful land - probably 1,000 acres, upon which a score of small shanties have been built, with an acre of ground attached to each. . . . That portion of the land not occupied by the pensioners, is fenced in, and the commandant in charge, we understand, uses what he requires himself, and allows the inhabitants of the town to use it as a pasture for their cattle, upon paying him \$2 per month for each head. This land is valuable. If put into the market tomorrow every acre would be sold, and the population of the town increased two-fold.⁴¹

Major Donaldson, Staff Officer of Pensioners, took exception to these statements, more particularly those which affected his personal honour, those accusing him of appropriating the vast portion of the reserve for his own benefit and of defrauding the pensioners and townsfolk alike. In a spirited reply, he informed the Herald editor that the reserve was not 1,000 acres but 311, which had been ceded for the pensioners'

use and benefit in 1851. The reference to 'a score of small shanties' was dismissed out of hand. Donaldson noted that 90 good, well built cottages, with two acres each, had been erected. He vigorously denied the claim that he charged the citizens two dollars per month for grazing their cattle. The commons was used solely by the staff and pensioners for grazing, each paying two dollars a head for the repair of fences, ditching, and keeping a herdsman. He concluded by informing the editor that instructions had been issued to the Government Solicitor to enter an action against the paper for defamation of character.⁴²

A point which Donaldson did not mention, but should have, was the pensioners' legal title to their land and cottages, certain sums being regularly deducted from their pensions to pay for them. The provision for resumption of the allotments by the Ordnance was simply a right of re-purchase. Thus, the pensioners had clear legal title to their land. The only property in dispute was that land west of the Sandwich Road immediately contiguous with the fort.

The question of this Ordnance land remained a delicate issue at Amherstburg, with merchants and townsfolk alike wanting access to the reserve. These feelings were relayed to Ordnance Lands Agent William F. Coffin. John Prince cited one case in particular which was a local irritant. "Great complaints have been . . . made to me respecting the conduct of Major Donaldson. . . . they complain that he has actually forbidden and prevented

the youth of this ancient town from enjoying their games of cricket upon the reserve!"⁴³ The townspeople of Amherstburg claimed a prescriptive right to the reserve, alleging it was enclosed by their consent, and partly at their expense, with the understanding that they could enjoy the free use of it. The pensioners, however, laid claim to this property as a commons or grazing ground for their cattle.⁴⁴

Major Donaldson had to undertake legal measures to settle the case after a riot broke out over the ownership of the property. On 4 November 1857, the Reeve of Amherstburg, Thomas Salmoni, accompanied by a body of the inhabitants, proceeded to remove the fence enclosing the ground. Resisted by the pensioners, a conflict ensued, in which, however, no one was seriously injured. The question of title was not settled in any way.⁴⁵

Attorney General John A. Macdonald reporting the incident to the Governor-General stated that:

It was open to the Reeve to remove a portion of the fence in a peaceable manner for the purpose of courting an action of trespass to try the title, but he was not justified in proceeding in the riotous manner described in the papers submitted. On the other hand the conduct of Major Donaldson, commanding the Pensioners in allowing them to assemble for the purpose of resistance was highly injudicious.⁴⁶

Under instructions from the War Office, Macdonald caused an action of trespass to be brought against the parties who pulled down the fence.⁴⁷

When the case came before the Court of Quarter Sessions, Donaldson sought the advice of barrister John O'Connor. While O'Connor received £6.11.3 in counsel fees for two hearings, no bill was charged to the Government, Donaldson presumably having recovered the amount in the way of settlement.⁴⁸ It would appear, however, that 6s. 6d. charged for 'Refreshment to the Men who defended the Rails' was not part of the settlement.⁴⁹

From later events, it is evident neither side gained from the action for title was given to the Government.⁵⁰ With this, the pensioners' use of the reserve as a grazing ground was discontinued.⁵¹ Much of the land fronting Richmond Street and the Sandwich Road was sold by public auction at Amherstburg on 1 October 1860.⁵² The Government, however, had other plans for much of this land. On the termination of the enrolled pensioner scheme, it planned to convert Fort Malden into a lunatic asylum.⁵³

On 30 June 1858, the services of the 'permanent duty' pensioner force were terminated province wide.⁵⁴ On October 7th of that year, the pensioners were disbanded as an Imperial force.⁵⁵ Authorization had earlier been received to issue titles to all those pensioners in possession of cottage lots on their discharge.⁵⁶ In most cases, however, these were not legally conferred to the Amherstburg pensioners until May 1860.⁵⁷

Preparatory to this, John A. Wilkinson, Provincial Land Surveyor of the town of Sandwich, undertook a survey of the cottage lots of the enrolled pensioners at Amherstburg.

For this survey, Wilkinson employed pensioners Alexander Wilkinson and Michael Connell as chainmen, and Edward Tobin and Michael Buckley as flagmen.⁵⁸ Posts to mark the lots were supplied by Mr. Borrowman.⁵⁹

Wilkinson's survey plan and field notes tell much about the overall condition and appearance of the reserve at Amherstburg in 1858. On this plan, Richmond, Fort, St. Arnaud, and William streets were named; however, no names appear on what are today known as Balaclava and Victoria streets.⁶⁰ It may be assumed then, that these streets had not yet been named by this late date. It, also, would appear that minor revisions were made to the 1852 lot lines by Wilkinson; however, in all cases he attempted to disturb them as little as possible.⁶¹

Although it had been intimated, in 1852 by De Moleyn, and again in 1855 by Donaldson, that the reserve had been fully occupied and settled, the Wilkinson survey showed that not all the lots had cottages. Wilkinson recorded that, while Serjeant Meek's cottage had burned down earlier, there were no cottages on: Lot 19 claimed by Samuel Mapen, Lot 29 claimed by Michael Nowlan, Lot 56 claimed by Thomas McDonnell, Lot 67 claimed by Patrick Conboy, Lot 68 claimed by Cornelius Burns, nor Lot 70 claimed by Thomas German.⁶² As well, no cottage, fencing, or other improvements had been made to Lot Number One, the block between Lot 31 and the circle called the Gun Range, which was claimed by Florence Sullivan.⁶³

Other pensioners and their families, however, had shown initiative and undertaken improvements. Serjeant Major Taylor was having a two-storey house built on the block between Lot 5 and the Gun Range,⁶⁴ and Thomas Walsh had constructed a small stable on the road to the west of his lot.⁶⁵ The earlier statements as to the neatness of appearance of the pensioners' cottages and lots would seem justified by the Wilkinson report.

The Ordnance Reserve at Amherstburg was the last to be transferred to the Province, being deferred by Donaldson who did not wish to move from his quarters at an earlier time because of the illness of a family member.⁶⁶ It was, therefore, not until November 1858 that William F. Coffin, Ordnance Lands Agent, reported that he had received over the barracks at Fort Malden, and also all those other parts of the Ordnance Reserves there, as were not 'located by pensioners'.⁶⁷ Coffin observed,

that the above works referred to are Earth works, transferred to the Province in such a state of disrepair as hardly to make repair desirable. It would I believe, cost less to rebuild these works, if ever in the altered circumstances of the times, it should be deemed expedient to re-establish them where they now stand, than to keep them in repair to meet a remote and uncertain contingency.⁶⁸

This assessment was probably justified. A return prepared by the Royal Engineers Office in February 1860, although listing the state of the buildings as 'generally good', showed that their value had fallen from over £11,000 to approximately £3,000.⁶⁹

Major Charles Fortier, Assistant Adjutant General of Militia, 9th Division, was appointed local Ordnance agent at Amherstburg. He was to "protect all buildings, fences &c. from deprecation and . . . to inform [Coffin] of any occurrence worth noting."⁷⁰ In return for performing these duties, Fortier was to occupy the Commissariat quarters with its garden and grounds as a residence, thereby saving the Government \$365 per annum, the salary of caretaker.⁷¹ Fortier also had the temporary use of the wharf and storehouse attached to the Commissariat quarters. He, however, was to give these up whenever required without claim for compensation.⁷²

In general, Fortier's duties were not onerous, being limited mainly to the collection of rent for leased Ordnance lands and buildings. In December 1858, however, a pensioner by the name of Dumford took forcible possession of a house on the reserve, requiring Fortier to seek the services of S. S. Macdonell, prominent lawyer and mayor of Windsor, to dispossess him.⁷³

The position of Ordnance lands keeper at Amherstburg appears to have been most susceptible to political abuse. Following the transfer of the lands to the province, a mad scramble for the choicest lots and buildings ensued. Prominent amongst those involved in this rush were John McLeod, Arthur Rankin, and Albert Prince, all at one time or another political office

holders or aspirants. In May 1859, Theodore J. Park was appointed in place of Fortier as Ordnance Agent at Amherstburg.⁷⁴ John McLeod, friend and business partner of Park, and then local member of the Legislative Assembly, was probably behind the appointment. Fortier had been recommended by Arthur Rankin.⁷⁵

For a time, part of the barracks continued to be occupied by the pensioners and staff.⁷⁶ Serjeant Major Taylor was to remain in the barracks until his house was finished. Serjeant Meek, the schoolmaster, was also to remain until further instructions, presumably until a new residence could be constructed, his having previously burned.⁷⁷ Those pensioners and their families who had resided in the picket house and blockhouses on Bois Blanc Island, notably John Bonnet and Thomas Jarmin, were required to give up their holdings.⁷⁸ The military reserve on Bois Blanc Island was 'at the disposal of the Government', and was to be sold. These pensioners presumably received compensation and the four pound annuity.

Before Major Donaldson's removal from Amherstburg to the Ottawa District, he had printed a farewell address, in which he endeavoured to offer some last advice to the pensioners of his command.

MY OLD FRIENDS

I take this mode of bidding you all farewell, and adding to that farewell such few words of advice as my former position amongst you warrants . . .

I sincerely trust you will ever retain the bonds of unity and love amongst you, and let no petty feuds prevent you from electing amongst yourselves such men to represent you in the Council of the Township [sic] of Amherstburg, of which you are now Citizens . . .

Do not lightly dispose of the valuable gift Her Majesty has conferred on you, your wives and your children, -- a comfortable and Independent Homestead . . .

Be sober, and cautiously beware of DEBT; many snares will be set for you, now you are Landowners.

Try always to keep a little in store by you, and in the event of any neighbouring Lots being disposed of, you might, by the purchase, add to your Freehold.

Once more, my old Veterans, FAREWELL!⁷⁹

There remained yet one final task to perform to complete the transfer. Some measure had to be devised to deal with the guns left at Fort Malden. A return prepared at the time Coffin took charge of the property there listed a sizeable quantity of ordnance and ammunition at Fort Malden. These included, four 24 pr., three 12 pr., two 8 inch mortars, two 18 pr. carronades, and one 8 inch howitzer. In addition, there were over 3,000 rounds of shot and common shell for these guns.⁸⁰ It, however, did not appear by the Transfer Act that it was intended that these guns should accompany the lands, nor did Coffin, in his capacity as Ordnance Lands Agent, have any means of taking proper charge of them. In a letter to the Military Secretary, Captain Retallack, Coffin outlined the problems of leaving them uncared for at the post.

If uncared for, nor cleaned, nor painted, in the usual way, they will soon become rust eaten and unserviceable. Many of them are valuable pieces and all are British national arms and should not be exposed to risque, however remote of subserving in the event of hostile irruption, to the exaggerated self-glorification of any enemy. It would be better, to sink them in the River or in the Lake than to tempt such a catastrophe.⁸¹

As a result, detailed instructions were sent from the War Office early in 1859 for the removal of the guns and ammunition into storage.

It was therefore not until the spring of 1859 that the transfer was completed. Captain Waller, Brigade Major of Artillery, and one serjeant were dispatched in May 1859 to supervise a careful inspection of the guns, shot, and shell, and to supervise their removal. Instead of conveying gunners, Waller was granted the authority to hire labourers when necessary for shifting guns and assisting to gauge shot.⁸² At Amherstburg, pensioners, presumably, would have performed this duty. Only those articles which were serviceable and available for future use were to be removed. Those condemned were to be offered for sale, provided fair prices could be obtained. The guns, before being sold, were to be rendered incapable of use by having a trunion knocked off.⁸³ George Gott obtained one of the cannons for the town at the time they were being removed from the fort to be broken up.⁸⁴

For many years after the termination of the enrolled

pensioner scheme, the pensioners made their presence in Amherstburg felt. In general, they were remembered as

quiet respectable men who still clung to the habit of keeping themselves and their accoutrements clean, going to church every Sunday, getting drunk occasionally - considering it treason to vote other than 'Tory' - and calculating time from 'pension day'.⁸⁵

Some became hotelmen, farmers, shopkeepers and clerks, brewers, blacksmiths, and many other trades and callings. Private John Hurst, pensioner, late soldier in the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, and formerly of the 88th Regiment, went to work and live with the Reverend F. G. Elliott, Episcopal Minister at Sandwich, as servant.⁸⁶ Pensioner John Bonnet, in 1866, was an employee in the Park Street Brewery of James Wilderspin.⁸⁷

William T. Wilkinson, son of Colour Serjeant James Wilkinson, was a member of the first town council of Amherstburg, and eventually became Warden of Essex County in 1903.⁸⁸ Many of the pensioners and members of their families found employment at the Malden Lunatic Asylum; John Meek, the former schoolmaster becoming clerk of the institution.⁸⁹ The majority, however, continued to live solely on their pensions and two acre farm lots.⁹⁰

Following the termination of the pensioner scheme, the pensioners received their pension payments in the Prince Albert Hotel on Murray Street, which was run by Serjeant John Conroy. The paymaster at this time was Colonel Lee of London.⁹¹ Serjeant Meek acted as clerk to the paymaster on quarterly pension day.

For several years after the removal of Major Donaldson, Captain Doherty was magistrate and half-pay officer at Amherstburg.⁹²

In January 1879, the place of payment was changed to the police office on Dalhousie Street, 'recent regulations' having been passed which prohibited payments being made in a hotel.⁹³ By 1881, the place of payment had shifted to the town hall, and Major Hesketh was paymaster.⁹⁴

April 4th, 1884, was the last date on which the pensioners were paid in person by the paymaster, Major Hesketh, who retired in that year. By that time the number of pensioners had dwindled to 34, and the expense of sending a Staff Officer was no longer warranted. After that date, the surviving pensioners were paid by mail from Halifax. Each of the survivors was issued an identity card which contained a recital of his service, pension rate, and physical description. One such document belonging to Bernard Finacan recorded that he was entitled to a pension of a shilling a day, that he was then 78 and two-twelfths years of age, and in the space reserved for hair colour it stated that this old veteran's hair was 'turning grey'.⁹⁵

By the 1890s, few of the former enrolled pensioners remained. Major Donaldson, who had become Staff Officer of Pensioners in the Ottawa District after leaving Amherstburg, died 3 January 1865.⁹⁶ Serjeant Major Taylor passed away suddenly, 28 January 1878, from an 'inflammation of the lungs'. The

Amherstburg Echo reported: "Few persons in town would be more missed than will this kind, courteous old gentleman, few pass away possessing a greater measure of the respect of his fellow citizens than he."⁹⁷ An active member of the Masonic fraternity for nearly 52 years, his funeral was attended by his fellow Masons en masse.

When an old soldier died, which happened with increasing frequency as the years passed, the pensioners had available a burial fund which was used to purchase a keg of liquor, tobacco, clay pipes, and cheese, to properly 'mourn' their fallen comrade. This fund had been assessed against them each pay day by the staff officer.⁹⁸ In 1876, a heavy loss to the pensioners was suffered when John Conroy made-off with \$150 of this fund. This money had been entrusted to him by his father who had been treasurer of the Funeralry Association before his death.⁹⁹ It was later reported, however, that Mrs. Conroy accounted to the pensioners the full amount of the burial fund entrusted to her husband.¹⁰⁰

Along with the departure of the pensioners from this world, many of the buildings that had become associated with the enrolled pensioner scheme began to disappear from the Amherstburg scene. The Commissariat Storehouse, which had been the cause of many of the problems experienced at Amherstburg, burned to the ground on 15 February 1865, taking with it some 37 barrels of

whiskey and other stores, for a total loss of four thousand dollars.¹⁰¹ The old Artillery Barn, the school house for the pensioners' children, was razed in later years by Malcolm McGregor. Most of the stone of the lower floor was incorporated in a stone fence on the property.¹⁰² Many of the pensioners' cottages disappeared, as well, being replaced by more modern homes and buildings. Two, however, have been restored to their original appearance. One of these is located at Fort Malden National Historic Park, and the other is found behind the Park House Museum on the King's Navy Yard Park, Amherstburg.

The enrolled pensioner scheme at Amherstburg had proven successful. Valuable land, employment for themselves and families, and a certain market for their produce, were obtained by the pensioners. In return, they provided a military-police presence in the area. Although some ill-feelings on the part of the townspeople had been exhibited, chiefly as a result of the pensioners being brought in to live on prime land, the pensioners later blended in well, and there was a fair amount of intermarriage between their families and the original town members. Many local residents today can trace their families back to the pensioners. The settlement at Amherstburg was an outstanding example of the enrolled pensioner scheme which worked as intended, an exception, unequalled by similar schemes elsewhere in the province.

CONCLUSION

More than 130 years have passed since the introduction of the enrolled pensioners onto Canadian soil. As one of the salient features of an Empire-wide plan to withdraw the regular garrison forces from the colonies, the enrolled pensioner scheme was introduced in Canada West by Earl Grey of the Colonial Office, and carried into effect by the War Office, in an effort to reduce military expenditures. From an economic viewpoint, the scheme was the most cost efficient option available to the British and Canadian Governments, with the possible exception of no security force at all.

By substituting the enrolled pensioners for the regular garrison forces in the colony, a double savings was achieved. The enrolled pensioners would not only man the scattered outposts more cheaply than regulars, but the use of pensioners would direct part of their pension payments into productive channels. The scheme, therefore, had the advantage of costing almost nothing, while, nevertheless, making available a force through which British military obligations could be met. This seemed an attractive plan, but also a complicated one.

As a leading feature of the plan, the pensioners were offered a residence and small allotment of land on the Ordnance Reserves near the towns where their military services were

required. By utilizing the Ordnance Reserves, military settlements more efficient than any yet attempted might be formed. It was hoped that this measure would ultimately prove to be of advantage both to these old soldiers and the security of the province.

From the War Office's point of view, the Ordnance Reserves formed an obvious source of potential land grants. Located at all the military stations, they had been set aside for military use since the establishment of the province. The enrolled pensioners could be given small holdings on these reserves, where their staff officers could watch over them and easily assemble them for duty.

Naturally, however, Ordnance Department officials were loath to see their power eroded by the grant of this land to the pensioners. Consequently, the pensioners were forced to sit in barrack rooms while rival government departments argued over policy. Without land, the plan was doomed to fail. The inability of the enrolled pensioners to establish themselves on the Ordnance Reserves as originally planned was the most obvious failure of the scheme.

However, those pensioners who received land on the military reserves, notably those at Amherstburg, succeeded as military colonists. Valuable land; employment for themselves and families, and a certain market for their produce, were readily obtained. Some even achieved a degree of substantial

prosperity. Much of this success can be attributed only to their officers' genuine concern for them and their families. The settlement at Amherstburg serves, therefore, as an outstanding example of the enrolled pensioner scheme, an exception, unequalled by similar schemes elsewhere in the province. It seems clear, however, that had the pensioners at Toronto, London, and Niagara received their land grants, they too may have obtained successes to the same extent as those at Amherstburg. Nevertheless, they and their children, no doubt, contributed to the urban development of the province.

The chief aim in settling the enrolled pensioners and their families on the Ordnance Reserves in Canada West had been the enrolment of that force of veterans as a substitute for the regular garrison forces of the colony. The enrolled pensioners certainly achieved this strategic aim. The Imperial Government, in part facilitated by Tulloch's enrolled pensioners, was able to reduce the number of regulars stationed in Canada, cutting overall Canadian defence costs, without abandoning its obligation of providing military security to the colony. While these were not permanent withdrawals or savings, they were, in view of the Crimean War, a timely contribution to Britain's military strength. The enrolled pensioners, therefore, served as an important element in colonial defence plans.

Along with the Imperial use of the enrolled pensioners, this force of veterans also figured prominently in the schemes

of the colony. Pensioners were employed on numerous occasions by the local government to assist it with police work, countering riots and mob actions throughout the United Province of Canada. Their role, as catalyst in the formation of the Canadian Volunteer Force, has until this time been overlooked. Pensioners were considered essential for the occupation of military posts at which regular or militia forces were unavailable. The pensioners, therefore, served as an important interim military force. Many were employed in drilling the new Canadian Volunteer Militia, and others held commissions in that force. The pensioners thus contributed, more than has generally been realized, to the early development of the native Canadian defence forces.

The selection and implementation of the enrolled pensioner scheme seems, therefore, to have been justified. Reductions in Imperial defence expenditures were realized, an interim military - police force was offered to the province, and a new and possibly better life was given to the old soldiers. Everyone, the Imperial Government, the province, and the pensioners, had benefited.

APPENDIX A

THE UNIFORM AND ACCOUTREMENTS OF THE ENROLLED PENSIONERS OF CANADA WEST

No examples, and few details, of the uniform of the enrolled pensioners of Canada West exist today. As a result, there is much speculation about their uniform and accoutrements. What follows is an interpretation, based on various pieces of information which were acquired during the research of this thesis, and which represent a most careful search of archival, museum, and secondary sources in Canada. Hopefully, it will invoke comment and criticism from others who have further information or evidence.

The enrolled pensioners of Canada West, under the terms of enrolment, were to be provided with a uniform consisting of a frock coat, coatee, pair of trousers, and cap, to be worn only when on duty, and which would be renewed if found necessary. In the event of the death of the pensioner or his removal from the force before the expiration period of the issued clothing, it was to revert to the public, to be made available for his successor. Each pensioner, on being approved for service, was also to receive £1, to be applied under the direction of his officer in providing him with a fatigue jacket, pair of boots,

two shirts, two pair of socks, and one stock, which he was required to keep up himself without any further issue of money.¹

The Staff Officers of Pensioners probably continued to wear the uniform of the regiment in which they last served.

Specific details of dress and equipment of the enrolled pensioners in Canada West have not been discovered. The official letter outlining the conditions of service specified only that the pensioners were to receive similar arms and equipment to those of the enrolled force in the United Kingdom.² A War Office estimate of 1843, made for the guidance of staff officers in the United Kingdom, had stated the uniform would probably consist of

a double breasted blue frock-coat with red cuff and collar, loosely fitting so as to be capable of being worn over the man's civilian jacket in cold weather, dark grey trousers with a red stripe similar to those worn by Sappers and Miners, and a black cloth forage cap with red band and brass star.³

In that country, privates were armed with muskets and bayonets, and the serjeants with swords and cavalry carbines adapted to infantry service.⁴

It may be presumed that the pensioners of Canada West, and more particularly those at Amherstburg and Penetanguishene, were equipped similarly to those in the United Kingdom, clothing and equipment for 500 men being in readiness to be sent out with the first detachment, and instructions being issued by the Ordnance Department for arms being supplied from the Ordnance

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Stores at Montreal, however, no detailed record has been found.⁵ Although not included in the specified pensioners' kit, it is known that a small supply of 'old great coats' was issued for the use of the pensioners aboard the ship Hope.⁶ The enrolled pensioners, in general, however, had to make do without winter clothing.⁷ Ultimately, the arms and uniform of the enrolled pensioners in Canada West rested upon their availability in Canadian Ordnance Department stores.

The uniforms of enrolled pensioners elsewhere in British North America would appear to have differed, if not in cut at least in colour, from that described in the 1843 estimate. The uniform of the pensioners at Fort Garry after 1848 was described as 'dark green with crimson facings',⁸ while that of a party of pensioners from the garrison of Newfoundland who arrived in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, in May 1855, was described as being made of 'green cloth with black facings', and their arms consisted of 'short rifles and swords'.⁹

A possible clue to the nature of the pensioners' uniform in Canada West has been found in the receipts for the 'permanent duty' force. Running throughout the quarterly returns are bills submitted for 'alteration of clothing on joining the Permanent Duty Force'.¹⁰ Were the green uniforms of the Royal Canadian Rifles, in which many of the pensioners had previously served, altered to more closely resemble the uniform of the enrolled pensioners of the United Kingdom? Or, were the uniforms, as

worn by the enrolled force in the United Kingdom, altered in some way to reflect Canadian service? The answer is not known, but the questions perhaps suggest the correct explanation.

With the formation of the 'permanent duty' force during the fall of 1854, the enrolled pensioners were issued 150 new great coats at Provincial Government expense.¹¹ These were probably the universal pattern, grey, double breasted, great coats, as worn by the Royal Canadian Rifles.¹² As well as these great coats, small numbers of buffalo robe coats were supplied at Provincial Government expense to those pensioners doing sentry duty at various of the stations.¹³

On 7 October 1858, Lieutenant Colonel Tulloch, Superintendent of Pensioners in Canada, "disbanded the Enrolled Pension Companies as an Imperial Force, and gave the Men their clothing."¹⁴ The arms and accoutrements issued out of the Ordnance Stores in Canada to the pensioners in 1851 were forwarded to the Military Store Keeper at Kingston.¹⁵ At Amherstburg, this equipment consisted of 140 stand of arms with 12 serjeant's swords, as well as, ammunition pouches, pouch belts, frogs, and waist belts, for approximately 160 men. Also included were two drums and two fifes, and one case of breast plates and spares.¹⁶ Similar equipment, differing only in quantities, was returned from the other stations. No objections had been raised to the clothing being issued to the men for their own use, because it had been

worn for the prescribed period and it was not intended to send out any further pensioners.¹⁷ Herein lies the reason no enrolled pensioner uniforms are known to exist today. These cast-off uniforms were probably worn by the men as work dress until they became rags and were then thrown out.

APPENDIX B

ENROLLED PENSIONERS AT AMHERSTBURG

At least 126, and probably more, enrolled pensioners were stationed at Fort Malden. What follows is a list of those who it has been confirmed were part of the establishment there, giving the pensioner's name, former regiment or service, and the reference for this information.

NAME	FORMER REGIMENT OR SERVICE	REFERENCE
Michael Audley	60th Foot	1, 2.
John Beatty	47th Foot	2.
Alexander Black	R. C. R. R.	1, 2, 3, 4.
John Bonnet	69th Foot	5.
John Booth	R. C. R. R.	1, 2, 3, 4.
John Bowles	R. C. R. R.	2.
Bernard Brady	R. C. R. R.	1, 4.
Terrence Branagan	R. C. R. R.	1, 2.
John Brooks	R. C. R. R.	2.
John Brown	R. C. R. R.	1, 2, 3.
John Brown	63rd Foot	1, 2.
Michael Buckley	R. C. R. R.	1, 2, 4.

NAME	FORMER REGIMENT OR SERVICE	REFERENCE
Cornelius Burns	R. C. R. R.	1, 2, 4.
Thomas Carney (Carnay)	R. C. R. R.	1, 3, 4.
Michael Carroll	R. C. R. R.	1, 2, 4.
William Caur (Carr)	86th Foot	1, 2, 4.
Patrick Conboy	R. C. R. R.	2, 4.
Michael Connell	5th Foot	3, 4.
Farrel Conroy	Unknown	4.
Peter Conroy	R. C. R. R.	1, 2, 4.
Francis Cox	63rd Foot	1, 2, 4.
Thomas Craig	65th Foot	1, 2, 4.
John Crimmins	95th Foot	1, 2.
James Cunniff	88th Foot	1, 2, 4.
Timothy Curley	R. C. R. R.	1, 2, 4.
Patrick Delmore	R. C. R. R.	1, 2, 3, 4.
John Doran (Dolan)	R. C. R. R.	2, 4.
Bernard Dornan	Unknown	4.
Francis Donnelly	R. C. R. R.	1, 2.
John Donnelly	Unknown	4.
William England	Unknown	4.
William Farmer	88th Foot	1, 2, 3, 4.
Bernard Finucane (Finucan)	95th Foot	1, 4.
Thomas Fitzgerald	41st Foot	3.

NAME	FORMER REGIMENT OR SERVICE #	REFERENCE
James Fitzpatrick	Unknown	4.
John Fizzell	R. C. R. R.	2.
William Flemming	36th Foot	1, 2, 4.
Patrick Flynn (Flinn)	98th Foot	1, 2, 4.
William Flynn	84th Foot	3, 4.
Dennis Fowler	R. C. R. R.	1, 3, 4.
Thomas German	Unknown	4.
Thomas Gibbins (Gibbons)	R. C. R. R.	1, 4.
Nathaniel Hagen	Royal Artillery	1, 2, 4.
William Hales	2nd Foot Guards	3.
John Hall	33rd Foot	2.
John Handcock (Hancock)	R. C. R. R.	2, 4.
Patrick Hayes	R. C. R. R.	1, 2.
John Healy	15th Foot	1, 2.
John Hobley	R. C. R. R.	2, 4.
William Howe	R. C. R. R.	1, 4.
John Hugh	R. C. R. R.	2.
Richard Hyde	89th Foot	1, 2, 4.
Thomas Jarmin	36th Foot	2.
John Kavanagh	1st Foot	1.
John Keenans	83rd Foot	2.
Crawford Kennedy	R. C. R. R.	1, 4.

NAME	FORMER REGIMENT OR SERVICE	REFERENCE
John Kerr (Carr)	72nd Foot	1, 2, 4.
Robert Lawson	R. C. R. R.	3.
John Lyons	58th Foot	1, 2.
Thomas McAlay	R. C. R. R.	1, 2.
Johnson McCormick (McCormack)	Royal Artillery	1, 2, 4.
John McCrudden	59th Foot	1, 2.
Thomas McDonnell	Unknown	4.
James McDowall	R. C. R. R.	1, 2.
William McGregor	Unknown	4.
Philip McKernan	R. C. R. R.	1, 2, 4.
Patrick Madden	Unknown	4.
Philip Maguire (McGuire)	9th Foot	3, 4.
Patrick Malley	83rd Foot	1.
James Malone	R. C. R. R.	1, 2, 3, 4.
John Maloney	Unknown	4.
Thomas Maycroft	Unknown	4.
John Mears	36th Foot.	1, 2, 3, 4.
John Meek	R. C. R. R.	1, 4.
James Melerick	59th Foot	1.
Samuel Mepham (Mapen)	R. C. R. R.	1, 2, 4.
John Moloney (Maloney)	83rd Foot	1, 2, 4.
Patrick Moran	13th Foot	1, 2, 4.

NAME	FORMER REGIMENT OR SERVICE	REFERENCE
William Murphy	62nd Foot	1, 2.
Charles Murray	21st Foot	1, 2, 4.
George Nagle	R. C. R. R.	1, 2, 4.
Patrick Nevin	Royal Artillery	1, 2, 4.
Michael Nowlan	Unknown.	4.
Charles O'Connor	31st Foot	1, 2, 3, 4.
Gordon O'Neil	R. C. R. R.	1.
John Patterson (Paterson)	R. C. R. R.	1, 2, 4.
Robert Pocock	R. C. R. R.	1, 4.
Mathew Pollard	28th Foot	1, 2, 4.
John Porter	R. C. R. R.	2.
John Pugh	R. C. R. R.	1, 4.
Robert Purvis	Royal Artillery	1, 2, 4.
Daniel Quinlan	56th Foot	1, 3, 4.
James Quinlan	95th Foot	1, 2, 4.
Samuel Riley	R. C. R. R.	1, 2, 4.
Thomas Rourke	36th Foot	1, 2, 4.
James Ryan	49th Foot	2.
Patrick Ryder (Rider)	4th Dragoons	3.
Brice Sample	54th Foot	1, 2, 3, 4.
Thomas Sharp	R. C. R. R.	1, 2, 3, 4.
William Smith	R. C. R. R.	1, 3, 4.

NAME	FORMER REGIMENT OR SERVICE	REFERENCE
John Spencer	R. C. R. R.	2.
William Spinks	Unknown	4.
Samuel Stewart	R. C. R. R.	1, 2, 4.
James Sullivan	St. Helana Corps	2, 4.
William Sullivan	53rd Foot	1, 2, 4.
Edward Sweeney	R. C. R. R.	1, 2.
Michael Tansey	36th Foot	1, 4.
Joseph Taylor	1st Foot	1, 2, 4.
Peter Teehan (Seehan)	88th Foot	1, 2, 3, 4.
Dennis Tighy	R. C. R. R.	1, 2.
Edward Tobin	22nd Foot	2, 3, 4.
Thomas Tomlinson	R. C. R. R.	1, 2, 3, 4.
George Trussel	Royal Marines	2.
Joseph Viney	R. C. R. R.	1, 4.
Stephen Walls	Rifle Brigade	2, 3, 4.
George Walsh	9th Foot	1.
John Walsh (Welsh)	24th Foot	3, 4.
Thomas Walsh	Unknown	4.
James Wilkinson	R. C. R. R.	1, 3, 4.
William Wilson	R. C. R. R.	2, 3, 4.
Hugh (Wishart)	R. C. R. R.	3, 4.
Peter	R. C. R. R.	1, 2, 4.

ENDNOTES.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Besides the standard bibliographic and archival short forms, the following abbreviations have been used in the endnotes.

L. A. C. A. C. - Local Architectural Conservation Advisory
Committee

MG - Manuscript Group

PAC - Public Archives of Canada

PAO - Public Archives of Ontario

R. C. R. R. - Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment

RG - Record Group

WO - War Office

INTRODUCTION

- 1 Sir C. B. Adderley, Review of "The Colonial Policy of Lord J. Russell's Administration" by Earl Grey, 1853, and of Subsequent Colonial History, London; Edward Stanford, 1869, p. 381.
- 2 For a more complete view of this period and subject see, C. P. Stacey, Canada and the British Army 1846-1871, Toronto; University of Toronto Press, 1963, Chapters I-III, pp. 1-63.
- 3 "Dispatch from the Colonial Secretary, Earl Grey, to the Governor-General of Canada, the Earl of Elgin, Putting into Effect a Reduction of Military Expenditures for Canada by the Home Government, 14 March 1851", in, Joel H. Wiener, ed., Great Britain: Foreign Policy and the Span of Empire 1689-1971, A Documentary History, New York; McGraw Hill, 1972, pp. 2175-2178.
- 4 *Idid.*, p. 2177.
- 5 Sir Arthur G. Doughty, The Elgin-Grey Papers 1846-1852, Ottawa; King's Printer, 1937, Vol. I, p. 222, Grey to Elgin, 22 August 1848.

THE ORIGINS OF THE ENROLLED PENSIONER SCHEME

- 1 For a current account of the Chelsea Hospital and Pensioners see, Allison Lockwood, "The Old Men", British Heritage, Vol. I, No. 3, April/May 1980, pp. 56-67.
- 2 In 1847, enlistment was limited to twenty-one years in the infantry and twenty-four in the other corps, although engagements could be extended under certain circumstances. Allan Ramsay Skelley, The Victorian Army at Home, London; Croom Helm, 1977, p. 251.
- 3 Ibid., pp. 206-207.
- 4 F. C. Mather, "Army Pensioners and the Maintenance of Civil Order in Early Nineteenth Century England", Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research, Vol. XXXVI, 1958, p. 114.
- 5 Frederick Myatt, The Soldier's Trade, British Military Developments 1660-1914, London; Macdonald & Janes, 1974, p. 65.
- 6 Mather, p. 114.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Great Britain, The Statutes of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 6 & 7 Victoria, Cap. XCV, An Act for rendering more effective the Services of such Out-Pensioners of Chelsea Hospital as shall be called out to assist in preserving the Public Peace.
- 9 Mather, pp. 119-124.
- 10 Great Britain, The Statutes of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 9 & 10 Victoria, Cap. IX, An Act for amending the Act for rendering effective the Services of the Chelsea Out-Pensioners and extending it to the

Out-Pensioners of Greenwich Hospital.

- 11 Ibid., 10 & 11-Victoria, Cap. LIV, An Act to amend the Acts for rendering effective the Service of the Chelsea and Greenwich Out-Pensioners.
- 12 Ibid., 11 & 12 Victoria, Cap. LXXXIV, An Act to amend the Acts for rendering effective the Service of the Chelsea and Greenwich Out-Pensioners, and to extend them to the Pensioners of the East India Company.
- 13 Canada, Public Archives (hereafter cited PAC), MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 566, pp. 179-181, B. Hawes to H. Merivale, 20 January 1853.
- 14 Elizabeth Gibbs, ed., Debates of the Legislative Assembly of United Canada, Montreal; Centre de Recherche en Histoire Economique du Canada Francais, 1979, Vol. X, Part II, p. 1148, F. Hincks, 1 August 1851.
- 15 PAC, MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 566, p. 181, B. Hawes to H. Merivale, 20 January 1853.
- 16 As well as the Australian-New Zealand colonies, enrolled pensioners were also sent to other parts of the empire, including, Africa, the West Indies, the Falkland Islands, the Hudson's Bay Territory, and Canada, with more or less similar results. One example, that of Kaffraria, in South Africa, was, however, particularly unsuccessful, the pensioner villages proving incapable of defence. In two out of three villages, nearly all the male inhabitants were killed at the opening of the Kaffir War.
George K. Raudzens, "A Successful Military Settlement: Earl Grey's Enrolled Pensioners of 1846 in Canada", Canadian Historical Review, Vol. LII, No. 4, December 1971, p. 392;
Paul Knaplund, "E. G. Wakefield on the Colonial Garrisons, 1851", Ibid., Vol. V. No. 3, September 1924, pp. 230, 233.

- 17 Charles H. Stewart, The Service of British Regiments in Canada and North America, Ottawa; Department of National Defence Library, 1962, p. 404.
- 18 Ibid., p. 416.
- 19 Ibid., p. 408.
- 20 W. L. Morton, "Introduction", London Correspondence Inward from Eden Colville 1849-1852, E. E. Rich, ed., London; The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1956, p. xlvi.
- 21 Ibid., p. lxxvi.
- 22 W. E. Ingersol, "Redcoats at Fort Garry", The Beaver, Outfit 276, December 1945, p. 17.
- 23 This, however, does not appear to have been done at that time. There was a further attempt in 1855 to settle a number of pensioners on available Ordnance land in Prince Edward Island. A party consisting of two serjeants, three corporals, and twenty-two privates from the garrison of Newfoundland arrived in Charlottetown in May 1855 and were employed by the government as a local military force. This corps served for only a few months when they were disbanded, the local legislature having refused to accept financial responsibility for their continued maintenance. PAC, MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 563, p. 152, unsigned to Secretary at War, 18 December 1850; J. Mackay Hitsman, "Military Defenders of Prince Edward Island 1775-1864", Canadian Historical Association Annual Report; 1964, p. 34; James B. Pollard, Prince Edward Island: Military and Civil, Charlottetown; n. p., 1898, p. 100.
- 24 Wellington to Grey, 12 December 1846, cited in, Knaplund, p. 230.
- 25 Doughty, Vol. I, p. 217, Grey to Elgin, 2 August 1848.

- 26 PAC, RG 8I, Vol. 633a, p. 346, Richard Bullock to Major Talbot, 29 October 1849.
- 27 Robert England, "Disbanded and Discharged Soldiers in Canada Prior to 1914, Canadian Historical Review, Vol. XXVII, No. 1, March 1926, p. 2.
- 28 Captain Caldwell's Company of Butler's Rangers, as well as other disbanded troops and Loyalists, formed the basis of the New Settlement (Colchester) and Amherstburg, both in the present County of Essex.
Reverend E. J. Lajeunesse, The Windsor Border Region, Toronto; Champlain Society, 1960, pp. cv-cvii, cxxvi, 167-170, 226.
- 29 William Renwick Riddell, The Life of John Graves Simcoe 1792-96, Toronto; McClelland and Stewart, 1926, pp. 117-118.
- 30 England, pp. 8-12; Eric Jarvis, "Military Land Granting in Upper Canada Following the War of 1812", Ontario History, Vol. LXVII, No. 3, September 1975, pp. 121-134; John D. P. Martin, "The Regiment of Watteville, Its Settlement and Service in Upper Canada", *Ibid.*, Vol. LII, No. 1, March 1960, pp. 17-30; G. Playter, "An Account of Three Military Settlements in Eastern Ontario", Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records, Vol. XX, 1923, pp. 98-104.
- 31 England, p. 17.
- 32 J. D. G. Tulloch, Report of the Inspection of Pensioners in the North American Provinces, London; n. p., 1850, p. 1.
- 33 Great Britain, The Statutes of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, II George IV & I William IV, Cap. XLI, An Act to make further Regulations with respect to Army Pensions.
- 34 J. K. Johnson, "The Chelsea Pensioners in Upper Canada", Ontario History, Vol. LIII, No. 4, December 1961, pp. 273-289.

- 35 Tulloch, pp. 32-34.
- 36 Johnson, p. 282.
- 37 PAC, RG 8I, Vol. 497, pp. 227-229, Fox Maule to Lt. General Sir B. D'Urban, 11 December 1847.
- 38 Doughty, Vol. I, p. 223, Grey to Elgin, 22 August 1848.
- 39 Investigation later proved, however, that the factors which had caused many of the earlier failures were those common with any new settler in a frontier situation and were not necessarily the result of any weakness caused by a military background.
- 40 Tulloch, pp. 32-34.
- 41 Doughty, Vol. I, pp. 206-207, Grey to Elgin, 27 July 1848.
- 42 PAC, RG 8I, Vol. 499, pp. 34-35, F. Maule to Lt. General Sir B. D'Urban, 19 April 1849.
- 43 Ibid., MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 563, p. 152, J. D. G. Tulloch to Secretary at War, 1 October 1850.
- 44 Tulloch, p. 31.
- 45 PAC, MG 13, WO 44, Vol. 716, n. p., Fox Maule to Earl Grey, 20 December 1849.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Ibid., Vol. 646, n. p., Information for the use of Military and Naval Officers proposing to settle in the British Colonies, 15 August 1834; R. G. Riddell, "A Study in the Land Policy of the Colonial Office, 1763-1855", Canadian Historical Review, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, December 1937, pp. 393-394.
- 48 PAC, MG 13, WO 44, Vol. 716, n. p., Fox Maule to Earl Grey, 20 December 1849.
- 49 Tulloch, p. 34.

- 49 PAC, MG 13, WO 44, Vol. 716, n. p., J. D. G. Tulloch to Secretary at War, November 1849.
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 Ibid., WO 1, Vol. 565, pp. 401-402, unsigned, undated.
- 52 Ibid., Vol. 566, p. 219, unsigned, undated.
- 53 Ibid., Vol. 565, pp. 502-503, Extract from letter to Earl Grey dated War Office, 30 November 1850.

THE ENROLLED PENSIONER SCHEME AND THE ORDNANCE RESERVES OF
CANADA WEST

- 1 In 1850-51, the total number of pensioners was 66,777, whose pension rates varied from 1½d. a day, the lowest rate, to 3s. 7½d., the highest. The largest number at any one rate in that year was 18,452 at 1s. a day. Great Britain, British Parliamentary Papers, Report from the Select Committee on Army and Ordnance Expenditure; with the Proceedings of the Committee, 1851 (hereafter cited Army and Ordnance Expenditure), p. 42.
- 2 Stacey, p. 83, Elgin to Grey, 23 April 1851.
- 3 Although details and recommendations were submitted by Captain Tulloch late in 1849, it was not until October 1850 that the report was published and submitted for inspection.
- 4 PAC, MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 563, pp. 144-145, L. Sullivan to H. Merivale, 30 November 1850.
- 5 Ibid., WO 44, Vol. 716, n. p., Fox Maule to Earl Grey, 20 December 1849.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Tulloch, p. 12.
- 8 PAC, MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 565, pp. 416-417, Colonial Office Memorandum by E. Panmure, The proceedings with regard to the settlement of Pensioners on the Ordnance Reserves in Canada, 28 August 1852, citing Secretary at War to Earl Grey, 30 November 1850.
- 9 Ibid., p. 416, citing Ordnance Office to Earl Grey, 23 January 1850.

- 10 Ibid., RG 8I, Vol. 501, p. 25, L. Sullivan to Under Secretary of State Colonial Office, 10 February 1851.
- 11 Ibid., pp. 21-22, Grey to Elgin, 27 February 1851.
- 12 Ibid., p. 25, L. Sullivan to Under Secretary of State Colonial Office, 10 February 1851.
- 13 Tulloch, p. 35.
- 14 PAC, MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 565, pp. 448-450, A. M. Tulloch to J. D. G. Tulloch, 2 December 1850.
- 15 Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, eds., Dictionary of National Biography, London; Oxford University Press, 1921, Vol. XIX, p. 1233; Doughty, Vol. I, p. 306, Grey to Elgin, 23 March 1849.
- 16 Great Britain, A List of the Officers of the Army and of the Corps of Royal Marines on Full, Retired, and Half Pay; with an Index (hereafter cited Army List), London; Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1852-53, p. 484.
- 17 PAC, RG 8I, Vol. 503, p. 453, J. D. G. Tulloch to Military Secretary, 21 October 1857.
- 18 Ibid., Vol. 500, p. 262, Fitzroy Somerset to Duke of Wellington, 15 April 1851.
- 19 Ibid., MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 565, pp. 449-451, A. M. Tulloch to J. D. G. Tulloch, 2 December 1850.
- 20 Ibid., pp. 330-331, Fox Maule to Earl Grey, 11 February 1851.
- 21 Ibid., pp. 331-332.
- 22 Ibid., p. 295, C. Trevelyan to H. Merivale, 25 March 1851.
- 23 Ibid., RG 8I, Vol. 500, p. 285, Extract of a Letter from the Secretary at War dated 1st April 1851.
For a brief outline of the numerous British Army administrative bodies and their duties see, Carol M. Whitfield,

Tommy Atkins: The British Soldier in Canada, 1759-1870,
Ottawa; Parks Canada, 1981, pp. 7-42.

- 24 PAC, RG 8I, Vol. 500, p. 234, Fox Maule to Earl Grey, 5 April 1851.
- 25 Quebec Emigrant Society, Report of the Proceedings of a Sub-Committee on the Subject of Commuted Pensioners, Quebec; Thomas Cary & Co., 1833, p. 7.
Many of the elements incorporated into the enrolled pensioner scheme may be found in this report. See pp. 13-14, 17-18.
- 26 PAC, MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 564, p. 320, Conditions on which Pensioners are to be Enrolled for Service in North America, War Office, 31 January 1851.
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 Ibid., Vol. 565, p. 446, L. Sullivan to Staff Officers of Pensioners, 31 January 1851.
- 29 Ibid., p. 336, B. Hawes to C. Trevelyan, 22 November 1852.
- 30 Ibid., Vol. 566, p. 186, B. Hawes to H. Merivale, 20 January 1853.
- 31 Ibid., Vol. 564, p. 320, Conditions on which Pensioners are to be Enrolled for Service in North America, War Office, 31 January 1851.
- 32 Ibid., Vol. 566, pp. 185-186, B. Hawes to H. Merivale, 20 January 1853.
- 33 Ibid., Vol. 564, p. 320, Conditions on which Pensioners are to be Enrolled for Service in North America, War Office, 31 January 1851.
- 34 Ibid., p. 321; Ibid., Vol. 565, p. 445, L. Sullivan to Staff Officers of Pensioners, 31 January 1851.

- 35 Ibid., Vol. 564, p. 320; Conditions on which Pensioners are to be Enrolled for Service in North America, War Office, 31 January 1851.
- 36 Ibid., RG 8I, Vol. 500, pp. 235-236, Fox Maule to Earl Grey, 31 January 1851.
- 37 Ibid., MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 565, pp. 446-447, L. Sullivan to Staff Officers of Pensioners, 31 January 1851.
- 38 Ibid., RG 8I, Vol. 633a, p. 356, Notice to Pensioners paid at Montreal and Quebec and their Out-Stations, L. Sullivan, War Office, 28 February 1851.
- 39 Tulloch, p. 35.
- 40 Ibid., p. 36.
- 41 Ibid.
- 42 PAC, RG 8I, Vol. 500, pp. 247-248, Fox Maule to Earl Grey, 5 April 1851.
- 43 Ibid., MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 565, p. 504, Extract from letter to Earl Grey dated War Office, 30 November 1850.
- The payment of pensioners in the Canadas had entailed what appeared to be an unnecessary amount of labour and detail on the Commissariat Department. Complying with prescribed instructions, the Commissariat Department had been required to take separate receipts from each pensioner, as well as requiring him to produce an attestation made before a magistrate of his identity on the occasion of each issue. The vouchers for this service alone were estimated to amount, including duplicates, to about 15,000 to 16,000 per annum. By permitting the issue of pensions to be made on pay lists, as was the case in Britain, the number of vouchers would be greatly reduced and would lessen in various ways the amount of business to be performed. Likewise, it was considered

sufficient that a pensioner be required to prove his identity only once a year.

Ibid., Vol. 564, pp. 306, 308, Report of the Committee appointed by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, to inquire into the Establishments and Expenditure of the Naval, Ordnance, and Commissariat Departments of the Crown, No. 5 Canada (hereafter cited Naval, Ordnance, and Commissariat Establishments and Expenditure), undated.

44 Ibid., p. 385, Extract of a Letter from Major Tulloch dated Toronto 29th October 1851.

45 Ibid., RG 8I, Vol. 501, pp. 198-199, B. Hawes to H. Merivale, 14 January 1852.

46 Ibid., Vol. 502, p. 117, Copy of Treasury Minute dated 13 February 1852.

47 Ibid., MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 564, p. 384, Extract of a Letter from Major Tulloch dated Toronto 29th October 1851.

48 Ibid., RG 8I, Vol. 501, pp. 194-196, B. Hawes to H. Merivale 14 January 1852.

49 Raudzens, pp. 397-400.

50 In fairness to the Ordnance, it must be admitted that Tulloch had not informed Canadian Ordnance officials of the total number of pensioners to be settled at Toronto.

PAC, RG 8I, Vol. 501, p. 30, H. Merivale to G. Butler, 27 February 1851.

51 Great Britain, Hansard Parliamentary Debates, Vol. CXXIII, col. 711, Lord Panmure, 29 November 1852.

52 PAC, MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 564, p. 384, Extract of a Letter from Major Tulloch dated Toronto 29th October 1851.

53 Ibid., WO 44, Vol. 716, n. p., Respective Officers of the Ordnance, Montreal, to R. Bruce, 19 December 1851.

- 54 Ibid., RG 8I, Vol. 502, pp. 121-122, Copy of Treasury Minute dated 13 February 1852.
- 55 Ibid., p. 119.
- 56 Ibid., pp. 119, 123-124.
- 57 Ibid., MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 564, p. 356, L. Sullivan to Under Secretary for the Colonies, 2 July 1851.
- 58 Ibid., p. 385, Extract of a Letter from Major Tulloch dated Toronto 29th October 1851.
- 59 J. D. G. Tulloch to Secretary at War, 26 November 1852, cited in Raudzens, p. 399.
- 60 This battle appears to have been part of a much larger feud involving Trevelyan of the Treasury and the War Office. Jenifer Hart, "Sir Charles Trevelyan at the Treasury", English Historical Review, Vol. LXXV, No. 1, January 1960, pp. 104-105.
- 61 PAC, MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 565, pp. 284-296, C. Trevelyan to H. Merivale, 9 November 1852.
- 62 Ibid., p. 294.
- 63 Ibid., Vol. 566, pp. 177-189, B. Hawes to H. Merivale, 20 January 1853.
- 64 Ibid., p. 189.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 Ibid., RG 8I, Vol. 501, pp. 196-197, B. Hawes to H. Merivale, 14 January 1852; Stewart, p. 408B.
- 67 Stacey, p. 85.
- 68 Army and Ordnance Expenditure, p. 26.
- 69 PAC, RG 8I, Vol. 502, p. 208, Enrolled Pensioners; State of the above Force in Canada West at the Spring Drill, ended 4 June 1853.

- 70 Ibid., MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 566, p. 398, B. Hawes to H. Merivale, 20 January 1853.
- 71 Ibid., pp. 181-182, B. Hawes to H. Merivale, 20 January 1853; Archer Martin, The Hudson's Bay Company's Land Tenures, London; William Clowes and Sons Limited, 1898, p. 76.
- 72 PAC, MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 568, pp. 578-579, A. M. Tulloch to Major Caldwell, 26 March 1854.
- 73 Ibid., RG 8I, Vol. 503, p. 50, J. D. D. Tulloch to Secretary at War, 7 April 1854.
- 74 Canada, Sessional Papers to the Fourteenth Volume, 1856, No. 3, Appendix No. 17, Return of an Address of the Legislative Assembly dated 28th February, 1856, for a copy of any correspondence which may have passed between the Imperial and Provincial Governments on the subject of the assumption by this Province of the Canals, Lands, and other Properties belonging to the Board of Ordnance (hereafter cited Ordnance Returns), Memorandum on the papers and documents connected with the Ordnance Lands in Canada, the proposed transfer of a portion of them to the Province, the claims of Military Pensioners thereon, &c., Wm. Cayley, 23 January 1856.
- 75 Ibid., Provincial Statutes of Canada, 19 Victoria, Cap. II, An Act to authorize the commutation of claims on Ordnance Lands, upon the transfer of such lands to the Province.
- 76 With the successful completion of 'the long litigated question of Pensioner Settlements', the Secretary at War had Tulloch promoted to the brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel, although he had held that rank locally for some time.
PAC, MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 568, pp. 680-682, Sidney Herbert to Duke of Newcastle, 30 January 1855; Army List, 1857-58, p. 39.

- 77 PAC, MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 568, pp. 506-507, B. Hawes to H. Merivale, 1 June 1854.
- 78 Ibid., p. 604, J. D. G. Tulloch to Secretary at War, 24 June 1854.
- 79 Ordnance Returns, Extract of a letter from military superintendent of Pensioners in Canada, dated 4th May, 1854.
- 80 Ibid.

THE PROVINCIAL USE OF THE ENROLLED PENSIONERS; CIVIL AND
MILITARY

- 1 Gibbs, Vol. X, Part II, p. 1149, R. Baldwin, 1 August 1851.
- 2 Ibid., p. 1484, H. Merrit, 20 August 1851.
- 3 Ibid., p. 1148, W. Cayley, 1 August 1851.
- 4 Ibid., p. 1149, W. L. Mackenzie, 1 August 1851.
- 5 Canada, Provincial Statutes of Canada, 14 & 15 Victoria, Cap. LXXVII, An Act to authorize the employment of Military Pensioners and others as a Local Police Force (hereafter cited Enrolment Act).
- 6 Gibbs, Vol. X, Part II, p. 1149, W. L. Mackenzie, 1 August 1851.
- 7 Enrolment Act.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 PAC, RG 8I, Vol. 500, p. 232, Fox Maule to Earl Grey, 5 April 1851.
- 10 Enrolment Act.
- 11 Canada, The Canada Gazette, Vol. XII, No. 32, 13 August 1853, p. 1173.
- 12 Raudzens, p. 402.
- 13 PAC, MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 566, pp. 330-332, J. D. G. Tulloch to Secretary at War, 23 June 1853.
- 14 Ibid., pp. 323-324, J. D. G. Tulloch to Secretary at War, 16 July 1853.
- 15 Ibid., RG 8I, Vol. 503, p. 355, J. D. G. Tulloch to Major Griffin, 12 March 1856.

- 16 Ibid., MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 566, p. 449, Extract from a Report of a Committee of the Executive Council, dated 12th September 1853, approved by His Excellency, the Administrator of the Government, in Council, the 14th day of the same Month.
- 17 Canada, The Canada Gazette, Vol. XII, No. 41, 15 October 1853, p. 1541.
- 18 PAC, MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 566, pp. 447-448, P. J. O. Chauveau to R. Bruce, 17 September 1853.
- 19 Ibid., pp. 449-450, J. D. G. Tulloch to R. Bruce, 17 September 1853.
- Before commencing with his inspection of the pensioners in the British North American Provinces in 1849, Tulloch had been pressed into service for about three weeks to superintend the formation of a small battalion of two hundred to three hundred pensioners at Montreal. Tulloch's arrival had coincided with the riots resulting from the passage of the Rebellion Losses Bill. As 'serious apprehensions' were entertained to further acts of violence, Tulloch had been directed to adopt 'preparatory measures' for having the most efficient of the pensioners in the vicinity assembled and equipped to aid the civil power. It would appear, however, that this battalion was either very short lived or never formed.
- Tulloch, p. 1; PAC, RG 8I, Vol. 499, pp. 51-52, J. D. G. Tulloch to Military Secretary, 16 May 1849.
- 20 Ibid., MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 566, p. 467, J. D. G. Tulloch to Secretary at War, 18 October 1853.
- 21 Ibid., p. 470, J. D. G. Tulloch to Secretary at War, 9 November 1853.
- 22 Ibid., p. 469.
- 23 Ibid., p. 471, R. Bruce to J. D. G. Tulloch, 9 November 1853.

- 24 Ibid., p. 472, Col. Gagy to J. D. G. Tulloch, 5 November 1853.
- 25 Ibid., pp. 472-473.
- 26 Ibid., p. 470, J. D. G. Tulloch to Secretary at War, 9 November 1853.
- 27 Ibid., pp. 363-364, B. Hawes to H. Merivale, 18 August 1853.
- 28 Ibid., pp. 346-348, B. Hawes to H. Merivale, 18 August 1853.
- 29 Ibid., Vol. 567, p. 242, C. Trevelyan to H. Merivale, 26 October 1853.
- 30 Ibid., Vol. 566, p. 391, unsigned memorandum dated 3 September [1853].
- 31 Ibid., p. 344, A. M. Tulloch to J. D. G. Tulloch, 16 August 1853.
- 32 Ibid., Vol. 567, p. 59, unsigned to Earl of Elgin, 31 March 1853.
- 33 Ibid., p. 62.
- 34 Adderley, p. 393.
- 35 PAC, MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 567, p. 64, unsigned to Earl of Elgin, 31 March 1853.
- 36 Stacey, p. 90.
- 37 PAC, MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 565, pp. 399-400, unsigned, undated.
- 38 Great Britain, The Statutes of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 6 & 7 Victoria, Cap. XCV, An Act for rendering more effective the Services of such Out-Pensioners of Chelsea Hospital as shall be called out to assist in preserving the Public Peace.
- 39 Ibid., 10 & 11 Victoria, Cap. LIV, An Act to amend the Acts for rendering effective the Service of the Chelsea and Greenwich Out-Pensioners.

- 40 PAC, MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 566, p. 180, B. Hawes to H. Merivale, 20 January 1853.
- 41 Ibid., MG 24, F 38, Box 15, folio 14, Edmund Head to Sir W. Molesworth, 7 August 1855.
- 42 Ibid., MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 568, p. 638, B. Hawes to Under Secretary of State Colonial Department, 30 November 1854.
- 43 Ibid., p. 641.
- 44 Ibid., pp. 638-639.
- 45 Ibid., p. 650, J. D. G. Tulloch to Secretary, Provincial Government, Quebec, 24 October 1854.
- 46 Ibid., RG 8I, Vol. 503, p. 140, J. D. G. Tulloch to Military Secretary, 6 November 1854; Ibid., p. 238, Return of the Enrolled Pensioners employed on "Permanent Military Duty" in Canada West, 25 July 1855.
- 47 Ibid., p. 155, J. D. G. Tulloch to Secretary at War, 18 November 1854.
- 48 Ibid., p. 140, J. D. G. Tulloch to Military Secretary, 6 November 1864; Ibid., p. 152, B. Hawes to Military Secretary, War Department, 5 December 1854.
- 49 Ibid., MG 24, F 38, Box 15, folio 14, Edmund Head to Sir W. Molesworth, 7 August 1855.
- 50 Ibid., RG 8I, Vol. 503, p. 174, J. D. G. Tulloch to Lt. General Rowan, 5 January 1855; Ibid., p. 130, J. D. G. Tulloch to Secretary at War, 7 October 1854.
- 51 Ibid., MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 568, p. 623, B. Hawes to Under Secretary of State War Department, 23 October 1854.
- 52 Ibid., Vol. 566, p. 350, J. D. G. Tulloch to Secretary at War, 19 June 1853.

- 53 Ibid., p. 376, J. D. G. Tulloch to Secretary at War, 4 June 1853.
- 54 Ibid., Vol. 568, p. 670, J. D. G. Tulloch to Secretary at War, 1 December 1854.
- 55 Ibid., RG 8I, Vol. 503, pp. 452-453, J. D. G. Tulloch to Military Secretary, Montreal, 21 October 1857.
- 56 Ibid., p. 454.
- 57 Ibid., p. 453.
- 58 Ibid., RG 9 IC5, Vol. 29, passim.
- 59 Ordnance Returns, Copy of a report of Col. de Rottenburg, Adjutant General of Militia on the retention of the Pensioners on permanent duty, 14 January 1856.
- 60 Ibid.
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Property therein described in Her Majesty the Queen, for the benefit, use and purposes of this province.

- 65 Ordnance Returns, Memorandum on the papers and documents connected with the Ordnance Lands in Canada, the proposed transfer of a portion of them to the Province, the claims of Military Pensioners thereon, &c., Wm. Cayley, 23 January 1856.
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- 68 Windsor Herald, 15 December 1855.
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AMHERSTBURG AND THE COMING OF THE ENROLLED PENSIONERS

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 - 10 Ibid., pp. 43-44.
 - 11 Ibid., p. 44.
 - 12 C. C. James, Early History of the Town of Amherstburg, Amherstburg; Echo Printing Co., 1909, p. 23.
 - 13 Stacey, p. 16.
 - 14 M. Heathfield to Captain Goldies, 13 October 1835, cited in Carter-Edwards, Vol. I, p. 144.
 - 15 Anna Jameson, Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada, London; Saunders and Otley, 1838, Vol. II, pp. 317-318.
 - 16 Captain W. Baddeley, Chief Royal Engineer for the Western District, to Colonel Foster, 21 March 1838, cited in Carter-Edwards, Vol. I, p. 152.
 - 17 PAC, RG 8I, Vol. 610, p. 68, H. Reid to Colonel Maitland, 14 June 1838.
 - 18 Carter-Edwards, Vol. I, pp. 2, 199-200.
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 - 20 W. H. Smith, Canada: Past, Present and Future, Toronto; Thomas Maclear, 1851, p. 25.
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22 Efficiency of Pensioners in Amherstburg District:

	Fit for Local Companies	Fit for Reserve	Totally Unfit	Total
Chelsea Pensioners	24	8	15	47
Commuted Pensioners	1	3	2	6

Ages of Pensioners in Amherstburg District:

	Under 40	40-45	45-50	50-55	55-60	Above 60
Chelsea Pensioners	4	11	8	6	5	13
Commuted Pensioners			1		2	3

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23 Ibid., p. 13.

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26 PAC, Map Division, H3/440, Amherstburg 1850. See Plan A.

27 Tulloch, p. 12.

28 Ibid., pp. 11-12.

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30 Ibid., RG 8I, Vol. 501, p. 26, L. Sullivan to Under Secretary of State Colonial Office, 10 February 1851.

31 Ibid., MG 13, WO 44, Vol. 716, n. p.; Memorandum dated 2 April 1850 [sic].

32 Ibid., L. Sullivan to Secretary, Board of Ordnance, 3 March 1851.

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- 34 Ibid., MG 13, WO 44, Vol. 716, n. p., L. Sullivan to Secretary, Board of Ordnance, 3 March 1851.
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- 36 Ibid., J. Elliott to J. D. G. Tulloch, 15 August 1849.
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- 39 Ibid., RG 8I, Vol. 500, p. 285, Extract of a Letter from the Secretary at War dated 1st April 1851.
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- 41 Ibid., p. 138.
- 42 Ibid., p. 141, unsigned to L. Sullivan, 11 September 1850.
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- 44 Army List, 1850-51, p. 519.
- 45 Taylor Papers, Account Book, Statement of Travelling Expenses to Cork.
- 46 Army List, 1852-53, p. 74.
- 47 PAC, MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 565, p. 447, L. Sullivan to Staff Officers of Pensioners, 31 January 1851.

- 48 Taylor Papers, Account Book, Statement of Service.
- 49 This was probably the packet brig Hope of the 'Cherokee' class, launched from the Plymouth Dock Yard, 8 December 1824. A 231 ton vessel, of 90 by 25 feet, ships of her class shipped 8 - 18 pound carronades, and 2 - 6 pounders. By 1854, the Hope was relegated to harbour service only, and was finally broken up in October 1882 at Pembroke.
- J. J. Colledge, Ships of the Royal Navy: An Historical Index, Newton Abbot; David & Charles, 1969, Vol. I, pp. 14, 270.
- 50 Albion, 31 May 1851.
- 51 Taylor Papers, Account Book, Statement of Travelling Expenses to Cork.
- 52 PAC, MG 13, WQ 1, Vol. 566, pp. 192-195, Return showing the quantity of Produce raised, Stock in possession, increase and decrease of Children, and number of months employed during the past Year, with the average daily earnings of the Pensioners settled on the Reserve at Amherstburg for 1852 (hereafter cited Average Statements for 1852).
- 53 Taylor Papers, Account Book, Statement of Travelling Expenses to Cork.
- 54 Ibid., Memo for Captain Rogers.
- 55 Ibid., Joseph Taylor to Son, 11 July 1851.
- 56 Ibid.
- 57 Ibid., Allowance paid Serjeant Stewart, 12 July 1851.
- 58 David P. Botsford, "A Link with the Fort Malden Pensioners", Radio Sketches of Periods - Events - Personalities from the History of the Essex County - Detroit Area, Windsor; Herald Press, 1963; n. p.

- 59 PAC, RG 8I, Vol. 500, p. 247, Fox Maule to Earl Grey, 5 April 1851.
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- 63 Ibid., RG 8I, Vol. 521, p. 89, Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, Return of Women and Children, 1 May 1850.
- 64 Taylor Papers, Account Book, Joseph Taylor to Son, 11 July 1851.
- 65 PAC, RG 8I, Vol. 156, pp. 29-30, Thomas McCann to Deputy Commissary General, 7 August 1851.
- 66 Taylor Papers, Account Book, Joseph Taylor to Son, 11 July 1851.

THE ENROLLED PENSIONER SCHEME AT AMHERSTBURG: PART I

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- 2 Ibid., RG 8I, Vol. 500, pp. 219-221, G. Butler to Respective Officers, Ordnance Department, Montreal, 19 March 1851.
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- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Ontario, Public Archives (hereafter cited PAO), Map Collection, B-1, Amherstburg, Canada West, Cottage Lots of Enrolled Pensioners on Military Reserve. See Plan D.
- 6 PAC, Map Division, H12/440, Amherstburg, 1851. See Plan C.
- 7 Taylor Papers, Receipt for Edward Tobin Cottage, 6 July 1854.
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- 9 PAC, MG 13, WO 44, Vol. 716, n. p., Memorandum dated 2 April 1850 [sic].
- 10 Ibid., R. L. Kirby to Secretary, Office of Ordnance, 1 April 1851.
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- 14 Ibid., RG 8I, Vol. 1635, p. 5b, Inspectional Report of the present State of the Fortifications, Storehouses, Casemated Barracks, and Hospitals, Cisterns, Aqueducts and Buildings of every description in the charge of Her Majesty's Ordnance, Canada, 30 September 1854.
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- 17 Ibid., p. 144, J. D. G. Tulloch to Secretary at War, 17 March 1852.
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- 19 Ibid.; John Roberts to Joseph Taylor, 12 September 1854.
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- 21 PAC, RG 8I, Vol. 500, p. 219, G. Butler to Respective Officers, Ordnance Department, Montreal, 19 March 1851.
- 22 Enrolment Act.
- 23 PAC, RG 8I, Vol. 502, p. 113, B. Hawes to G. Butler, 26 March 1852.
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- 25 Ibid., p. 112, B. Hawes to G. Butler, 26 March 1852.
- 26 Ibid., MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 564, p. 303, Naval, Ordnance, and

Commissariat Establishments and Expenditure.

27 Ibid., RG 8I, Vol. 502, p. 85, Extract of a letter from the Ordnance Storekeeper at Headquarters, Canada, relative to the reduction of the Barrack Serjeant at Amherstburg dated Montreal 29th October 1852.

28 Ibid., MG 13, WO 28, Vol. 269, pp. 341-342, General Orders Nos. 3 & 4, 5 June 1852.

29 Ibid., RG 8I, Vol. 502, p. 112, B. Hawes to G. Butler, 26 March 1852.

30 Ibid., pp. 111-112.

31 Ibid., pp. 110-111.

It is evident, from other sources, that the Staff Assistant Surgeons at Amherstburg received commutations in lieu of rations of fuel and light provisions. The inadequacy of these fixed allowances came to the foreground in 1855. The Commutation Allowance for Fuel Wood, fixed in 1852, was, by 1855, inadequate due to the increased cost of fuel wood. These allowances, after much study, were raised to rates corresponding to the Commissariat contract prices of the articles.

Ibid., MG 13, WO 28, Vol. 269, p. 322, General Order No. 4, 26 November 1851; Ibid., p. 384, General Order No. 1, 27 October 1853; Ibid., RG 8I, Vol. 503, p. 183, Henry Roberts to Commissary General Robinson, 26 January 1855.

32 The position of Staff Assistant Surgeon to the pensioners at Amherstburg was held, successively, by W. L. Murray, P. L. Laing, and J. Rambout. After October 1854, no Staff Assistant Surgeon was employed at Fort Malden.

Ibid., MG 13, WO 17, Vols. 1555-1562, Monthly Returns.

33 Men known to have performed this duty in August and September

1854, included pensioners, Edward Tobin, John Meek, Stephen Walls, and William Wilson.

Taylor Papers, Account Book, 3 October 1854; Ibid., 5 October 1854.

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- 36 Ibid., RG 8I, Vol. 502, p. 218, Ordnance Department Memorandum from G. Butler, 8 June 1853; Ibid., MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 567, p. 142, unsigned to G. Butler, 2 January 1854.
- 37 Ibid., RG 8I, Vol. 502, p. 231, R. Bruce to Major Rowan, 6 August 1853.
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 Ibid., Vol. 503, pp. 44-45, J. Wood to Respective Officers, Montreal, 10 April 1854.
- 40 Ibid., RG 9 IC5, Vol. 28, n. p., Casual Repairs to Buildings occupied by Enrolled Pensioners, 9 September 1856.
- 41 Ibid., RG 8I, Vol. 1407, p. 144, Colonel M. Dixon to J. F. Burgoyne, Inspector General of Fortifications, 5 July 1853.
- 42 Ibid., MG 13, WO 55, Vol. 886, p. 66, G. Butler to J. F. Burgoyne, 21 June 1852.
- 43 Ibid., RG 8II, Vol. 59, p. 9, Return No. 8, A Statement of the Storehouses, Magazines, Workshops, &c., the Property of the Ordnance at Amherstburg, Windsor, & Chatham shewing [sic] their dimensions, the materials with which they are constructed, and the purposes to which they are applied.

- 44 Ibid., MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 566, p. 139, Thomas Salmoni to Respective Officers of Ordnance Department, 11 October 1851.
- 45 Ibid., RG 8I, Vol. 502, pp. 105-109, J. D. G. Tulloch to Secretary at War, 21 January 1852.
- 46 Ibid., MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 566, p. 144, J. D. G. Tulloch to Secretary at War, 17 March 1852.
- 47 Ibid., p. 145, G. Butler to Respective Officers, Montreal, 30 April 1852.
- 48 Ibid., p. 140, R. Rogers to J. D. G. Tulloch, 18 April 1852.
- 49 Ibid., J. D. G. Tulloch to R. Rogers, 6 May 1852.
- 50 Ibid., Vol. 567, p. 161, C. Trevelyan to H. Merivale, 28 February 1853.
- 51 Ibid., RG 8I, Vol. 502, p. 135, J. D. G. Tulloch to Major Rowan, 29 January 1853.
- 52 Ibid., p. 136.
- 53 Ibid.
- 54 Ibid., p. 140, J. D. G. Tulloch to Major Rowan, 10 February 1853.
- 55 Ibid., MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 567, p. 161, C. Trevelyan to H. Merivale, 28 February 1853.
- 56 Ibid., p. 162, Note by W. Peel, War Office, attached to letter from C. Trevelyan to H. Merivale, 28 February 1853.
- 57 Ibid., RG 8I, Vol. 502, pp. 102-103, J. S. Elliott to Lt. General Commanding, 20 January 1853.
- 58 It is not known whether this was the military jail, or the lock-up house, at Amherstburg. By-law 28 of the County of Essex formally authorized the establishment, in 1857, of a lock-up house for the town of Amherstburg, though one had

already been built and used as such in the town. The pensioners may have performed guard duty at this lock-up house or the military cells at Fort Malden, as well as escorting prisoners to court or penitentiary.

Thomas McKee, By-Laws of the County of Essex in Force on the 30th November 1875, Passed by the County Council from 1854 to 1875, both inclusive, n. p.; Stephen Lusted, 1876, p. 7.

- 59 PAC, MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 566, p. 195, Average Statements for 1852.
- 60 Gilbert Norman Tucker, The Canadian Commercial Revolution, 1845-1851, New Haven; Yale University Press, 1936, p. 13.
- 61 PAC, MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 566, B. Hawes to H. Merivale, 20 January 1853.
- 62 Ibid., p. 195, Average Statements for 1852.
- 63 Ibid., p. 193.
- 64 Ibid.
- 65 Ibid., RG 8I, Vol. 502, p. 103, J. S. Elliott to Lt. General Commanding, 20 January 1853.
- 66 Taylor Papers, Account Book, passim.
- 67 Botsford, n. p.
- 68 Taylor Papers, Account Book, passim.
- 69 PAC, RG 8I, Vol. 502; p. 269, R. Rogers to Deputy Commissariat General, Montreal, 15 November 1853.
- 70 Taylor Papers, Account Book, John Hurst to Secretary of State for War, 24 January 1867.
- 71 Ibid.
- 72 Ibid., Joseph Taylor to Son, 21 February 1865.

- 73 PAC, MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 566, p. 195, Average Statements for 1852.
- 74 Phelps, p. 3.
- 75 PAC, MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 563, pp. 138-139, J. D. G. Tulloch to Secretary at War, 6 August 1850.
- 76 Taylor Papers, Account Book, Joseph Taylor to Son, 11 July 1851.
- 77 PAC, RG 1 L3, Vol. 23, p. 20, Application for Waterlot by Lt. Col. J. D. G. Tulloch, 27 October 1853.
- 78 Ibid., Executive Council Minute, 13 March 1854.
- 79 Ibid., MG 13, WO 1, Vol. 564, p. 383; B. Hawes to Under-secretary of State Colonial Office, 6 December 1851.
- 80 Ibid., RG 8I, Vol. 502, pp. 105-106, J. D. G. Tulloch to Secretary at War, 21 January 1852.
- 81 Ibid., p. 99, J. S. Elliott to Lt. General Commanding, 20 January 1853.
- 82 Ibid., p. 135, J. D. G. Tulloch to Major Rowan, Military Secretary, 29 January 1853.
- 83 Windsor Herald, 29 December 1855.
- 84 Taylor Papers, Account Book, passim.
- 85 Ibid., 22 October 1856; Ibid., 30 September 1858.
- 86 Amherstburg, Municipal Office, L. A. C. A. C. Files, David Botsford Building Index.
- 87 Taylor Papers, Account Book, passim.
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- 50 Canada, Provincial Statutes of Canada, 23 Victoria, Cap. XXII, An Act respecting certain Ordnance Land Reserves in Upper Canada.
- 51 Taylor Papers, Account Book, 30 September 1858.
- 52 PAC, RG 15, Vol. 1688, p. 161, W. F. Coffin to Assistant Commissioner of Crown Lands, 30 October 1860.
- 53 For an account of the Fort Malden Lunatic Asylum see, Carter-Edwards, Vol. I, pp. 252-267.
- 54 CLA Microfilming Project, Reel 1, 1858, p. 114, J. A. Macdonald, 1 July 1858.
- 55 PAC, RG 8I, Vol. 503, p. 495, J. D. G. Tulloch to Military Secretary, Montreal, 13 October 1858.

- 56 Ibid., MG 24, F 38, Box 15, folio 31, J. Peel' to Sir William Eyre, 9 July 1858.
- 57 Essex County, Land Registry Office, Abstract Index to Deeds, Amherstburg, Registered Plan 1, Military Reserve, pp. 434-520.
- 58 Wilkinson Field Notes, p. 45.
- 59 Taylor Papers, Account Book, 12 March 1858.
- 60 Ontario, Ministry of Natural Resources, Survey Records Office, Plan J9, A Plan of the Cottage Lots of Enrolled Pensioners on the Military Reserve Town of Amherstburg. See Plan E.
- 61 Wilkinson Field Notes, pp. 19, 27, 32, 35.
- 62 Ibid., pp. 8, 10, 12, 19, 23, 25, 28.
- 63 Ibid., p. 13.
- Although Sullivan was 'in all respects a good and deserving old soldier', he was not an enrolled pensioner, and, therefore, not legally entitled to a free grant of land on the reserve. Florence Sullivan was allowed, however, to purchase the lot at a 'low valuation', and a patent was issued in that name 3 September 1861 for the two and one-half acre lot.
- PAC, RG 15, Vol. 1686, pp. 679-680, W. F. Coffin to Assistant Commissioner of Crown Lands, 8 December 1859; Ibid., Vol. 1687, p. 22, W. F. Coffin to Florence Sullivan, 28 December 1859; Essex County, Land Registry Office, Abstract Index to Deeds, Amherstburg, Registered Plan 1, Military Reserve, p. 434.
- 64 Wilkinson Field Notes, pp. 15-16.
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- 66 PAC, RG 15, Vol. 1685, p. 285, W. F. Coffin to Major Donaldson, 13 August 1858.
- 67 Ibid., p. 423, W. F. Coffin to Provincial Secretary, 5 November 1858.

- 68 Ibid., RG 8I, Vol. 472, pp. 110-111, W. F. Coffin to Captain Retallack, 13 November 1858.
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- 70 Ibid., RG 15, Vol. 1685, p. 436, W. F. Coffin to Major Fortier, 6 November 1858.
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- 75 Ibid., Vol. 1685, p. 436, W. F. Coffin to Major Fortier, 6 November 1858.

Although of only peripheral concern to the story of the enrolled pensioners, the eventual fate of all those parts of the reserves which were not 'located by pensioners' is of some interest. Despite some initial short term successes by McLeod, Rankin eventually obtained title to all of Bois Blanc Island, except for those small areas leased to James Hackett and James Cousins. Rankin also obtained power of attorney to a crown patent of ten acres of the southern portion of the reserve which he later subdivided into 45 town lots. After the asylum was closed, much of the remainder of the reserve was divided into villa lots. Finally, in 1875, the town of Amherstburg obtained two large lots on the former reserve for use as a town park or 'commons'.

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- 78 Ibid., Vol. 1687, p. 371, W. F. Coffin to Thomas Jarmin, 15 June 1860.
- 79 Taylor Papers, Major Donaldson's Farewell to the Enrolled Pensioners of Malden Reserve, September 1858.
- 80 PAC, RG 8I, Vol. 472, p. 109, Return of Ordnance and Shot at Amherstburg, 1 November 1858.
- 81 Ibid., pp. 112-113, W. F. Coffin to Captain Retallack, 13 November 1858.
- 82 Ibid., Vol. 754, pp. 132-133, M. Taylor, Commanding Royal Artillery in Canada to Military Secretary, 26 April 1859.
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- 102 David Botsford Building Index.

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CANADA WEST

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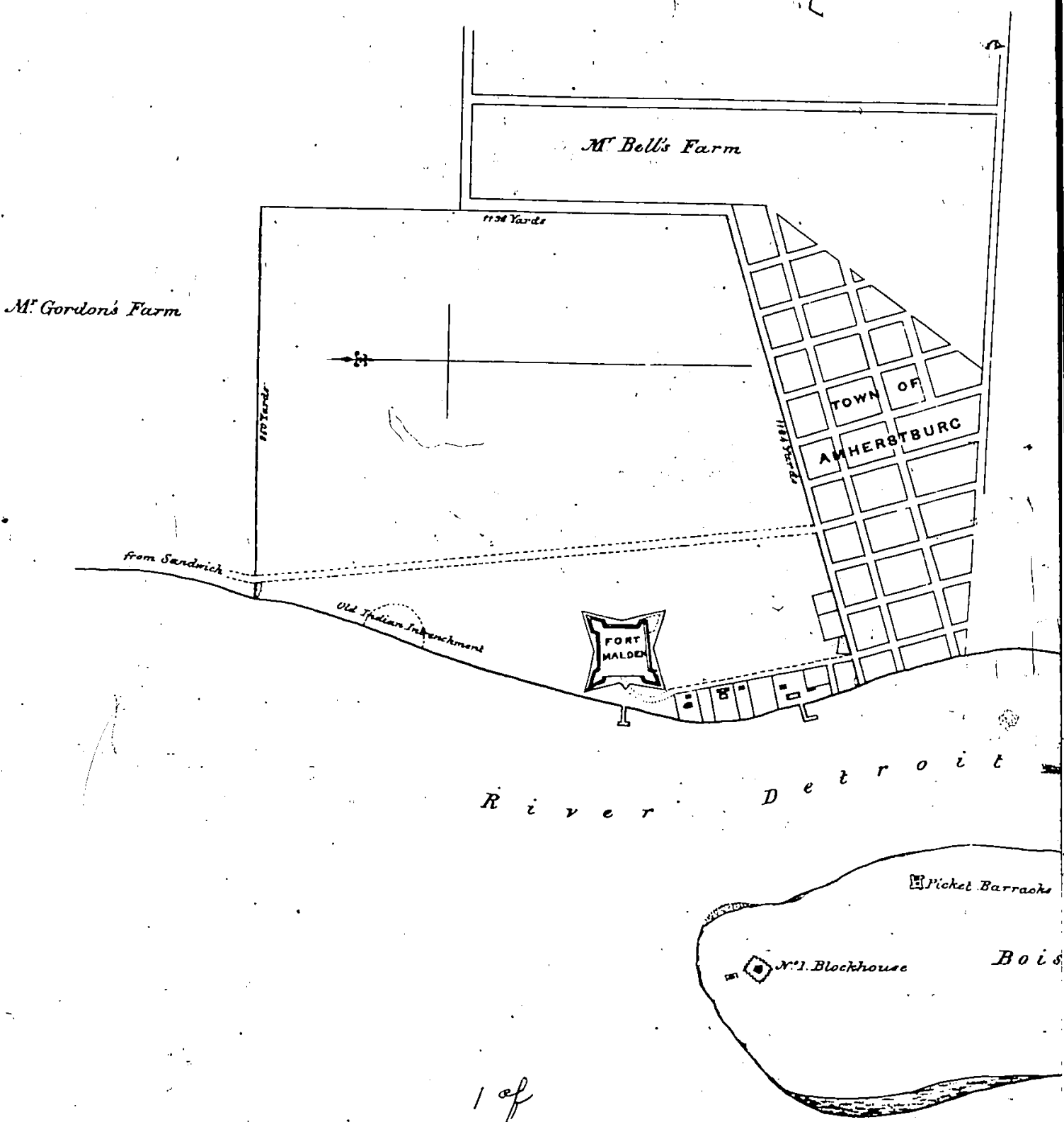
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VITA AUCTORIS

Timothy Daniel Dube was born on 3 July 1955 in Windsor, Ontario, son of Carl and Marian Dube. He spent the first twenty years of his life in the town of Amherstburg, before moving to Windsor in 1976.

He received his elementary education within the Roman Catholic Separate School System in Amherstburg, and his secondary education at General Amherst High School. He graduated in 1974 with a Secondary School Graduate Diploma.

He registered at the University of Windsor in the fall of 1974 and graduated in the spring of 1978 with a Bachelor of Arts (Honours History). He then undertook further study and graduated from the University of Windsor with the degree of Master of Arts (History) at the Fall Convocation, 1982.



M. Gordon's Farm

M. Bell's Farm

TOWN OF
AMHERSTBURG

FORT
MALDEN

River Detroit

Picket Barracks

No. 1. Blockhouse

Bois

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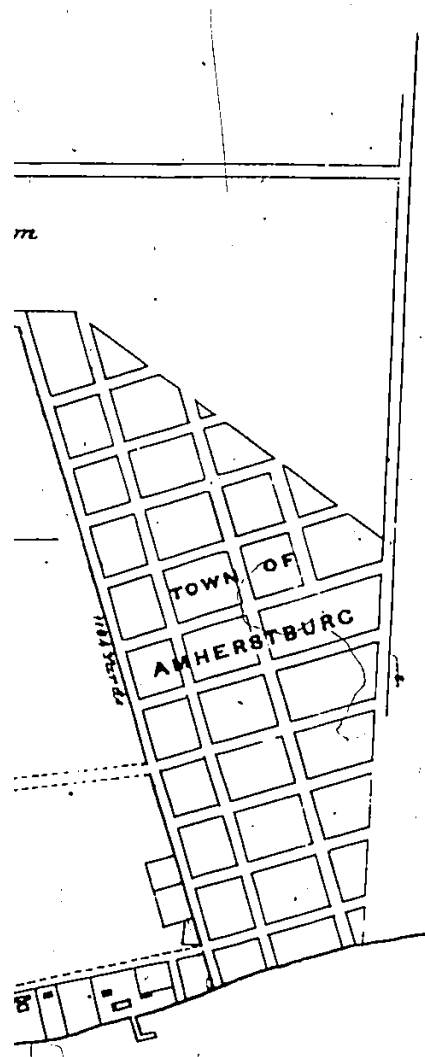
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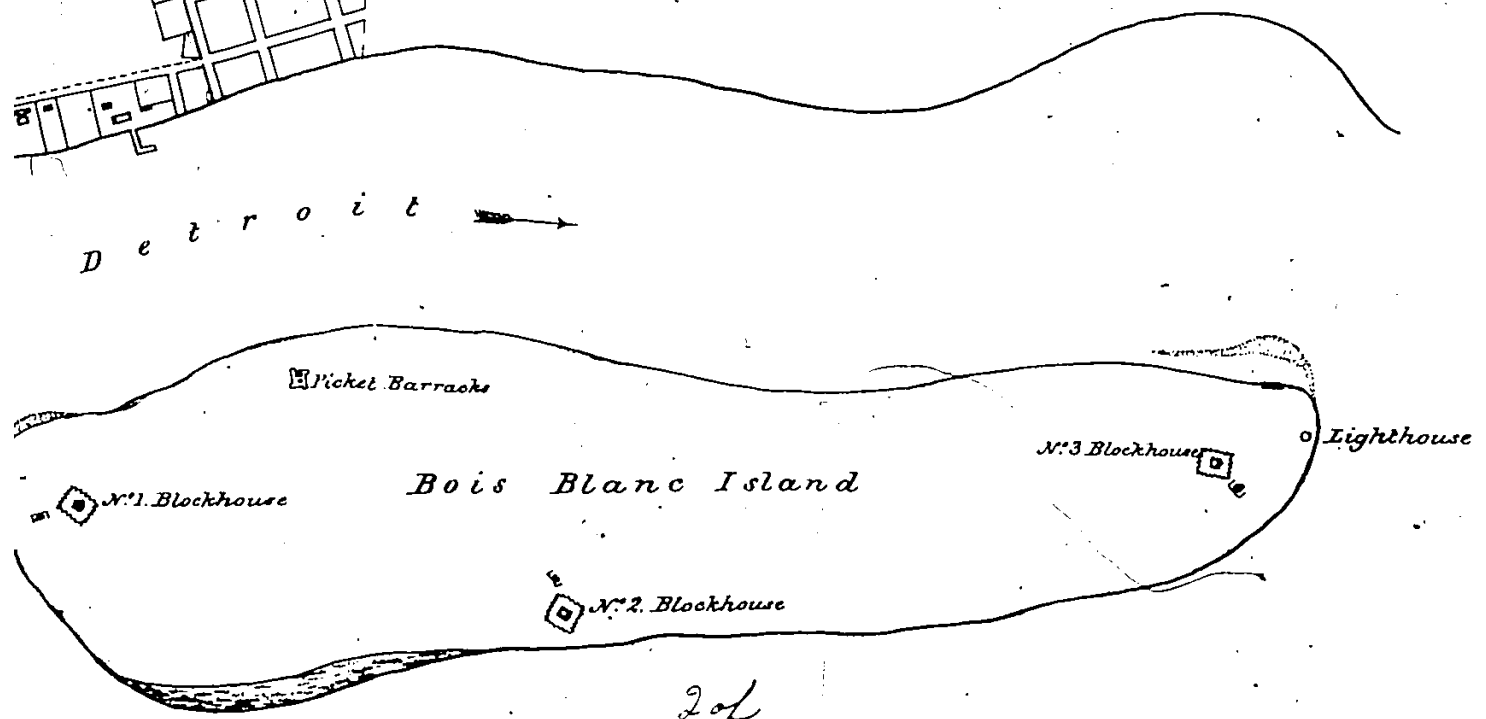
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AMHERSTBURG

Plan of the Military Reserve - Content called 311 Acres
Bois Blanc Island - D: D: 212 Acres



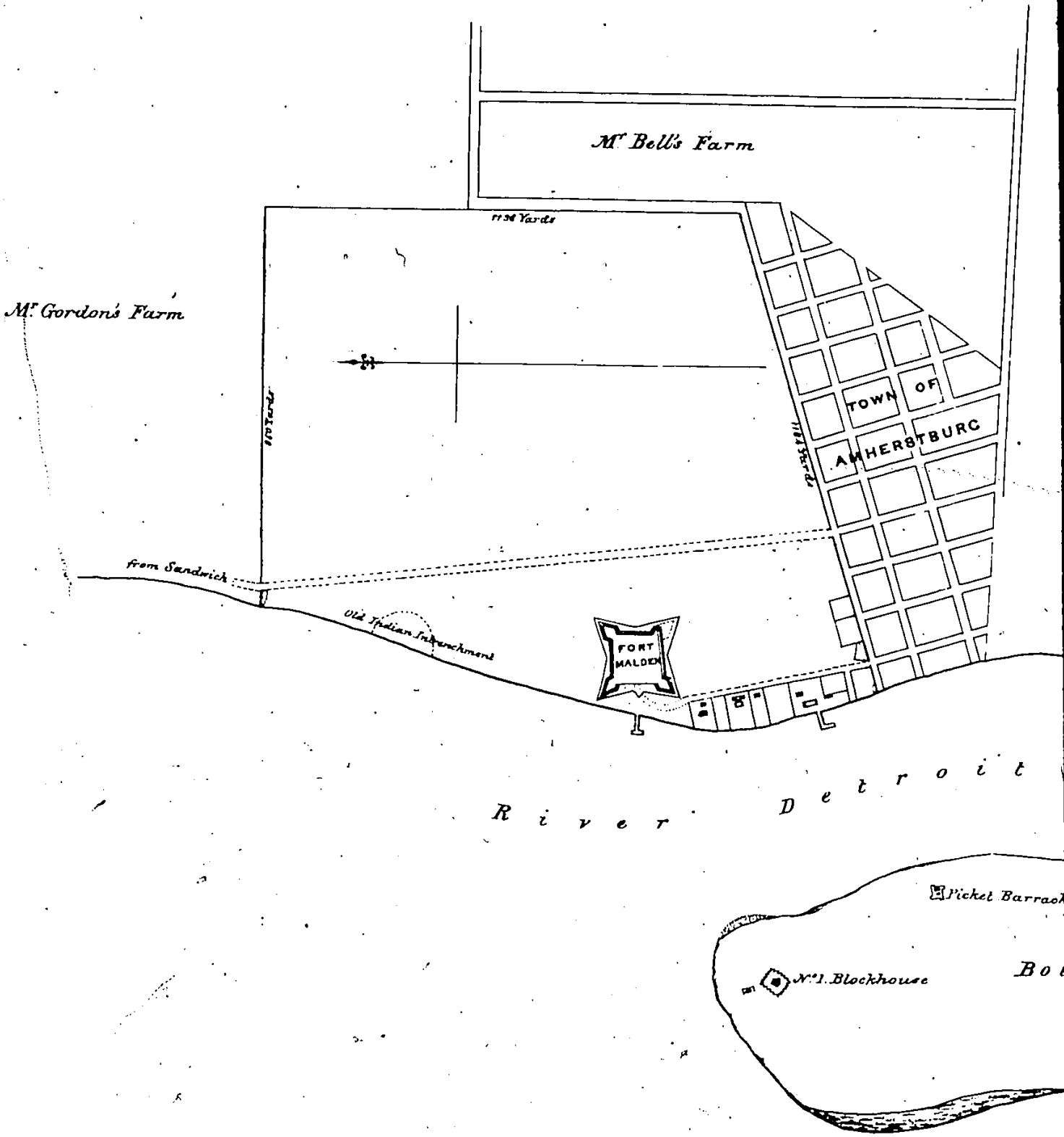
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Henry Varabow
 Col Comd M^d Engineer
 Canada 26 October 1850

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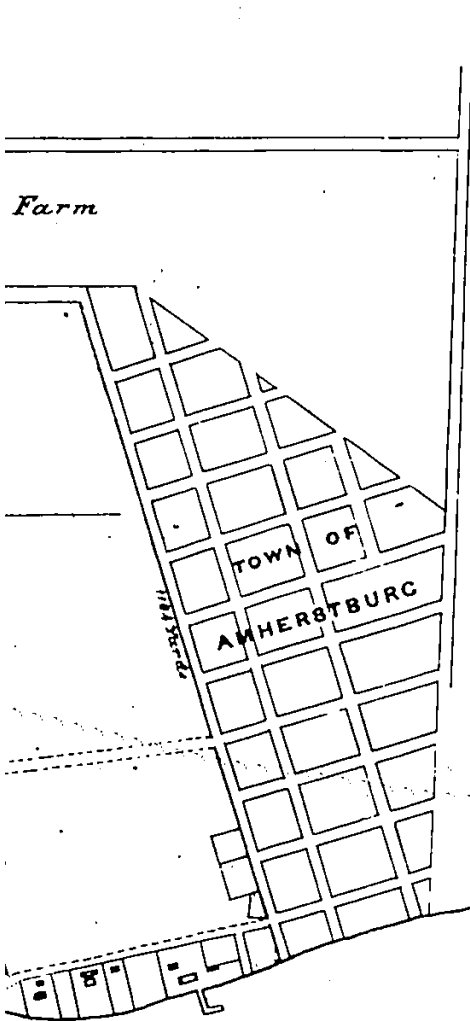


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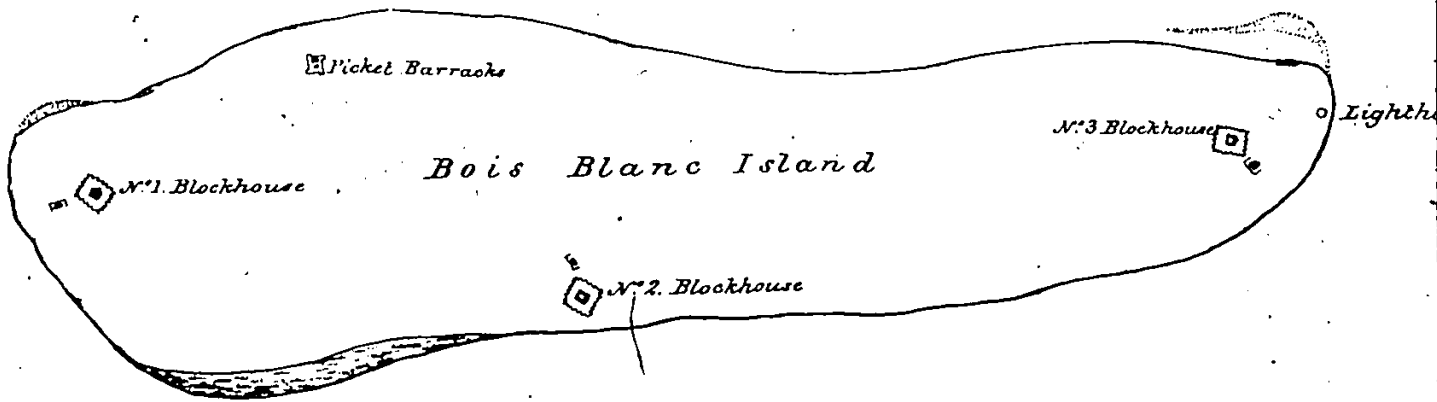
AMHERSTBURG

Plan of the Military Reserve— Content called 311 Acre
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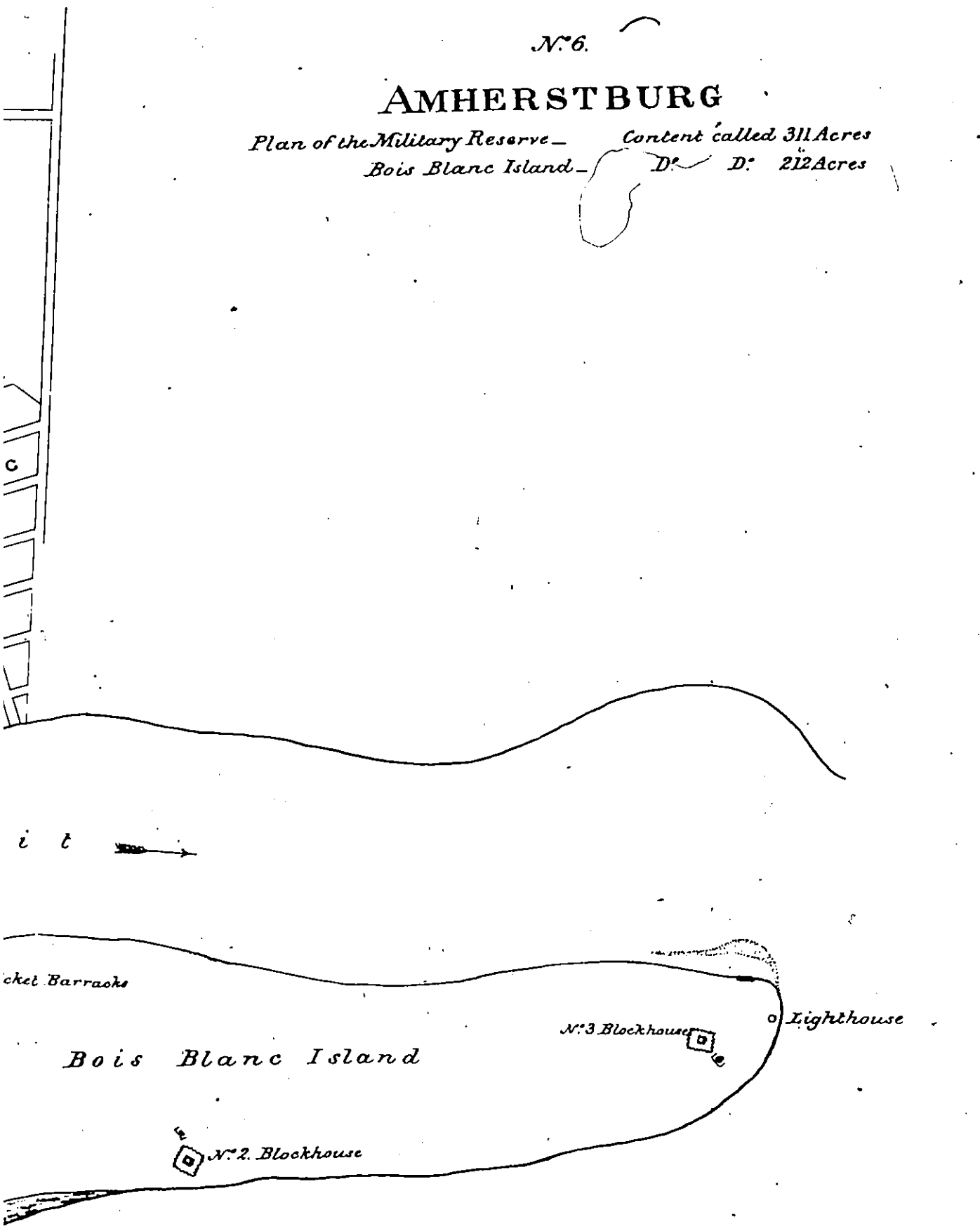
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AMHERSTBURG

Plan of the Military Reserve - Content called 311 Acres
Bois Blanc Island - D.º D.º 212 Acres



Barracks

Bois Blanc Island

N.º 2. Blockhouse

N.º 3 Blockhouse

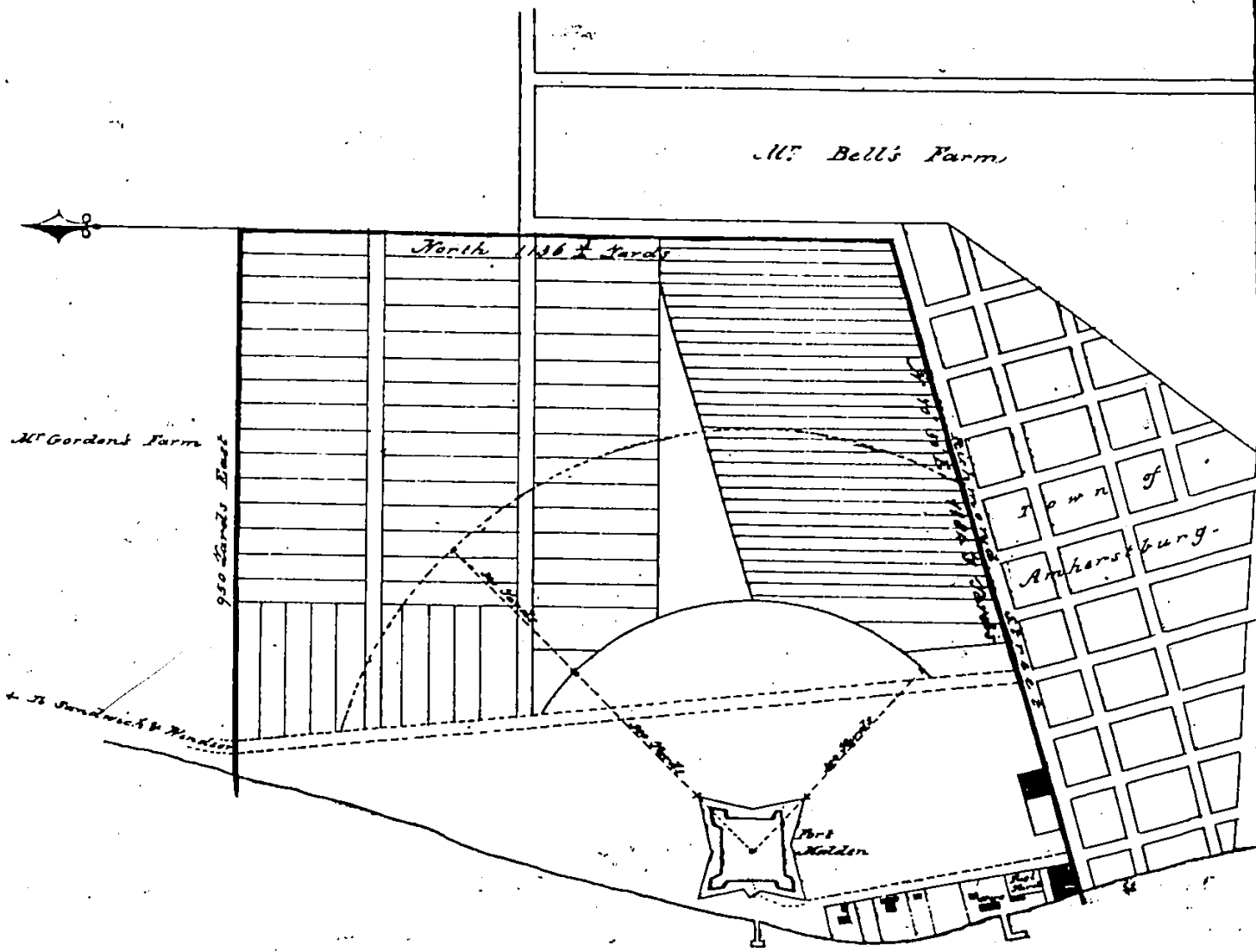
Lighthouse



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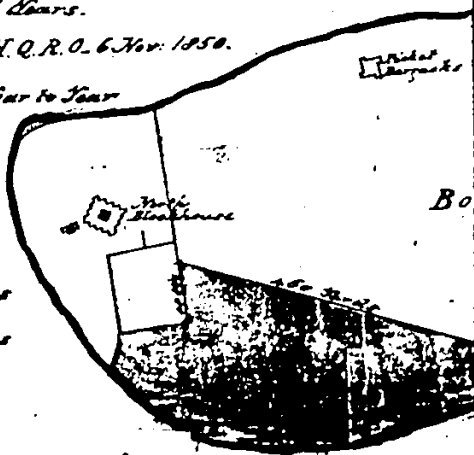
Drawn at Litley by J. U. Kelly and Printed at the Litley Establishment
Quartier-Maître, Générale Département des Gardes, (January 1851)



The portions tinted green are leased.

- A. Gustavus Arvison. Lease dated 9th April 1845 - 7 1/2 Acres - 10/- per annum for 21 Years.
- B. C. C. Allon. Lease dated 16th July 1845 - 3^{1/2} - 19^{1/2} - 26^{1/2} - 10/- per annum for 7 Years.
- B² Serg^t Anderson. Pasture near Comm^d Office - 1/2 from Year to Year. H.Q.R.O. 6 Nov. 1850.
- C. James Cousins. Lease dated 4th Sep. 1850. 20 Acres. £5 per annum, from Year to Year
- D. James Hackett. Lease dated 17th Feb. 1845. 6 to 8 Acres. £4 do do

The Military Reserve at Amherstburg contains about 311 Acres
 Bois Blanc Island _____ 212 Acres



Henry Vanarsden
 Col Comd R^g Regiment
 Canada 1 of



AMHERSTBURG

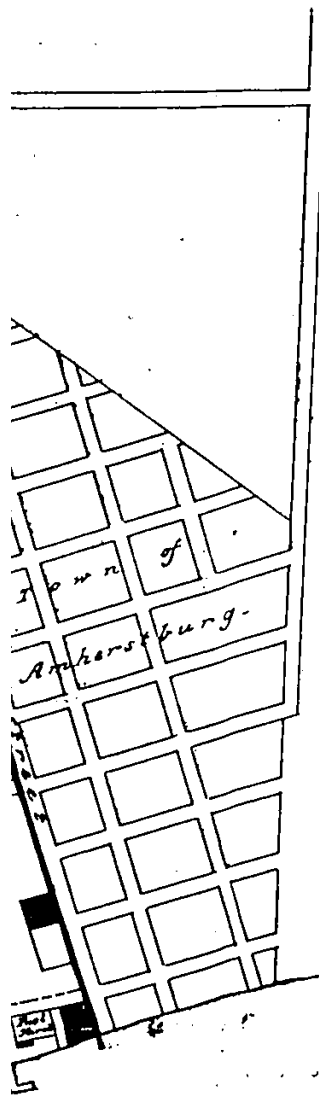
Plan shewing the arrangement for the Settlement of the Pensioners

*The portion tinted Red, to be retained by the Ordnance, but certain portions may be used by the Pensioners for Pasturage only.
B.O. 19th March 1851 ¹⁶1846.*

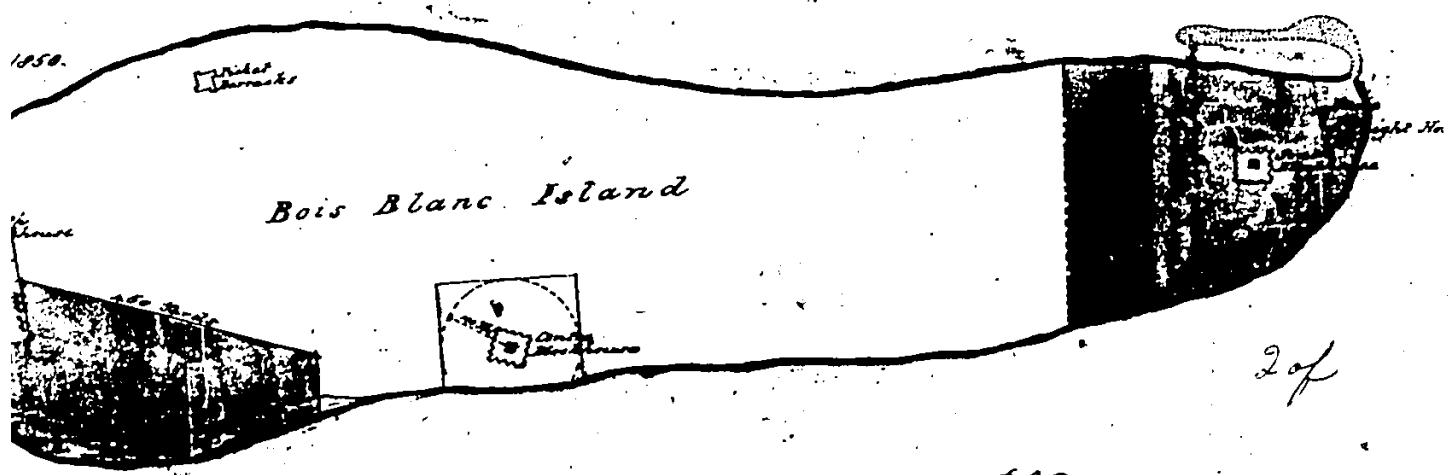
*The portion tinted Purple, (being the space between the 300 & 600 Yards) to be laid out for the Pensioners under Major Tulloch's directions, who is to obtain the Com^d R^t Eng^r's assent to any buildings &c. before they are constructed.
B.O. 16th April 1851 ¹⁴1799*

*The portion tinted Yellow, to be handed over to Major Tulloch, and to be settled at his discretion.
B.O. 19th March 1851 ¹⁶1846.*

The arrangement of the 2 Acre Lots was submitted by Major Tulloch with his letter dated 20th June 1851, and approved of by the Commanding Royal Engineer 25th June 1851.

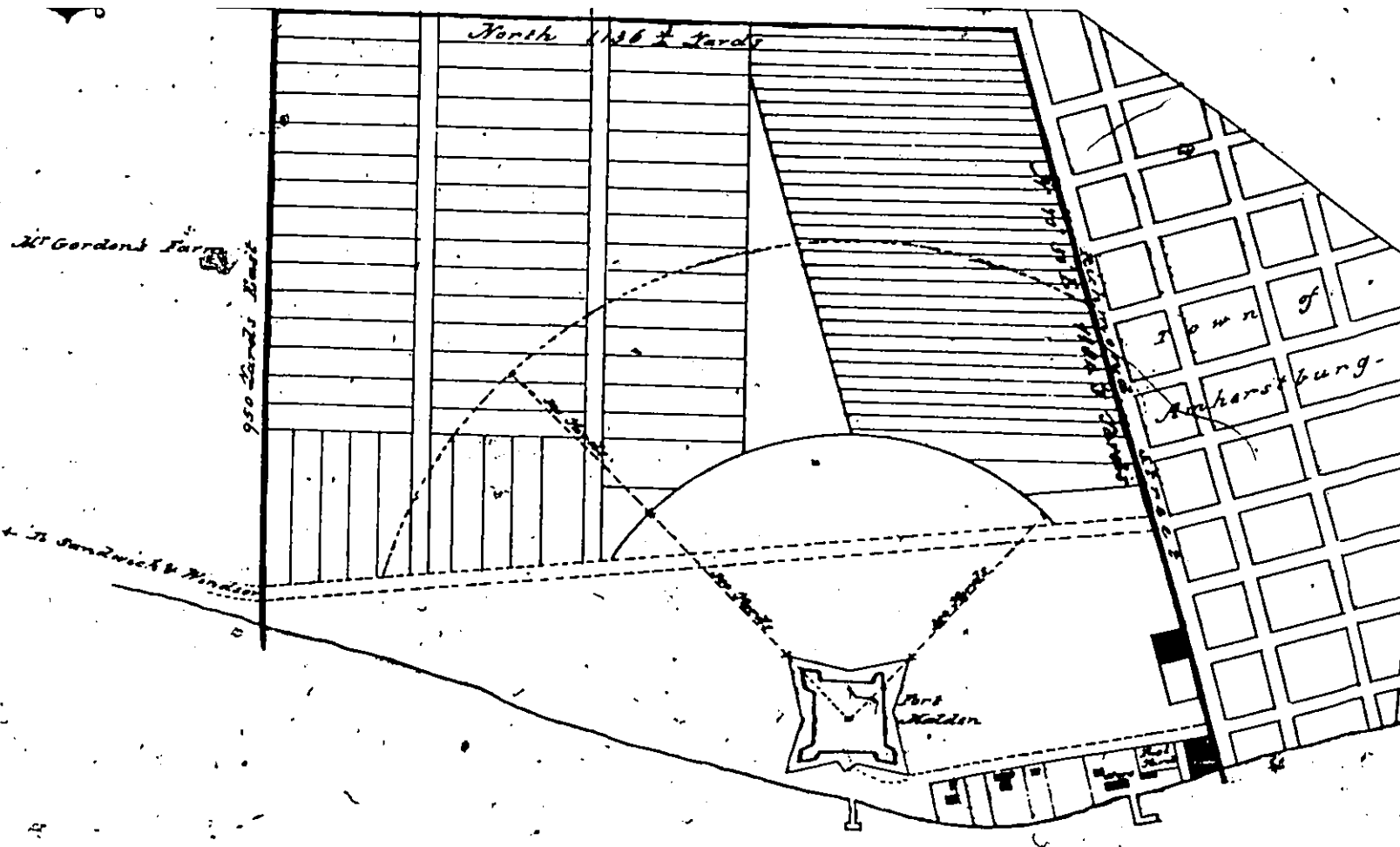


River Detroit



2 of

*R. P. Kingston
Draftsman*

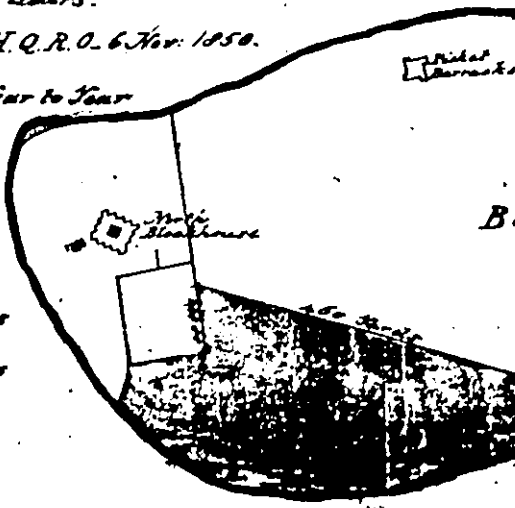


The portions tinted green are leased.

River

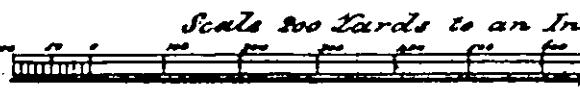
- A. Gustavus Arvison. Lease dated 8th April 1863 - 1/2 Acre - 10/- per annum for 21 Years.
- B. C. C. Allon. Lease dated 16th July 1865 - 2^{1/2} Acre - 10/- per annum for 7 Years.
- B² Serg^t Anderson. Pasture near Comm^d Office - 1/2 from Year to Year. H. Q. R. O. 6 Nov. 1850.
- C. James Cousins. Lease dated 4th Sep. 1850. 20 Acres. £5 per annum, from Year to Year
- D. James Hackett. Lease dated 11th Feb. 1865. 6.66 2/3 Acres. £4 do do

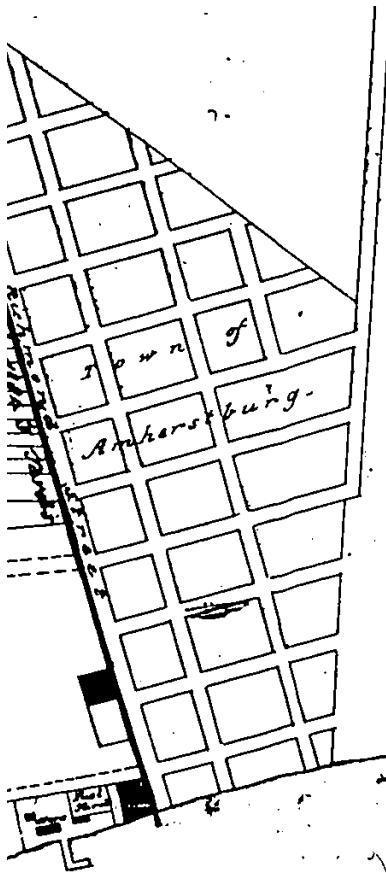
The Military Reserve at Amherstburg contains about 311 Acres
 Bois Blanc Island 212 Acres



Henry Vanarsden
 Col (Comd) H² Engineers
 Canada

B.O.





Plan shewing the arrangement for the Settlement of the Pensioners

The portion tinted Red, to be retained by the Ordnance, but certain portions may be used by the Pensioners for Pasturage only.

B.O. 19th March 1851 ¹⁴/₁₈₅₆


The portion tinted Purple, (being the space between the 300 & 600 Yards) to be laid out for the Pensioners under Major Tullock's directions, who is to obtain the Com^d R^g Eng^d assent to any buildings &c. before they are constructed.

B.O. 14th April 1851 ¹⁴/₁₈₅₉

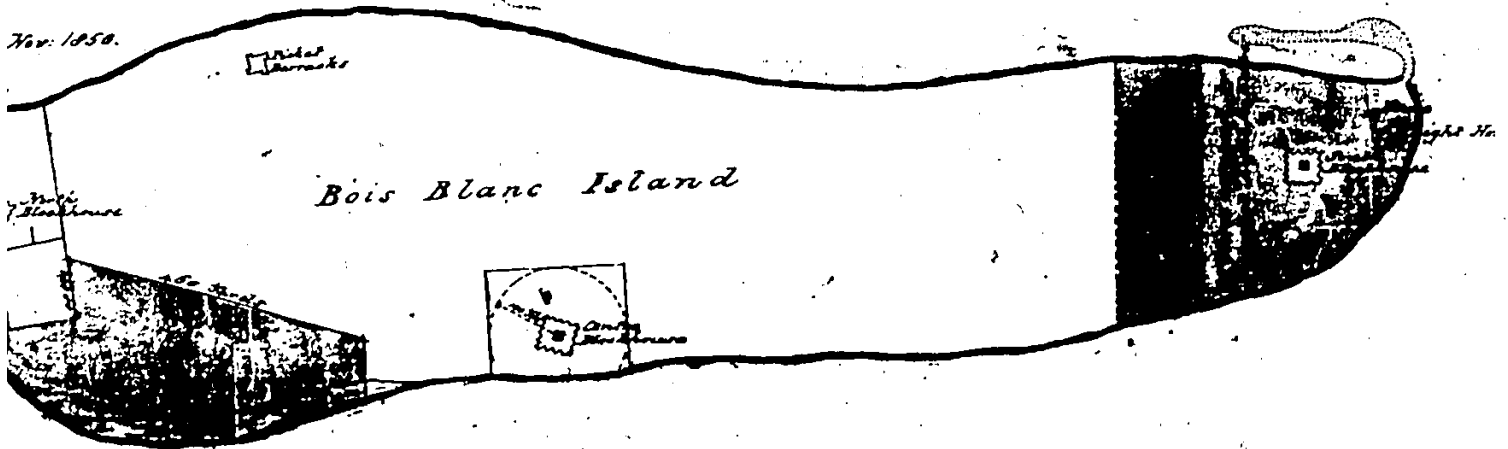
The portion tinted Yellow, to be handed over to Major Tullock, and to be settled at his discretion.

B.O. 19th March 1851 ¹⁴/₁₈₅₆

The arrangement of the 2 Acre Lots was submitted by Major Tullock with his letter dated 20th June 1851, and approved of by the Commanding Royal Engineer 25th June 1851.

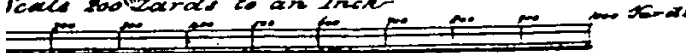
River Detroit 

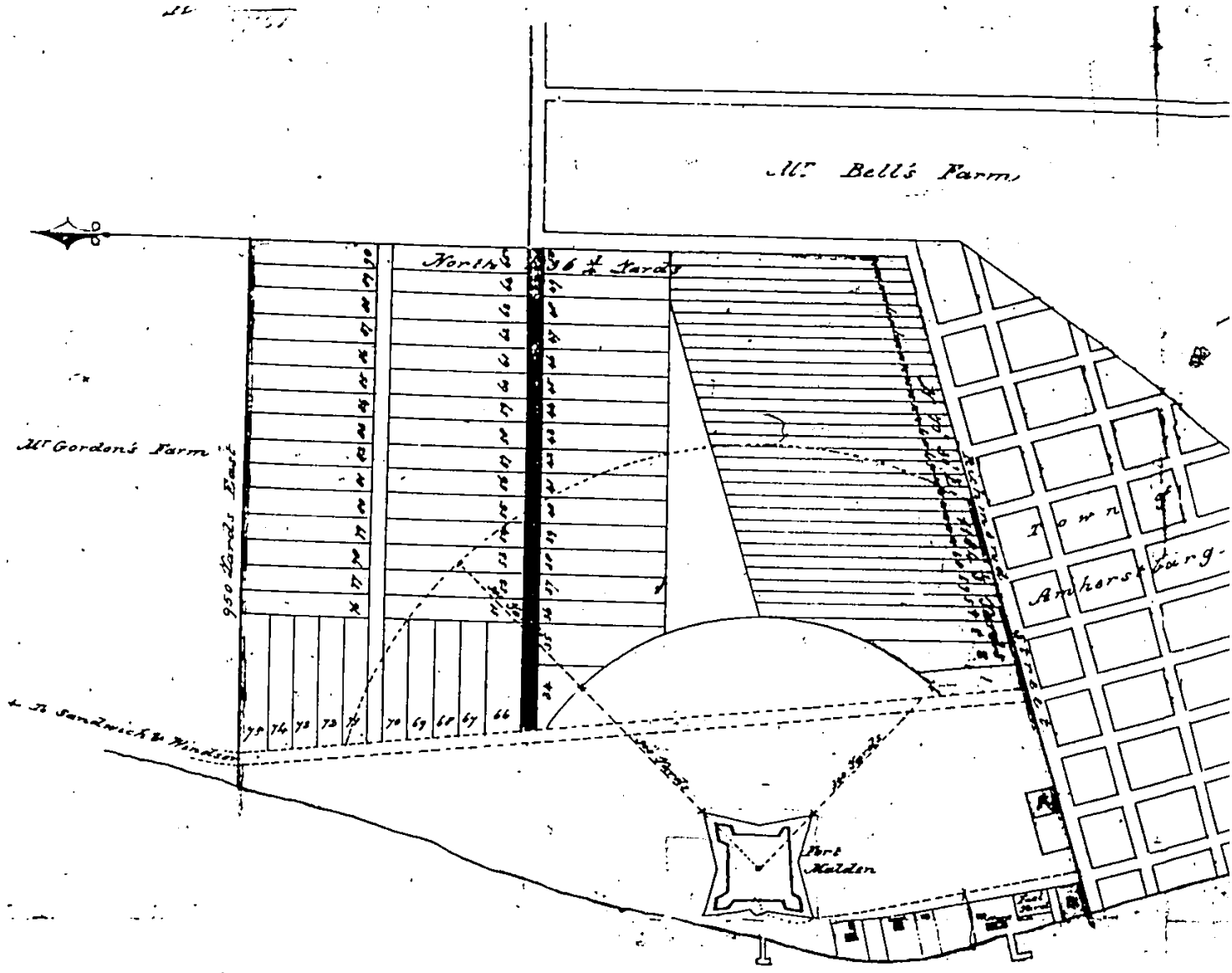
Nov. 1850.



R. Pilkington
 Draughtsman
 3rd June 1851.

Scale 800 Yards to an Inch



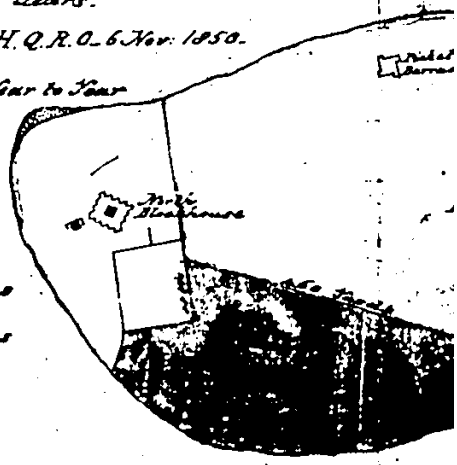


The portions tinted green are leased.

R i v e r

1. Gustavus Arvison. Lease dated 9th April 1845 - 1/2 Acre - 1g. per annum for 21 Years.
2. C. C. Allan. Lease dated 16th July 1845 - 2 ^{roods} ^{53r} A. 26. £ 10 per annum for 7 Years.
3. B^d Serg^t Anderson. Pasture near Comm^d Office - 1/2 from Year to Year. H. Q. R. O. 6 Nov. 1850.
4. James Cousins. Lease dated 11th Sep. 1850. 3/4 Acres. £ 5 per annum, from Year to Year
5. James Hackett. Lease dated 11th Feb. 1845. 6 to 8 Acres. £ 4. do do

The Military Reserve at Amherstburg contains about 311 Acres
Bois Blanc Island 2 1/2 Acres



1 of

Henry Vanarsden
Capt Comd R. Engineers
Canada



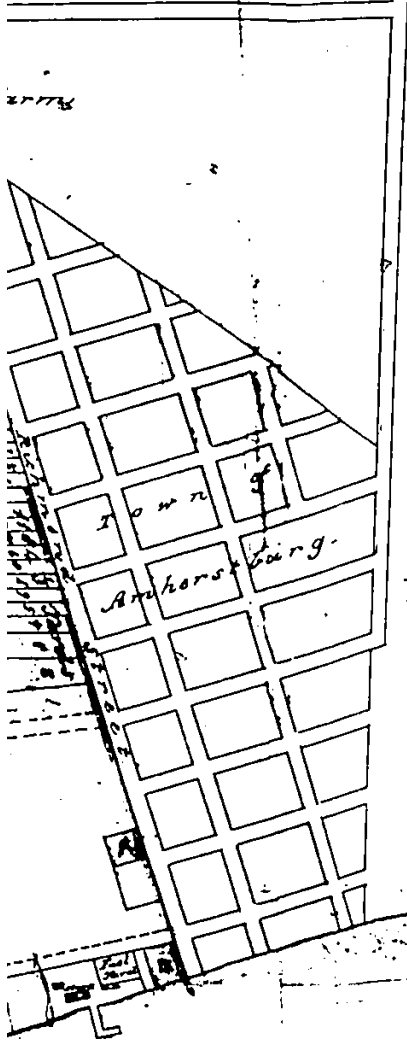
AMHERSTBURG

*Plan shewing the arrangement for the Settlement of the Pensioners
The portion tinted Red, to be retained by the Ordnance, but certain portions
may be used by the Pensioners for Pasturage only.*

*The portion tinted Purple, (being the space between the 300 & 600 Yards) to
be laid out for the Pensioners under Major Tulloch's
directions, who is to obtain the Com^d R^t Eng^s assent
to any buildings &c. before they are constructed.*

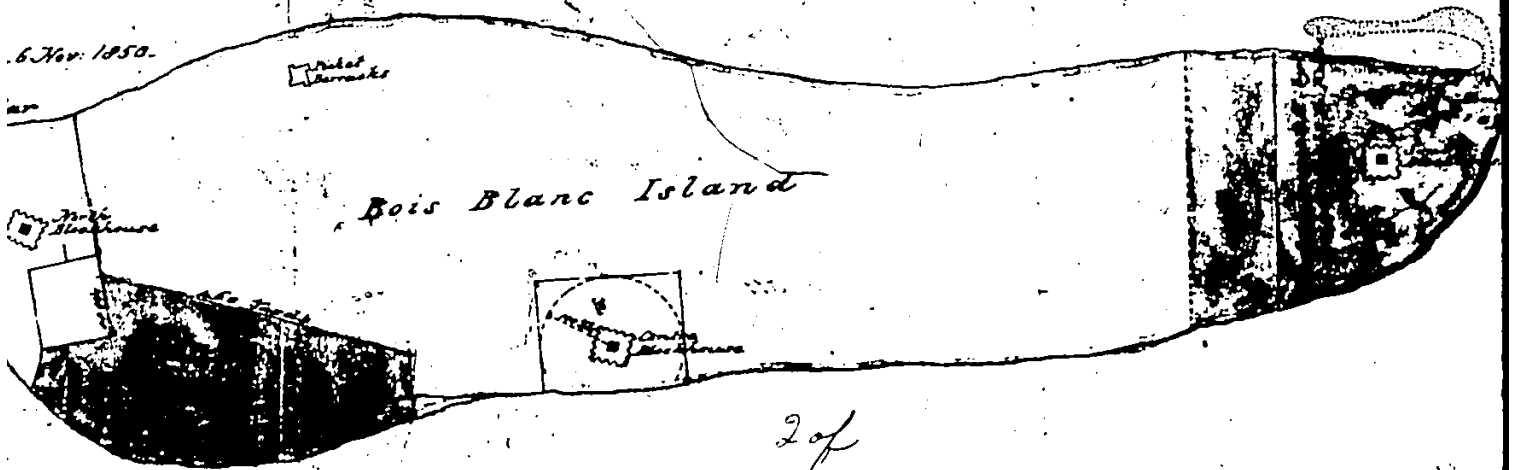
*The portion tinted Yellow, to be handed over to Major Tulloch, and to be
settled at his discretion. - B.A. 19/Nov/1855*

*The Road colored Brown, is the one applied for by the Council
of the Municipality of Amherstburg 5th*



River Detroit

6 Nov 1855



2 of

R. Pilkington

1852



AMHERSTBURG

Plan shewing the arrangement for the Settlement of the Pensioners

The portion tinted Red, to be retained by the Ordnance, but certain portions may be used by the Pensioners for Pasturage only. B.C. 19 March 1851

alt 1416

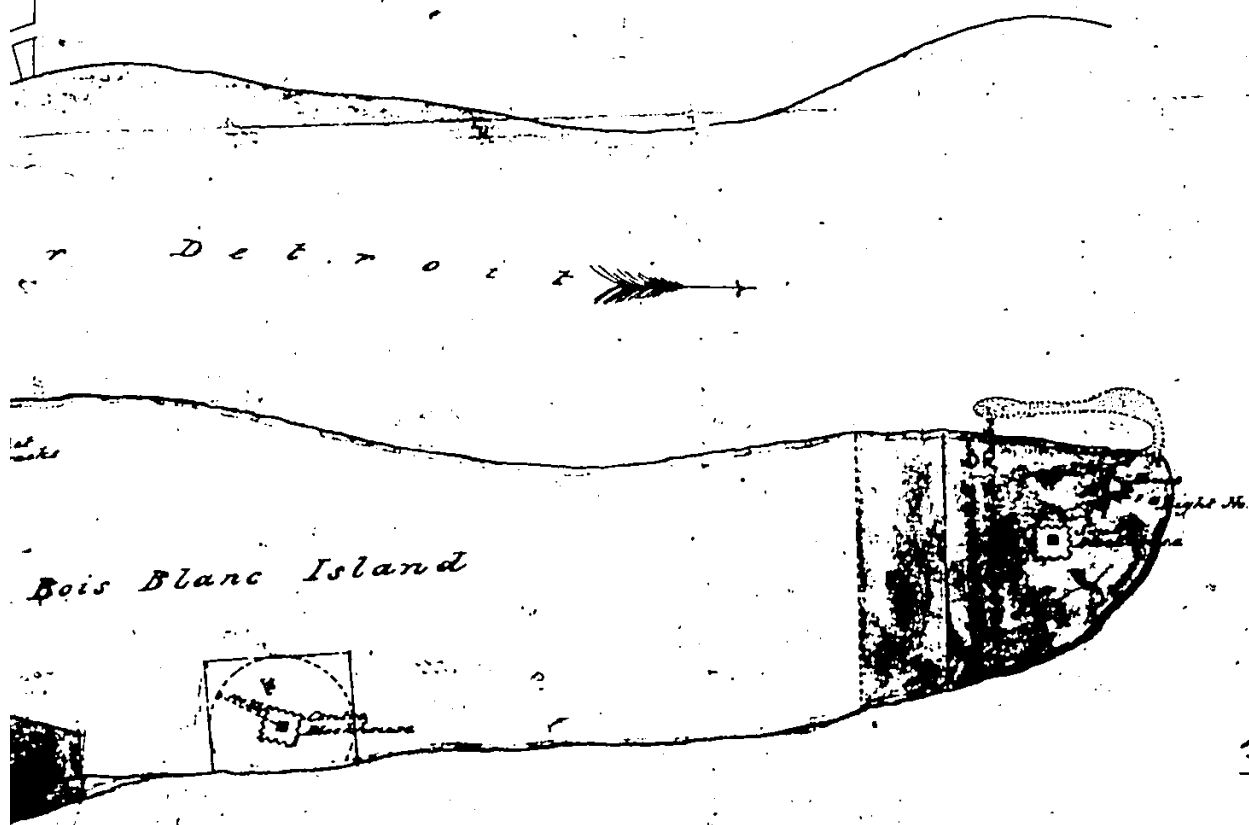
The portion tinted Purple, (being the space between the 300 & 600 Yards) to be laid out for the Pensioners under Major Tulloch's directions, who is to obtain the Com^d R^t Eng^s assent to any buildings &c. before they are constructed. B.C. 14 April 1851

alt 1417

The portion tinted Yellow, to be handed over to Major Tulloch, and to be settled at his discretion. B.C. 19 March 1851

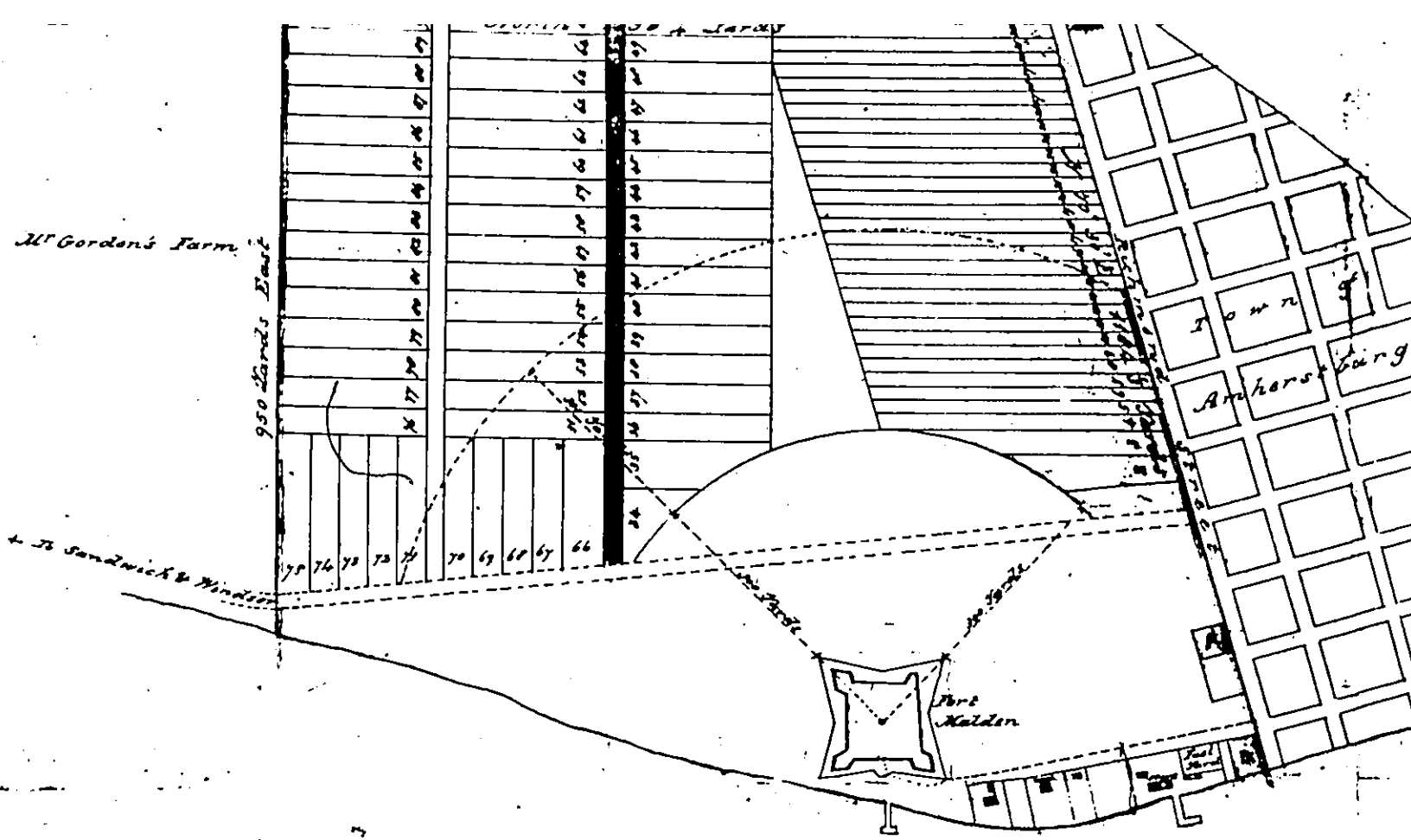
alt 1416

The Road colored Brown, is the one applied for by the Council of the Municipality of Amherstburg 5th June 1851.



3 of

R. P. Kingston



The portions tinted green are leased.

- A. Gustavus Arvison. Lease dated 8th April 1845. $\frac{1}{2}$ Acre. 10/- per annum for 21 Years.
- B. C. C. Allen. Lease dated 16th July 1845. $\frac{1}{2}$ A. 26. £ 10 per annum for 7 Years.
- B^d Serg^t Anderson. Pasture near Comm^d Office. $\frac{1}{2}$ from Year to Year. H. Q. R. O. 6 Nov. 1850.
- C. James Cousins. Lease dated 11th Sep. 1850. 2 A. Acres. £ 5 per annum, from Year to Year
- D. James Hacket. Lease dated 17th Feb. 1845. 6 to 8 Acres. £ 4 do do

The Military Reserve at Amherstburg contains about 311 Acres
 Bois Blanc Island _____ 212 Acres

Henry Vanarsden
 Col Comd H^{vy} Engineers
 Canada



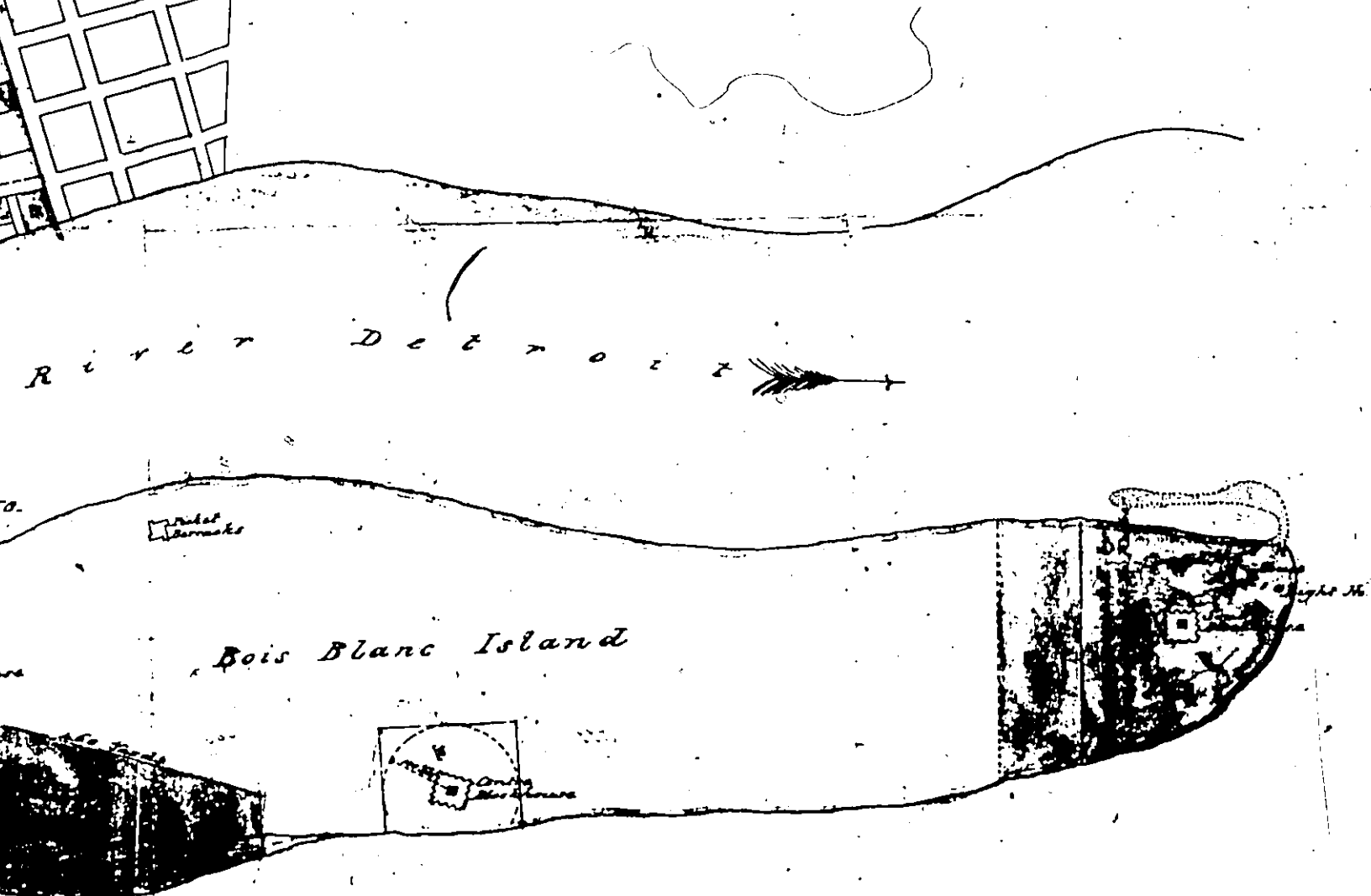


The portion tinted Red, to be retained by the Ordnance, but certain portions may be used by the Pensioners for Pasturage only. B.C.

The portion tinted Purple, (being the space between the 300 & 600 Yards) to be laid out for the Pensioners under Major Tullock's directions, who is to obtain the Com^d R^t Eng^t assent to any buildings &c. before they are constructed. B.C.

The portion tinted Yellow, to be handed over to Major Tullock, and to be settled at his discretion. B.C. 19/Nov/1851 14/1

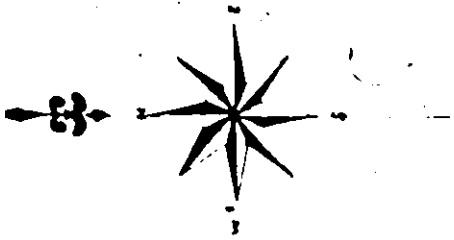
The Road colored Brown, is the one applied for by the Council of the Municipality of Amherstburg 3rd June



R. P. Kingston
 Draftsman
 3rd June 1851.



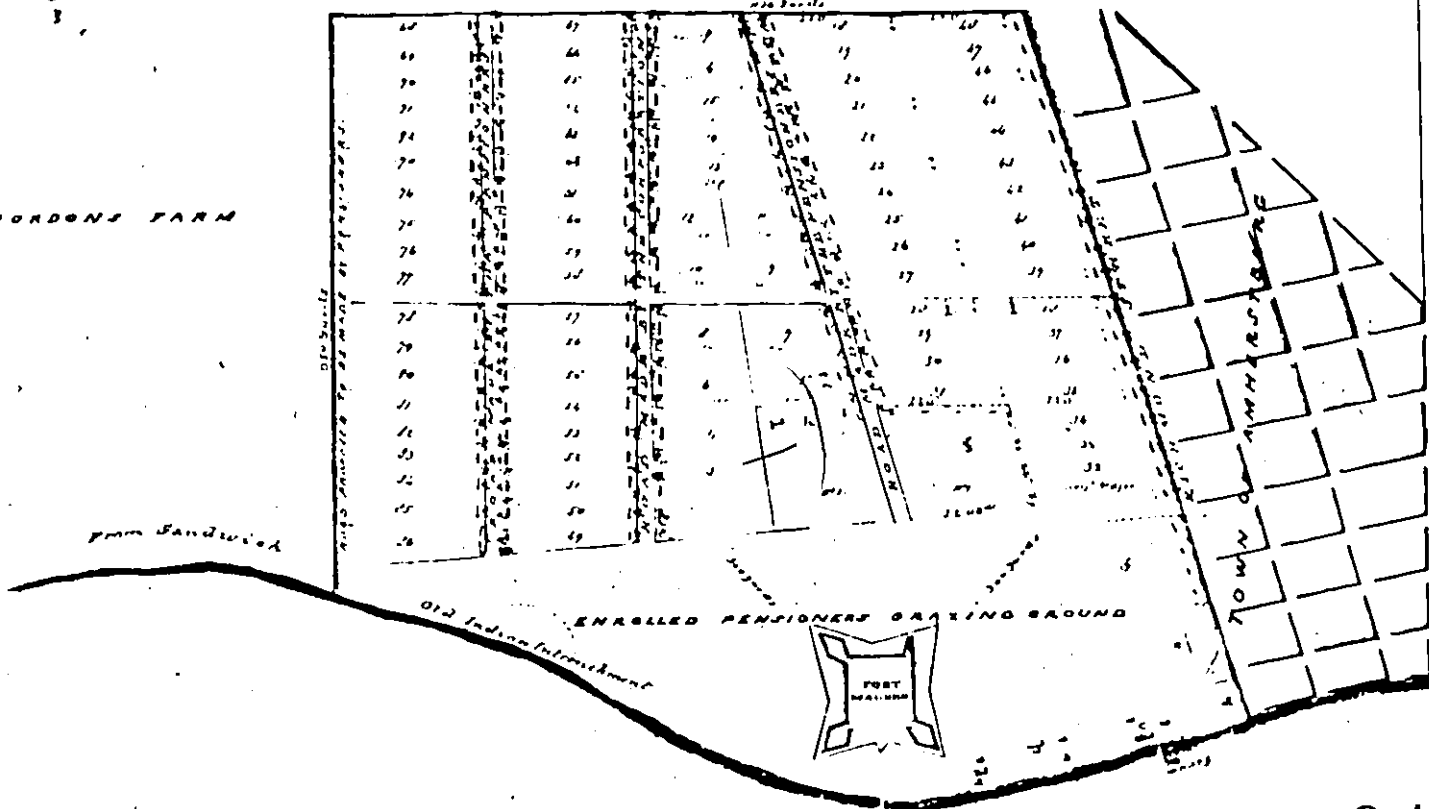
N^o 20



M^r GORDON'S FARM

M^r BELL'S FARM

CONCEPTION ROAD



from Sandwich

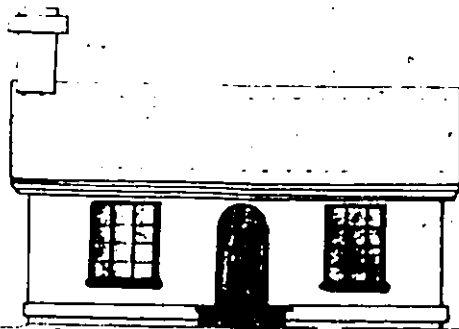
Old Indian Intrenchment

ENROLLED PENSIONERS GRAZING SOUND



R I V E R D E T R O I T

1 of



FRONT ELEVATION

Pensioners College



Picket

Black houses

AMHERSTBURG.

CANADA WEST

COTTAGE LOTS OF ENROLLED PENSIONERS
ON
MILITARY RESERVE

NOTES

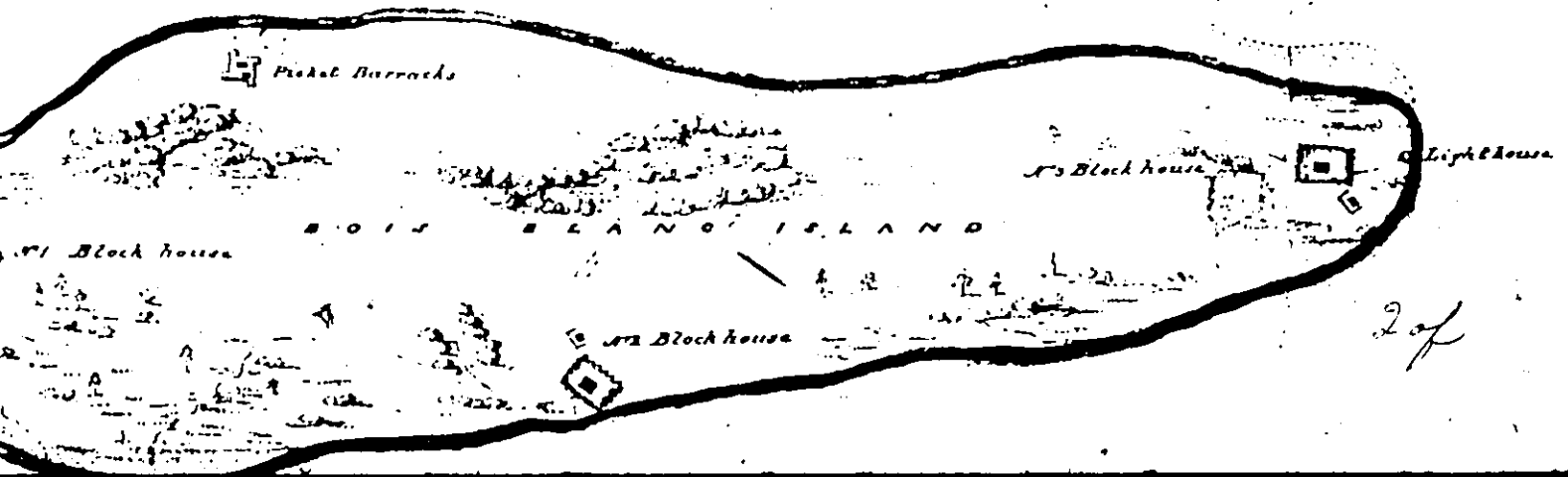
All the cottages are in an exact line and square to the road at five yards distance, and in the centre of the lot of ground with a ditch about two feet wide excavated along the front of each allotment for the purpose of drainage, the roads made by the Pensioners are 22 yards wide, a row of trees on each side of the road in front of the cottages has been planted by the corporation and given in charge of the Pensioners

- a. Commanding Officers Quarters
 - b. First Sergeants Quarters
 - c. Hospital Premises
 - d. Lot leased by Ordnance Dept.
 - e. D. D. D.
 - f. Proposed lot for four cottages
 - g. D. D. D.
 - h. Proposed lot for School house and School Sergeants cottage
- Notes: a, were given with the understanding that a road would be made through them as shown by the dotted line.

12. Signifies Pensioners cottages with row of trees in front.
Red tinting shows bounds of Military Reserve.
The lots edged with yellow have not yet been given out.

Short Length of Lots		
No. of Lots	Length, in Yards	Remarks
5 and 6	150	These
7 - 8	140	contain about
9 - 10	130	2 1/2 Acres
11 - 12	120	
13	110	
14	100	These
15	190	Pensioners allot
16	180	2 1/2 Acres
17	100	

DETROIT



AMHERSTBURG.

CANADA WEST

COTTAGE LOTS OF ENROLLED PENSIONERS
ON
MILITARY RESERVE

NOTES

All the cottages are in an exact line and square to the road at five yards distance, and in the centre of the lot of ground with a ditch about two feet wide excavated along the front of each allotment for the purpose of drainage, the roads made by the Pensioners are 22 yards wide, a row of trees on each side of the road in front of the cottages has been planted by the corporation and given in charge of the Pensioners.

a. Commencing Officers Quarters

b. First Sergeants Quarters

c. Miscellaneous premises

d. Not leased by Ordnance Dept.

e. D. D. D.

f. Proposed lot for four cottages

g. D. D. D.

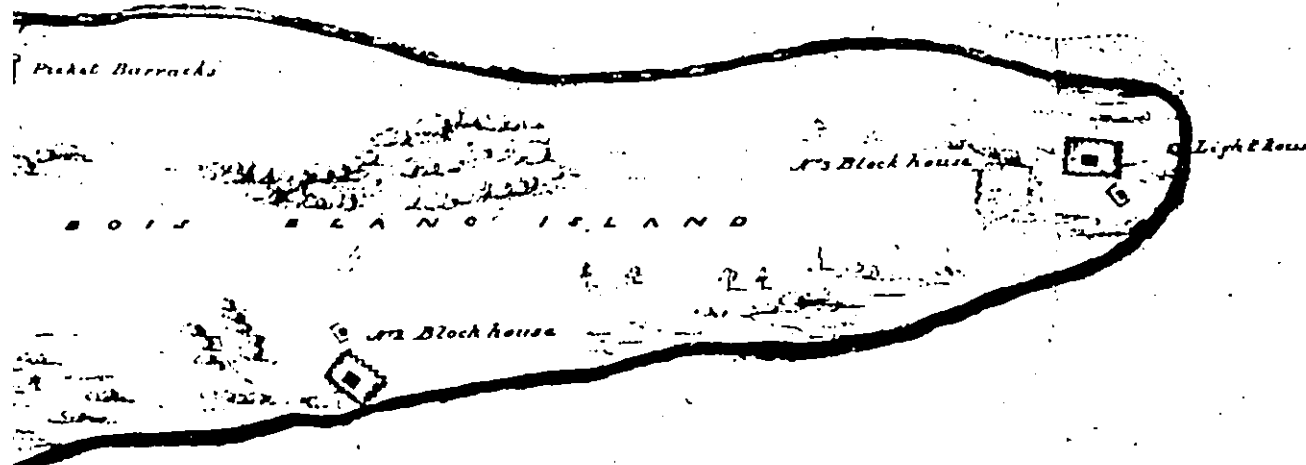
h. Proposed lot for School house and School Sergeants cottage

i. Lots 11, 12 were given with the understanding that a road would be made through them in the season by the dotted line.

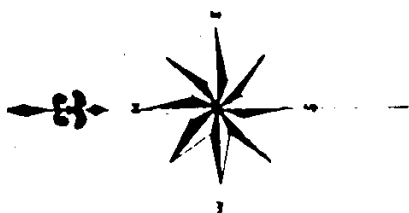
12 signifies Pensioners cottages with row of trees in front.
Foot tenting shows bounds of Military Reserve.
The lots edged with dots have been but not been given out.

Mean length of lots		
V. of lots	Length, in yards	Remarks
5 and 6	150	Sheds
7 & 8	140	contain about
9 & 10	130	2 1/2 Acres
11 & 12	120	
13	110	
14	105	Sheds
15	100	miscellaneous
16	100	2 1/2 Acres
17	100	

O I T



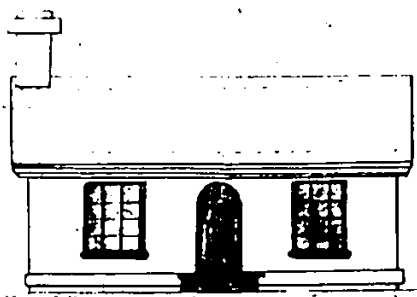
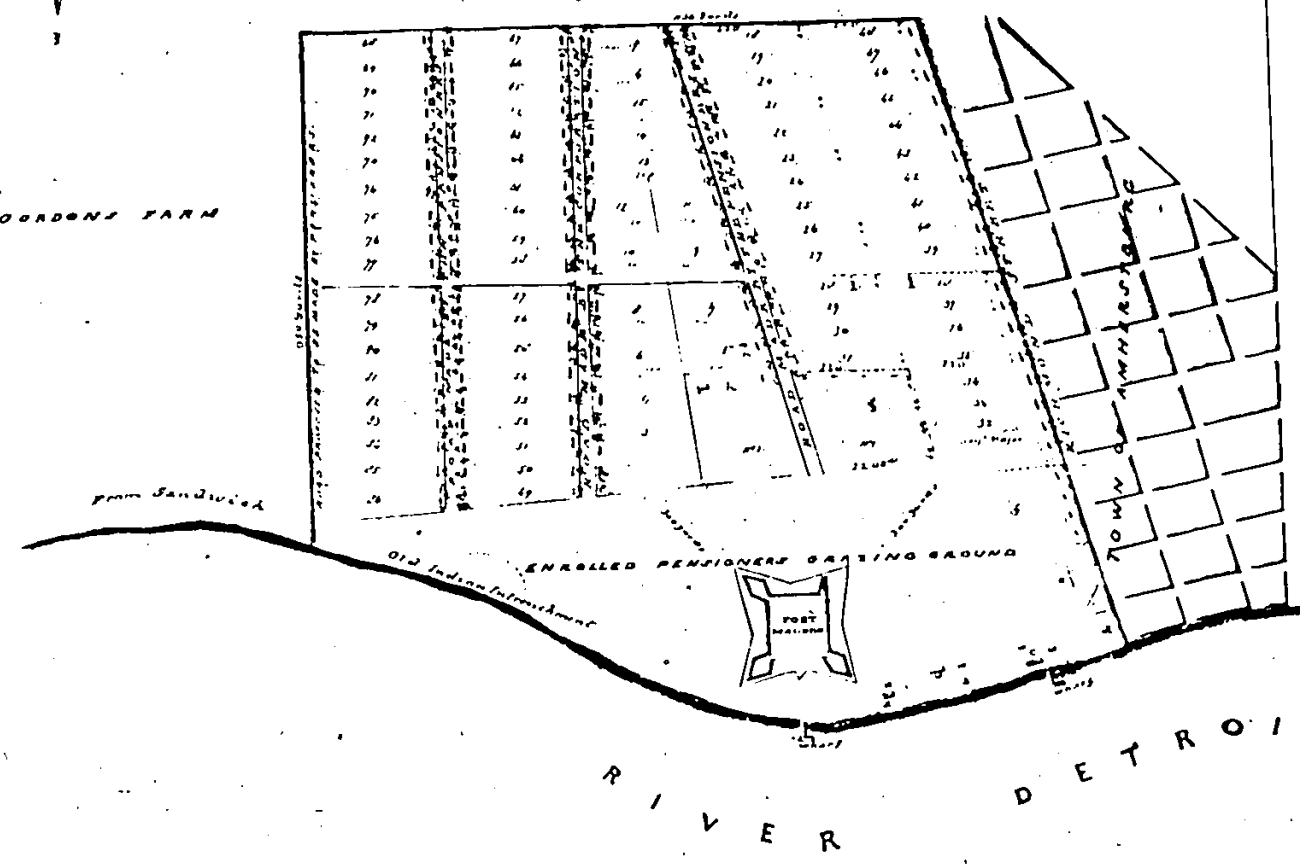
3 of



N^o GORDON'S FARM

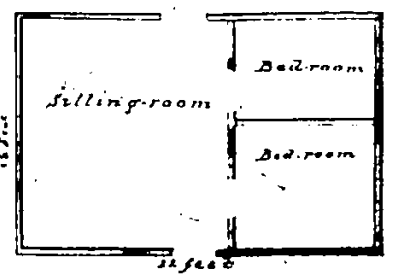
N^o BELL'S FARM

CONCRESSION ROAD

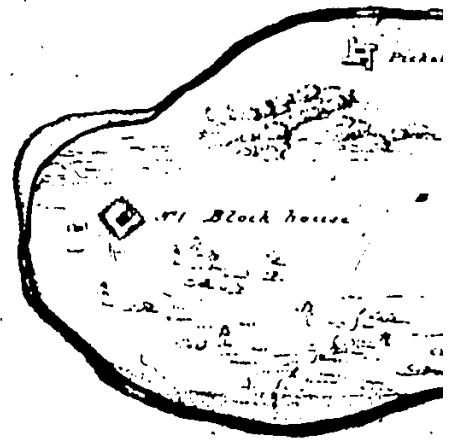


FRONT ELEVATION

Penitentiary Cottage



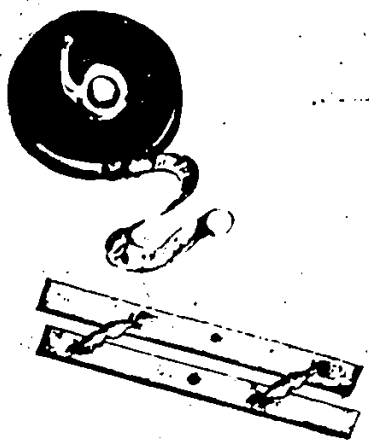
GROUND FLOOR PLAN



Scale 200 yards to one

All the dimensions of the river are

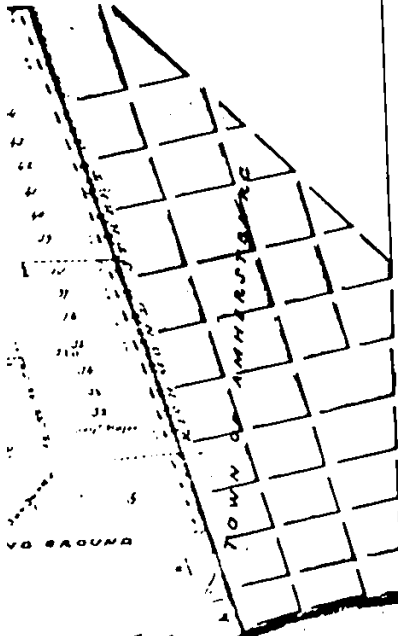
Hof



AMHERST BURG.

CANADA WEST

COTTAGE LOTS OF ENROLLED PENSIONERS
ON
MILITARY RESERVE



NOTES

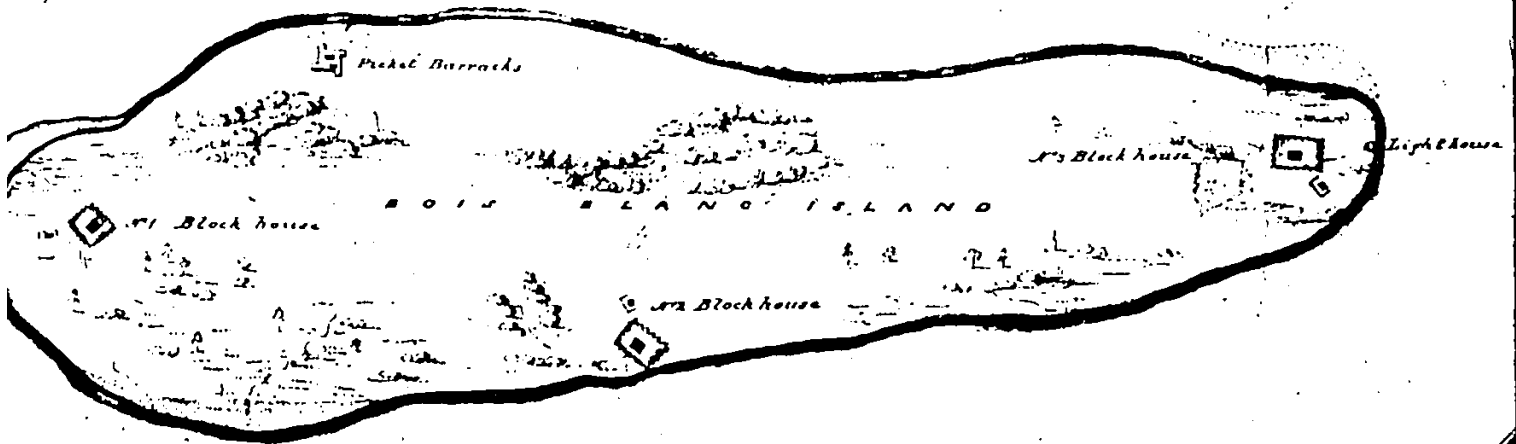
All the cottages are in an exact line and square to the road at five yards distance, and in the centre of the lot of ground with a ditch about two feet wide excavated along the front of each allotment for the purpose of drainage; the roads made by the Pensioners are 22 yards wide; a row of trees on each side of the road in front of the cottages has been planted by the Corporation and given in charge of the Pensioners

- a. Commanding Officers Quarters
 - b. Post Sergeants Quarters
 - c. Military Hospital premises
 - d. Lot leased by Ordnance Dept.
 - e. D. D. D.
 - f. Proposed lot for four cottages
 - g. D. D. D.
 - h. Proposed lot for School house and School Sergeants cottage.
- Notes: were given with the understanding that a road would be made through them as shown by the dotted line.

12. Signifies Pensioners cottages with row of trees in front.
Red tinting shows bounds of Military Reserve.
The lots edged with yellow have not yet been given out.

Mean Length of Lots		
V. of Lots	Length in Yards	Remarks
5 and 6	150	Three
7 - 8	140	contain about
9 - 10	130	2 1/2 Acres
11 - 12	120	
13	110	
14	100	Three
15	100	contain about
16	100	2 1/4 Acres
17	100	

DETROIT



Scale 200 yards to one inch



All the dimensions of Plan are in yards

The Plan of Reserve taken by
Lieut. De Moleyn's R. Engineer
and copied, November 1852.

[Handwritten signature]
Captain of Staff Officer P.
Amherstburg

5 of

AMHERSTBURG.

CANADA WEST

COTTAGE LOTS OF ENROLLED PENSIONERS ON MILITARY RESERVE

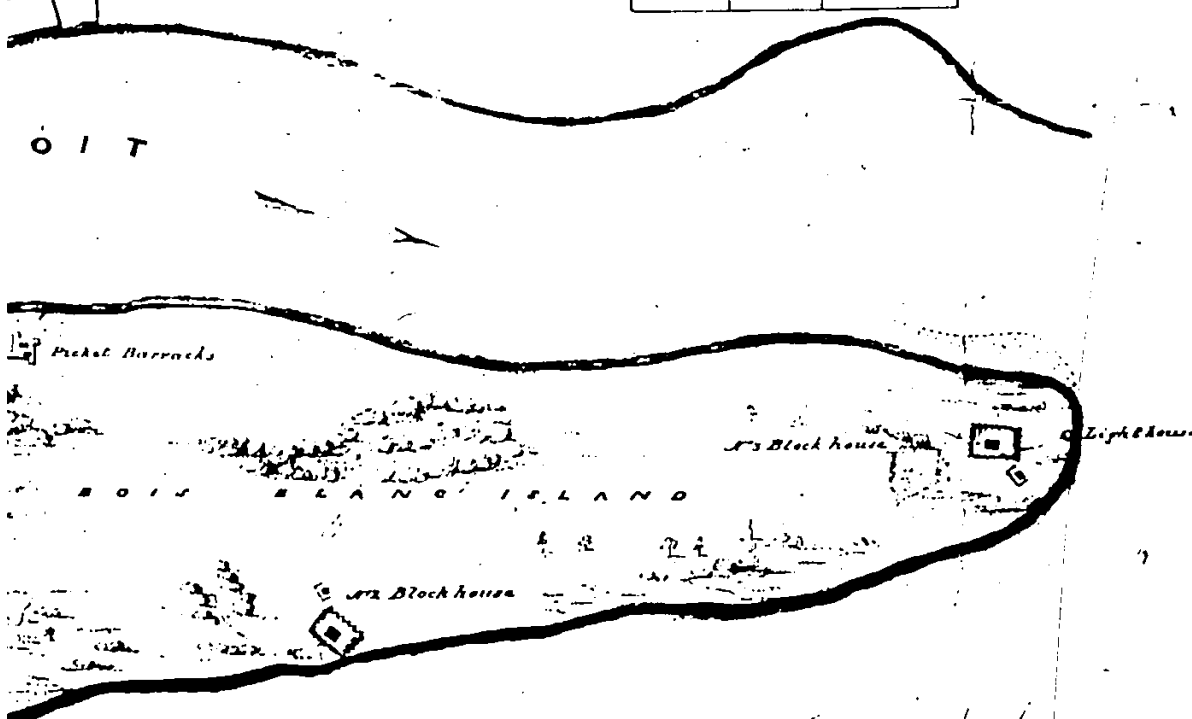
NOTES

All the cottages are in an exact line and square to the road at five yards distance, and in the centre of the lot of ground with a ditch about ten feet wide excavated along the front of each allotment for the purpose of drainage, the roads made by the Pensioners are 22 yards wide, a row of trees on each side of the road in front of the cottages has been planted by the corporation and given in charge of the Pensioners.

- a. Commanding Officers Quarters
 - b. School Sergeant's Quarters
 - c. Municipal premises
 - d. Lot leased by Ordnance Dept.
 - e. D. D. D.
 - f. Proposed lot for four cottages
 - g. D. D. D.
 - h. Proposed lot for School house and School Sergeant's cottage.
- lots a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, were given with the understanding that a road would be made through them as shown by the dotted line.

Signifies Pensioners' cottages with four offices in front.
Dotted line shows bounds of Military Reserve.
The lots edged with yellow have not yet been given out.

Mean length of lots		
Width in yards	Length in yards	Remarks
5 and 6	150	Shops
7 - 8	140	Shops
9 - 10	130	2 1/2 Acres
11 - 12	120	
13	220	
14	200	Shops
15	190	2 1/2 Acres
16	180	2 1/4 Acres
17	100	



6 of 6



The survey of Reserve taken by
Lieut. De Moleyn's R. Engineers
and copied, November 1852.

[Signature]
Captain & Staff Officer R.
Militia

Scale to one inch

Reserve are in yards

ANDERDON

Carroll Burns ✓
Thomas Bourke ✓
Thomas Berna ✓
William Carr ✓
Margaret Murray ✓
John Patterson ✓
Dennis Fowler ✓
Thomas Galtans ✓
Patrick Rider ✓
James Fitzpatrick ✓

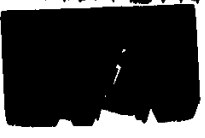
John H. ... ✓
Peter ... ✓
Timothy ... ✓
Edmund ... ✓
Patrick ... ✓
Francis ... ✓
John ... ✓
Michael ... ✓

Thomas ... ✓
Philip McKernan ✓
William Smith ✓
Patrick Madden ✓
Joseph ... ✓
Thomas ... ✓
Peter Wood's ✓
William Wilson ✓
John Best ✓

John Donnelly ✓
Patrick ... ✓
James ... ✓
James M. ... ✓
Robert ... ✓
Mary ... ✓
Hugh ... ✓
Robert ... ✓

NOT SUITABLE FOR MICROFILMING
NE SE PRETE PAS AU MICROFILMAGE

POOR COPY
COPIE DE QUALITEE INFERIEURE



Patrick [unclear] ✓
John [unclear] ✓
John [unclear] ✓
Peter [unclear] ✓
Timothy [unclear] ✓
Edmund [unclear] ✓
Patrick [unclear] ✓
Francis [unclear] ✓
John [unclear] ✓
Michael [unclear] ✓

J. P. [unclear] ✓
Brian [unclear] ✓
Bartholomew [unclear] ✓
Stephen [unclear] ✓
George [unclear] ✓
John Henry [unclear] ✓
William [unclear] ✓
Edward [unclear] ✓
Thomas [unclear] ✓

Patrick [unclear] ✓
John [unclear] ✓
James [unclear] ✓
William [unclear] ✓
Thomas [unclear] ✓
John [unclear] ✓
Patrick [unclear] ✓
William [unclear] ✓
John [unclear] ✓
Thomas [unclear] ✓

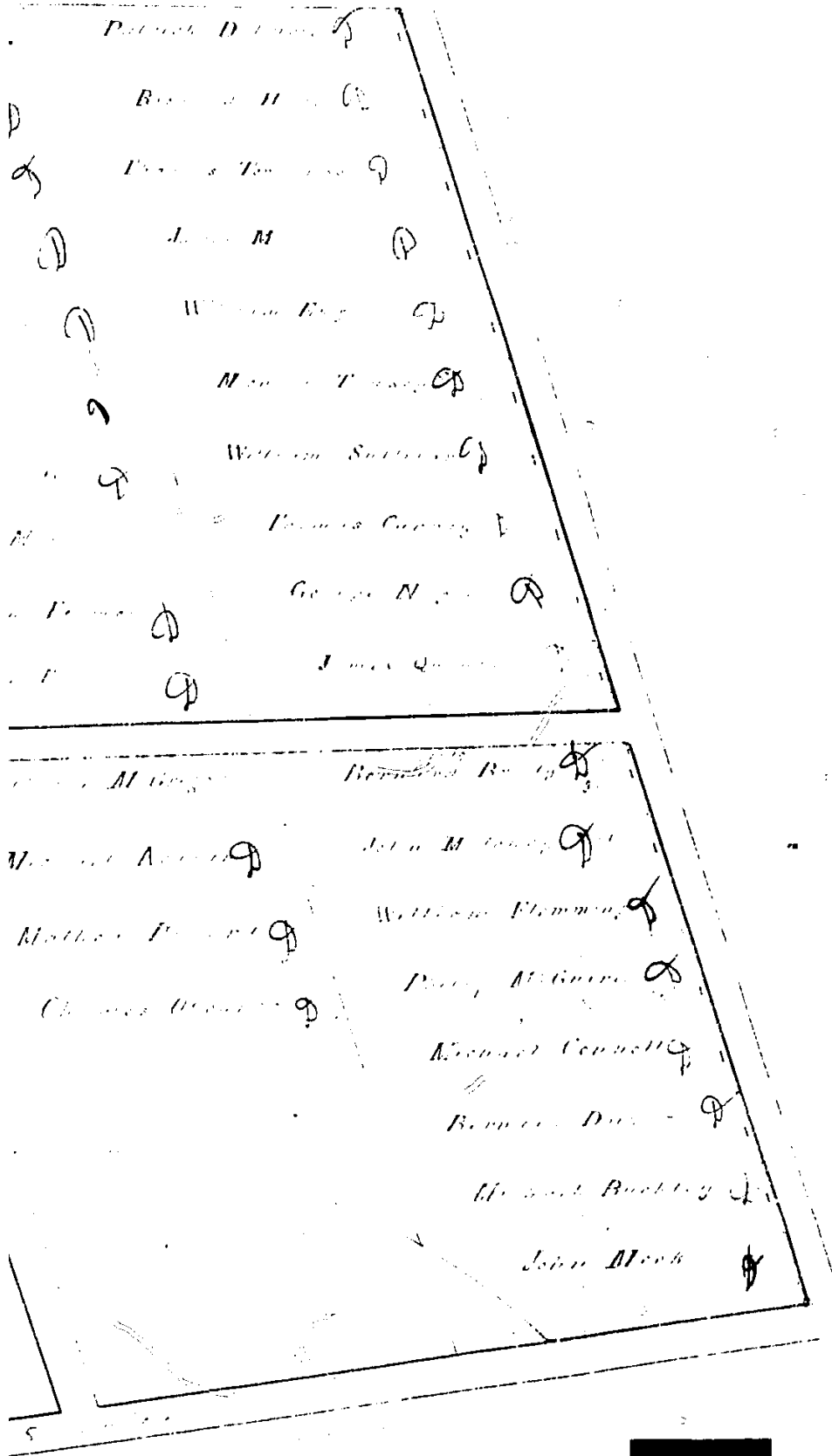
John [unclear] ✓
Farral [unclear] ✓
James [unclear] ✓
James [unclear] ✓
Robert [unclear] ✓
Mary [unclear] ✓
Hugh [unclear] ✓
Robert [unclear] ✓

Thomas [unclear] ✓
John [unclear] ✓
John [unclear] ✓
John [unclear] ✓

William [unclear] ✓
Michael [unclear] ✓
Mathias [unclear] ✓
Charles [unclear] ✓



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TOWN OF AMHERSTBURG

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A 194

A M D E

9

Thomas Craig

Philip M Keenan 9

William Smith 9

Patrick Madden

Joseph Vandy 9

Thomas Maycroft 9

Peter Woods 9

William Wilson 9

John Booth 9

4-12

John Derrally 9

Francis Connors 9

James W. Minson 9

James M. McCormack 9

Robert Purcell 9

Mary Quinlan 9

Hugh Richard 9

Robert Peckham

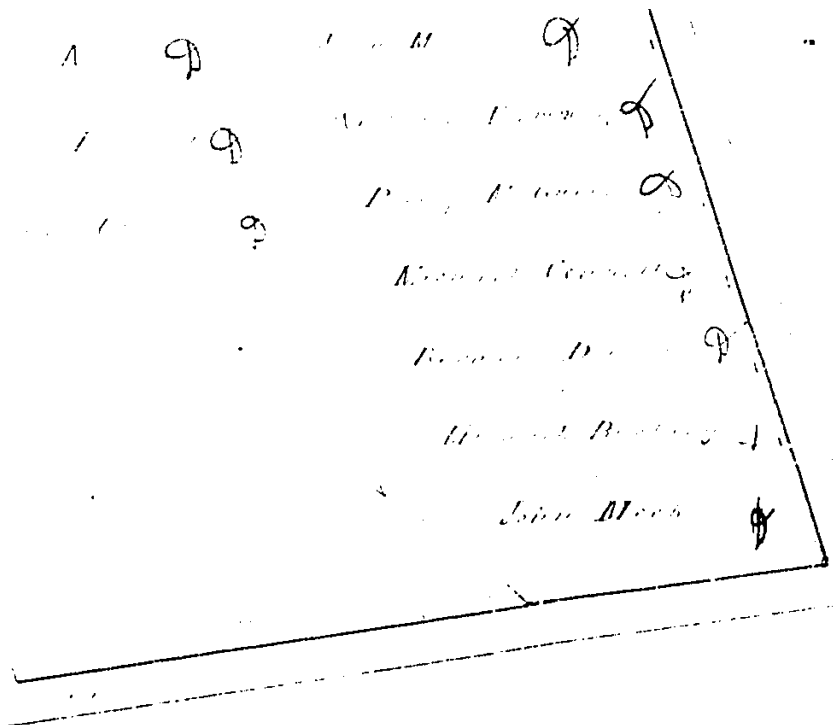
-56



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Scanned by...



TOWN

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COPIE DE QUALITE INFERIEURE

A 194

PLAN

f

LOTS OF ENROLLED PENSIONERS

O.V. 1858

ARMY RESERVE
OF AMHERSTBURG

Surveyed by John A. Wilkins,
Professional Land Surveyor
under authority from the
Board of the Commissioners of
General Land Office, 7th September 1858.

Amherstburg 19th October 1858

John A. Wilkins P.S.O.