

## SOURCES FOR **FROM BLOODY BEGINNINGS: RICHARD BEASLEY'S UPPER CANADA**

The centre piece of the mural by Adam Sheriff-Scott, “The Climax of the Action in the Battle of Crysler’s Farm”, reproduced on the front cover, is in the Battle of Crysler’s Farm Visitors’ Centre in Upper Canada Village, Morrisburg, Ontario.

A fuzee [given by Richard Beasley to young Chisholm during the Battle of Lundy’s Lane] is a large match to light one’s gun.

My sources are many. Although just a portion of those consulted for the book, the sources I give here should be sufficient to establish the veracity of the book. Notes from all of my sources taken down in the course of many years are in my notebooks and on pieces of paper. I shall note the major references in four main eras covered by the story: Revolutionary, Settlement, War of 1812, and Reform and Rebellion. Within each of the four sections I shall list also sources to particular incidents by the chapters in which they occur.

For background details of Richard Beasley’s activities please see my three pamphlets: **RICHARD BEASLEY; THE CHARACTER OF THE MAN AND HIS TIMES; RICHARD BEASLEY AND THE GERMAN COMPANIES; RICHARD BEASLEY AND EARLY DAYS ON BURLINGTON HEIGHTS/ THE POLITICAL EDUCATION OF RICHARD BEASLEY.**

Letters of and about Richard Beasley are found in the William Berczy Papers in the Bibliothèque de Quebec; in the William Claus papers in the Ontario Archives; in the Abraham and Robert Nelles papers in the Ontario Archives; in the Richard Cartwright Jr papers and John Solomon Cartwright papers in the Douglas Library, Queen’s University, Kingston, Ontario; in the RG8 Vol. C British Military Series, RG 19, Finance series, RG1 Executive Council Correspondence E14, v.8 in the National Archives of Canada [PAC].

Letters from Richard Cartwright to Richard Beasley and other important documents are transcribed in **The Richard Beasley Documents** Pt.1 Beasley Correspondence. comp. Trevor Carter and Julia Holland; Pt.2 Beasley Account Book. comp. Trevor Carter. (Hamilton: Dundurn Castle); **Dundurn Castle Archaeology**: Selected Readings for the McMaster University Field School. compiled for the 1966 Archaeological Field School for ANTHRO 3CC6 by John R. Triggs. (Hamilton: Dundurn Castle).

For matters of the 2nd York Regiment and Richard Beasley’s correspondence, etc see PAC RG9 1 B1, v.1 —8 [v.4 for 1815; v.5 for 1816-17; v.8 for 1820].

Copies of some Richard Beasley letters are in the Local History Dept, Hamilton Public Library.

Most of the protagonists in this book are subjects of biographical articles and books. See *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (online) and *The Dictionary of Hamilton Biography*.

All of Ernest Cruikshank’s writings cover the period of this book and are invaluable early records and good reading. Articles [indexed periodically] in *Ontario History* give one a thorough and comprehensive background over the many years of its publishing.

### REVOLUTIONARY

Brennan, Dennis P. “Open to All Parties: Alexander and James Robertson, Albany Printers, 1771-1777,” *The Hudson Valley Regional Review: a Journal of Regional Studies* (March 1993) v.10, no. 1.

Bridenbough, Carl. *Mitre and Sceptre: Transatlantic faiths, ideas, personalities and politics, 1689-1775* (New York: Oxford UP, 1952).

Countrymen, Edward. "Out of the Bounds of Law: Northern Land Rioters in the Eighteenth Century," IN *The American Revolution*, ed. Alfred Young (DeKalb: 1976).

Crary, Catherine. *The Price of Loyalty: Tory Writings from the Revolutionary Era* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973).

Fox, Edith. *Land Speculation in the Mohawk Valley* (Ithaca: 1949).

Fraser, J. *Skulking for the King: a Loyalist plot* (Erin: Boston Mills, 1985)

Graymont, Barbara. *The Iroquois in the American Revolution* (Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 1972).

Humphrey, Thomas J. *Land and Liberty: Hudson Valley Riots in the Age of Revolution* (DeKalb: Oxford UP, 1952).

*Minutes of the Commissioners for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies in the State of New York, Albany County. Sessions 1778-1781.* ed. Victor Paltsits. 3 v. (Albany: 1809-10).

Norton, Thomas Eliot. *The Fur Trade in Colonial New York, 1686-1776* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin press, 1940)

Randall, William Sterne. *Benedict Arnold, patriot and traitor* (New York: Morrow, 1990).

Reynolds, Cuyler. *Albany Chronicles* (Buffalo Historical Society).

Siebert, William. *The Loyalists and Six Nations Indians in the Niagara Peninsula.* (Ottawa: 1915).

Swiggert, Howard. *War Out of Niagara: Walter Butler and the Tory Rangers* (New York: Columbia UP, 1933).

Watt, Gavin K. *Rebellion in the Mohawk Valley: the St. Leger Expedition.* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2002).

## CHAPTERS

### 1. Cause for Rebellion

Richard Beasley's mother's name was Noble. Maria Noble was the daughter of David Noble. Her mother, recorded as Widow Noble, died in January 1772 (St Peter's Church Records, Albany, N.Y.). The baptism dates of the Beasley and Cartwright families are in the Church Records, for example, Richard, son of Richard and Hannah Cartwright, bapt. March 16, 1759. Witnesses: Richard Howard, Will Newton, Mary Brown. Robert, son of Henry and Mary Beasley, bapt. Nov. 6, 1759. Witnesses: Jacobus Van Benthuyzen, Sarah Van Benthuyzen. Richard, son of Henry and Mary Beasley, bapt. July 31, 1761. [No witnesses possibly because Richard was born at Fort Hunter, according to the Albany History Project, and, being baptised there, his baptism was simply registered in the Church's records.]

### 2. Richard Beasley's Background Revealed

For John Beasley see the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, for letters by and about him [eg. John Miln, Missionary at Albany to the Secretary, Albany, N.Y. June 1, 1732: "...Mr. Beasley who is very diligent in Instructing the Negroes of this place a good man of an Exemplary life...." Also, Klingberg, Frank J. *Anglican Humanitarianism in Colonial New York* (Church Hist. Soc: 1940) [The assertion by the Albany History Project that a John Beasley, registered as a private in a British regiment in Albany years before 1720, when John Beasley arrived in Albany, is the same person is obviously wrong]. For Lydia (Van Benthuyzen) Beasley see Pearson, Jonathan. *Contributions for the genealogies of the first settlers of...Albany, from 1630 to 1800.* (Genealogical Pub: 1978).

### 3. The Underground Activity of Defiance

For the underground escape of indentured servants see Raelly, Ellis L. *Portrait of New Netherland* (Pt. Washington, N.Y.: 1965) "Bond servants, especially those in a luckless settlement, no less than slaves,

desired their freedom. To assist indentured servants of the city's colony to escape to Maryland and Virginia, an underground railway sprang up. One of Augustus Herman's objectives on his mission to the colony of Lord Baltimore was the destruction of this system of escape." (p. 162).

#### **4. Conflicting Views Develop**

Bielinski, Stefan. *Abraham Yates and the New Political Order in Revolutionary New York* (Albany: 1975).  
Knoblauch, Edward. The Old City Hall: the Albany Common Council in the American Revolution. (paper).

#### **5. The Authorities Clamp Down**

Brennan, Dennis P. "Open to All Parties: Alexander and James Robertson, Albany Printers, 1771-1777." *The Hudson Valley Regional Review: a Journal of Regional Studies* (March 1999) v.10, no. 1.  
Fraser, J. *Skulking for the King* (Erin: Boston Mills, 1985).

#### **6. Spies and Propaganda as Forms of Resistance**

Bielinski, Stefan. *The Other Revolutionaries. The People of Albany and American Independence, 1763-1783* (New York State Museum: 1996).

For Henry Beasley see Pearson, Jonathan. *Contribution for the genealogies of the first settlers....op.cit.*  
For John Ostrander see *New York Colonial Muster Rolls* [appointed Town Sergeant (Brigade Major) May 20, 1777].  
For Masonic Lodge see *Collection on the History of Albany* v.3, p.418.

#### **8. Paranoia and Resentment**

Watt, Gavin K. *The Flockey, 13 August 1777: Defeat of the Tory Uprising in the Schoharie Valley* (King City: Watt, 2002).

#### **9. Family Ties Lead to Escape**

Young, Alfred. *The Democratic Republican of New York. The Origins, 1763-1797* (Chapel Hill: Univ of North Carolina press, 1962).

#### **10. A Refuge Becomes a Staging Base for War**

Loyalist Petition of Richard Beasley, Feb.5, 1795 "That your petitioner's father came into the province in the year 1791 and remained until his death which happened in '93—a known and good friend during the late American War. Your petitioner came into the province in the year 1777 and served two years as acting Commissary..."  
For lands at Toronto and Pemestiscutiak [Port Hope] Quebec Land Book. Petition of Richard Beasley and Peter Smith 22 Oct 1788, p.52; 14 July, 1789, p.96.  
For Beasley's acres at Burlington Heights see Crown Lands Department. *Reports of the Surveyor General, 1795-1799*, vol.1 and *Commissioners Reports laid before the Board: Lands claimed before the Commissioners*. Cartwright, C.E. *Life and Letters of the late Honourable Richard Cartwright* (Toronto: Belford, 1876).

Letters from Fort Niagara to General Haldimand in the years of the Revolutionary War give interesting descriptions of the people and activities. See the Haldimand Papers in the PAC.

For Peter Smith see letter from John Johnston Sr., 142 Spadina Ave, Toronto to Edwin Guillet, March 12, 1942 in Guillet's *Early Canadian Literature: literary pioneers of the old Newcastle District* (Toronto: 1942).

### **11. The Escaping Hero Symbolizes Loyalist and Indian Alliance**

For Richard Cartwright's role in Walter Butler's escape see Memorial of Richard Cartwright. *Loyalist Claims Book* Vol.22 (NYPL). "He saved the life of Captain Butler who later fell in service by effecting his escape from his own home in Albany when under sentence of death, at the risk of his life. That, for these and such Acts he was banished from Albany and sent to Canada."

### **12. Maddened Mobs Drive Out the Cartwrights**

See Memorial of Richard Cartwright, op.cit. He cited a mob of between three and four thousand persons. Both Henry Cartwright and John Cartwright, brothers to Richard Jr. were members of the 2nd Albany County militia (see Willis Hanson, *A History of Schenectady during the Revolution* (1916).) Peter and Martin Van Benthuyzen were also on the militia rolls. For Henry Cartwright's death on March 17, 1774, when returning from London, England see *Genealogical Data from Colonial New York newspapers*, p.186.

### **13. Revenge on the Rebels**

For Lt. Boyd of Butler's Rangers see Miller, Orlo. *Raiders of the Mohawk: The Story of Butler's Rangers*. (Toronto: Macmillan, 1954).

### **14. Ferocity of War Divides the Warriors**

See Graymont, Barbara, op.cit.

### **15. Captain Brant Impresses the Commander in Chief**

Butler, Walter. "Journal of an Expedition Along the North Shore of Lake Ontario," *Canadian History Review* [1920] I, 386-391. Cruikshank, Ernest, "Memoir of Captain Walter Butler," *Canadian Institute Transactions*, v.4, p.284.

Kelsey, Isabel Thompson. *Joseph Brant, 1743-1807. Man of Two Worlds*. (Syracuse: Syracuse Univ. press, 1984).

### **17. Disillusionment Overtakes the Loyalists**

For the contract among Richard Cartwright, John Askin and Robert Hamilton witnessed by Richard Beasley and Peter Smith see the *John Askin Papers*.

### **18. Richard Beasley Evolves from Furs to Merchandizing**

Wilson, Bruce. *The Enterprises of Robert Hamilton; A Study of Wealth and Influence in Early Upper Canada, 1776-1812*. (Ottawa: Carleton UP, 1983).

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Struggle for Wealth and Power at Fort Niagara." *Ontario History* (Sept 1976) LXVIII, No. 3.

## 19. Farewell Albany, Hello Upper Canada

Lynd, Staughton, "Abraham Yates's History of the Movement for the United States Constitution," *William and Mary Quarterly* (1963), 223-245.

Spaulding, E. Wilder. *New York in the Critical Period, 1783-1789*. (New York; Columbia UP, 1932).

### SETTLEMENT

Andre, John. *Infant Toronto as Simcoe's Folly* (Toronto: 1971).

Betchemen, Lita-Rose, "Genesis of an early Canadian painter, William Von Moll Berczy." *Ontario History* (June 1965) LVII, No. 2.

Bloomfield, Elizabeth. *Waterloo Township Through Two Centuries* (Waterloo Historical Society, 1995).

Colquhoun, "The Career of Joseph Willcocks," *Canadian Historical Review* (1926) p. 287ff.

Errington, Jane. *The Lion, the Eagle, and Upper Canada; a developing colonial ideology* (Kingston: McGill-Queens UP, 1987).

Flint, David. *John Strachan, pastor and politician* (Toronto: Oxford UP, 1971).

Gates, Lillian F. *Land Policies of Upper Canada* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto, 1968).

Good, Reginald. Crown-directed Colonization of Six Nations and Metis Band Reserves in Canada. PhD Diss. Univ. of Saskatchewan, 1994).

Guest, Harry, "Upper Canada's First Political Party." *Ontario History* (Dec. 1962) LIV, No. 4.

Johnson, J.K. ed. *Historical Essays on Upper Canada* (Carleton Library: 1975).

\_\_\_\_\_ and Wilson eds. *Historical Essays on Upper Canada: New Perspective*. (Ottawa: Carleton, 1989).

Kinko, Joseph. The Genesis of Reform Politics in Upper Canada. The Opposition Group of the Fifth Parliament, 1809-1812. MS Thesis Ottawa: Carleton Univ., 1988.

Parnet, Herbert and Marie Hecht. *Aaron Burr. Portrait of an Ambitious Man* (New York: Macmillan, 1967).

Romney, Paul, "Reinvigorating Upper Canada: American Immigrants, Upper Canadian History, English Law and the Alien Question," IN *Patterns of the Past* (Toronto: Dundurn, 1988).

Smith, John Henry. *Historical Sketch of the County of Wentworth and the Head of the Lake* (Hamilton: County Council, 1897).

### CHAPTERS

## 20. Schemes of Immigrants and Politicians

For Simcoe's visit to the Beasleys in 1796 see *Lady Simcoe's Diary*.

## 21. Struggles with the Indian Department

Carnarchan, Janet, "The Count de Puisaye: a Forgotten Page of Canadian History," Niagara Historical Society. *Publications* No.15.

Gates, Lillian, "Roads, Rivals and Rebellion; the Unknown Story of Asa Danforth Jr." *Ontario History* (Sept 1984) LXXVI, No. 3.

Good, Reginald, "Mississauga-Mennonite Relations in Upper Grand River Valley," *Ontario History* (June 1995) v.87, 155.

## 22. Politics Define the New Capital

Canada. Archives. *Reports* 1892. For political state in 1808, re: party of malcontents, pp.72-78.

Johnston, C.M. *The Head of the Lake: A History of Wentworth County* (Hamilton: County Council, 1958).

### **23. Influence Shifts from Merchant to Minister**

For Richard Beasley's parliamentary activities see Upper Canada. House of Assembly. *Journals* for 1802, 1803, 1804 in *6th Report* (1909) *Ontario. Archives. Reports*; for his work 1826-28 see House of Assembly *Journal* 1st (1903)

For militia see H. H. Robertson. *The Militia of West York and West Lincoln of 1804* with lists of officers together with some historical and biographical notes on the militia (1904). Also for 2nd York see Wentworth Historical Society. *Journals and Transactions* v.4, p.17-21.

### **24. Vying for a County Capital**

For petitions see House of Assembly *Journal*, 1810, pp. 315-318.

### **25. Fear and Preparations for War**

For Tecumseh see "Description of Tecumseh, 1813," by Mrs. Van Every [Hannah Beasley] of West Flamborough in 1860. *Niagara Historical Papers* no. 32.

For Thomas Barry and William Graham see Edith Firth, *The town of York, 1793-1815* (Champlain Society: 1962).

## WAR OF 1812

Cruikshank, Ernest. *Documentary History of the Campaign upon the Niagara Frontier, 1812-14* (Welland: 1896-1908) 9 vols.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Records of Niagara in the days of Commodore Grant and Lieutenant-Governor Gore* (Niagara Historical Society: 1931).

Mackenzie, Ruth. *James FitzGibbon, Defender of Upper Canada* (Toronto: Dundurn, 1983).

Merritt, William Hamilton. *A Desire of Serving and Defending My Country. The War of 1812 Journals* (2001)

Norton, John. *The Journal of Major John Norton* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1970).

Read, D. B. *The Lieutenant-Governors of Upper Canada and Ontario, 1791-1899* (Toronto: Dundurn, 1983)

Sheppard, George. *Enemies at Home: Upper Canada and the War of 1812*. PhD Diss. McMaster Univ, 1989.

Zaslow, Norris, ed *The Defended Border* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1964) see Cruikshank's "A Study of Disaffection in Upper Canada, 1812-1815"; J Mackay Hitsman's "Alarm on Lake Ontario. Winter 1812-15."; C.P. Stacey's "The Defence of Upper Canada, 1812."

## CHAPTERS

### **26. War as Policy, Carnage as Legacy**

Malcomson, Robert. *A Very Brilliant Affair* (Toronto: Robin Brass, 2003).

### **27. Forcing compliance to the Idea of Patriotism**

Richard Beasley's adventures in occupied York were gleaned from the Proceedings of a Court of Enquiry into his conduct in the war held at Grimsby, May 1819 (Canada Archives RG1 E1 reel C-4603). Although

neither Richard nor his witnesses were allowed to speak, enough of their (disallowed) protests against the charges were recorded by the sympathetic stenographer to give some explanation of what really took place. The transcript of Richard's subsequent court martial in 1820, which would have given a good and full description of the battle and his conduct, has disappeared.

## **28. Withdrawal, Betrayal and Increasing Hatred**

Biggar, E.B. "The Story of the Battle of Stoney Creek" *Hamilton Spectator*, June 5, 1889.

The burying of the Masonic Lodge documents and jewels in 1810 was at a spot 60 yards south of Main Street and 40 yards west of Erie Avenue. Coincidentally, this area was where Richard's grandson, Thomas Beasley, city clerk, built his house later in the century.

## **29. The British Ravage the Enemy and Hang Dissenters**

Cruikshank, Ernest. *The Battle of Lundy's Lane*. (Welland: Tribune, 1893).

Duffy, Dennis, "The Ancaster Eight," *The Beaver* (June/July 2000).

Graves, Donald. *Where Right and Glory Lead* (Toronto: Robin Brass, 1997). Unfortunately Graves takes the verdict of the first military court on Richard (p.132) which declared him cowardly in battle without following up to discover the politics involved and the subsequent court martial that cleared him of the charges. Graves dedicated his book to Daniel Springer, Richard's brother-in-law, who would not have been pleased with his maligning the husband of his sister and good friend who set him up in the fur-trading business.

For Henry Beasley's capture: War of 1812 Losses. Petition Sept 4, 1823. Herons and McCormick, merchants from Niagara, were the other two captured with Henry. See [The Richard Beasley Documents](#), op.cit.

## **30. They Keep On Coming**

Rammage, Stuart A. *The Militia Stood Alone* (Penticton, B.C.: 2000)

For members of the court martial at Shipman's Tavern in Grantham [later St. Catharines] see Militia York County PrMSS #5 MU2036 {HPL} In R69 1RC Adj-Gen 1815 v.4 Misc. (PAC) Captains William Chisholm, J. Butler and J. Smith replaced Majors Simons and Robertson.

## **31. Restoring Civilization with Difficulty**

Losses 1812 No. 46 Letter from Richard Beasley to the Board of Claims, 1815. [Richard's claims and accompanying letters are reproduced in [The Richard Beasley Documents](#), op.cit.]

## REFORM AND REBELLION

Brode, Patrick. *Sir John Beverley Robinson: Bone and Sinew of the Compact* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto press, 1984).

Cruikshank, Ernest, "Postwar Discontent in Niagara," *Ontario History* v.29, p.14-46.

Dunham, Aileen. *Political Unrest in Upper Canada, 1815-1836*. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963).

Durand, Charles. *Reminiscences of Charles Durand* (Toronto: Hunter Rose, 1897).

Greenwood, F. Murray and Barry Wright eds. *Law, Politics and State Measures, 1608-1837: Canadian State Trials* v.1 (Toronto: Osgoode Society, 1996).

Milani, Lois Darroch. *Robert Gourlay, Gadfly; Forerunner of the Rebellion in Upper Canada 1837* (Ampersand press, 1971)  
Wilton, Carol. *Popular Politics and Political Culture in Upper Canada 1800-1850* (Montreal: McGill-Queens, 2000)

## CHAPTERS

### **32. Reform is in the Air but a Price Must Be Paid**

Cruikshank, Ernest, "The Government of Upper Canada and Robert Gourlay," *Ontario History*, v.23. "Record of Olden Times," *St. Catharines Journal*, Sept 24, 1840—April 26, 1841.

For transcripts of the Friends of Enquiry, petitions, Richard Beasley's correspondence, etc. see "Chronicles of Canada," *St Catharines Journal*, Oct. 6-13, 1842. "The Chronicles of Canada" were published in Robert Gourlay's *The Banished Briton*.

For correspondence re 2nd York Militia Regiment and court martial charges see PAC RG1 B1, vols 1-8. For Richard Beasley's court martial verdict see *Upper Canada Gazette* (York) Thursday, March 9, 1820.

### **33. We Poor Dream of Riches**

"Digging for Gold 1816-20," Herald Scrapbook v.G1, Pt. 1 {HPL}.

For Wilson, Henry Beasley's slave see article in *Hamilton Spectator*, Sept 25, 1952. {HPL} R971.351 Sp312 v.3, p.29. [Another article mentions the escaped slave Jackson as devoted to Henry and who lived long after Henry's death at the Delta in Hamilton where he was supported by Henry's son, Thomas, city clerk.]

### **34. Reactionaries Turn to Violence**

Nelles, H.V. "Loyalism and Local Power: The District of Niagara," *Ontario History* (June 1966) LVIII, no. 2  
"The Tar and Feather Case," *Ontario History* (March 1976) LXVIII, No. 1

For Beasley's role in the repeal of the Sedition Law, see House of Assembly. *Journals* 2nd session, 9th Parliament, November 15, 1825. For John Rolph and Richard Beasley's push for civil rights for immigrants, *ibid*, Nov. 18, 1825. For petitions for and against building a new gaol and court house in Hamilton, see *ibid*, Jan.4,1827.

### **35. Loss of Homestead, the Blight of Cholera and Fire**

Campbell, Marjorie Freeman. *A Mountain and a City. The Story of Hamilton* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1966).

Weaver, John, "Crime, Public Order and Repression: The Gore District in Upheaval, 1832-1857," *Ontario History* (1986) v.78, no.3.

### **36. Provocation of a Rebellion**

"A Trial for High Treason," *Ontario History*, XVIII, p.50.

"April 19, 1838 night attack on a Hamilton gaol to free prisoners from Rockport," *Ontario History* v.8, p.6. On prisoners convicted and acquitted see *St Catharines Journal*, April 5, 12, 1838.

Landon, Fred, "The Common Man in the Era of Rebellion in Upper Canada," The Canadian Historical Association, 1937.

MacRae, Marion. *MacNab of Dundurn* (Toronto: Clarke Irwin, 1971).  
Minutes of Proceedings to Erect the Anglican Church June 13, Oct. 13, 14, 1835 {HPL}

### **37. In Retrospect**

McAllister, Michael. A Very Pretty Object: the Socially Constructed Landscape of Burlington Heights, 1780-1815. (Thesis McMaster Univ: 2002). Windigoes, as tall as pine trees, stalked and ate humans and were once humans transformed by hunger and isolation.