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Canadian War Museum

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There are many unique and remarkable uniforms in the collections of the Canadian War Museum, some of which go back quite far into our history. One of these, probably the oldest presently known uniform that can be assigned to a unit raised in Canada, is that of Lieutenant Jeremiah French of the King's Royal Regiment of New York.

For most artifacts, the information regarding their history, as well as that of their owners, has vanished long ago, and only the objects remain, mute witnesses to their era, their secrets sealed forever. But, in the case of this uniform, more can be said. The original owner is known and the artifacts themselves are especially well preserved in near pristine condition, taking us back over two hundred years to the Montreal area, and to the westward, to the land that was later to be named Upper Canada. The mid-18th century had seen the final phases of the French and Indian wars devastate part of what had been New France. Barely 15 years after the surrender of Montreal to British forces, the city had been occupied again by American revolutionary troops before being liberated by the British in 1776. The United States declared its independence on the 4th of July of that year. But within the nascent nation were many Americans who remained loyal to their mother country, Great Britain. They were the Loyalists and, persecuted from the outset by their republican neighbours, many had to flee to safety in Canada.

The Officer

Jeremiah French was a loyal American. He was born in about 1737 and was a farmer in Charlotte County, in the colony of New York, where he possessed “a good property & suffered much.” no doubt because he remained loyal to Britain while many of his neighbours rebelled. Like many Loyalists, he sought refuge in Canada during 1776 or early 1777 and arrived in Montreal with his wife and four children. He was probably accompanied by his brother Gersham, in a group of refugees led by John Peters, who was later to become the commanding officer of the Queen's Loyal Rangers.

Jeremiah and his brother must have had good dispositions and talents for a military career as both were commissioned officers in John Peter's corps, raised from March 1777 in the Montreal area amongst refugee Loyalists. Actual authority to "raise a Regiment composed of Americans and to be called the Queens Loyal Rangers, the officers to receive their commissions when the regiment should be two thirds compleat..." was obtained from Sir Guy Carleton in early May 1777. Jeremiah French's service as a captain started on 12 May 1777.
Gersham French was commissioned lieutenant. The Queen’s Loyal Rangers were part of the disastrous expedition led by Sir John Burgoyne, saw action at Bennington and surrendered with the rest of the army at Saratoga. Fortunately for the brothers, Loyalists, Canadian militiamen and other non-regular soldiers were released by the Americans and came back to Montreal. The Queen’s Loyal Rangers were now much depleted and, although a captain, French was paid as a lieutenant from 24 October 1777.3

The following years were not as exciting. The Queen’s Loyal Rangers remained at much below its authorized strength. Recruits were difficult to obtain and money scarce. The unit was posted south of Montreal and, from time to time, a few of its men might make an occasional scouting trip into present-day Vermont. For the French brothers, their situation must have gone from bad to worse, and relations with Lieutenant-Colonel Peters became very tense. In January of 1781, Peters, in what appear to be a fit of vindictive temper, wrote to Governor Haldiman accusing both brothers of fraud and embezzlement going back to the spring of 1778. They stood accused of selling barrels of beef and flour rations at Chambly and St. John (Saint-Jean, Québec) instead of issuing them to scouts. They were also accused of keeping some of the pay due to their men for over two years, of refusing to pay Lieutenant-Colonel Peters money owed to him and, finally, of “Speaking Disrespectfully of Superior Officers, particularly Mr. Gersham French in a Barrack room in publick Company of Soldiers,” which was an offense under the Articles of War.4

These were quite serious charges and a Court Martial was promptly called in February 1781 at St. John to examine the “several complaints” against the French brothers. On 23 February, the “Proceedings of a Board of Officers” came to an end and the Board issued its verdicts on the several charges. With regards to selling rations in 1778, the Board found some irregularities but no proof of the brothers’ guilt, or at least “that the Fact is not proved as worded in the Charge.” They were also found not guilty of retaining the men’s pay. With regards to abusive language, the Board ruled Lieutenant-Colonel Peters’ accusation to be “frivolous, nigatory and ill supported.” Finally, the Board did not comment on the charge that money was owed, due to the lack of evidence presented.5

Clearly, there was much more hostility between Lieutenant-Colonel Peters and the French brothers than actual offenses committed. The accusations must have been blown out of all proportions for the Board to reject them rather sternly as frivolous. And it must have caused considerable mortification and anger with Lieutenant-Colonel Peters, whose reputation as a good commander must have suffered accordingly. The French brothers were no doubt joyful at the outcome, but it was high time for them to find commissions in other regiments.6

Fortunately, a reorganization of the small Loyalist units in the Montreal area was under
way. These units had been authorized in 1776-1777 but now had very little success at attracting recruits and thus remained much under the authorized strength. On 12 November 1781, the various small units were either used to form a new seven-company unit, the Loyal Rangers, under the command of Major Edward Jessup, or were incorporated into the 2nd Battalion of Sir John Johnson's King's Royal Regiment of New York. With obviously nothing to lose, Jeremiah French convinced about 20 men to follow him into the King's Royal Regiment of New York for which he was commissioned lieutenant in the 2nd Battalion.7

The Regiment

In spite of its "New York" appellation, the King's Royal Regiment of New York was actually raised in Montreal. In the late spring of 1776, Sir John Johnson fled his estate and took refuge in Canada "with about two hundred followers...from the Province of New York" and informed Sir Guy Carleton, Governor of Canada, "that many others of His Majesty's Faithful Subjects. Suffering in that Country under the persecution of the Rebels for their loyalty, would willingly take up arms, if they could get them." Carleton lost no time in giving them the opportunity and, in June, authorized Sir John to raise a single ten company battalion to be called the King's Royal Regiment of New York.8 A 2nd battalion was raised from 13 July 1780, also to consist of ten companies with an establishment of over 600 officers and men. The 1st Battalion finally reached its established strength in November 1780 but the 2nd Battalion never did. The officers and men of the new 2nd Battalion were "to be paid, clothed & accoutered in the same manner" as the 1st battalion.9

The regiment played a distinguished part in keeping the Americans at bay and participated in several important raids during the hostilities. Some American historians have reported that the men of "Johnson's Greens" or the "Royal Yorkers," as they often called them, were much feared and often inhumane towards their former countrymen. The historians evidently forgot that these were bitter refugees who had lost their property, had fled for their lives, and were eager for revenge.10

In Canada, on the contrary, in January 1777 Carleton reported the men of the regiment "not yet anything like soldiers," while Haldimand commented in May 1779, unfairly in the event, that the corps was useful "with the ax" but not "altogether to be depended upon with the firelock." But he soon changed his mind as proven by his authority to raise a second battalion the next year. The 1st Battalion was stationed in the Montreal area, the 2nd Battalion further west at Oswego and Carleton Island. After the British disaster against a Franco-American army at Yorktown, Virginia, in the fall of 1781, it was increasingly obvious that Britain was losing the war and major operations in North America came to a standstill until a truce was announced in May 1783.11

As for Jeremiah French, now commissioned a lieutenant in the 2nd Battalion of the King's Royal Regiment of New York, the remaining years of service appear to have been generally quiet and he does not seem to have taken part in any major battles against the Americans.

The Uniform

One of the first things Lieutenant Jeremiah French must have done, in November 1781, while still in Montreal, was to purchase the uniform of his new unit which forms the subject of the present study. As it turned out, the attractive scarlet with blue facings and gold lace was the regiment's recently adopted second uniform. It had already earned fame while wearing another regimental dress.

The first uniform of the King's Royal Regiment of New York had been green, hence its nickname of "Johnson's Greens." It was probably issued in the late summer of 1776 from stores that came in from Britain. The clothing was replenished in May and June 1777 before leaving with St. Leger's force into the Mohawk Valley.12 The regiment was reported still in green in November 1778 but the next clothing was most likely red. Many Loyalist units had been clothed in green at the outset of the War of American Independence. However, from 1779, many were clothed in red and the King's Royal Regiment of New York most probably changed colours with the issue of clothing shipped from Britain in July. Indeed, in October,
some "Red faced Blue" suits of "Provincial Clothing" appear in the stores which confirm the change.\textsuperscript{13}

The enlisted men would have had a tricorn hat edged with white lace garnished with a black cockade, a red coat with blue collar, cuffs and lapels, white turnbacks, white metal buttons, white waistcoat and breeches, stockings, black gaiters and shoes, white leather belts with a black cartridge box and bayonet scabbard, linen knapsack and haversack, wooden or tin water bottle. The weapon was probably a Short Land Pattern musket such as used in the regular army with a bayonet. The above items naturally varied depending on the season and the type of service required. "Indian Shoes," blanket coats, knives and axes and other items were also issued at times.\textsuperscript{14}

Officers of the regiment would have also taken the new colours into wear with uniforms made of better quality materials, using fine quality scarlet and blue cloth. Gold was the colour of the officer's regimental buttons and lace at the buttonholes and edging of the hat. Also acquired with this were waistcoats, breeches, boots, a crimson sash denoting the officer's status, and many other items.\textsuperscript{15} All this was at the expense of each officer. While the material and buttons would have been imported from Britain, the uniform itself was very likely made by a tailor that catered to military officers in Montreal.

The coat which belonged to Jeremiah French is actually a coatee, which is to say that it does not have the full long tails going down to the back of the knees. Rather, the tails are cut much shorter, as can be seen in photos. This was routinely done in light infantry units since the middle of the 18th century in several of the major European armies. In the regular British Army, the coats with tails shortened on campaign for ease of movement had frequently been seen in all theatres of operations during the Seven Years' War. The value of light troops having become manifest, each regiment in the British line infantry had a "light company" which could act as scouts and skirmishers. Its uniform included the coatee, while the rest of the companies had long-tailed coats.\textsuperscript{17}

It may be that this peculiarity indicates that French belonged to the light infantry company of the 2nd Battalion, King's Royal Regiment of New York. Or even that the whole regiment had coates. This later possibility is implied in James Peachy's watercolour of the "Encampment of the Loyalists of Johnstown, a New Settlement on the Banks of the St. Lawrence in Canada, taken June 6th 1784." This settlement was begun by officers and men of the Royal Regiment of New York who had just been disbanded. In this view can be seen two figures, one apparently an officer, wearing coatees of red faced with blue.\textsuperscript{18}

The coatee is made of fine quality scarlet cloth, while the collar, cuffs and lapels are of equally fine quality dark blue cloth. All the buttonholes at the collar, cuffs, lapels and pocket flaps are ornamented with gold lace, 3/16th of an inch wide, square ended and set in pairs. The buttons are gilt on bone and stamped at the centre with the crowned letters "KRR" in scroll surrounded by a wreath and the words "New York" below. The turnbacks are of good quality white cloth, sewn down to the skirt and ornamented at each corner with a blue heart edged with gold lace.\textsuperscript{19}

Below (left to right): Back view of the coatee of Lieutenant Jeremiah French; his dress waistcoat; and his breeches.
(Courtesy, Canadian War Museum, Ottawa. Photos by Bill Kent.)
On each shoulder of the coat is an epaulette made of gold lace 1 inch wide set on blue background with gold fringes. This is consistent with the royal warrant of 19 December 1768 which introduced epaulettes in the British infantry as a rank badge.20

With this coatee comes a scarlet dress waistcoat, a more “everyday” white waistcoat and a pair of white breeches. The buttons on both waistcoats are smaller versions of the regimental buttons on the coat, gilded and stamped with the same inscriptions. The metal buttons on the breeches might be later replacements and it is likely that the originals were the same as the waistcoat buttons.

The scarlet dress waistcoat is another clue that Lieutenant French may have been an officer in the light company. Officers and men of the light infantry company in British regiments were to wear scarlet or red waistcoats. This particular one was made of fine quality cloth. The buttonholes are trimmed with gold lace and the pocket flaps are also edged with gold lace. The pocket flaps are very ornamental and in the unusual fashion of being set upturned.21

Epilogue

With war’s end and the disbandment of the regiment’s 2nd battalion at Cataraqui (now Kingston) in 1784, the uniform was probably put in a trunk and would have been very seldom used thereafter. For Lieutenant French, his wife and his children, the post-war years were hard and, in 1787, still in Vercheres, he applied for temporary relief for what was termed as “a large family.” He received a land grant of 2,000 acres and settled with his family in the Eastern District in the area of New Johnstown, now Cornwall in eastern Ontario. He soon prospered and became a leading member of his community, was later Sheriff of the Mecklenburg District and elected as a Member of the Assembly of Upper Canada.22 As for his uniform, it was precisely passed on from generation to generation until it came to the Canadian War Museum in 1983.23

Thus, these outstanding artifacts can be dated to having been made in November or December of 1781, certainly no later than 1783, not only because the King’s Royal Regiment of New York was disbanded but also because the way that the coatee is fashioned.24 And it was probably the work of a skilled tailor in Montreal.

This makes it not only a remarkable military garment, the earliest existing Canadian military coatee known to date, but, arguably, the earliest datable Canadian costume, civil or military, known to date.25
Notes

The author would like to thank the staff at Vimy House, Canadian War Museum, Ottawa, for their kind assistance.

1. General List of Loyalists... Fort St. John, 1 March 1781, British Library [BL]. Additional Manuscripts [Add Mss] 21827, pt. 2: Returns of Families of Loyalists... Montreal, 25 October to 24 November 1780 and Remarks upon Loyalists, John Peter's Party [n.d.], BL. Add Mss 21826. The information contained in the rolls can be confusing. In November 1780, French was reported as having two boys above six years of age, two girls above six and one girl below six, the family residing in Sorel, Quebec. In March 1781, he had three children under ten years of age and three over ten. In September 1787, there was one boy above six, one under six and three girls above six, the family residing in Vércheres, Quebec. From this, it appears that a baby boy was born between November 1780 and March 1781 and that an older boy died between 1781 and 1787. The 1787 data is from a General Return of Unincorporated Royalists and Families who Receive their Provisions gratis from Government... BL. Add Mss 21826.


5. Proceedings of a Board of Officers assembled at Fort St. John's 23rd February 1781... BL. Add Mss 21827, pt. 2.

6. Jeremiah French in fact appears as one of the paid "Pensioners not attached to any Corps" from February 1781. His brother Gershom continued to be listed as an officer in the Queen's Loyal Rangers during 1781. Subsistence Returns for the different Corps of Royalists... 25 December 1780 to 23 February 1781, BL. Add Mss 21751.


8. Carleton to Lord Barrington, Chambly, 8 June 1776, PRO WO 1/2.

9. Each battalion was to have 500 privates, 20 drummers, 30 corporals, 30 sergeants, 8 ensigns, 12 lieutenants, 9 captains, one major & captain plus a small battalion staff, Haldimand to Johnson, Quebec, 13 July 1780, BL. Add Mss 21707


12. The clothing had been sent to Quebec in the fall of 1775, most of it sent back to England by Carleton for fear that the Americans would capture the stores, and back to Quebec in June 1776. It was described as "buff waistcoat and breeches, and green coats faced red" but we cannot say if this was the exact colours issued to the "Royal Green" as no direct information appears to exist on the facing colour of the green uniform. Maryland Gazette, 19 October 1775: Lord Germain to Lords of Admiralty, Whitehall, 27 February 1776, PRO, Colonial Office [CO] 5/123: Invoice of Clothing issued to several Corps in this Garrison [Quebec]... 7 August 1776 does not mention Johnson's or other corps in Montreal but this was likely the source for issues of green uniforms, PRO, WO 1/11. Lefferts, Uniforms... p.220 assigned arbitrarily green coats with white facings for Johnson's Greens in 1776 as the uniform "adopted by the British Government for all Loyalist or Provincial commands in 1776." This was based on a shipment of 9900 uniforms to New York [14 September 1776, PRO, Treasury 64/106] intended for Loyalist Provincial troops on the American seaboard, not for Loyalist corps in Canada which were a different command. William L. Stone and J. Watts de Peyster, ed., Orderly Book of Sir John Johnson during the Oriskany Campaign 1776-1777, Albany, 1882, has orders concerning the regimental clothing in 1777. A modern reconstitution of reenactors has shown green coats with blue facings but green faced with blue is not found in the Provincial clothing stores in Canada as per BL. Add Mss 21849.

13. Eben Jessup, Edward Jessup, J. French and S. Adams to Col. St. Leger, Sorel, 9 November 1779, BL. Add Mss 21796; the Royal Fencible Americans and the Nova Scotia Volunteers, for instance, received green faced white uniforms in 1776, see Invoice of Clothing sent to Halifax... London, 9 August 1776, PRO. CO 5/154: John Blackburn to Thomas Grey, Scotland Yard, 7 July 1779 and Grey to Blackburn, Whitehall, 8 July 1779, whose exchange concerned the issue of colours and drummers with the clothing of the regiment not being allowed by Lord Germain. This was protested by Johnson, Montreal, 6 September 1779, PRO. CO 5/156. General Return of Stores... 1 October 1779, at Sorel, BL. Add Mss 21849. The red faced blue clothing is unusual in these stores and would confirm the change. All other Loyalist units in Canada had red faced green, blue faced white or green faced red uniforms at the time.

14. General Abstract of Arms... 1776, BL. Add Mss 21818: Return of Regiments & Blankets wanting to Compleat... 20 May 1779, BL. Add Mss 21818: To
Chartrand: Loyalist Lieutenant Jeremiah French and His Uniform

Captain John Monro, Montreal, 18 November 1780, BL, Add Mss 21851.

15. See the Account Book of Capt. Crawford of the King's Royal Regiment of New York, 1782, which lists many such items. National Archives of Canada (NAC), MG 23, B 23, 2, pp. 15-16.

16. Making up officers uniforms in Canada from imported materials had been done for many years. As early as 1732, there is record of material being sent to Canada to be made into uniforms by tailors in the colony for the officers of the French colonial troops, the Compagnies franches de la Marine. Ministry of the Navy to Beauharnois and Hosquart. Versalles, 8 April 1732, Archives Nationales. Colonies, B series, Vol. 57, f. 629.

By 1776, the uniforms for all ranks of the new Loyalist units raised in Montreal were made on the spot. James Grey to Carleton, Pointe Claire, 12 January 1777. BL, Add Mss 21818.

17. Hew Strachan, ed., British Army Uniforms 1768-96: The Dress of the British Army from Official Sources. London, 1975, pp. 187-188. Another factor supporting the light infantry company is a powder horn, said to have belonged to Lieut. French, which came with this uniform. Another coat of the same period and style, also very probably made in Canada, is attributed to Charles-Michel Mouet de Langlade (1727-c.1801) of the Indian Department. c. 1780. It is scarlet with blue collar, cuffs and lapels all edged with white piping, no lace, plain white metal buttons on bone, silver fringed epaulettes on a scarlet strap, white turnbacks with blue heart edged silver. It is now in the collections of the Neville Public Museum, Green Bay, Wisconsin.

18. Each lapel has eight buttons, each cuff has three outside and one inside, each pocket flap has four. The back of the coat has four buttons, one at the top of each pleated side vent with two at the middle of the vent and the fourth at the bottom (the top button of the right vent is the only one missing). For measurements, the cuffs are 3 1/4 inches deep with another 3/4 inch turning inside; the lapels are 2 3/4 inches wide at the top tapering to 2 1/2 inches at the bottom, the false pocket flaps 8 1/4 inches long by 3 1/2 inches wide at the centre. The buttons are set 4 1/2 inches from each pair to the other with 2 inches each button. The lapels have hooks and eyes below the collar, a pair being placed below the second button from the collar and a second pair placed at the level of the fourth button. These were reported in Glenn Steppier, "The Uniform of Lieutenant Jeremiah French 2nd Battalion, King's Royal Regiment of New York 1780-1783," Military Collector & Historian, XXXII, No. 4, Winter 1980 and XXXIII, No. 3, Fall 1981. This data remains valid in 1998.

19. Hew Strachan, ed., British Army Uniforms 1768-96. p. 172. Grenadier officers were to have epaulettes on both shoulders, other battalion officers to have one on the right shoulder according to this warrant. When light companies were formed in 1771, their officers also took two epaulettes.

20. Upturned waistcoat pocket flaps are unusual but not unknown. A portrait of Captain T. Hewitt, Light Company, 10th Regiment signed William Tate and dated 1781 shows the same style. Now in the Collection of the National Army Museum, London. The pocket is all but invisible in the colour reproduction published in the Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research, LVII, Spring 1979, facing p. I, and the original must be seen.

21. In 1796, he petitioned for further land grants for himself and for his two sons, Albert and Benjamin, and mentioned his service in Bungoyne's expedition. Ernest A. Cruikshank, ed., The Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe. V, p. 207. The land grants to his sons, 600 acres each in the Eastern District, were given. The Centennial of the Settlement of Upper Canada by the United Empire Loyalists 1784-1884. p. 179. In 1809, both sons were captains in the 1st Stormont Regiment and served in the War of 1812. William Grey, Soldiers of the King: The Upper Canada Militia 1812-1815. North York, ON, 1995. p. 56.

22. The first published notice of its existence appears to have been in J.F. Pringle, Lunenburg, or the Old Eastern District, Cornwall, ON, 1890. p. 183 which states that: "The uniform worn by Lieut. Jeremiah French, of the second battalion [Kings Royal Regiment of New York], is still in existence, carefully preserved by his grand-daughter Mrs. Knight, now living at Cornwall. The coat is of scarlet cloth, with blue facings and gold lace, a small epaulette of gold fringe on each shoulder. The buttons are gilt, with the letters "K.R., New York," stamped on them. The dress waistcoat is scarlet, with gilt buttons. The undress waistcoat and breeches are of white cloth. The suit requires only the cocked hat, stockings, boot or buckled shoes, and crimson sash, to be complete."

23. Most notably the flat turn down collar, very typical of the c. 1765-1785 period. Thereafter, collars became higher, first as stand and fall collars and finally as fully standing collars in the 1790s. Two half-pay officers' uniforms, one of William Jarvis of the Queen's Rangers Dragoons of c. 1785-1790 (Old Fort York, Toronto), another of Alexander Fraser of the 84th Royal Highland Emigrants, c. 1793 (McCord Museum, Montreal). The regiments had been disbanded in 1784 but these later coats were worn by former officers of these units later in life and denote the style changes. Both are illustrated in Robert S. Allen, ed., The Loyal Americans, Ottawa, 1983.

24. There are several other garments now in Canadian collections dating to the same period but they were made elsewhere and then came to Canada. For instance, the coat of Captain John Legget of the Royal North Carolina Volunteers who came to Nova Scotia as a Loyalist after the end of the war. The coat is in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. It is difficult to date civilian garments with certainty but known costumes made in Canada do not appear to predate the 1790s. There are religious vestments dating back to the late 17th century in the Musée des Ursulines in Quebec City but these garments were made in France. Amazingly, there is still no comprehensive and detailed history of costume in Canada that we can refer readers to. Only Jacqueline Beaudoin-Ross' short but essential essay on "clothing" in the Canadian Encyclopedia, Edmonton, 1985, Vol. 1, pp. 358-359 encompasses the whole country from the beginnings of European colonization to our times.

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50

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