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1914 - 1915

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"DEEDS SPEAK"

Annual Report
 and
 TRANSACTION NO. 14
 of
THE
WOMEN'S
CANADIAN
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

OF TORONTO

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Organized November 19th, 1895

Incorporated February 14th, 1896



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ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

Women's Canadian Historical Society

OF TORONTO

1914-1915

Organized November, 1895; Incorporated February 11th, 1896.

OFFICERS

Honorary President	- - - - -	LADY HENDRIE.
Past Presidents	- - - - -	{ MRS. FORSYTH GRANT. *MRS. S. A. CURZON. *LADY EDGAR. *MISS M. A. FITZGIBBON.
President	- - - - -	MISS MICKLE.
Vice-Presidents	- - - - -	{ MRS. JAS. BAIN. MRS. H. H. ROBERTSON.
Recording Secretary	- - - - -	MISS ROBERTS.
Corresponding Secretary	- - - - -	MRS. SEYMOUR CORLEY, 46 Dunvegan Rd.
Treasurer	- - - - -	MRS. DUCKWORTH, 142 Spadina Rd.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

MRS. STUPART.	MRS. J. B. TYRRELL.
MRS. H. H. ROBERTSON.	MISS ADA PEARCE.
MISS TOCQUE.	MISS MACCALLUM.

RED CROSS COMMITTEE

MRS. HORACE EATON.	MRS. TYRRELL.
MRS. STUPART.	MISS SANDERSON.
MRS. BRYDGES.	MISS DE BRISSAY.
MRS. GORDON MACKENZIE.	MISS ADA PEARCE.
MISS J. MACCALLUM.	MISS HELEN PEARCE.
MISS LIZARS.	MISS AINSLIE McMICHAEL.
MRS. HENRY RUSSELL.	MISS TOCQUE.

HONORARY MEMBERS

G. R. PARKIN, C.M.G., LL.D.	DR. LOCKE.
COL. G. T. DENISON.	THE VERY REV. DEAN HARRIS.
MISS CARNOCHAN.	J. A. MACDONELL.
W. MACFARLANE.	W. D. LIGHTHALL, F.R.S.C., F.R.S.L.
JAMES HANNAY.	BENJAMIN SULTE, F.R.S.C.
SIR GILBERT PARKER, M.P.	REV. JOHN MCDUGALL.
CHARLES MAIR, F.R.S.C.	REV. JOHN McLEAN, Ph.D.
MISS LIZARS.	EDWARD WM. THOMSON.
MISS MACHAR.	JOHN READE, F.R.S.C., F.R.S.L.
MRS. C. FESSENDEN.	CHARLES G. D. ROBERTS.
BLISS CARMAN.	MRS. J. W. F. HARRISON.
JOHN D. KELLY.	DR. ED. MANNING SAUNDERS.
REV. PROF. BRYCE.	

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

MISS JEAN BARR, Windsor.	MRS. McLAREN, Perth.
MRS. HENRY McLEOD, Ottawa.	MRS. CHRISTIE (Annie Rothwell, North Gower, Ont.).
MISS C. A. MERRITT, St. Catharines.	MRS. BACKUS, M.D., Aylmer, Ont.

* Deceased.

Secretary's Annual Report.

The year 1914-15 has been memorable; not only has sorrow come to us individually but as a Society we have lost our founder and inspiration in our late President Mary Agnes FitzGibbon whose courage, far-sightedness and patriotism have been an example to us all, but while mourning her loss we must remember the best way to commemorate her memory is to go steadily on and push forward the work she loved so much; while this Society was founded by her with the help of Mrs. Curzon her activities took her later on in other directions, but always on the lines of patriotism and the betterment of women who came to Canada to make their home. We feel that in putting our best efforts in Red Cross work she so enthusiastically advocated we are doing what she would wish, as well as our manifest duty.

The year through which we have passed has indeed been an eventful one to the world, to our country, to our Empire. The great and terrible war is ever in our thoughts and has come very near to us. Nearly all our members have relatives at the front—often their nearest and most loved—while some, to whom we offer deepest sympathy, have been called upon to make the great sacrifice. We can but pray that soon the end will come, victory will crown our righteous cause and that good will arise out of evil, and out of the sorrow and the loss and the sacrifice, a better and a nobler spirit will emerge. In the meantime every one of us must do all in their power to help in the great work of alleviating suffering.

Eight meetings have been held, one of them a Memorial Meeting to Miss FitzGibbon in which her life was set forth from several points of view; as a friend by Miss Mickle, as a worker in the Council of Women and the Hostel, by Mrs. Torrington; as a schoolmate by Mrs. Forsyth Grant; as a writer and patriot by Mr. E. S. Caswell.

At other meetings the following papers have been submitted:

December.—Review of the foundation of W.C.H.S. by President. Address by Prof. Mavor on "Prussia, its Composition and Ideals".

Recitation by Miss Bryan.

January.—Paper on Sir Francis Bond Head, by Prof. Duckworth.

February.—Extracts from Diary, 1858, telling of a water journey from Chicago *via* Collingwood to Toronto, read by Mrs. Tyrrell.

Report of Annual Meeting of Local Council by Miss Lea.
Recitation by Miss Mary Tyrrell, "Gray Knitting".

Recitation by Miss Bryan, "The Wife in Flanders, The United Front".

March.—"The Domestic Problem in olden days in Canada," by Miss Emily Weaver.

April.—Letters with views, by Mr. Robt. Stark, from his daughter living in Austria.

October.—Memorial Meeting to Miss FitzGibbon, by Miss Mickle, Mrs. Torrington, Mrs. Forsyth Grant, Mr. E. S. Caswell.

Publications received: United Empire and Royal Colonial Institute Journal; Quarterly Western Reserve Historical Society; Catalogue of books on Costumes of the Chas. G. King Collection; Annual Report and Journals of Seth Pease; The Canadian North West; Legislative Record, Vol. I, with maps from Archivist of Ottawa; Review of Historical Publications for 1913; The Great War (a monthly magazine); Report of Library of Congress; Report of Women's Hostel; The Manor House of La Colle, by W. D. Lighthall; The Niagara Historical Society, 19th Annual Report; Why Britain is at War, by Sir E. Cook; Annual Report of York Pioneer Society; Rhode Island Imprints, 1727-1800.

Donations: A unique turquoise pin from Miss Shaw (an heirloom) to be sold for Patriotic Fund. An envelope for clippings donated by Miss Sanderson. \$5 towards printing of Transactions. 500 sheets of official paper by Miss FitzGibbon. "The Great War", a monthly magazine donated by Miss FitzGibbon. Canadian Women's Annual and Social Service Directory, by Emily P. Weaver. Documents illustrative of the Canadian Constitution by Wm. Houston, M.A. Donation from Miss Lizars towards a fitting memorial to our late President, \$5. Anonymous donation for same, \$3.

Twenty new members have been added to our list; we regret the loss of six old and valued members: Mrs. Nixon, Miss Kingsmill, Mrs. MacNab, Miss Logan, Miss FitzGibbon, Mrs. Russell Baldwin.

Canada as well as our Society has lost by death a valued life in the person of one of our Honorary Members, Sir Sandford Fleming, K.C.M.G., F.R.S.C.

Before closing this report the project so dear to Miss Fitz-Gibbon must be mentioned, viz., the raising of funds to erect a Hall to be called the Queen Victoria Memorial Hall; the building to hold the possessions of our Society and be our meeting place and home.

Our late President's will contains the following: "The Historic Pictures, Mirror and Desk and long table with iron trestles, formerly belonging to the Officers' Quarters in the old Toronto Fort, in my possession, (Alyn Williams drawing of Brock, the Gerald Hayward miniature of Brock, the ebony framed mirror, and desk, the last two formerly belonging to the Wolfe family, and purchased by my great grandfather, Thos. Strickland, of Reydon Hall, Suffolk, Eng., at the sale of the Wolfe property in Greenwich, 1779) to the Memorial Hall for which the Historical Society have been raising funds; the same to remain in my sitting room at the Hostel, until such time as the Hall be built. If said Hall is not begun within ten years of the date of my death the effects mentioned to be given to the Ontario Museum."

All action towards this end must remain in abeyance till the present war is over when vigorous measures to secure the Hall must be taken.

On the initiative of Miss Lizars, who sent in the first contribution it was decided to have a memorial of Miss FitzGibbon. Though inadequate to express our appreciation of her untiring efforts on behalf of this Society in its aims of loyalty and patriotism this memorial is to take the form of an oil painting to hang in our meeting place and be kept among our possessions. Contributions towards this will be received by Miss Tocque, our retiring treasurer, who has kindly consented to act in this capacity.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

LUELLA CORLEY.

Report of Red Cross Committee.

Since September, 1914, eight meetings have been held. In April a sheet shower and tea was held at the Canadian Institute through the kindness of its officers for the University Base Hospital.

The total amount raised by this Society was \$285.95, of which \$48 in cash was handed in to the Women's Patriotic League, the balance was expended on material which was made up by members; the convener has forwarded to the Women's Patriotic League 790 articles (mostly sheets) and to the University Base Hospital 254 sheets, 163 towels, 56 pillow cases, making a total of 1053 articles.

Mrs. Stupart has acted as treasurer and done all the buying in a most satisfactory and economical manner. In September 1915, this committee decided to concentrate their efforts on socks, one generous member who wishes her name withheld having donated 250 pairs, which were sent to the Red Cross, King Street.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

EDITH TYRRELL.

Treasurer's Report of Red Cross Committee.

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, November 1914.....	\$5.00
Balance from presentation to Mrs. Grant.....	1.50
Members' Subscriptions to Red Cross.....	175.95
Sales at Afternoon Tea.....	29.39
	<u>\$211.84</u>

EXPENDITURES.

Sheeting.....	\$123.34
Towels, 3 pieces.....	20.61
Express.....	76
Balance.....	67.18
	<u>\$211.84</u>

Contributions at the sheet shower for University Base Hospital on April 10th, 1915, are as follows: Mrs. Brydges, 14 sheets; Mrs. McMurtry, 12 sheets, 2 dozen pillow cases; Miss F. M. Cole, 2 sheets; Mrs. Gordon MacKenzie, 5 sheets, 1 pillow case; Mrs. Wm. Davidson, 4 sheets; Miss Harris, 2 sheets; A friend, 2 pillow cases; Mrs. Sime, 2 sheets; Mrs. Spencer, 2 sheets; Miss L. S. Clarke, 4 pillow cases; Miss McMorrine, 2 sheets; Mrs. J. Graham, 2 sheets; Miss C. E. Shaw, 2 sheets; Miss Scott, 20 sheets; Mrs. W. H. Ellis, 2 sheets; Mrs. Hoskin, 2 sheets; Mrs. Roaf, 2 sheets and 2 pillow cases; Miss Horsey, 2 sheets; Mrs. W. N. Anderson, 2 sheets; Mrs. L. C. Macklem, 12 pillow cases; Mrs. Elliott, 2 sheets; W. C. H. So., 30 sheets; Mrs. Tyrrell, 6 sheets; Mrs. Pangman, 2 sheets.

Total sent in: 254 sheets, 211 towels and 56 pillow cases.

MARION STUPART.

QUEEN VICTORIA MEMORIAL FUND.

Cash in Bank, November 15th, 1914.....	\$585.12
Bank Interest.....	11.40
Interest on Debentures.....	201.26
Sale of back numbers of "Transactions".....	2.00
	\$799.78
Purchased one \$500 Debenture of Canada Permanent Mtge. Corporation, December, 1914.....	500.00
	\$299.78
Balance in Bank, November 15th, 1915.....	5,000.00
Total amount of Debentures on deposit.....	\$5,299.78
Total amount of Memorial Fund.....	\$5,299.78

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

CREDITS

Cash in Bank.....	\$141.81
Fees.....	90.50
Donation to printing expenses.....	5.00
Sale of "Transactions".....	22.95
Ontario Government Grant.....	100.00
Bank Interest.....	1.66
	\$361.92

DISBURSEMENTS

Rent for Hall in Hostel.....	\$30.00
Fee to Local Council of Women.....	2.00
Refreshments.....	10.70
Advertisements.....	1.80
The Wm. Briggs Publishing Co.:	
"Transaction" No. 8.....	48.00
"Transaction" No. 13.....	185.00
The Atwell Fleming Printing Co.....	27.75
Townsend's Livery.....	1.00
Postage and stationery.....	6.00
Plant and Wreath for late Miss FitzGibbon.....	11.00
Balance in Bank, November 15th, 1915.....	38.67
	\$361.92

Audited and found correct,
S. E. JOYCE.
November 27th, 1915.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

CHAUNCEY TOCQUE,
Hon. Treasurer.

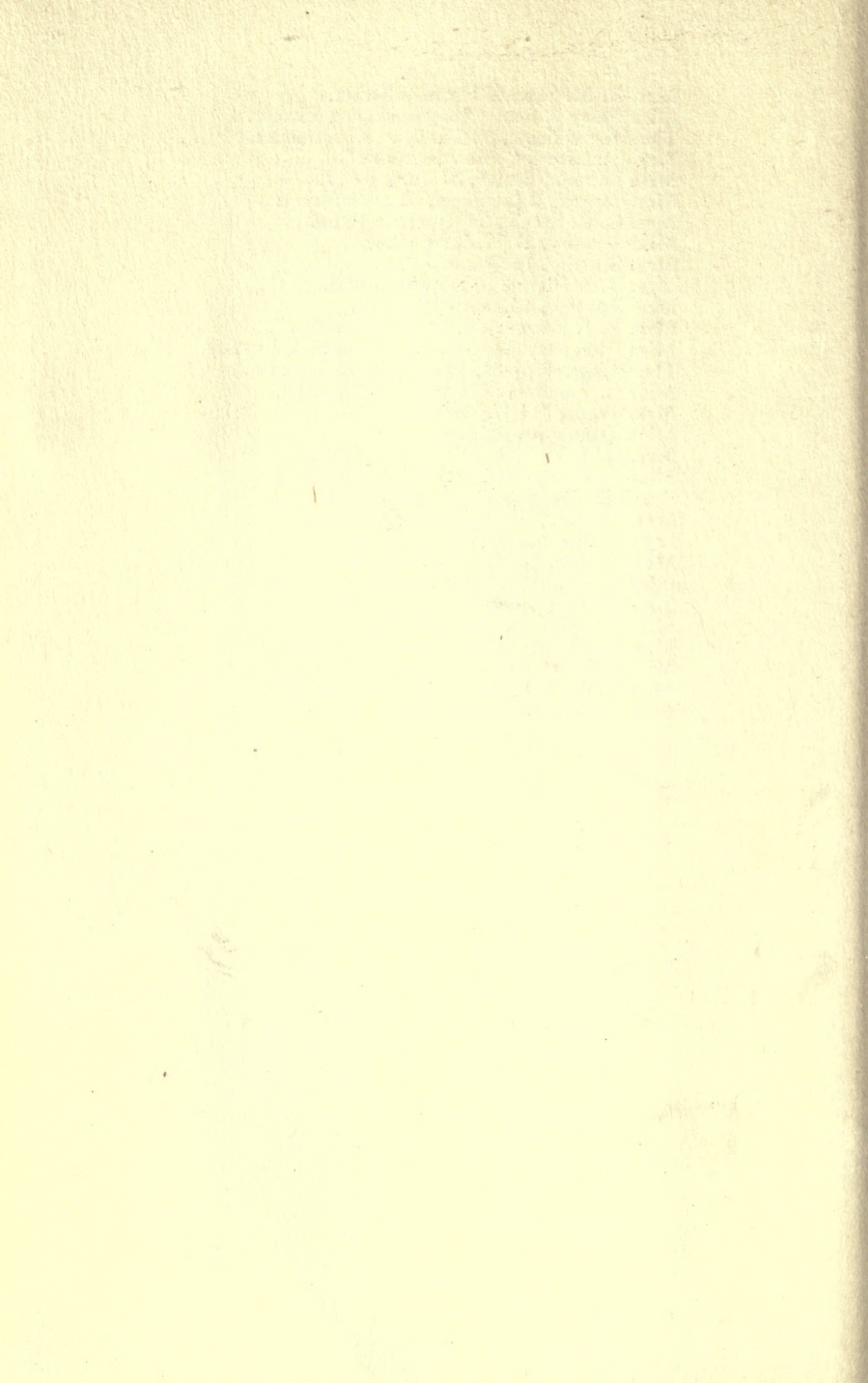
List of Members.

- Mrs. H. B. Anderson, 186 Bloor Street E.
Miss Arnold, 52 St. Alban's Street.
Mrs. G. A. Arthurs, 78 Admiral Road.
Mrs. Appleby, 179 Dowling Ave.
Mrs. A. W. Ballantyne, 34 Dunvegan Road.
Miss Bostwick, 2 Bloor Street E.
Mrs. Jas. Bain, 33 Wells Street.
Miss Louise Barker, 31 Park Road.
Mrs. Bascom, 1339 King Street W.
Mrs. Beemer, 37 Sussex Avenue.
Mrs. Broughall, 100 Howard Street.
Mrs. Behan, Mimico.
Miss Behan, Mimico.
Mrs. Bescoby, Eglinton Avenue.
Miss Bessie Baldwin, 150 Dunvegan Road.
Miss A. M. Bell, 538 Ontario Street.
Miss Bell, 538 Ontario Street.
Miss Bryan, Havergal College.
Mrs. A. Boddy, 235 Jarvis Street.
Mrs. R. Brydges, 613 Jarvis Street.
Miss Vera Butcher, 246 Huron Street.
Mrs. Cotton, 20 Bloor Street E.
Miss Cotton, 20 Bloor Street E.
Miss Carty, Queen's Hotel.
Miss M. Carty, Queen's Hotel.
Miss Florence M. Cole, 131 Avenue Road.
Miss Laura Clark, 219 Beverley Street.
Mrs. G. R. R. Cockburn, 13 Spadina Road.
Mrs. J. W. Collins, 94 Spencer Avenue.
Mrs. E. M. Chadwick, 99 Howland Avenue.
Mrs. Seymour Corley, 46 Dunvegan Road.
Mrs. C. D. Cory, 5 Deer Park Crescent.
Miss Cox, 18 Selby Street.
Miss Evelyn Cox, 7 Wellesley Place.
Mrs. Willoughby Cummings, 78 Pleasant Boulevard.
Miss Cumberland, 6 Howard Street.
Miss Cowan, 105 St. George Street.
Miss Amy Cooke, 37 High Park Avenue.
Mrs. Des Brissay, 350 Brunswick Avenue.
Miss Des Brissay, 350 Brunswick Avenue.
The Misses Doughty, 64 River Street.
The Misses Davidson, Hampton Court Apartments.
Mrs. H. Duckworth, 142 Spadina Road.
Mrs. Douglas, 19 Roxborough Street E.
Mrs. Davidson, 22 Madison Avenue.
Mrs. W. Dixon, 28 Rowanwood Avenue.
Mrs. Pelham Edgar, Convalescent Home.
Mrs. W. H. Ellis, 74 St. Albans Street.
Mrs. Horace Eaton, 631 Sherbourne Street.
Miss Mary Evans, 69 Grange Avenue.

Mrs. Donald Edwards, 107 St. Clair Avenue.
 Miss Embree, St. Margaret's College.
 Miss Elliott, 29 Dunvegan Road.
 Mrs. Freeland, 21 Dunvegan Road.
 Mrs. Fotheringham, 20 Wellesley Street.
 Miss Fraser, 157 Robert Street.
 Mrs. H. L. Grover, 35 Spadina Road.
 Mrs. Graham, 510 Ontario Street.
 Mrs. Galbraith, 59 Prince Arthur Avenue.
 Mrs. Gregory, 57 Douglas Drive.
 Miss Marcella Gibson, 17 Rushholme Road.
 Mrs. Forsyth Grant, 30 Nanton Avenue.
 Mrs. Gardner, 37 Kendall Avenue.
 Miss M. Gamble, 19 Charles Street E.
 Mrs. Albert Grant, Port Hope.
 Mrs. Gibson, Araby, Oakville.
 Miss Holland, 307 St. George Street.
 Miss Hart, 389 Dundas Street.
 Mrs. S. Heward, 485 Huron Street.
 Mrs. R. Stearns Hicks, "The Alexandra".
 Miss H. M. Hill, 20 Bernard Avenue.
 Miss B. McLean Howard, 49 Brunswick Avenue.
 Miss A. Hastings, 100 Charles Street W.
 Mrs. W. Houston, 8 Elmsley Place.
 Mrs. H. Hooper, 548 Huron Street.
 Miss Horsey, 69 Bernard Ave.
 Mrs. A. Hoskin, 438 Avenue Road.
 Mrs. Caroline Jarvis, 258 Jarvis Street.
 Mrs. Edmund Jarvis, 258 Jarvis Street.
 Mrs. Æmilius Jarvis, 34 Prince Arthur Avenue.
 Mrs. George Jarvis, 4 Oriole Road.
 Mrs. W. H. P. Jarvis, 31 Oriole Road.
 Mrs. Kelleher, Clover Hill Apartments.
 Miss Kerr, 69 Madison Avenue.
 Miss Kendrick, 16 Orde Street.
 Mrs. Geo. Kerr, 80 Spadina Road.
 Mrs. J. K. Kerr, Rathnally.
 Mrs. Thos. Kain, 19 Chicora.
 Mrs. Kingston, 72 Admiral Road.
 Mrs. Keefer, 236 St. George Street.
 Mrs. Herbert Kipp, 546 Bathurst Street.
 Miss Alice Lea, 5 Bedford Road.
 Miss Lash, 59 Admiral Road.
 Mrs. Edward Leigh, 58 Eglinton Ave.
 Mrs. Lukes, 74 St. George Street.
 Mrs. Leach, 4 South Drive.
 Mrs. Locke, 38 De Lisle Ave.
 Miss Lizars, Baby Point, Lambton P.O.
 Mrs. L. Clark Macklem, 120 St. George Street.
 Miss I. Mackenzie, 410 Dovercourt Road.
 Mrs. A. B. Macallum, 78 Albany Avenue.
 Miss Josephine MacCallum, 13 Bloor Street W.
 Miss McCartney, Queen's Court Apartments.
 Miss Helen Merrill, 4 Prince Arthur Avenue.

Mrs. W. R. Morson, 417 Brunswick Avenue.
 Miss Louise Mason, 27 Admiral Road.
 The Misses McKellar, 169 Madison Avenue.
 Mrs. Gordon MacKenzie, 31 Walmer Road.
 Miss Gordon MacKenzie, 31 Walmer Road.
 Mrs. W. J. McMurtry, 93 Jamieson Avenue.
 Mrs. Robt. MacMaster, 63 Madison Avenue.
 Miss C. N. Merritt, 40 St. George Street.
 Miss A. Mairs, 40 Tranby Avenue.
 Miss Miller, 90 Oxford Street.
 Mrs. J. A. Macdonald, 87 Spadina Road.
 Mrs. A. Meredith, 13 Beau Street.
 Miss S. Mickle, 48 Heath Street E.
 Mrs. Julius Miles, 160 Cottingham Street.
 Mrs. Balfour Musson, 22 Park Road.
 Mrs. Campbell Meyers, 72 Heath Street W.
 Mrs. G. S. Morphy, 316 Avenue Road.
 Miss Milloy, Eglinton Avenue.
 Mrs. Macfarlane, 592 Jarvis Street.
 Miss Ainslie McMichael, 93 Bernard Avenue.
 Miss Neely, 89 Highlands Ave.
 Mrs. Gordon Osler, 16 Rosedale Road.
 Mrs. Pearce, 140 Bedford Road.
 Miss Helen Pearce, 140 Bedford Road.
 Mrs. Pangman, 33 Elgin Avenue.
 Miss Parsons, 40 St. Vincent Street.
 Mrs. Penman, Paris, Ont.
 Mrs. Pearce, 14 Prince Arthur Ave.
 The Misses Pearce, 14 Prince Arthur Ave.
 Miss Porteous, 74 St. George Street.
 Miss Clara Port, 19 Lowther Avenue.
 Miss Price, 19 Parkwood Avenue.
 Mrs. Primrose, 100 College Street.
 Mrs. Parker, 210 Bloor Street W.
 Mrs. Playter, 77 Dupont Street.
 Miss Playter, St. Hilda's College.
 Mrs. Ramsey, Niagara.
 Miss Riddell, 20 Vermont Avenue.
 Miss Richardson, 210 Bloor Street W.
 Miss Ridout, Athelma Apartments.
 Mrs. Jas. Roaf, "St. George Mansions".
 Miss Roberts, 509 Church Street, Apartment 5.
 Mrs. H. H. Robertson, 49 St. Vincent Street.
 Mrs. N. W. Rowell, 137 Crescent Road.
 Mrs. Henry Russell, 292 Yonge Street.
 Miss Sanderson, 518 Brunswick Avenue.
 The Misses Scott, Port Hope.
 Mrs. Scott, 29 Dunvegan Road.
 Mrs. Saunders, 65 Chesnut Park Road.
 Miss Symons, 68 Avenue Road.
 Miss Marshall Saunders, 65 Chesnut Park Road.
 Miss Shaw, Old Bishop Strachan School.
 Mr. Robert Stark, 50 Maitland Street.
 Miss E. J. Sibbald, "The Briars", Sutton W.

Mrs. E. M. Skae, 6 Howard Street.
Miss Mary J. Scott, 566 Sherbourne Street.
The Misses Scott, 93 Madison Apartments.
Mrs. Stratford, "The Alexandra".
Miss Lamond Smith, 31 Park Road.
Mrs. Streete, 2 La Plaza, Charles Street.
Mrs. R. C. Steele, 99 Crescent Road.
Miss Strathy, 17 Walmer Road.
Mrs. Strathy, 71 Queen's Park.
Mrs. R. Sullivan, 70 Spadina Road.
Mrs. Stupart, 15 Admiral Road.
Mrs. E. J. Thompson, "The Alexandra".
Miss Chauncey Tocque, 350 Brunswick Avenue.
The Misses Tippett, 435 Ossington Avenue.
Miss B. Torrance, 173 Madison Avenue.
Mrs. Trent, 511 Huron Street.
Miss Tremayne, Mimico.
Mrs. J. B. Tyrrell, 14 Walmer Road.
Miss Mary Tyrrell, 14 Walmer Road.
Dr. Julia Thomas, 83 Isabella Street.
Mrs. Webber, 19 Meredith Crescent.
Lady Willison, 10 Elmsley Place.
Miss Wilkes, 23 De Lisle Avenue.
Miss Wood, 518 Euclid Avenue.
Miss Whitney, 113 St. George Street.
Mrs. J. White, 94 Jamieson Avenue.
Mrs. Wadsworth, 124 Tyndall Avenue.
Miss Warren, 123 Howland Avenue.
Miss Emily Weaver, 26 Bernard Avenue.
Mrs. Usher, Queenston, Ont.





"DEEDS SPEAK"

Women's Canadian Historical Society
OF TORONTO

TRANSACTION No. 14

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1. Sketch of Miss FitzGibbon's Life.
2. Political Squib. Given by Mrs. Duckworth.
3. Old Family Letter. Read by Mrs. W. H. P. Jarvis.

1914-15



Sketch of Miss FitzGibbon's Life.

PRESIDENT AND FOUNDER OF THE

Women's Canadian Historical Society.

Mary Agnes FitzGibbon, late our President and a founder of this Society was born in Belleville in 1851.

A daughter of the late Mrs. Chamberlin by her first marriage, she inherited from her mother's family, the Stricklands, great literary ability and an interest in history; while from her father's side descended to her that unselfish devotion to public duty and the burning patriotism which distinguished her "Veteran of 1812".

Always a delicate child, much of her time was spent with her grandmother Susanna Moodie, authoress of "Roughing it in the Bush", who was able to give her eager listener a picturesque view of the struggles of the early settlers in the Province. Later, on the death of her father Charles FitzGibbon as eldest child of the little family, she helped her mother in the monumental work of colouring the illustrations in her book, "The Wild Flowers of Canada". Upon her mother's marriage to Col. Chamberlin in 1870, the family removed to Ottawa, where she began to write, her first effort being a charming account of a fancy dress ball given at Rideau Hall by Lady Dufferin.

Her first book, "A Trip to Manitoba, or Roughing it Along the Line", was the outcome of some months spent in that Province. Published in England it went through three editions and was largely responsible for the emigration to that Province from the Old World. The story of its publication is an instance of the determination, which brushed aside all difficulties. Just before her return to the east, the shack in which she was staying with friends was burnt to the ground, the MS. of the completed book perishing with it. Undaunted by the disaster she rewrote the book from memory on her return home.

In the early "eighties" in response to a request from her great-aunts, Miss Agnes Strickland and Mrs. Gwillam née Jane Strickland, she went to England and remained with them throughout their closing years. This was perhaps the happiest time of her life. At her aunts' she met many distinguished people and revelled in the historic material gathered for the

Queens of England; nor was her own literary work forgotten, a book on "Superstitions as Affecting History" was begun, but never completed. Also during these years she gained a sympathetic insight into English life which was a valuable asset in her patriotic work later on. Soon after her return to Canada she became absorbed in the Life of her Grandfather, Col. James FitzGibbon. The first edition of this, "A Veteran of 1812" was issued in 1894, a second being called for in 1898. In these years she also collaborated in the bringing out of the Cabot and Historic Days Calendars.

Her public work began with the founding, with Mrs. Curzon, of this Society. Loyalty at that period in Canada was limp and apologetic, seeming half afraid to show itself and none can measure the effect of her whole-hearted enthusiasm; her patriotism as a flame enkindled that of others. An eloquent speaker, sympathetic and with a strong sense of humour, she was in great demand, and with characteristic devotion she responded to every call, and was thus enabled to form historical Societies in other places. The unique Historical Exhibition held in Victoria College in 1898 was largely her undertaking, while in the work of preserving the Old Fort, extending as it did over many years, she was one of the foremost leaders.

But a bare enumeration of her many interests can give no idea of the unselfish zeal with which she strove for the good of others. The years were richly filled with a service, active, many-sided and marked by wisdom, breadth of vision and loftiness of aim. Her patriotism was no idle sentiment but absorbed her whole being, and was the mainspring of every enterprise. Of an ardent nature whatever she undertook she did with all her might, and too often she denied herself necessary repose.

For her work in founding the Women's Welcome Hostel she really gave her life. It was hard for those who loved her to note the signs of intense fatigue and weariness stamped upon her. What she was to hundreds of these girls landing strangers on our shores—the future alone will reveal. None we may be sure will forget "The Lady of the Open Heart". But the burden was all too great; always frail she had suffered much, and so after a brief illness the end came, and on May the 19th, 1915, she passed away, leaving us the precious aroma of a life that touched other lives but to enrich them; a life lofty in its ideals and spent in the service of others.

A Political Squib.

When Sir Charles Bagot died in 1843, Responsible Government was in a fair way of being established. Sir Charles Metcalfe succeeded him, and soon created confusion and discord in the political affairs of Canada. The Baldwin-Lafontaine Ministry resigned in November and Metcalfe then tried to govern without a ministry. Twelve months elapsed between the resignation of the ministers and the *Second Union Parliament*. In the election of 1844 the Conservative or Metcalfe's Party won by a majority of three, and what was called the *Draper Ministry* was formed.

The following poem was evidently written by a jubilant Conservative, rejoicing in the triumph of his party over the Liberals, who had expected to return to power on the "Responsible Government" platform.

THE NEW YEAR'S ADDRESS of the CARRIERS OF THE NEWS.

January 1, MDCCCXLV,

Hurrah! for Responsible Government!
Hurrah for the brave thing
That doth the Radicals lay low,
The Tories topmost bring!
O! Baldwin,¹ in thy heart of hearts
Had'st thou but known the fate
That thy² loved bantling eke would bring
On thy devoted pate!
Then had thy voice been raised to cry
"Responsibles! avaunt!
For freedom and equality
And suffrage low I pant!
For universal suff. I go,
And the kind of law called Lynch;
I've tried Responsibility,
I've found its shoes to pinch".
Then Hurra! Hurra! *we* now may cry
For Responsible Government,
That hath the rampant Radicals
To opposition sent!
O! Patrons, did ye ever see
A little, snappish brute,
Come snarling at the big dog's heels,
And snapping at his foot.

If not—go to the Parliament
And look at Tom Aylwin,³
For a puppy more obstreperous
You ne'er will see again!

He snaps, he snarls, he shews his teeth,
He runs at every heel;
A funny dog he is, be sure,
For he knows how to reel!

Then Hurrah for Responsible Government!
That keeps him out of place,
And shews him in his colors true—
An Ass with brazen face!

Hurrah! Responsible Government
Hath riddled Mr. Hincks⁴
(Baldwin's firm ally and fast friend),
Who now in columns thinks!

Ho! Beaubien⁵ and Drummond
In Montreal were beat;
The L.P.S.'s,⁶ Hincks doth say,
Walked into them a *feet*!

Prince Rupert's Cavaliers were there
And smashed the roundheads all;
And the Dolphins wagged their tails at them,
And sent them to the wall!

The Palace then of Whitehall
Was gloriously lit up,
And every loyal cavalier
Quaffed off a brimming cup!

Three groans for Granny Drummond!
Three groans for Beaubien!
They gave them with a right good will,
Once, twice—and then again!

O! brightly shone the Dolphins' scales;
And the "Lick and Poke 'em ups",
While the Dolphins quaffed strong water,
Were deeply in their cups!

But all their joy was turned to grief:
Ah! woeful sight to see
The gallant ship that man called Hincks
Came riddled from the sea!

But their grief was not one half so great
As that of Derbyshire⁷
Who offered wine to Sullivan,⁸
Who threw it in the fire!

Now Derbyshire his *gauntlet* threw
('Twas made of martin's fur!)
And thus to Sullivan did say—
Thou art a monstrous cur!

Have I not seen thee drunk at night
 And rolling in the mire?
 Have I not stuffed thee with good wine
 Up to thy heart's desire?
 And when to thee the wine seemed weak
 Have I not given Cognac?
 And now you will not drink—O Satan,
 Get behind my back!
 You are a monstrous humbug,
 A Hypocrite most vile!
 Come, we're alone—the door is shut—
 Come pitch it in, in style.
 Hurrah for Responsible Government!
 Bob Sullivan, kicked out,
 Had nothing else at all to do
 But wheel, and turn about!
 So, being practised in that art,
 He took the Temperance vow,
 And drove the nail right to the head
 At the very foremost blow.
 A second father Mathew⁹ he
 Hath now, good sooth, become,
 And given up brandy, wine and gin,
 And e'en Jamaica rum!
 Thus, then, Responsible Government
 Hath worked such wondrous things
 That we must e'en toss up our cap
 And bless the luck it brings!
 Long live, say we, its ups and downs—
 Blessed freedom's guarantee—
 Provided only that the Rads.
 Will truly loyal be!
 They've got enough upon the lips
 But want it in the heart:
 When once they get it there 'twere well
 It never should depart.
 Hurrah for Responsible Government!
 So generous we feel
 That at any rate on New Year's day
 We think we'll lift one heel.
 'Twere surely hard to trample on
 A crushed and fallen foe,
 Particularly since its leaders
 Have been sobered by the blow!
 So! Radicals, don't be alarmed:
 Although we've got you down
 We're not much troubled about our feet—
 We only guard the Crown!

¹ *Robert Baldwin* was born in 1804. The story of his family's coming to Canada has been printed as a Transaction of this society. No public man ever commanded such respect. Until the day of his death he was the idol of the Canadian people. In politics he was a Liberal. He began the practice of the law in 1827. In 1829 he became a member of the Assembly of Upper Canada, and in 1836 a member of the Executive Council. In 1842 he formed with Mr. Lafontaine the *Baldwin-Lafontaine Ministry*. He was Attorney-General for Upper and Lower Canada, occupying this position until the rupture with Sir Charles Metcalfe and resuming it in 1848.

² Responsible Government.*

³ *Thomas Aylwin* was born in Quebec in 1806. He was one of the highest authorities in Canada on Criminal Jurisprudence. He won reputation as a caustic and slashing journalist. He was one of the original founders of the Const. Ass. of Quebec. Aylwin sat in Parliament seven years for Portneuf, and was one of the keenest Parliamentary debaters of his time. Metcalfe's biographer thus describes him—"A man of infinite adroitness and lawyer-like sagacity, skilled in making the worst appear the better reason, and in exposing the weakness of an adversary's cause".

⁴ Editor and proprietor of the *Pilot*—also wrote to the *Morning Chronicle*, London, against Wakefield who had defended Metcalfe Hincks; was defeated at this election in Oxford county.

⁵ Beaubien and Drummond, members for Montreal City, were defeated by George Moffatt and Dr. Bleury.

⁶ The Loyal Patriotic Society originated in York in 1812. Subscriptions came from Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, Jamaica and England. England gave £8,000, and when the war was over £4,000 which remained went to found a hospital.

⁷ Steward Derbyshire, member for Bytown (Ottawa).

⁸ *Robert Baldwin Sullivan*, mayor of Toronto 1834. On the resignation of Sir Francis Bond Head's Council he accepted a seat in Parliament, and became Commissioner of Crown Lands. He was a member of the Executive Council of Sir Charles Bagot, and Sir Charles Metcalfe; but resigned with his Liberal colleagues because of the antagonism between the Governor and his ministry. His letters—signed "Legion"—combined with his energy, did a great deal towards the final success of his party.

⁹ A noted Irish priest and temperance reformer.

An Old Family Letter.

READ BY MRS. W. H. P. JARVIS.

Letter by Mrs. R. Hazen (an officer's widow) to her brother in London, Edward J. Jarvis,¹ who became Chief Justice of Prince Edward Island. Dated—

St. John, January 30th, 1816.

and sent by the "True Blue" to Edward J. Jarvis, 29 Arundel St., Strand.

"I now take up my pen according to promise to scribble the memorandum for mamma, but in the first place my dear Brother I will tell you how gay your mother has become.

You will hardly credit me when I say that she has within *one* week been at three parties—namely to dinner at Judge Chipman's,² to a jiggy at Mrs. Codner's³ and to a large dinner party at Ralph Jarvis; but what is still more wonderful William joined in all these entertainments.

Your Father and myself were obliged to send our apologies in consequence of indisposition, tho' neither of us was very sick—Papa's cough has been very distressing but is much better, my late Disorder left me so weak that to stay quietly at home was best for us. I mentioned in my last letter to you how very sick Sally Hazen was with a bilious Fever, since when she has recovered—but her poor father is extremely low with a Dysentery, a complaint that generally attacks people in a consumption, particularly towards the last stages of this melancholy disease.

Now for the Commissions.

A pair of Bronze Candlesticks—these to be handsome and if you could meet with them that has glass drops suspended from them—such as hang to Lustres, we would prefer them.

Two plated dish stands and two glass trifle or Floating Island Dishes to place on them—if these stands could be got lower priced than the ones you sent Mrs. Parker⁴ do get them so, if not you must not exceed a price what hers cost.

A glass stand—I do not know whether you will know it from this name or whether you have met with the kind I mean, but I will endeavour to give you an idea of it by Description—two or three glass Plates one above the other with a glass Dish or Bowl on the top, which altogether forms a Pyramid—the common glass that is thick through and pretty

clear will do for this—I conclude from those I have seen and the cost of them, that this may be got for about thirty or forty shillings, perhaps less but if *more do not get it*. We have jelly glasses in abundance to place on it, of course none need be got.

Two bright, light blue moreen window curtains—these to be made up and trimmed in the newest fashion, but if the style for curtains has not changed since you forwarded the models to us—order these after the pattern that one pole serves for both windows—the Room is rather more than nine feet high—the pole to reach exactly across must be rather more than eleven feet, one inch long.

A sufficient quantity of the bright, light blue moreen to cover a large sofa or if two small sofas for Drawing Rooms are more stylish send more of this stuff to cover the two.

A Bell Rope or Riband to correspond with the blue Curtains. An Orange ditto for the Orange Curtains—these go in the Dining Room.

A border for the Hall oil floor cloth as follows—twenty-four yards of bordering between seven and eight inches wide—Mamma prefers Flowers for the pattern—she has a great dislike to any set figure—the colours in the oil cloth are Orange, brown, black and Lemon.

A Coffee urn to match the Tea urn you sent out—this Tea urn is called in the bill “a Flower Pot Tea Urn on Pillars”—there is no plate about it you will recollect—on the top there is a Crescent, also on the bottom—or rather in the centre under the body upon the stretcher that the lower part of the pillars are fixed on. Your Mother has given up the idea of sending Home for a Set of Dish Covers, as they can be had here. Here ends my memorandum, I am tired of them, you I am sure must be doubly so.”

Then follows “Memorandum of articles to be purchased by Mr. E. J. Jarvis for Mrs. R. Hazen and brought out when he returns to this Country.”

“A white Satin gown genteelly and fashionably made and trimmed by no means extravagantly. A yard and a half of the satin to alter the gown in case it should not suit.

A full dress Head dress to wear with the white Satin. A dress neck Handkerchief to correspond with the above. A ruff or collar that will answer to wear in full dress as I always cover my neck.

A Stuff dress for the morning made high to cover the Bosom and neck for winter—the colour I will leave to your taste. A morning dress for Summer made of cheap materials. These two Dresses I must request may be so formed that I can put them on without the assistance of a dressing maid. Two Morning Caps not expensive ones. A large straw Bonnet neatly trimmed.

A cloth pelisse trimmed with Leopard Skin or rather the dyed Skin in imitation of the Leopard—as I am informed this comes much cheaper and looks nearly as well.

4 yards Swansdown trimming at about ten shillings a yard and 4 ditto at five shillings a yard. Ten yards of pink figured satin (are sent) to be dyed Crimson.

“You will have the goodness to make enquiries of a Mantua Maker what number of yards it will take to make me a Dress (not forgetting to inform her of the width of the silk). You have a gown of mine with you that will give an idea of my size. Don't let the mantua maker have more than a pattern—the remainder being out unmade.

I wish the Dress made up fashionably and trimmed genteelly but not extravagantly by any means—lace flounces are beyond my purse. A Full dress cap or Turban to correspond with the crimson gown. A pair of corsettes the price not to exceed forty shillings.

I must say a little more respecting the gowns in consequence of a report here that the present fashion at Home is to have the skirts very short so much so that half the Leg is exposed to view—this I cannot comply with—the fullness I have no objection to—I wish mine made fully as long in front as the one you took Home and the trains of a fashionable length—the trains of the Dress gowns I am speaking of—the Morning Dresses of course will be round ones—that is without trains. After prohibiting Blue, French Grey, Buff or Yellow for my Pelisse I will leave the colour of it to your taste and the fashion, after remarking I should *not like a very gay one*. A large black lace veil—say about a yard and half long and proportionally wide. A Frizette with a band of hair fixed to it—I send a lock that you may know what colour to get. You will remember that my forehead is very high and broad, therefore order the Frizette made accordingly.

A set of garnet ornaments consisting of earrings, necklace and snap, Bracelet bands and snap, Brooch, Finger Ring and Clasp for the Waist. I prefer the small garnet say about the

size of seed Coral with 16 strings for the neck and twelve for the wrist—that is 24 for both wrist bands—the Snaps, Brooch and Earrings (excepting the wire that goes through my ear) to be set in double gilt. The clasp for the waist need not be of either, but some cheap yellow stuff that has the appearance of gold. This gem is so well imitated that the composition garnet will answer me better than the real should the real be very expensive; the rather light shade and one that inclines to red I give the preference to.

A Clasp for the Waist made with patent pearls. A Sprig for the Head of patent pearls. An ornament for the Head made with the smallest size polished steel beads—should it not come too high. A gilt watch chain for a Lady, rather showish. The ring (enclosed) I wish altered to the size of the wire I send and the seal or plate which contains the Cross made a fashionable size and shape and instead of the Cross have the Hair I forwarded put therein with pearls around it—this must not exceed three guineas. The Thermometer I will thank you to have repaired and bring out with you.

You will find with the articles sent by Mr. Peters a West India Pebble, should it not cost too much I will thank you to have it made into a watch seal with the letters R. F. H. cut on it.

On looking over my memorandum I find I have omitted white silk velvet—an article I have had a great desire for a long time—you will therefore have the goodness to purchase for me 2 yards white silk velvet—I should prefer that of three quarters width to that of half yard. A pair of white satin slippers. 2 pair of sealskin or kid shoes with waterproof soles (these must be black) either ties or not as most worn. As I have no shoes that I can conveniently spare to send as a pattern I forward the shape and size of the sole of one which I hope will answer. I will thank you to have the walking shoes made a little larger than the pattern, the satin ones the same size of the pattern—my reason for this is, with the former I frequently wear two pair of cotton stockings—but with the latter only silk ones and but one pair.

I now enclose my second (that is 2nd draft) upon Mr. Codd for a £100, the first went under cover to him with my certificate for December on the 16th Instant—how long they will remain at Halifax is uncertain—it's more than probable this will reach you first. It is said Miss Parker will become Mrs. Duvernette in March next.⁵ There are no other flirta-

tions on foot that I have heard of. Have you or young Saunders met with Major Tryon since his return home? There is a story in circulation here that he has written Judge Saunders that he has changed his mind respecting his daughter and shall not come out to fulfil his engagement of marrying her—also that He (this noble Major) has written to a gentleman in this City that it would be a curious thing for him to come out to marry Miss Saunders when at Home at a moment's warning He could take unto himself an accomplished wife with a fortune of twenty or thirty thousand pounds—and there were more than one stood ready to become Mrs. Tryon of this description. The November Packet has not arrived yet—I am fearful she is lost—it's now time to look for the December Mail which I trust will bring letters from you to us and I shall expect certainly to hear from you by the early spring ships from Liverpool as young Hamilton said he would put you in a way to write us by that route. The family's love to you.

Your Affectionate Sister,

P. H."

Forwarded with this letter were several articles to be sold. 2 pair of near sighted spectacles valued at £1 a pair, 4 epaulettes valued at £7 a pair—of these Mrs. Hazen writes "I do not expect you to get more than 25 shillings a piece for the epaulettes as that is the price my Husband sold old ones for when he was in London—tho' they were not so valuable as those I send being Captain's epaulettes and having Bullion only on the outside whereas these being Field Officers are Bullion throughout. I have also two pair of Field Officers epaulettes which have never been worn the charge for those amounts to upwards of £20 sterling—they are among the number of things I have had to pay the Agent for."

¹ Their father was Munson Jarvis, a U.E.L., from Stamford, Conn. Two brothers came to New Brunswick, the third remained in the U.S., and the last of his family married Colt of revolver fame. In the records of St. John appears the sale of two slaves by Munson, Jarvis to Abraham de Peystre, a Huguenot Loyalist.

His son Edward James was educated at King's Coll., Windsor, and attended the Inns of Court of the Inner Temple, reading under the celebrated Chitty. In 1822, he succeeded the Judge Saunders mentioned in the letter, who was raised

to Chief Justice; and in 1823 Mr. Jarvis was appointed Judge of the Admiralty Court at Malta, where my father-in-law was born. In 1827 he was offered a Chief Justiceship in Australia or Prince Edward I. and chose the latter. In 1852 he died. His son studied medicine in Edinburgh where he assisted Sir James Simpson in the early uses of chloroform. The William and Ralph mentioned were brothers of Judge Jarvis, and the writer was probably the widow of Robert Hazen mentioned as Lieut. of the 60th Regt. and A.D.C.

² A daughter of the Hon. Wm. Hazen—member of the Council under Carleton and belonging to an Eng. family settled in N.B. before the coming of the Loyalists—married Ward Chipman, a Massachusetts Loyalist who drew up the Royal Charter of St. John, was appointed a judge in 1809 and Govt. Agent in 1816, under the Treaty of Ghent, to determine the N. W. angle of Nova Scotia. He died at Fredericton in 1824 while Administrator.

³ Mrs. Codner is probably wife of James Codner appointed 1793 Chamberlain of St. John.

⁴ Mrs. Parker, no doubt is the "pretty and agreeable lady" Benedict Arnold mentions in a letter from Eng. dated 1793, as having wed his friend Parker and sailed with him to Halifax. Robert Parker was a Massachusetts Loyalist and Comptroller of the Customs at St. John. He died in 1823. Mrs. P. lived to the age of 84 and died in 1852. Their two sons were Chief Justice and the Hon. Neville Parker.

⁵ This marriage took place in 1816; the Miss Parker mentioned being the daughter of Robert Parker Sen. Du Vernet died in 1832 on a voyage from Ceylon, E.I. to England. He was then Assistant Quartermaster-General.

The inscription which follows is to their son:—

DU VERNET

Sacred to the memory of Robert Parker Du Vernet, who died in the full hope of a resurrection to eternal life, January 11th, 1837. Aged 19 years.

Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord.

From the Loyalist Centennial Souvenir, 1783–1883, published by J. and A. McMillan, 100 Prince William Street, St. John, N.B., 1887. Inscription from the Old Burial Ground, page 108.

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

Women's Canadian Historical Society

OF TORONTO

1915-16

Organized November 1895; Incorporated February 14th, 1896.

OFFICERS.

Honorary President	-	-	-	-	-	LADY HENDRIE.	
Past Presidents	-	-	-	-	-	{	
							MRS. FORSYTH GRANT.
							*MRS. S. A. CURZON.
							*LADY EDGAR.
President	-	-	-	-	-	*MISS M. A. FITZGIBBON.	
Vice-Presidents	-	-	-	-	-	{	
							MISS MICKLE.
						MRS. JAS. BAIN.	
						MRS. H. H. ROBERTSON.	
Recording Secretary	-	-	-	-	-	MISS ROBERTS, 91 St. Joseph St.	
Corresponding Secretary	-	-	-	-	-	MRS. S. CORLEY, 46 Dunvegan Road.	
Treasurer	-	-	-	-	-	MRS. DUCKWORTH, 418 Indian Road.	
Convener of Red Cross Committee	-	-	-	-	-	MRS. HORACE EATON, 631 Sherbourne St.	

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

LADY STUPART.	MRS. W. H. P. JARVIS.
MISS MACCALLUM.	MISS HELEN PEARCE.
MRS. W. H. ELLIS.	MISS EMILY WEAVER.

RED CROSS COMMITTEE

MRS. HORACE EATON, Convener.	MISS HELEN PEARCE.
LADY STUPART.	MISS ADA PEARCE.
MRS. FREELAND.	MISS DES BRISSAY.
MISS HORSEY.	MRS. GEO. JARVIS.
MRS. BAIN.	MISS TOCQUE.
MRS. W. H. P. JARVIS.	

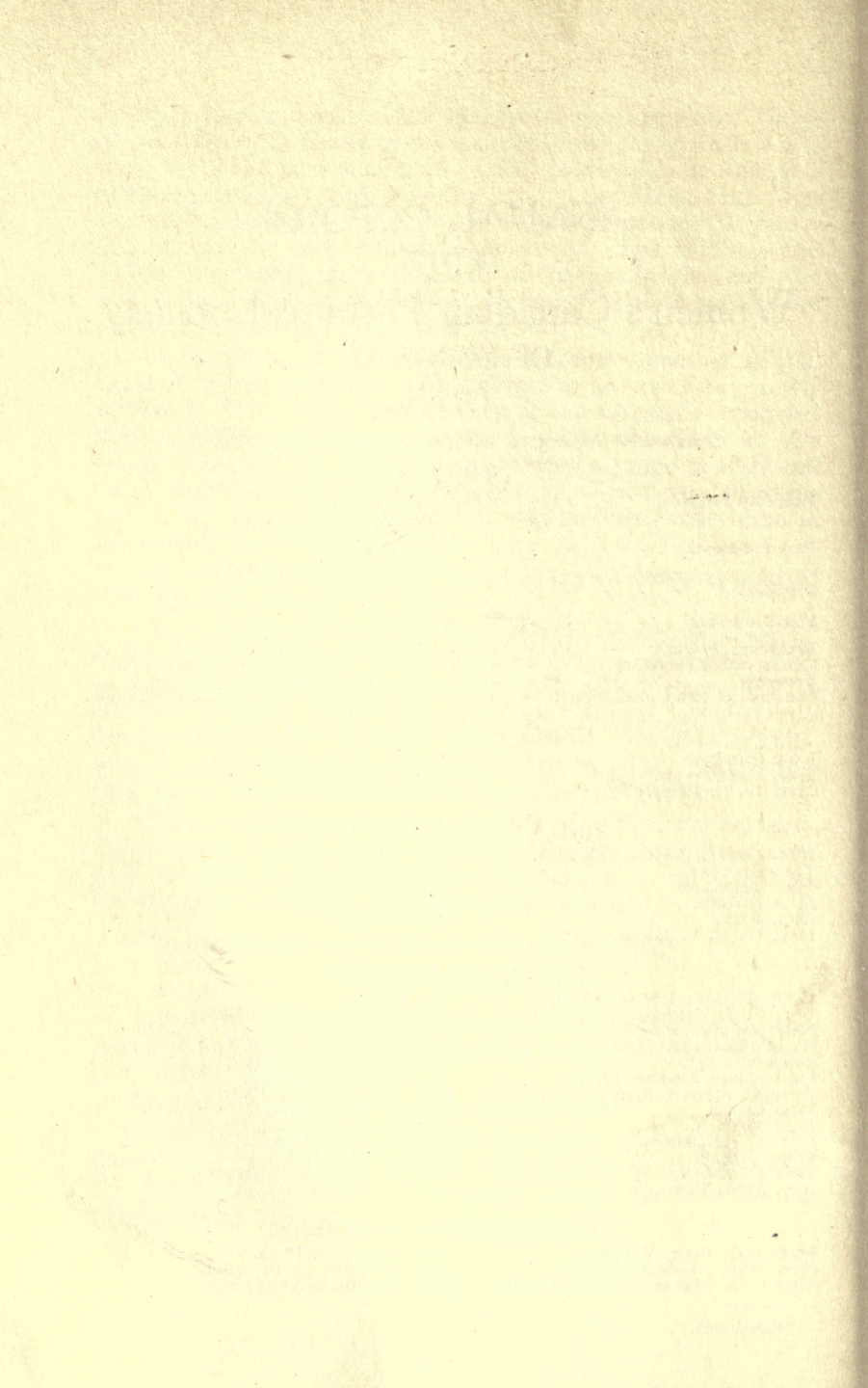
HONORARY MEMBERS

G. R. PARKIN, C.M.G., LL.D.	DR. LOCKE.
COL. G. T. DENISON.	THE VERY REV. DEAN HARRIS.
MISS CARNOCHAN.	J. A. MACDONELL.
W. MACFARLANE.	W. D. LIGHTHALL, F.R.C.S., F.R.S.L.
JAMES HANNAY.	BENJAMIN SULTZ, F.R.S.C.
SIR GILBERT PARKER, M.P.	REV. JOHN MCDUGALL.
CHARLES MAIR, F.R.S.C.	REV. JOHN MCLEAN, Ph.D.
MISS LIZARS.	EDWARD WM. THOMSON.
MISS MACHAR.	JOHN READE, F.R.S.C., F.R.S.L.
MRS. C. FESSENDEN.	CHARLES G. D. ROBERTS.
BLISS CARMEN.	MRS. J. W. F. HARRISON.
JOHN D. KELLY.	*DR. ED. MANNING SAUNDERS.
REV. PROF. BRYCE.	

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

MISS JEAN BARR, Windsor.	MRS. McLAREN, Perth.
MRS. HENRY McLEOD, Ottawa.	MRS. CHRISTIE, North Gower.
MISS C. A. MERRITT, St. Catharines.	MRS. BACKUS, M.D., Alymer.

*Deceased.



President's Address.

The Society has passed through another year, and I think we may congratulate ourselves that it has been a year of work, not for a few only; for the members generally have worked together to obtain the very creditable result shown by the Red Cross Committee. This is the ideal of every Society. Whether we could have attained it, in such measure as we have, without the stimulus to patriotic effort the war afforded, may be doubted, but if we have done well in the past, we must do far better this year: the needs grow all the time greater and I think we should consider whether, not abating our efforts for the men in the trenches, it is not possible to do something for the returned soldiers. Let our watchword for the year be "Keep on, keeping on", and our aim to accomplish something really effectual. These are great times in which we live. A great task is set before us, and we must strive to answer the call and live worthily.

It is greatly to be regretted that the Civic and Street Railway authorities have succeeded, in violation of the deed from the Imperial Government, and of the wishes of the citizens expressed in the election some years ago, when the by-law was defeated by a large majority, in securing an entrance which interferes with the rampart to the north of the Old Fort. It is, we are assured, only a temporary highway, the use of which will cease when the water-front is completed; and the Old Fort Protective Association, with the Historical Societies must endeavour to see that this agreement is kept. The Grand Trunk Railway appears to be slowly encroaching year by year, and I would like to see a small committee appointed to co-operate with the Old Fort Association and to urge the erection of a commemorative stone, such as is common in Massachusetts in order to interest and inform the public in the history of the place; also I believe, that the Fort should be surveyed to prevent further encroachments.

There is much work to be done by our members—looking forward to the home which we hope to possess some day—the Queen Victoria Memorial Hall. While it has been considered that this project must wait, it cannot be postponed indefinitely and there is much to be done in the way of preparation in the

gathering of historical material and relics, and the accumulation of a library. Very little has as yet been done in this way, our possessions are few and small, nearly everything of interest has been given by Miss FitzGibbon. In this coming year I trust that more will be done in this way and that some effort will be made to leave behind us a picture of our life and our city during these days of this greatest war.

It is a matter of congratulation that the Government has at last moved in the matter of the Hearst papers, which for years have been systematically poisoning the minds of such of our people as read them, against Britain. I wish it were as easy to stop, what one might call the local grudge against England and the English. It is astonishing how even loyal and supposedly thoughtful people will say nasty little things about the Mother Country. All such talk is harmful—nearly always untrue—and all our members should discourage it.

There is always a certain amount of relief when the Presidential election in the United States is over. The idea of free choice and a President is dear to democracies, but one may well question whether the Presidentship of the United States is not too valuable a prize to be flung as a glittering bauble to competition every four years.

The passing years have taken heavy toll of our membership—not in numbers only—we have lost of our best and it must be one of our endeavours to fill up the ranks and secure new members for service.

It is the hope of every heart that in the coming year the war may cease; and the rights of the weak, for which, with our own existence as an Empire, we are fighting, may be forever firmly established.

Secretary's Report.

The great interest of this Society for the year 1915-16 has been centred in our Red Cross Work, a full report of which will follow, the success of the Red Cross work has been largely due to the energy and earnestness of its convenor, Mrs. Horace Eaton, and treasurer, Lady Stupart.

Our meetings have been interesting, the excellent papers have been enjoyed by all, and notwithstanding the many calls on the time of our members, the attendance has improved. This has, however, been a year of tense anxiety to many of our members, whose sons have responded to the call of King and Country, to the mothers of these sons we bow our heads in humility and reverently thank our Heavenly Father for such mothers and such sons; may an abundant blessing be theirs.

The Papers have been as follows: Reminiscences of Fenian Raid illustrated by maps by the Rev. Chancellor Burwash, who took part in repelling this invasion of Canada.

A family letter, 1816, read by Mrs. W. H. P. Jarvis has been printed as Transaction No. 14. Reminiscences of the Reverend Jas. Richardson D.D., gathered from traditional incidents related by the writers' mother who settled at Fort Schlosser, the next month a continuation of this paper was read, giving an account of the part the navy took in the War of 1812, the writer being at that time a lieutenant and losing an arm in an action which took place at Oswego River. The reminiscences of Col. Stephen Jarvis, U.E.L., relating the part he took in the Revolutionary War and after and the persecutions to which he was subjected as a Tory. An Indian Mission, 1857-60, prepared by Mrs. Jeffers Graham, gave an account of pioneer work near Rice Lake among Indians living there.

Periodicals received: Story of the Hurons by E. J. Hathaway; The Great War, speech by David Lloyd George; The York Pioneer; The Quarterly Journal of the Historical Association of London, England, published by Macmillan; Annual Reports of the Ontario Historical Society; Annual Report of the Niagara Historical Society; Annual Report of the Women's Ottawa Historical Society; Annual Report of the Waterloo Historical Society; Year Book of the University of Toronto;

Report of Library of Congress, Washington; Maps from Saskatchewan; Washington Historical Quarterly from Seattle; Report of Historic Landmarks Association; Historical Publications relating to Canada, Vol. 22; The Crusade of 1383 by the Rev. G. M. Wrong; Report of Rhode Island Historical Society; Report of Wentworth Historical Society; Report of Aryan Society, County of Brant.

The appointed portrait committee has collected a sufficient sum for an oil painting of our late President and founder, Miss FitzGibbon; the work will be proceeded with without delay. Canon Duckworth, representing the Anti-German League, now called the British Empire Union, explained the objects and need of this Union. This Society agreed to endorse what he had said, by being careful to purchase goods of Canadian and British manufacture, and prevent if possible the entrance of German goods after the close of this terrible war into Canada from neutral countries.

Representatives of this Society were present at a deputation to the Board of Education, urging the benefits of military training in the schools.

Representatives of this Society together with representatives from the Ontario Historical Society met Mr. Biggar in St. Andrew's Institute with regard to the preservation of the Old Fort. A small committee from this was appointed to present the case before the Ontario Railway Board.

In the person of Miss H. M. Hill this Society has lost a valuable worker, her unfailing courtesy, kindness, energy, and good sense were always used for the betterment of those with whom she came in contact, her cheerfulness through great suffering was an object lesson to us all.

In the death of Mrs. Caroline Jarvis, one of the first members of our Society, one more link with the past of Toronto has been severed. She was the daughter of Capt. John Skynner, a distinguished naval officer, who served under Nelson; later he came to Canada, after an eight weeks' voyage, the discomforts of which made a profound impression on his daughter, and settled west of Port Credit, building there his home "The Anchorage." His next neighbour was Mr. F. Starr Jarvis, Usher of the Black Rod in Parliaments of Canada. When quite young, Miss Caroline Skynner married Mr. F. W. Jarvis, afterwards Sheriff Jarvis and went to live at Woodlawn, corner of Wellesley and Jarvis Streets. At this time the street named after the family was at certain seasons of the year an impassable sandy road leading from King Street

to the wooden church of St. Paul, with its belfry tower, formed by four pines, lashed together for support. At Woodlawn, Mrs. Jarvis continued the family tradition of hospitality, became a leader in Society, in religious and philanthropic work and lived to see her descendants grow up to ably serve their country and their church.

Other members called away this year by death have been Mrs. Playter, Miss Evans, Miss Isobel MacKenzie, and one of our honorary members, Dr. Edward Manning Saunders, a noted writer, author of "Three Premiers of Nova Scotia."

We are glad to welcome the following new members:

Mrs. Wm. Freeland, 21 Dunvegan Road.

Mrs. W. D. Gregory, 57 Douglas Drive.

Mrs. Appleby, 179 Dowling Avenue.

Mrs. R. J. Montgomery, 132 Balmoral Avenue.

The Misses Davidson, Hampton Court Apartments.

Miss Ellis, 11 Rowanwood Avenue.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

LUELLA CORLEY.

Report of the Red Cross Committee.

At the opening of the year it was decided to concentrate our efforts upon securing socks to send to our soldiers in the trenches, many of these were knitted by members of the Historical Society, and their friends. In order to raise money, teas and loan exhibitions have been held at each monthly meeting; articles, of great historical interest were loaned by members and added much to the enjoyment and success of the teas. The first exhibition was of miniatures, many of great intrinsic and historic value. The next exhibition was of samples, one of which was worked in 1796; curious old needle-work done by pupils in some of the early girls' schools of Toronto, was most interesting and instructive.

The other exhibitions were of antique silver, brass, jewelry and china. On April 29th, a sale was held of home-made bread, cake, etc., with this was a melting-pot for old scraps of gold and silver, which realised the sum of \$256.00. Through this and other contributions, we have been able to send to the trenches 2,336 pairs of socks. We have also contributed \$27.00 to H.R.H. the Duchess of Connaught's Prisoners of War Fund; \$8.00 to the Belgian Relief Fund and have on hand \$45.00 worth of wool for this season's work.

Respectfully submitted,

MRS. HORACE EATON,
631 Sherbourne Street.

E. M. EATON,
Convenor.

Treasurer's Report of Red Cross Committee.

RECEIPTS.

Receipts from Nov. 1915 to April 1916.....	\$216.40
Sale and Melting Pot.....	257.65
Tea at April Meeting.....	11.35
Contribution to the Duchess of Connaught's Prisoners of War Fund.....	26.30
Contribution to Belgian Relief.....	8.00
Transferred from General Fund.....	.70
Total Receipts.....	\$520.40

EXPENDITURES.

Expenses of Sale in April.....	\$28.99
Wool for knitting socks.....	139.91
Socks.....	316.50
Duchess of Connaught's Fund.....	27.00
Belgian Relief.....	8.00
Total Expenditures.....	\$520.40

MARION STUPART.

THE QUEEN VICTORIA MEMORIAL FUND.

Cash in Bank, November 15th, 1916.....	\$299.78
Interest on Debentures.....	121.26
Bank Interest.....	17.21
Sale of Transactions.....	3.70
	\$441.95
Total cash in Bank, Nov. 15th, 1916.....	5,000.00
Total Amount of Debentures on Deposit.....	5,441.95
Total to Credit of Memorial Fund.....	5,441.95

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS.

Cash in Bank, Nov. 15th, 1915.....	\$38.67
Fees—Current and Advance.....	79.00
Ontario Government Grant.....	100.00
Bank Interest.....	3.82
Special Memorial Portrait Fund.....	50.00
	271.49
Total Receipts.....	271.49

EXPENDITURE.

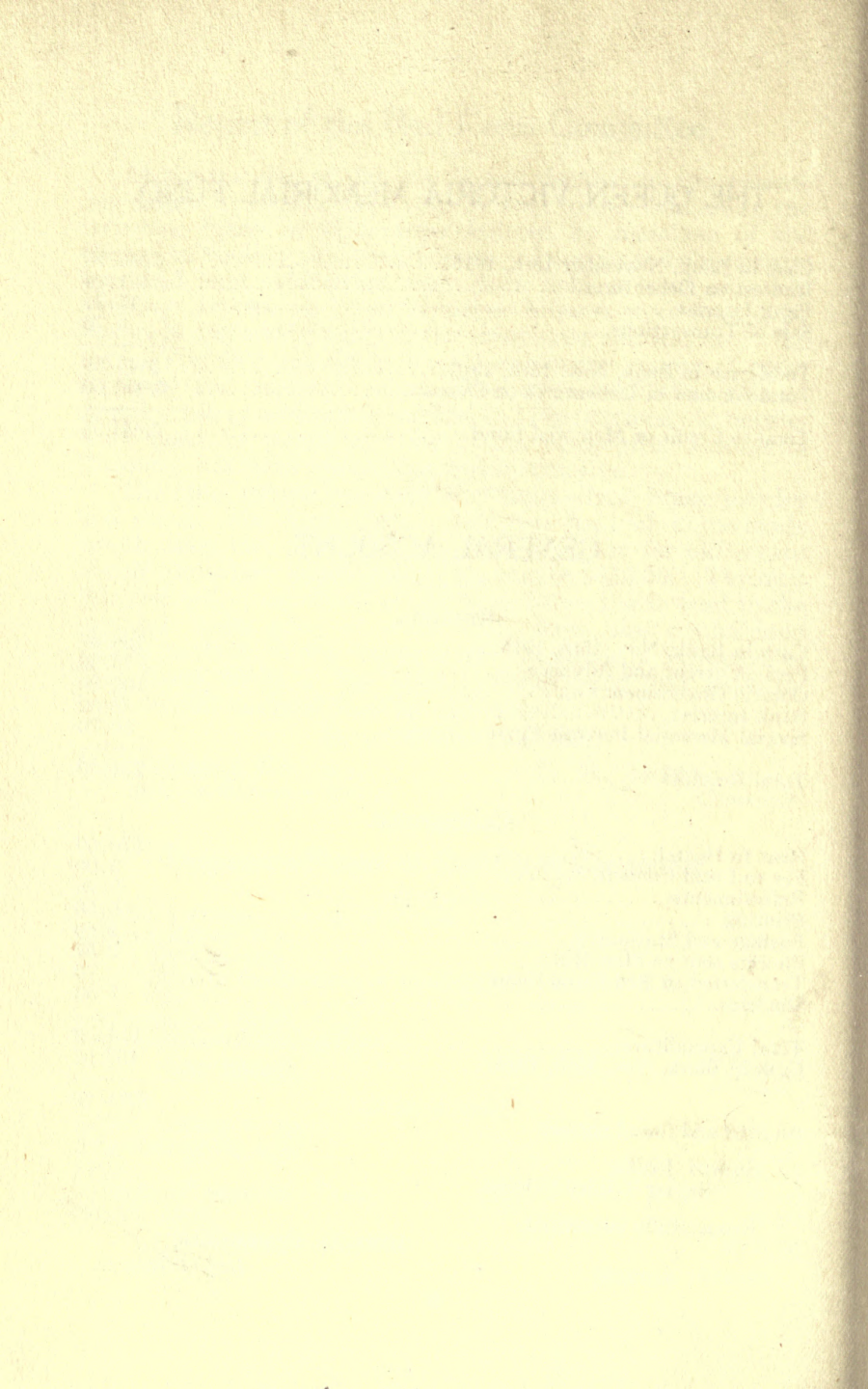
Rent to Hostel.....	\$30.00
Fee to Local Council.....	2.00
Refreshments.....	9.85
Printing.....	60.50
Postage and Stationery.....	7.40
Flowers sent to Miss Hill.....	2.57
Transferred to Red Cross Fund.....	70
Sundries.....	1.50
	114.52
Total Expenditure.....	156.97
Cash in Bank, Nov. 15th, 1916.....	\$271.49

Audited and found correct,

SIDNEY JONES,
Bursar Trinity College.

Respectfully submitted,

HOPE H. DUCKWORTH,
Hon. Treasurer.





“ DEEDS SPEAK ”

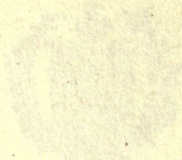
Women's Canadian Historical Society
OF TORONTO

TRANSACTION No. 15

CONTENTS

Reminiscences of Lieut. James Richardson, Naval Officer
during the War of 1812.

1915-16



OFFICE OF THE

Women's Canadian Historical Society

(Incorporated)

STATIONER'S

Address: 100 Queen Street West, Toronto, Ontario



THE REV. JAMES RICHARDSON, D.D.,
formerly Lieut. James Richardson, R.N.

Incidents in the Early History of the Settlements in the Vicinity of Lake Ontario.

Reminiscences of Lieut. James Richardson; later the Rev. James Richardson, D.D., Bishop of the M. E. Church.

I was born in the town of Kingston, N.Y., on the 29th of January, 1791. My father, James Richardson, was from Lincolnshire, near Horncastle, and my mother, Sarah Ashmore, was from Kings Norton, near Birmingham, in the County of Worcester. u.c.

In his early life my father served in the Royal Navy and was in the *Ramillies*, 74 gunship, at the time she encountered the ever-memorable storm and diastrous gale September 1782. After being dismasted and in a sinking state for five days, the vessel at last foundered, not, however, until all the officers and crew had been taken off by some merchant ships which had weathered the storm.

The ill-fated ship with several other men-of-war formed part of the West Indian Squadron under Lord Rodney. At the time mentioned they were convoying a homeward-bound fleet of merchantmen, with the prizes captured in the famous victory, over the fleet commanded by De Grasse.

Some of these prizes, such as the *Ville de Paris*, 120 guns; and the *Centaur*, 74 guns, were ships of the first class, but they, with several of the English men-of-war, went down together during the gale. The particulars of the fearful storm may be found recorded in the "Marine Chronicle", and other histories of Marine disasters.

About the year 1785 my father received an appointment to the Lakes of Canada, as Lieutenant in the Provincial Marine

organised for the two-fold purpose of fighting the enemy and transporting troops and stores, under the direction of a Quarter-Master-General, in the Forces in British America, the senior officer for the time being, in each lake, was styled Commander. This marine establishment existed coeval, with the Conquest of Canada.

My earliest recollections are associated with it. Old Commodore Bouchette, father of the late Surveyor-General of Lower Canada, I recollect as commanding at Kingston, when I was a boy.

At the age of 18, in 1809, I entered the Service, and in 1812 I received a commission as Lieutenant, being just turned 21 years.

The war with the United States commenced that year—our naval force on Lake Ontario consisted of the ship "Royal George", 20 guns; the "Maira," 16 guns; the schooner "Duke of Gloucester," 18 guns, and the schooner "Prince Regent," afterwards called the "Nettle," 12 guns; with a few smaller vessels doing service as gunboats and transports. Our Senior Officer was Commodore Hugh Earl.

Our little squadron, though not very much celebrated for exploits in the way of fighting, managed, however, to keep open the communication between the Eastern and the Western Divisions of the Army, and to facilitate the transport of men and stores, as occasion required; as likewise the conveyance of the prisoners, which from time to time fell into the hands of our forces, during the first year of the war. The importance of such services in the then uninhabited state of the country, and the lack of land conveyance owing to the badness of the roads, must be obvious.

From some mistrust that the Provincial Marine would not be adequate to the increasing emergencies of the war, application was made to the Admiralty of England for aid from the Royal Navy, and accordingly, in the Winter of 1812, Captain Barclay, accompanied by Commanders Downie and Pring, Lieutenant Scott and a few warrant officers and sailors were despatched from Halifax across the wilderness, through storms, posts and snowdrifts to Quebec; thence to Kingston, where they arrived in April; weather-beaten, exhausted and all but done-up.

Captain Barclay took the command until the arrival in May of Sir James Yeo, direct from England with 500 officers and men.

I had the honour of being despatched by Captain Barclay in the gun-boat "Black Snake" to meet Sir James, with his flotilla of unarmed Canadian batteaux, and escort him up the river, along the frontier of the enemy to Kingston, where with the rear division under Captain Mulcaster, we arrived in the latter part of May 1813.*

The naval armaments on the lakes now assumed a new character and position, no longer Provincial, but part of the Royal Navy.

Our Provincial Commissions were of no force in the new relations, yet because of our local knowledge and experience, our services were desirable, and required by our new Commodore. None, however of the Commissioned Officers on Lake Ontario consented to remain, except Lieutenant George Smith and myself. I told the Commodore that if my services were of any avail, they were at his command, only I would not take any rank inferior to that I held in the Provincial Marine. He remarked that the rules of the Service precluded my relation as a lieutenant among them, but he would be happy to have my services as a Master, and would rate me accordingly. This, while it gave me rank in the "gun-room" with the commissioned officers, would be appropriate to the two-fold duties of Master and Pilot.

In this highly responsible relation I continued to serve, to the best of my ability, during the remainder of the war, and for some time after, sharing the fatigues, dangers and

*Being then a young Lieutenant in the Marine, I was despatched with a gunboat to Prescott to escort the Brigade on its way up the River. The scenes and feelings attendant on the discharge of that duty—having a small flat-bottomed craft called the Black Snake with about 8 men and a three-pounder in her bow, to pass for sixty miles on open frontier of the enemy, mostly in the night, called for a sharp look-out, with both nerve and caution. No enemy, however, appeared, and we returned unmolested. Here it was I first formed the acquaintance of the officers of the expedition, among whom was the brave Captain Mulcaster, second in command to Sir James, who at the capture of Oswego 6th May, 1814, was wounded in the abdomen, while I suffered the loss of my left arm. Great were his sufferings for even after I had recovered, and was able to resume service, he lingered in sick quarters, and although surviving several years, he never fully recovered from it. He died in England, having been honored by his Sovereign, the late William the IV, with a standing on his staff as Aide-de-camp. From a lecture by James Richardson.

exploits of the campaigns of 1813 and 1814 of which the published narratives of the war furnish details.

Some incidents, however, it may be proper to note here. The failure of the expedition against Sackett's Harbour, under the immediate command of the General-in-Chief, Sir George Prevost, which opened the Campaign of 1813, is wholly inexplicable.

Why were not the troops landed in the forenoon of the day of our appearance off the place, when the wind and weather, and every other circumstance were favorable, when none of the enemy were at the landing place (respecting which I had the honour of being consulted) to oppose, when our men were in the boats and the anchors were ready to be dropped?

Instead of landing and taking the place, which probably could have been effected without the loss of five men, the men were ordered to embark and the ships were hauled to the wind, and were made to stand off till midnight; then, in the dark, at the distance of several miles, the men were put into the boats and ordered to find their way, as best they could, to the same landing-place, abreast which they had been in the morning. In the meantime the enemy had posted themselves, had fortified their position, had received large reinforcements by land and water during the day, and were prepared to give us a warm reception.

Why was it that after several hours of hard fighting, and great sacrifice of life, when the enemy had been driven from their works, and were in the act of abandoning the place, and had in despair, actually set fire to their own navy-yard and store-houses, was a retreat sounded, the troops re-embarked, and the dead, with some of the wounded left to the enemy, is a question left to this day a mystery. I heard one of our brave colonials, as he came up the ship's side, indignantly exclaim; "Oh, if he would but give me my own regiment, I would yet land again and take the place."

A somewhat amusing incident occurred in the afternoon of the day; while our ship was working to windward away from the landing-place as above mentioned, and yet about six miles distant in the offing, a boat was observed coming towards us from a point of land covered with bush, which forms the entrance of a deep bay called "Henderson's Harbour", distant from us about one and a half miles, displaying a flag of truce. Lieut. Dobbs was sent with one of the ship's boats to meet the American and know his business. The boats met and after a short time we observed one boat with

Lieut. Dobbs proceed to the shore, while the American stood toward us. Commodore Yeo suspected a Yankee trick of some sort; but not so, it turned out to be an honest, but not very brave affair, for he was soon alongside and on being interrogated by Lieut. Owen, the officer on duty, as to his business, he said he was a captain of Dragoons, and had come off with his men to surrender and claim our protection as prisoners of war against the savages on the shore, that the woods were full of Indians, that he had had a fight with them that morning; and rather than fall into their hands and be massacred, he surrendered to us, that there was another boat-load of his men that would come under the escort of our officer. The lieutenant on duty reported the message to the Commodore, who was with Sir George Prevost and Staff at dinner, and orders were given to receive them on board. Lieutenant Owen therefore replied, "Very well, Sir", and the brave captain, with his men were safely secured, and assured of our protection, his fears no doubt subsided. He was a portly-built man armed to the teeth, with a hanger by his side and a pair of pistols in his belt, etc. He was then ushered into the presence of the Commodore and officers at the dinner table. Whether the countenances of any present gave indication of surprise or suspicion at this most extraordinary surrender I cannot say, but he must have observed some tokens of this kind, for it was reported by the officer who introduced him to the cabin, that he uttered this queer remark: "Gentlemen I confess my appearance is rather uncouth, but my heart is as square as any man's." In a short time the other boat with his men were alongside and safely accommodated with quarters on board—the whole mustered about thirty unmounted Dragoons. They were on their way to Sackett's with the boats and having encamped on the point in the night, had an encounter with two or three canoe loads of Chippewa Indians, perhaps a dozen or so, who had accompanied the expedition from Kingston. The Indians had got the worst of it and had retreated from the place altogether—one of them was wounded and was then in the ship with his thigh shot, so that for several hours the dastardly Dragoon had not an enemy near when he sought our protection, nor had we even noticed, much less molested him during the day—so much for the power of imagination acting as nervous timidity. The dread of encounter with Indian foes was a striking feature among many of the Americans and it evinced itself in several instances during the late war. To the effect of nursery tales

and fireside legends aided by "thrilling narratives" issuing from a mercenary press the Americans are mostly indebted for this weakness.

Some of us were ungenerous enough to think that this instance of pusillanimity on the part of the enemy had its influence on the Commodore to induce him to return to the attack on Sackett's, as before mentioned. But of this conjecture I cannot speak, I give merely the facts as they occurred.

In regard to Sir James Yeo and Commodore Chauncey, who though frequently in the vicinity of each other, and exchanging shots in partial combats, never came to any decisive action, free opinions and doubts of fidelity and courage have been thrown out, I may by way of explanation, explain: Sir James Yeo had mostly short cannonades, which though adapted to rapid firing, were not suited to long range, while, on the other hand, Chauncey had long guns which gave him a decided advantage at a distance. In consequence the one was anxious to seek close quarters while it was the policy of the other to keep his distance. As the closing in action with sailing vessels depends on the "weather gauge", a decisive action was avoided on each side as the circumstances alternated.

It is but due to the memory of Sir James Yeo to state that I heard him say, on a certain occasion of avoiding the enemy, in reply to a suggestion of Captain Mulcaster, that if he had his command on the high seas, he would risk an action at all hazards, because, should he be beaten, it would be but the loss of his squadron, but to lose it in this lake, would involve the embarrassment, if not the discomfiture of the Western division of the army, whose dependence was on keeping open the channel of communication—so high a responsibility resting upon him he had to act with the more caution and prudence.

The building of ships at the Kingston dockyard calls for a passing remark: During the season of 1812, while the Provincial Marine existed, the "Wolfe", a corvette of twenty guns, was built and commissioned, also the "Melville" of sixteen guns. These added materially to the strength of our naval armament at the time Sir James Yeo took command. The Americans also kept adding to their strength. The fine commodious ship "Pike", 28 guns, with the "Madison" of 32, were launched in the Spring of 1813, and it became necessary to keep pace on our part, and accordingly, in the Spring of 1814, there were launched and fitted out from the Kingston dock-

yards, the "Prince Royal", a fine ship of 80 guns, and the "Princess Charlotte" of 32.

These were followed on the part of the Americans, by the "Superior" and the "Mohawk", of force to match the two last mentioned on our part. This led to the building at Kingston of the "St. Lawrence", mounting 110 guns, and with draught of water 23 feet. The "St. Lawrence" took the lake in October 1814, and made two trips, up and down, previous to the setting in of Winter, without a chance to try her prowess with the enemy, as he very prudently kept himself close in harbour, so that at the end of the season, which terminated the war, our proud ship and squadron had the lake wholly to themselves.

But, although the fighting terminated, the ship-building did not, for the British Admiralty were so considerate as to frame in the English dockyards, and to forward the frames (perhaps deeming ship timber a rare material in Canada) two frigates of 36 guns each, one of which, the "Psyche", was sent to Kingston, set up, furnished and fitted up in the Spring of 1815, besides two other large ships, 120 each, which were framed and partly planked during the Summer and afterwards left to rot on the stocks. The ships that were afloat also rotted in Navy Bay, and were sold under the hammer when they were condemned.

The "St. Lawrence," which when she first sailed out, with her complement of men, arms, stores and provisions for one month, cost the British nation, as I heard from our purser, upwards of £800,000 sterling, was sold, as I was informed, in her dismantled and condemned condition, under the hammer about the year 1826, for twenty pounds.

Our neighbours, not to be outdone in the race for ships, set up two ships in their dockyards of 120 guns each, which were unfurnished at the close of the war, but they took the precaution to build sheds so as to enclose them from the weather, which, I am told, has preserved them to the present time.

While speaking of ship-building I must not forget to mention that in the Summer of 1812, Mr. John Dennis, then the master-builder in the dockyard at Kingston was ordered to York (now Toronto) to build a ship with which he had proceeded during the winter, so that she was nearly completed in April 1813, when the place fell into the hands of the enemy, who burnt her on the stocks. The officers and attachees of the dockyard were formed into a Company of which Mr.

Dennis, the master-builder was Captain. This Company aided to the utmost of their power in defending the place, but being with the other forces overpowered, they had to share in the discomfiture.

The memory of Mr. Dennis deserves a passing notice. He was one of those U.E. Loyalists who suffered and lost their earthly all by the American Revolution. His father, Henry Dennis, belonged to the "Society of Friends." and resided in a handsome property, including some ironworks he possessed on the banks of the Delaware, Buck's County, Pennsylvania. At an early period in the Revolutionary struggle he evinced his adherence to the British cause, and Quaker as he was, did something that favored the British troops. For this he had to fly from his home, taking his son John, then 18 years old, with him. He took refuge within the British lines at New York, and died suddenly at Staten Island during the war. The family estate was confiscated and forever lost to his children. John took up arms and volunteered on an expedition against the French at St. Lucia.

At the close of the war which gave the States their independence, Mr. Dennis, who in the meantime had married in New York, Martha Brown, the widow of Surgeon McClany, of the Royal Navy, who had perished at sea in the frigate to which he belonged, was sent with other of the Loyalists to "Beaver Harbour," Nova Scotia. This proving a barren, inhospitable place he could barely sustain his family and, therefore seeking more favorable parts he at length migrated to Upper Canada about the time that Governor Simcoe had surveyed and began to settle the fertile land in the vicinity of Toronto. He drew his portion on the banks of the Humber, a few miles from the site of the present village of Weston. Here for some years he had to grub and toil and suffer the privations incident to the formation of settlements in the wilderness, without even a road from the "town" or rather the then "town-plot" to his dwelling, having to "pad" it along the lake shore and banks of the Humber, carrying, perchance, a few pounds of flour or other necessaries, on his back, to keep life in the family.

Being a ship-builder, he occasionally, during his residence in this isolated spot, built small vessels for such as required them, among others a neat Government yacht called the "Toronto", a schooner rigged for the transit of officers and employees of the Government, with others, across the Lake, which proved a great convenience and pleased his Excellency

Governor Hunter so well that he gave him the appointment of Master-Builder in the King's Dockyard at Kingston, about the year 1802; where he continued till at the outbreaking of the war he was removed to York to build the ship before-mentioned.

Here he continued to reside until August 1832, when he fell a victim to the cholera, in the 73rd year of his age. His son, Joseph Dennis, Esquire, and grandson of Henry Dennis, now holds and resides on the property he left on the banks of the Humber, not now, however, in the heart of a wilderness, isolated and forlorn; but a beautiful county-seat contiguous to the thriving village of Weston and surrounded with highly cultivated farms in free communication with the City of Toronto and other parts by means of railroads and good carriage highways.

It was while Mr. Dennis resided as Master-Builder at the said dockyard that I became acquainted with his daughter Rebecca and subsequently made her the steadfast partner of my life.

In the Spring of 1814 word having reached our Commodore Sir James Yeo, that a large number of boats were at the mouth of the Oswego River, laden with cannon and stores for the fitting out of the two frigates then being built at Sackett's Harbour, an expedition was ordered for the capture of the fort at that place, now named "Fort Ontario", our squadron consisting of the "Prince Regent," 60 guns; "Princess Charlotte," 32 guns; "Wolfe," 20 guns; "Royal George," 20; "Moira," 16; "Melville," 16; and "Netley," 12; with detachments of troops from the Royals, Glengarry Fencibles, and other corps, left Kingston on May 4th and arrived off Oswego on the 6th, but, owing to heavy squalls of wind they were obliged to haul off, and delay the attack till next day. In the morning of the 6th, orders were given for the "Wolfe" (subsequently named the "Montreal") to stand in and take up position under the fort to cover and assist with the landing of the troops. The charge of conducting her to her anchorage among the rocks and shoals that environ the entrance of that river devolved on me, and not without some degree of diffidence did I perform the task; for not since I was a lad had I been there, and then only in small vessels; with very light draught of water.

I resolved, however, on doing my best, though sensible of the weighty responsibility resting on me.

I succeeded in securing the desired position to the satis-

faction of both my captain, Stephen Popham and Commodore Yeo, who were pleased to commend my conduct in their official despatches.

Our gunners had rather a warm berth after the gunners of the Fort obtained the range, every shot telling on some part of her, a fixed object at anchor.

The shots with which they complimented us were evidently "hot," for they set our ship on fire three times. One of them made so free with me as to carry off my left arm,* just below the shoulder, which rendered amputation at the shoulder joint necessary. Our position was obtained before the troops were ready to land, the other vessels keeping in the offing, so that we alone for some time had to be under fire from the Fort.

The "Melville" brig and the schooner "Netley" at length came within range of the batteries to our assistance. In the meantime, while the troops with some sailors and marines, having effected a landing, marched directly up the hill, and scaled the fort, under a galling fire from the enemy, which cut down a goodly number of our men, both officers and privates.

Among the wounded was the gallant Captain William Mulcaster of the "Princess Charlotte," who received a musket shot in the abdomen, from which he never fully recovered, though he survived for several years, honoured by the notice and confidence of His Majesty William IV, who placed him on his Staff as aide-de-camp at his Court.

As our forces entered the Fort in front, the enemy abandoned it from the rear, and though the victory was thus gallantly achieved and the Fort reduced, the object sought by the expedition was not obtained. The flotilla of boats laden with arms and stores, above mentioned, being, with the exception of one, ten miles up the river, and beyond our reach, as our force was not sufficient to penetrate the country. Therefore, with the exception of one boat and some other stores which fell into our hands, nothing was gained with the sacrifice.

The Fort, after being reduced and dismantled, was abandoned, our troops retiring at their leisure, not "driven away with loss" as some of the American chronicles have recorded.

There is rather a painful sequel to the history of the said flotilla:—Our Commander failing to get them as expected at the mouth of the Oswego River, kept on the watch and

*Lieut. Richardson always maintained that at the moment, in the excitement of battle, he was not conscious of this; later wishing to use his arm, he found it gone.

blockaded the place for several weeks, so as to nab them on their emerging from the river, well knowing that unless they could get into the lake the cannon and naval stores could not reach the ships at Sackett's Harbour, as the roads were unfit for the transport of such large stores. But after the lapse of some months, the vigilance of the blockaders probably having been relaxed, and the Americans being on the alert, they stole a march one foggy night and morning, and got several miles down the coast before being discovered. Captains Popham and Spillsbury with some armed boats being on the look-out intercepted one of the enemy's boats in the fog, and were informed by the prisoners that the others had entered "Big Sandy Creek."

The prisoners omitted to inform them that the boats were strongly guarded by a body of riflemen and Oneida Indians. Captain Popham being in command, immediately, with more bravery than prudence, pushed in after them, and after penetrating the creek between high banks of sandy marsh on either side, after proceeding about two miles, discovered the boats snugly moored with their precious cargoes, in a kind of basin formed by a bend in the creek. Not a soul was visible near them, and it seemed a bon prize, but alas! just as they were grasping them, up started, from their concealment in the woods and rushes, the riflemen and Indians who opened a murderous fire on our poor fellows, cooped up like ducks in a pond.

The result was the destruction or capture of the whole body, not one escaping. Those who survived were kept prisoners of war until peace was proclaimed in the ensuing Spring. Lieut. Rose now residing near Cobourg, must be conversant with this incident, as he was one of the captured. I think that it was fortunate for me, that my wound still laid me up in sick quarters, for had I been fit for duty, I would in all probability have been ordered to accompany my captain—Captain Popham—on this fatal expedition.

In the month of July 1813, the Americans having launched and fitted out the "Pike" and the "Madison", previously mentioned, had them at anchor outside the point forming the entrance to Sackett's Harbour. Commodore Yeo conceived the design of a "cut-out," by stealing a march on them in the night, with a number of armed men in boats manned by expert seamen, with a detachment of the 100th Regiment and a few marines, under the command of Major Hamilton.

Accordingly we left Kingston about 5 o'clock p.m.,

expecting to reach the ships before daylight next morning, the distance being about 40 miles.

Such, however, was the sluggishness of some of the gunboats, propelled by oars, that notwithstanding the calmness of the night, the daylight began to dawn as we rounded the point which opened out the ships at anchor, about eight miles distant. It would not answer to approach them in daylight, and to attempt retreat would have been equally fatal, for, had we been discovered they might have overhauled us and blown us to atoms. No expedient was therefore left us but to hide in some nook or corner of the shore, which was covered with a dense wood, and be concealed, if possible, till the next night.

Our Commodore, therefore, proceeded ahead to scent, and found such a place about two miles up the mouth of "Hungry Bay", to which we retired, and, having laid the boats broadside to the beach of a shallow bend in the shore, we cut saplings and bushes, and placed them in the water outside the boats, by means of which we were tolerably well screened. Our force numbered about 700 officers and men, and strict orders were given not to kindle any fires, or raise a smoke, or discharge any firearm, but to keep quietly concealed in the woods till darkness should favour us. During the day boats passed, and the enemy's armed schooners continued sailing to and fro between us and the open lake, but failed to discern us, which, had they done, we should doubtless have had our boats destroyed, and we left fugitives in an enemy's land, which was covered with forest trees for several miles on either side. We were destitute of firearms, except a few, as we were not permitted to depend but on our swords, cutlasses, boarding-axes and pikes for the execution of the work. In such a dilemma as that our ingenuity would have been fully tested, but fortunately it was not put to the test.

We escaped the notice of the enemy, but, alas! not the treachery of some of our own party.

Some time after we had made good our landing, when the muster roll was called, a sergeant and a private of the 100th were discovered to be missing; search was made in the woods without avail, and it became evident they had taken themselves off, but as there was no house between ten and twelve miles, and they were strangers in the country, hopes were entertained that they would not be able to betray us before nightfall.

Our Commodore was evidently much exercised in mind through the day, lest his enterprise should be baffled, and

conversed with me as having more local knowledge of these parts, relative to the practicability of their finding their way to some inhabitants and thus giving the alarm.

Just before sundown, one of the armed schooners, which had been standing off and on, about a mile to the westward between us and the point, anchored and sent her boat to shore, and when it returned, she fired an alarm gun and made sail directly to Sackett's Harbour.

We had no doubt that the villainous deserters had shown themselves on the beach, which proved to be the case. The chagrin and disappointment caused by this betrayal, and the consequent failure of our scheme, within a few hours of what would probably have been its successful termination, may be conceived. We all felt it sorely, but Commodore Yeo could hardly restrain himself. Nothing could be done but seek our own safe retreat.

As soon as night set in we were ordered to embark, and, putting into the offing, got sight of the ships, which were fully lighted up, and prepared to give us a warm reception, if we had the audacity to make the attack. Orders were given to pull for the Canadian side, and by day-break next morning we saw the American squadron under full sail after us, but the wind was so light during the night that they did not come up, and we reached Kingston in safety.

After the war was over I was informed, in conversation with an American officer, that, the day we lay concealed, a pleasure party of ladies and gentlemen had been regaling themselves on Stony Island in the lake some miles beyond where we were, and when they returned home in the evening and were told that a force of 700 Britishers were the whole day between them and their homes, some of the ladies nearly fainted.

Our Commodore, in the absence of something to fight, proceeded to inspect the enemies' coasts and harbours in search of provisions, and being informed that the United States had a large stock of flour, deposited in the village of "Big Sodus" about 30 miles west of Oswego, he brought his squadron to anchor, and toward evening sent in the boats with a few sailors and a detachment of about 60 of the Royals. It became dark before we made the landing, and an advance party of fifteen, of which I was one, commanded by Captain Mulcaster, proceeded at once to the village, under the guidance of one acquainted with the place.

We found the houses deserted, and not a person to be

seen, but one in a tavern so drunk that we could get no information from him. After seeking in vain for the inhabitants, during which strict orders were given not to molest any furniture or private property, and while our Captain was consulting as to future proceedings, it being very dark, someone hailed us from some bushes close by. Captain Mulcaster answered "Friend", but before the word was fully out, they fired a volley, which felled five of our fifteen. They then took themselves off. The detachment of the "Royals" coming up in our rear, having heard the firing, took us for the enemy, and also discharged a few shots at us before the mistake was discovered.

Captain Wilson of the "Royals," who was among the fifteen in advance, wore a peculiarly-shaped cocked hat, which a flash of lightning, happily for our party, revealed and showed whom we were.

The enemy was no more seen during the night, but towards morning some stragglers came within the line of our sentry and were arrested. Being questioned as to the firing, as also, where the inhabitants of the village were, they said that the inhabitants themselves fired; that on the approach of the ships in the evening, a consultation was held in the village and while some would have remained quietly at home, under the conviction that they would not be molested, the majority decided to arm themselves and fire on us, some of them remarking that they would have the satisfaction of killing some British anyway.

This word having come to the Commodore he ordered the place to be burnt, as a warning to all others along the coast.

The prisoners being liberated, were instructed to say that wherever we came, if the inhabitants remained quiet, private property and rights would be respected, but, in all cases, where the people made armed resistance and wantonly fired on us, they might expect to be punished in like manner.

All we got in return for our visit was about 500 barrels of flour, found in a storehouse.

I have since conversed with an American gentleman, who was at this place at the time, who said that about 8,000 barrels of flour belonging to the United States were concealed in the woods, which were not discovered because of the blackness of the night.

I now come to remark on the extraordinary rise in the water in the Lake during late years.

As near as I can estimate it has been, on an average, about five feet higher since 1815, than at any time previous in the recollection of the oldest navigator of the Lake.

Several years experience and pilotage on Lake Ontario enables me to speak thus.

When that large ship the "St. Lawrence" with 23 feet draught, was fitted out, I, having just recovered from the loss of my arm, waited on Commodore Yeo, and reported myself ready for service, he pleasantly remarked: "What, try them again?" I replied, "If my services were required". He exclaimed, "That is noble", and then proposed that, instead of joining my own ship, the "Wolfe," he would prefer taking me in the "St. Lawrence" to aid in piloting her, inasmuch as her draught of water so far exceeded any former vessel on the lake and it would, therefore, require the more caution and matured knowledge of the channel to conduct her safely.

He remarked that my severe wound and consequent debility for some time yet precluded the discharge of my regular active duties in my own ship, but if I gave my services to the "St. Lawrence" as he proposed, he would continue my substitute in the "Wolfe" during the remainder of the season, and that at the close of navigation, I would be at liberty to recruit my strength during the winter. This afforded me an opportunity of acquiring a more thorough knowledge of the depth of water by sounding and exploring unfrequented channels, and I therefore speak from mature experience, relative to the rise aforementioned.

The first marked rise was in 1818, July, when, standing to the anchorage at the mouth of the Niagara River, I observed the leadsman call out "one-half-three", where the depth had never exceeded three fathoms. My attention thus called to it, I looked over the Quarter at the marks on the line, and saw that he hove correctly. I supposed it might be local, caused by the removal of the sand in the channel, but, on returning to Kingston, I found it to be general, so much so that the Merchants Wharves, which at the highest rise of the water previously had stood three feet above it, were now submerged, and the plank covering them was swept away. They built up these wharves about three feet higher, but in 1818, they were again overflowed, and thus, from the year 1816, the water in all the large lakes has been at least three feet, and in several seasons about six feet above what was ever known previous to that period, or at least of which we have any word.

This is a phenomenon yet unexplained, and well worthy

of scientific investigation. The cause cannot be casual or occasional as is evident from the sudden rise in 1815, and its continuance during the subsequent 48 years.

Vessels of considerable draught of water now traverse, with impunity, shoals and enter creeks and harbours where formerly a batteau would hardly float, and bars of sand and gravel, and points jutting into the lake, which were formerly firm and dry, are now inundated, and in some cases swept away.

TRADITIONAL INCIDENTS.

My mother came to America while yet a young woman, along with the family of Mr. Stedman, who then lived at Fort Schlosser, at the heel of Niagara Falls, in the then province, now New York State.

Mr. Stedman did good service along the Niagara frontier, in the time of the old French war, and my mother would relate some striking adventures which she gathered from traditions in the family. One of these I remember as follows:—

Shortly after the capture from the French, by Sir William Johnson, and the consequent possession of the Niagara frontier, parties of French and Indians would at times infest the woods between Forts Niagara and Schlosser and render the communication between them dangerous. In this state of things despatches and parties would be intercepted and destroyed. The Government at a certain critical period offered the grant of the "carrying place", at the head of navigation, where Lewiston now stands, to anyone who would succeed in safely conveying despatches from one fort to the other. Mr. Stedman undertook to do so, and succeeded, having as companion a lieutenant of the army. The woods on each side were full of Indians, who kept up an incessant running fire on Mr. Stedman and his companion.

The officer was shot in the head but Mr. Stedman succeeded in reaching the Fort. The Indians after that called him "The Alligator" and entertained the belief that he could not be shot. Consequently, at the close of the war, and ever afterwards, they had the greatest veneration for him and his influence over them was unbounded.

There is a well-known chasm in the bank of the river on the States side between Lewiston and Manchester, bearing the name of "Devil's Hole", which is celebrated for a terrible tragedy which occurred there during the Indian War.

A detachment of British troops, with their baggage, was interrupted near this hole, while en route from Fort Niagara to Fort Schlosser, everyone perished; those that escaped the tomahawk were precipitated off the bridge over the chasm, and into the chasm. The bridge was known ever afterwards as the "Bloody Bridge". I recollect when I was a child, the horror with which our family would listen to the recital by my mother, of this and like incidents, which she learned from Mr. Stedman himself.

During the war of the American Revolution my mother married an officer of the Provincial Marine, named Bryant, and resided on the west side of the Niagara River, then all wilderness except a few acres of Indian camping ground and a square of barracks called "Navy Hall". I have heard her say that for some time she was the only white woman residing there. Here she would be for days and nights, along with her two small children surrounded by Indians who held their midnight revels and war dances around poles covered by suspended human scalps obtained during their occasional scouting. At such times they would be extra impudent and troublesome; one day while she was preparing dinner, two Indians, one of whom was drunk, came into the house. The drunken one came at her with his knife in his hand, demanding what she was cooking, and, on being refused raised his knife to stab her, but his companion being sober observed his action, and jarred his arm by a blow on the elbow, and so caused the knife to fall. He then led him out of the house. A captain of one of the King's vessels coming along at the time took off his sword belt and gave the drunken Indian a sound thrashing on his bare hide, for he had nothing on but a "breecch-cloth".

While my mother lived at Navy-Yard, a fine vessel named the "Ontario"—Captain Andrews—carrying King's troops, was lost on her way down the Lake from Niagara River, and nothing was ever seen of her, except a drum-head.

The depôt of the Army and Navy, previous to the formation of Kingston, was at the eastern extremity of Lake Ontario, about 15 miles south-east of Kingston, and was called Carleton Island. This was for several years a densely peopled place and the theatre of animated military life, with rows of extensive and commodious barracks, and highly cultivated gardens. It was kept until the outbreak of the war of 1812, when it was taken possession of by the Americans, and has since remained with them as it was on the American side of the line.

NOTES ON EARLY SETTLEMENTS.

The following narrative relates to some of the pioneers of Upper Canada, who settled in the townships of Kingston, Ernesttown, Fredericksburg, Adolphustown and Marysburg, at the entrance of the Bay of Quinté. I had it a few years ago from John Grass, an old and well-known inhabitant of the Township of Kingston, near Collins Bay. He was 11 years old when his father settled there.

His statement was as follows (as near as I can recollect) my father, Michael Grass lived, at the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, on a farm about 30 miles above New York. He was a native of Germany but had lived most of his time in America. When the Revolution commenced, General Herkimer sent my father an invitation to join the Americans and offered him a Captain's Commission. My father replied—"I have sworn allegiance to one king and I cannot serve any other". For this saying he was driven from his house and family and was obliged to take refuge within the British lines at New York. His family followed shortly afterwards. He lost his farm and property, and was obliged to maintain his family at New York by working as a harness maker. At the close of the war the British General commanding at New York, having heard that my father had been a prisoner of the French at Frontenac, in the time of the old French war, sent for him to enquire about the place and said—Mr. Grass, I understand that you have been at Frontenac in Canada. What sort of a country is it? Can people live there?" My father replied—"What I saw of it I think it a fine country, and if people were settled there I think they would do very well". The Governor replied—"Oh, Mr. Grass, I am delighted to hear you say so, for we don't know what to do with the poor loyalists, the city is full to them and we cannot send them all to Nova Scotia. Would you be willing, Mr. Grass, to take charge of such as would be willing to go with you to Frontenac? If so, I can furnish you a conveyance by ship to Quebec, and rations for you all till such time as you have means to provide for yourselves".

My father asked for three days in which to make up his mind. At the end of the three days he accepted. Notices were then posted throughout the city, calling upon all those who would go to Frontenac to enrol their names with Mr. Grass.

The company of men, women and children having been completed, a ship was provided and furnished, and they

started for the unknown and distant region, leaving behind them homes and friends of their youth, never, probably to see them again; the fruits of all their former toils and sufferings being thus sacrificed on the altar of their loyalty.

The first season they got no further than Sorel in Lower Canada where they were obliged to erect log huts for shelter during the winter. The next spring they took boats and proceeding up the St. Lawrence, at last reached Frontenac and pitched their tents on Indian Point, where the Marine Docks of Kingston now stand. Here they awaited the survey of the townships, which was not accomplished so as to have the lots ready for location before July.

In the meantime several other companies had arrived under their respective leaders, some of which had come across the country by way of Lake Champlain.

In the meantime the Governor, who had removed to Quebec, paid them a visit, and riding along the lake shore on a fine day, exclaimed to my father—"Why, Mr. Grass, you have indeed a fine country, and I am really glad to find it so".

While the several companies were waiting for the completion of the survey, some would say to my father—"The Governor will not give you the first choice to the land but will prefer Sir John Johnson, with his company because he is a great man". But my father declared he did not believe that, and if the Governor did so he would feel injured and leave. At length the time came in July, for the townships to be given out, and the Governor assembling the leaders around him, called for Mr. Grass, and said—"Now you were the first person to mention this fine country and have been here formerly as a prisoner of war, you must have the first choice. The townships are numbered 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th; which do you choose for your company?" My father says—"The 1st". (Kingston). Then the Governor said to Sir John Johnson—"Which do you choose?" "The 2nd" (Ernest-town) was the reply.

Colonel Rogers took the 3rd (Fredericksburg), Major Vanalston the 4th (Adolphustown), and Colonel Macdonell the 5th (Marysburgh).

So the first settlement of Loyalist immigrants was formed in Upper Canada.

Before leaving, the Governor very considerably remarked to my father—"Now, Mr. Grass, it is too late in the season to put in any crops. What can you do?" My father replied that if they were furnished with some turnip seed they might

raise some turnips (which he pronounced "durnips"). Accordingly he sent some seed from Montreal, and, each man taking a handful, cleared a spot of ground, about the centre of what is now the town of Kingston, sowed the seed, and raised a fine crop of turnips, which partly served for their food for the ensuing winter.

Among the parties which composed the state of U.E. Loyalists, I may mention the following, whom I have known in the Township of Kingston—The Pardees, of whom there were several brothers and sisters: Micah; Job; Samuel; David; Gilbert. The Days: father and 3 sons. The Orsons; the Knights; the Fevrises; the Waitmans; the Herkimers; the Everetts; the Bennetts; the Powleys; the Knapps; the Ainsleys; the Beasses; the Ryders; the Bucks; the McGunns; and others whose names have escaped my memory.

Mr. Grass who may be safely styled the patriarch of the settlement, received a park lot of about 70 acres, adjoining the townplot on the south-west extending from the point, now called Murney's Point (then called and known for many years as Grass' Point), in a narrow strip to the north-west upon which the new court-house and handsome park now stand. This he farmed and occupied until he sold it to Captain Murney.

He was respected by all who knew him, for the honesty and integrity of his character. He was somewhat hasty and irritable in temper, but was always to be relied upon as a friend and neighbor. In his old age, he, like most aged people, loved to recite in minute detail the adventures of his youth, and having served as a Provincial in the war with the French and Indians, and having been a captive among them, he had something to tell that was worth hearing relative to the campaigns of that cruel border war, of hair-breadth escapes in the woods, subsisting for days on roots and herbs, and such things, both animal and vegetable, which the stomach would reject.

He lived to a very advanced age and died a victim of cancer. All his children have followed him except, maybe, his youngest daughter, Catherine, who married Thomas Graham, a farmer, living at Little Cataraque Creek.

Next to Mr. Grass was the park, lot and residence of the Rev. John Stuart, father of the Rev. George O'Kill Stuart, Archdeacon of Kingston, whose memoirs being extant, it is not necessary for me to enlarge, further than to remark that no man in his place and day was more respected by all who

had the pleasure of his acquaintance. Stately and graceful in his person, dignified yet affable in manner, circumspect in his deportment, impressive and diligent in his ministerial duties, he maintained to the last, the position of patriarch, counsellor, and instructor to the settlers, in the times of their privation and hardship.

A few years ago I paid a passing visit to my own dear native town and strolled about, lonely and pensive, calling to memory by-gone days, and my early playmates, now tenants of the churchyard, the scenes of my childhood and youth filling my mind. I came to Stuarts Point, and observing the remnant of the foundations of the once venerated parsonage which stood so many years among the lofty pines, I did homage to its memory as the home of its former venerated inmate.

The old pioneers, the old father and mothers, that cleared off the forests and encountered the privations and hardships incident to early settlements, have left to their descendants, a goodly heritage, the fruit of parental industry and self-sacrifice.

(Signed) JAMES RICHARDSON.

A FEW TRADITIONAL INCIDENTS.

Oswego River being the inlet to the lake from the Hudson, formed, with its connections the only route of travel, for more than a century, from New York and the settlements along the Hudson and the Mohawk Rivers to the country bordering on the great lakes. This brought the place into note at a date coeval with the settlement of Canada. The French first built a fort at the mouth of the river, and tradition speaks of severe fighting there between the French and the old British colonists of New York and old adjoining Provinces.

It subsequently fell with the other French possessions on the Lakes, into the hands of the English, who erected the Fort on the east side of the River, which, after the Revolution, was in 1794 surrendered to the United States.

The route of travel was up the Hudson to Schenectady, thence up the Mohawk to Fort Stanwix (where the City of Rome now stands), thence along the windings of a sluggish muddy stream, called Wood Creek, to Oneida Lake, through said Lake to Three River Point, thence down Oswego River to the Lake. This route to the Hudson was performed by Schenectady boats and it occupied a period of some weeks,

rich and poor, gentle and simple, young and old, families of emigrants and others; all had to contend with the storms, mosquitoes, wild animals and other annoyances along this circuitous route in an open "six oar boat" for weeks together, subsisting on such stores as they brought with them and lodging as best they could, along shore, or in the open boat.

Their dangers and hardships were by no means ended on arrival at Oswego.

The best craft in those days for crossing the great lakes, were schooners and sloops, from 30 to 100 tons, dependent on wind and weather for making their passage, which frequently occupied a week or two to get to the western parts of Lake Ontario. Sometimes when no rigged and decked vessel was in port, which was often the case, they would venture in these open boats to reach Kingston by coasting along the lake shore to the eastward of Oswego, and the foot of Lake Ontario, at the imminent peril of their lives, and, when I was a boy, well do I remember hearing, annually, of one or more boats being wrecked, and numerous lives lost along that dangerous part of the coast between Oswego and Stoney Point; others would be for days storm-bound with wind, rain or snow, in the mouths of the numerous creeks along that part of the Lake.

At the termination of the war, which eventuated in the independence of the United States, Upper or Western Canada was scarcely known to the people of the revolted Colonies. The only ways of coming from the States were those before described, by Oswego, and another by a ranch road leading through an unbroken wilderness for more than a hundred miles to Osweganski—now Ogdensburg—by way of Lakes George and Champlain, by an early unfrequented route; but this led into Lower Canada and communicated more directly with Montreal.

Several of the early settlers in the "Niagara and Home District" did indeed find their way from the borders of Pennsylvania, through the woods on pack horses, or perchance with wagons, cutting their way as they proceeded, and encamping in the woods with their families for weeks together. Many of these early settlers, however, discharged soldiers of Butler's Rangers and other Provincial corps, who were in quarters in and about Fort Niagara, got their lands in the district.

Now it must be left to imagine the destitution, privations and hardships attendant on these incipient beginnings of

settlement in an isolated wilderness without the most ordinary means of subsistence.

Tradition speaks of their living on roots and fish and whatever else came to hand, and when they had without the ordinary implements of agriculture, cleared a small patch of ground and raised some Indian corn, potatoes, or some wheat, sown in a burnt fallow and dragged in with a branch of a tree, instead of a harrow, there was no mill or machinery to make meal or flour short of 30, 50, 60 or 80 miles in many cases. I have heard of some carrying a grist of half-bushel of wheat, 15 or 16 miles on their backs through the woods to the nearest mill.

To add to their privation they encountered the "scarce year" about 1793 or 1794, when the products of the earth having failed, and no means of obtaining supplies from abroad, famine stared them in the face and indeed, it is said, numbers were actually famished to death, and more victims would have fallen but for an unusual abundance of fish which Providence caused the waters to bring forth. I have heard old people talk feelingly about "the year of famine".*

The more early of the settlements of Upper Canada were made by the loyal Americans who held their allegiance to the British Crown during the eventful war of the Revolution, in which most of them lost their comfortable homes and were severed from all their endearing relations of early youth, through their cherished attachment to the British Empire.

It was to labor and suffer in this, then remote region and among the settlers in such circumstances that the first missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal penetrated the woods and swamps intervening between the settlements in the States and Canada.

*"The Scarce Season", about 1794, was prolific of sad traditions, I heard of when a boy from my Father and others. Some probably famished, and had not Providence supplied through the waters an unusual quantity of fish, many hundreds must have perished. All the crops had failed. Scanty and dear supplies were obtained from the interior of the State of New York. As an illustration, the following incident may serve. My father who sailed Lake Ontario, was fortunate enough when at the Niagara River to obtain 5 barrels of flour which he brought to Kingston, but could get only about half a barrel home to his family. The people, hearing of what he had, beset him in the street, and insisted on having the barrels opened, and under the supervision of a magistrate the flour was dealt out in small portions to the clamorous customers who paid for their respective portions. Necessity knows no law. From lecture delivered by Dr. Richardson in Toronto in the eighteen-seventies.

I recollect conversing, nearly forty years since, with an old sister, Van Camp, who was among the first-fruits of Methodism in Canada. She told me that she had her residence at first in the township of Cornwall and in the winter of 1791, or thereabouts, she saw through her window one exceedingly severe day, a snowstorm then raging, a man on horseback who knocked at her door and asked shelter and the rites of hospitality. Being a stranger and almost famished she took him in, and accommodated him as well as able. He told her he was a Methodist missionary named Losee, and after he had been refreshed, he would preach that very night if the people could be collected. She seconded the motion cheerfully, though quite a stranger to the Methodists, and sent her boys out to notify the neighbours. Thus was preaching and worship introduced into these parts and she soon became a happy convert to the faith taught, and so strikingly exemplified, in the labors, sufferings, boldness and zeal of the herald of it.

The following incident in the life of my father may seem to show the dangers and difficulties attendant on the communications by water between places adjacent to each other yet on opposite sides of the lake. So late as the year 1795, and at the time that the forts on the western frontier of New York were surrendered to the United States, according to the provisions of "Jay's Treaty". The American troops at Fort Oswego had to look to Canada for flour; and my father contracted to furnish a supply in the fall of the year just previous to the setting in of winter. He took in the load, purchased from the farmers of Bay Quinté and proceeded; but at the mouth of the river encountered adverse winds which baffled all attempts to make the harbour, no steam power for navigation purposes in those days, being driven into the lake and a furious storm ensuing he was wrecked at the mouth of Sandy Creek, 20 or 30 miles east of Oswego. He and one seaman swam to the shore, but here was nothing but snow and woods, no settlements short of Oswego to the west, and a reported commencement of one called Rotterdam about 15 miles through dense woods and swamps to the southward. They first tried the woods but sinking above the knees in snow and mire they had to abandon that route and take the course of the lake shore to Oswego, intersected as it was by several streams, and without food or fire. Providence, however, was kind in the time of their greatest extremity for on arriving at the mouth of the "Salmon River", 12 or 16 miles east of

Oswego, they discerned a boat on the opposite side with her crew storm-bound in the creek.

The call being made the boat was brought over and they were rescued. My father proceeded with the boat to Oswego, reported the loss of the vessel and cargo, and then, the winter settling in and navigation closed he had no way left to return home but by Schenectady, or Albany and thence by Lake Champlain.

His home was reached by the middle of winter, my mother in the meantime at Kingston heard nothing of him further than his being wrecked and getting to Salmon River and thence leaving for Oswego. Judge of her anxiety with her little family during those dreary winter months till father made his appearance suddenly in the month of February.

This incident may be taken as an example of similar disasters and the extreme difficulties attendant on travelling in those days.

I recollect hearing my father recite several remarkable occurrences while passing up the Oswego River, Oneida Lake, etc.

The following may be worthy of record—

The frost would, in the night, set the ice so strong that the boat would not penetrate it; they then had to haul her over it by means of a rope. While proceeding in this way across the lake the ice suddenly gave way and six men were precipitated into one hole, my father being the first out, while under the ice he heard those above him exclaim: "Richardson is gone"—but providentially he soon found his hands gripping the edge of the broken ice and, giving a sudden spring, brought himself out, after which the whole six were rescued; then, before they reached a house, a log town on the Lake, their clothes were frozen stiff to their bodies.

NOTE.

The traditions of the old French and Indian wars were fresh, affording much comment and remark in my boyhood. My mother, who coming from England when a girl between the close of the French and Indian war and the breaking out of the American Revolution and living at Fort Tucker was quite familiar with the legends of that day and would occasionally entertain us children with details of Indian warfare in both the French and subsequently the Revolutionary Wars.

. . . My mother having married her first husband, an officer

of the Marine on the Lakes named Bryant, had her quarters during the whole of the Revolutionary war on the west side of the Niagara in barracks built for the navy on the margin of the river, adjacent to the old Fort George. Here for some time she lived, the only white woman on what is now the Canada side, surrounded by thousands of Indians. . . . Her perilous situation may be imagined, her husband away with the ships and she solitary with her babes, yet she escaped unhurt and survived the war, but suffered widowhood with two children, her husband being the victim of disease contracted by exposure and hardship in his service on the Lake. Towards the close of the war some of the retired military with their families took up their residence on the west side of the river and became intimate friends of my mother, one of whom, Mr. Lyon's wife, became her bosom friend, and on the reduction of the forces, her husband Bryant and said Mr. Lyon took up land on a creek tributary to the Chippawa—known now as "Lyon's Creek in the township of Crowland.

FROM A LECTURE BY REV. JAMES RICHARDSON, D.D.

NOTE.

At the close of the war of 1812 Lieut. James Richardson received an appointment in the Customs and on the Commission of Peace. In 1818 he joined the Methodists, and at once became a man of mark in the infant society, and was a power in all the complex questions of the stormy years which followed. Full of zeal and earnestness, of a rare and winning personality, combined with marvellous energy, he was beloved and respected by all, "accomplishing far more with his one arm than most of us were able to do with two," as a contemporary tells us. After a beautiful old age, filled to the last with work, he died on March 9th, 1875. His son, Dr. J. H. Richardson, was for many years a leading physician in Toronto, and his daughter, Mrs. Brett, was a great worker among the poor and in philanthropic circles.—*Editor.*

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

Women's Canadian Historical Society OF TORONTO

1916-17

Organized November, 1895; Incorporated February 14th, 1896.

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Past Presidents	- - - - -	{ MRS. FORSYTH GRANT. *MRS. S. A. CURZON. *LADY EDGAR. *MISS M. A. FITZGIBBON.
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BLISS CARMEN.	MRS. J. W. F. HARRISON.
JOHN D. KELLY.	PROF. PELHAM EDGAR.

*Deceased.

In the coming year so critical and fraught with danger to all we hold dear, let us each one resolve that whatever we do, or leave undone, we will do our utmost to serve our country. It has been truly said that just now nothing really matters, except the holding of the slender line on the western front, that swaying and being swayed yet stands like a wall between us and unimaginable evil and sorrow. It is ours to help in the task; nothing that we can do will be too much, no sacrifice can be too great—and to do nothing would be ignoble. Let us then, working and saving, with willing sacrifices upholding those who fight for us, do our part in these great times.

SARA MICKLE.

Secretary's Report 1916-1917

The past year ending November 1917, has been marked by an increased activity in Red Cross Work under the able management of the Convenor whose report follows. We have to report five regular, eight executive and two evening meetings which latter have taken the form of lectures. The first was given by Lieut.-Col. A. Primrose "With a Base Hospital at Salonica" in which he spoke of the harmony and efficiency of the staff under great difficulties, the proceeds of this was spent in socks for soldiers in the trenches. The second evening meeting was given in March by the Rev. C. E. Sharpe, sometime Chaplain to the British navy, he described in a most delightful manner life aboard ship, spoke of the good conduct and fine character of the men, of their modesty, bravery and devotion to duty. Half the proceeds was spent in socks the other half for the navy. We are indeed greatly indebted to these two gentlemen for their kindness in giving us both information and pleasure, we are also indebted to the University authorities in allowing us the use of their buildings, the Physics Building and Convocation Hall.

Many of our members have been called upon to bear great anxiety and sorrow; bereavement has come to some; to all such we extend our loving and respectful sympathy.

During the year this Society has endeavoured to keep in touch with other societies through the National Council, through acting with the Ladies' Sailors Guild, the Thrift Committee and the Soldiers' Comforts League.

Donations received have been a photograph of Lieut. Jas. Richardson from Mrs. Freeland, photographs of pictures of Francis I and Louis XIV from Miss Mickle.

Framed "Political Squib" given by Mrs. H. T. F. Duckworth.

The publications received have been: Transaction of London and Middlesex Historical Society; Transaction of Niagara Historical Society; The Washington Historical Quarterly (Seattle); Publication of the Landmarks Association; Records of Ontario Historical Society; Review of Historical Publications in Canada, published by Toronto University; The German Peace Offer, by Col. Geo. T. Denison; Historical Publications, by his Honour Justice Riddell.

The new members we welcome this year are:

Miss Susie Smith, 92 College St.

Mrs. J. J. MacKenzie, 43 Chesnut Park Rd.

Mrs. J. C. MacLennan, 88 Prince Arthur Ave.

Mrs. A. B. MacCallum, 92 Madison Ave.

Mrs. W. T. Hallam, 89 Wilcocks St.

Mrs. Warburton, Westminster Hotel.

Mrs. Embree, 33 Beatty Ave.

Mrs. Landon, 569 College St.

Mrs. Edgar Jarvis, Clarkson.

Mrs. Geo. McVicar, 3 North Sherbourne St.

The papers read have been as follows:

January—Letters written 1829-33 by Mr. Wm. Boulton, 1st Classical Master of Upper Canada College, in which he describes domestic and social life in Toronto when wood at \$3.00 per cord was the only fuel used; read by Mrs. Forsyth Grant.

February—Continuation of this paper.

March—Notes on Georgina Township, by Miss E. K. Sibbald, whose ancestors were among the early settlers of this place, now better known as Jackson's Point. The beautiful St. George's Church was built by members of the family as a memorial.

April—The King's Mill on the Humber by Miss K. M. Lizars, giving a history of this picturesque old mill formerly an important place, the Humber River being the only route used for travel between Lake Simcoe and Lake Ontario. Boards made here were used in the first buildings in York.

October—Halifax and its surroundings, by Mrs. W. T. Hallam, a charming description of social life in Halifax from earliest times before the coming of the U.E.L's., the writer being a descendent of two of the early pioneer families.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

LUELLA CORLEY.

Report of the Red Cross Committee

Little did we think in August, 1914, that we would have to face the fourth year of this terrible war, which is still being waged, on earth, in the air, on the water and beneath thereof, with cruel devices never before known. We in this Society have taken vigorous action in order to give comfort to our soldiers in the field. The need will be greater than ever, owing to the larger numbers of men at the front. So this year we must continue our work with renewed energy for the comfort and welfare of our men, who have put up such a brave fight with the Allies to safeguard the liberty of the present and future generations.

Last year the W.C.H.S. Red Cross Committee concentrated their efforts upon securing socks for our soldiers in the trenches and we were able to send forward 3,235 pairs of socks. This year we have divided our activities and have been able to send the following articles: 470 Personal Property bags, made by one of our members, Mrs. E. J. Thompson; 2 pairs of pillowcases; 562 towels (2 bales of towelling given by one of our members, Mrs. Hicks); 1 hot water bag cover; 62 stretcher caps; 2 pairs of slippers; 2 knitted trench caps; 1 suit of pyjamas; 2,069 pairs of socks.

In December 1917, Lieut.-Colonel A. Primrose gave a lecture "With a Base Hospital at Salonika" in the Physics Building to a large and appreciative audience. The views were excellent and the lecturer most interesting. The proceeds were spent in socks for soldiers in the trenches. To Dr. Primrose we tender our grateful thanks.

We are greatly indebted to Rev. C. E. Sharpe for his excellent lecture on "The Navy" delivered in Convocation Hall on March 26th, from the proceeds of which we were able to send \$100.00 to the National Ladies' Guild for Sailors, for the building of a cabin for entertaining sailors while in Port. This cabin will bear the name of our Society. We also sent \$50.00 to Lady Jellicoe's Fund for Sailors, and 60 pairs of socks to Queen Mary's Needle Work Guild.

Your Committee were much gratified to receive a request from the women of the Industrial Farm for wool, in order that they might do their bit in knitting for the soldiers and

we are supplying them with wool and have received from them a large number of beautifully knitted socks.

The Women's Patriotic League asked us to decorate the windows of their rooms at 80 King St. W. to show the work our Society is doing. We were able to make an interesting display of one month's work—socks, personal property bags, stretcher caps, slippers, wristers, trench caps and pyjamas. Twenty pairs of these socks were knitted by the women of the Industrial Farm and attracted much attention, as did also the very fine poster "SOX FOR OUR BOYS IN THE TRENCHES" done by the well known artist, Mr. Owen Staples, for us last year. This poster attracted so much attention that the Patriotic League asked us to loan it to them to leave in the window. These things were arranged attractively in the window with red and green, the colours of our Society.

The Committee wish to thank Mrs. Bain for the splendid results gained from her sales of home-made bread, cake, etc., each month. Also we wish to thank the Tea Hostesses for each meeting through the year. The magnificent work of these two efforts have increased our Red Cross funds considerably. The gifts of money and socks from the members has been splendid. I know you all feel with your Committee that the efforts made in providing these 3,178 articles for our men in the field has been worth while, and we must "carry on" this coming year, making greater efforts and more sacrifices than ever before, and mingled with our work we have the proud consciousness that we are helping our men who are fighting for Liberty and our Empire.

Respectfully submitted,

ELIZABETH R. EATON.
Convenor Red Cross Committee.

Treasurer's Report

NOVEMBER, 1916-17

RED CROSS COMMITTEE

RECEIPTS.

Cash in Bank, November 15th, 1916.....	\$8.35
December Lecture Returns.....	127.25
March Lecture Returns.....	336.75
Donations.....	67.45
Proceeds of Teas and Sales.....	56.45
Bank Interest.....	1.79
Loan from Memorial Fund.....	208.00
Transferred from General Fund.....	20.20
Total Receipts.....	<u>\$826.25</u>

EXPENDITURE.

Rent.....	\$20.00
Donations.....	175.00
Postage.....	4.25
Printing.....	14.85
Advertising.....	16.38
Red Cross Supplies.....	548.09
Total Expenditure.....	<u>\$778.57</u>
Balance in Bank, November 15th, 1917.....	47.68

All of which is respectfull submitted,
November 15th, 1917. HOPE H. DUCKWORTH,
Hon. Treasurer.

Audited and found correct,
SYDNEY JONES,
December, 1917.

THE QUEEN VICTORIA MEMORIAL FUND

RECEIPTS.

Cash in the Bank, November 15th, 1916.....	\$441.95
Interest on Debentures.....	21.26
Dividend.....	303.75
Sale of Transactions.....	5.90
Bank Interest.....	10.82
<hr/>	
Total Receipts.....	\$783.18

EXPENDITURE.

Contribution to Red Cross.....	\$10.50
First Payment on War Loan.....	50.00
Final Payment on War Loan.....	428.67
Loan to Red Cross Fund.....	208.00
<hr/>	
Total.....	697.17
Balance in Bank, November 16th, 1917.....	86.01

<hr/>	
\$783.18	
Canadian Permanent Mortgage Debentures.....	\$5,000.00
War Loan Certificate.....	500.00
<hr/>	
Total.....	\$5,500.00
<hr/>	
Total to Credit of Memorial Fund.....	\$5,586.01

GENERAL ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS.

Cash in Bank, November 15th, 1916.....	\$156.97
Fees—Current and Advance.....	93.00
Ontario Government Grant.....	100.00
Interest.....	1.61
<hr/>	
Total Receipts.....	\$351.58

EXPENDITURE.

Rent.....	\$30.00
Fee to Local Council.....	2.00
Refreshments.....	9.00
Printing.....	110.20
Postage and Stationery.....	5.55
Donations to Red Cross.....	5.20
<hr/>	
Total.....	\$161.95
Balance in Bank, November 15th, 1917.....	189.63

All of which is respectfully submitted,

HOPE H. DUCKWORTH,

November 15th, 1917.

Hon. Treasurer.

Audited and found correct,

SYDNEY JONES,

December, 1917.



"DEEDS SPEAK"

Women's Canadian Historical Society
OF TORONTO

TRANSACTION No. 16

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Notes on Georgina Township. Miss E. K. Sibbald.
Extracts from "A Few Days in the United States and Canada with
some Hints to Settlers." Captain Thomas Sibbald.
Illustrations from Pamphlet—First Church 1842.
Eildon Hall in 1842.
Three Years among the Ojibways 1857-1860.
With illustrations. Mrs. Emma Jeffers Graham.

The King's Mill on the Humber

BY K. M. LIZARS.

[Authorities:—Toronto of Old; Scadding Pamphlets; Robertson's Landmarks; Read's Simcoe; Robertson's Diary of Mrs. Simcoe; Canadian Institute Transactions; Journals of Assembly; Provincial Archives; Dominion Archives; M.S. Journal of an English Officer 1839-41; Department of Marine and Fisheries, etc., etc. Illustrated by Maps and Pictures.]

Two years of painstaking research resulted in a book that I named "The Valley of the Humber"; and the authorities quoted in the construction of that book are necessarily the same as the authorities for this paper.

The earliest maps of our lake were composed largely from hearsay, and in the Molyneux map of 1600, which was filled in by hearsay from the time of Cartier, the inland sea was called *Lacke de Tadenac*. Champlain called it *Lac St. Louis*, and the Humber was used by his interpreter as the direct route from Lake Simcoe to Lake Ontario. The Indians, the first fur traders, and later the priests, furnished the material to the map makers, and in most cases the guesswork was peculiarly accurate. In Sanson's map of 1650 we find a tracing corresponding to the Humber, and if we step from peak to peak historically we can list the makers of the lower Humber as Brulé the interpreter, La Salle, the trader St. John, Simcoe, Thomas Fisher and William Gamble. The mill, naturally, owes its birth to the Lake.

In 1793 the Governor had much intercourse with St. John, the first responsible inhabitant on the Humber; and the engineering expeditions made at that date with a certain amount of help from "Mr. St. John's House" had one result in the establishment of the King's Mill. The beauty of the place led people to make picnics even then, and Mrs. Simcoe constantly found herself in the neighbourhood, whether picnicking *via* boat or canoe, exploring on foot, or riding along the heights.

The historian Lescarbot makes Moses speak for the land of Champlain—"a good land, a land of brooks and water, of fountains and depths, a land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness, thou shalt not lack anything in it"—and the Governor, farther west, was of the same mind. His prophecies for the Province in general, and for the valley of the Humber in particular as he looked across the site for the King's Mill, were of no uncertain sound. He believed equally in the value

of his ship-yard; and ship's carpenters were imported for serious work, men who lived in the United States and returned to their homes for the winter. It was proposed to build gun-boats to add to the fleet in Lake Ontario and Lake Erie; and had his plans and expectations been carried out and the naval yards on the Humber been enlarged, Ontario, and especially Toronto, would have had a different tale to tell of 1812.

Succeeding their work for the navy, the yards under Joseph Dennis were responsible for the building of the "Toronto Yacht" in 1799. The *Gazette* of September 14th of that year says in magnificent periods written by a landsman, that she "was one of the handsomest vessels that ever swam upon Lake Ontario and reflected great credit on her master builder". I regret that I have not been able to trace the total tonnage turned out by the yards, but at any rate we know that the shipbuilding life of the King's Mill was an important if short one.

Simcoe, the great roadbuilder and hopeful shipbuilder was also the first sawmiller, and his initial care for his infant settlement was to decide upon "mill seats". At a meeting of the Land Board for the District in 1792, applications were read from certain persons concerning mill seats; but a year elapsed before the first of our long line of experts was engaged, and in 1793 we have his Excellency ordering payment of £7. 4s. 0d. to one William Kitchin for such services.

During the season, life at the King's Mill was stirring. Boards from it were used in the first governmental buildings in York, and probably at the Government House at the Credit, a house built by the Governor's orders for the entertainment of all respectable wayfarers. In Lord Dorchester's scheme of outlay, surveyors were constantly harried regarding economy and were sent minute instructions as to the spending of money. But the King's Mill Reserve was the subject of many surveys, and from that of Augustus Jones down to 1834 the field notes are interesting. In that year William Hawkins surveyed the Reserve and the line for the road through Mr. Gamble's land, after which he was sent back to survey the required road. One of the maps hung in illustration of this paper shows part of the sequence of that month back to the surveys made under Simcoe.

The importation of flour gave way to the importation of wheat to be ground at home; but presently native wheat, and corn in general, supplied the mills. In 1792 the first Provincial Parliament had regulated the toll to be taken at mills, "not

more than one-twelfth for grinding and bolting"; and together with the improvement in gristing came the first land boom. By 1794 the quantity of good timber and the demand for boards made the owners of sawmills find their investment a good one; stones were scarce, and although brick was beginning to be used, masons were few.

Then came the recall of the Governor; a different spirit entered into governmental ownership, and soon the King's Mill was considered useless for the new conditions. Proposals for purchase were asked for; and of the few referred for consideration, that from John Willson was the only one to receive definite support. His application in the autumn of 1797, after a period of leasehold, shows that the sawmills were much out of repair, but that if the government would sell on reasonable terms it would be his wish to purchase them. The total of the income of the sawmills for four years ending December 31st, 1796, as given by the Superintendent of Sawmill Accounts is £229. 9s. 9¼d., after the deduction due the government. The Superintendent complains that if the sawmill had been occupied by an industrious person, double the quantity might have been cut; and Willson complains that the sawmills are much out of repair and difficult to keep up. One uses the singular and the other the plural, the miller evidently having in mind his saws and the Superintendent the mill.

Thomas Davis in March 1798 makes the next offer; William Bates, with interests in Queenston and at the Credit, comes into the correspondence connected with Willson, and we have various letters from the Superintendent, John McGill. One in August 1789, to his Honor the President, is as follows:

"Sir, I have the Honor to state for your Honor's information that I am informed Corporal Willson intends removing to his lands, and unless Mr. Bates returns with his family from the States this Fall to inhabit the Government House at the Head of the Lake, it will be left without anyone to take care of it. The Lease of the King's Sawmill on the Humber now in the occupation of Mr. Willson will expire on the 31st of December next—as both are reserves of the Crown, the Leases must of course come through the same channel as those of the Crown reserves."

The endorsement on this letter, signed by Peter Russell, says:

"Sawmills, &c. The subject of this letter recommended most thoroughly to the consideration of the Executive Council, and the President requests that they may at the same time

take into their deliberations the propriety of leasing the Scite for a Grist Mill at the Humber to the same person who shall take the saw mill."

A second endorsement reads: "Nov. 9th, 1798. Recomd. that an advertisement be inserted in the Gazette calling on the public for proposals to be delivered into this office for a lease of the two mill seats including the buildings now standing thereon for a term of 21 yrs at a corn rent. The advertisement to be submitted to this Board before it is inserted in the Gazette."

The third endorsement is: "Confirmed in Council. The Grist mill to pay in flour and the Sawmill in Boards, or the current value in each. P. R."

Archibald Thomson and William Forfar sent in an offer in 1798, which is endorsed merely "Proposals". They make offer with suitable bonds for the reserved land and Government Mills, on terms very good for themselves, condemning the existing Log Hutt of a dwelling-house and the risque to the enfeebled frame from spring floods. They would have to build a comfortable dwelling-house at once, and rebuild the mill within two or three years.

Isaiah Skinner makes a proposal in 1799 for the King's Saw Mill and site of the grist mill on the Humber, "offering to build a new saw and grist mill with two run of stones at his own expenses which will not cost a sum less than from 1500 to £2000 NYC", the Government to furnish him with mill-stones and irons and nails, "and a set of Good Saws with the Irons now belonging to the saw mill." He engages to leave the whole in good repair at the end of twenty years. He asks the free use of the Crown timber and the usual quantity of meadow, for all of which he offers a rental of two thousand dollars, a sum that he deems ample when added to his outlay for building. He condemns the dwelling house on the premises, and in a postscript to his Proposal says he would build a good and comfortable house at his own expense, the whole to be erected within the space of two years.

An offer of December, 1798, in a flourish of handwriting and noble terms, is withdrawn in equally fine language the following January, as the writer cannot compete in any way with the Proposal sent in by Skinner.

For many of the early years of the 19th century the banks of the Humber were studded with mills, like all small waterways near civilization, and most of the buildings met the usual Canadian fate—burned to the ground. The Old Mill as we

have it to-day, a phoenix of the Humber, is the only one of royal lineage, a mill with a tree that cannot burn, its line begun by the first Governor in the King's name, and the present structure made useless by fire in the last quarter of the century. The copies of maps we have here to-day and these letters selected from a number in the Dominion Archives, show why the site was desirable.

The King's Mill Reserve had a sleepy life between the war of 1812 and the building of Fisher's Milton House in 1834. The man, Thomas Fisher, touches the imagination, an interesting figure as miller and settler, keen enough in his desire for success as a miller, but with the vision and hope of the true pioneer who is denied the fruit of fulfilment. He began life as the junior member of a cotton firm in Leeds, and his alert mind suggested a visit of investigation to their branch house in New York. The senior partners resented the impertinence of youth; but he came nevertheless, with the determination that he retained during his Canadian life. He investigated the New York branch, found his fears justified, returned to Leeds and made his report, and was scoffed at by his seniors; in indignation he withdrew his money and retired, and went to New York intending to settle there. But his Yorkshire blood could not stand the anti-British feeling of those days. He heard of a Canadian county, York; came to the country, found a Little York, and, after a short stay elsewhere, settled hard by. His wife, a Sykes of Yorkshire, proved her share of the Yorkshire spirit in the journey up the St. Lawrence by bateau, when with her two young children she followed Thomas Fisher.

Some of Bouchette's "broad and beautiful meadows of the township of York" were in the King's Mill Reserve, little changed when Fisher built the Milton House and his first mill on the river. But he sold his property and moved farther up the stream. He had a keen sense of beauty and an ordered mind; some of the fine ornamental trees still standing are of his planting, and the scheme of his property made an excellent basis for his successors to work on. It is accepted that a house often breathes out the atmosphere created by former occupants; and to anyone who has traced the life and hopes of this Humber miller his spirit seems to speak, sometimes excluding the memory of later and more successful ownership.

When it came time for William Gamble to inaugurate his almost feudal estate he outbuilt the former incumbents and far outran the humble ideas of his gubernatorial predecessors.

The piles and shoring for his little wharf have still some evidence; and when excavations were being made for the present boathouse, many small parts of machinery were found, exquisitely threaded brass nuts and bolts and other pieces showing that they had been handmade by the best workmen in England.

With Fisher's sale to Gamble began the Milton Settlement, a beautiful hamlet in the eyes of one who remembers its later life. The house, dating from 1834, was followed by all the industries. Rowland Burr's sawmill on the east side of the river was acquired and converted to another use, and by the middle of the century Gamble's name appeared in a directory as "miller, merchant, postmaster, woollen manufacturer, lumber merchant, etc." The etcetera covered oatmeal, nails, bone fertilizer, dry kiln, slaughterhouse, blacksmith, cooper and waggon shop, inn, and dwellings for his men. The saw mill, on the east side, was about one hundred and fifty feet upstream beyond the present bridge. A plank road led from the village to the settlement. The new American saw mill, dam devices and all precautions belonging to each season as it came, helped to resist the water, but Gamble as well as Fisher suffered from flood.

But those were days of hope and happiness, of time for delight in the beauty that surrounded the hamlet. One old settler gives an affectionate description of the valley, called by its dwellers the Garden of Eden, where everything was beautiful and everybody happy, where all were friends, and success and ill-luck were shared in friendship.

The engineer, MacTaggart, had a facile pen, light, and sometimes contemptuous, but his description of another settler of eminence, the head of a clachan and the owner of a millseat, will stand for William Gamble and his kind fifteen years later. "But mills alone by no means complete the finished establishment. A distillery is quite indispensable, so that raw grain whiskey may be produced at a couple of shillings per gallon, the flavour of which is qualified by frosty potatoes and yellow pumpkins. . . . A tannery is also an appendage, while a store may finish the list".

A bonâ fide picture of Milton can follow that imaginary sketch.

An English officer who had shared in the Battle of Windsor and in some other chief events of Rebellion times, devotes several pages of his diary to the Humber. From Toronto, in May 1840, he visited two country mansions, one belonging to

a Mr. Blank, "the proprietor of a large corn mill. This mill is on the right bank of the Humber about three miles from the lake, in a small circular valley bounded partly by abrupt banks and partly by round knolls. At the upper end the highlands approach one another, forming a narrow gorge clothed with the heavy masses of the original forests. The basin of the gorge is completely filled by the river, which issues from it a narrow stream, flowing musically over a stoney channel; but below the mill the water becomes deep and quiet and deviates into two branches to embrace a small wooded island. Close to the water edge is a large mill surrounded by a number of small cottages, over the chimnies of which rose the masts of flour barges; and on the bank above, in the midst of a green lawn bounded by the forest, is the neat, white frame mansion of Mr. —, commanding a fine view of this very pretty spot, and of the large and prosperous establishment of which he is the proprietor. He is a member of the Provincial Parliament, and I believe a bit of a radical. He was very civil to Kerby, who knew his wife, and to myself, giving us a very good dinner and showing us over the mill, which is on a very large scale. About one hundred people, according to the account of the proprietor, derive employment from it. It is supplied with corn for the most part from the United States."

That mill was burned in 1847 and rebuilt, the Old Mill of to-day, in 1848. The remains of the wharf can be found hard by the site of the storehouse, not far below the mill; and the depression near the ruin, shaded and not easy to see, is the cellar of the oatmeal mill.

With the decrease of import of foreign wheat came returns sent in to the Board of Trade, and the memorandum from Milton Mills in 1846 shows the wheat westward much shrunk, in some places a total failure, northward good, but the yield light. "Flour is the principal manufacture in this district, and is yearly increasing from wheat grown in the district".

Thus Gamble's scow, a feature of note in its day, was an important factor in the settlement. Later there was a wharf at the river mouth, with pier and storehouse, with better facilities for loading and lightering; and the chief work of local import and export was done by the scow. The latter was a source of great pride to the dwellers in the Garden of Eden, but its old age was a dishonoured one as it was swamped in the lower river and its deck carried away for firewood by chance comers. When time came for the end of life for the

warehouse the building still did not leave the lake shore, for in a changed form it existed (up to the last inquiries I made), near the Credit as a farm barn. From a short distance below Milton the water was for years navigable for vessels of a draught not named, "but even propellers ascended".

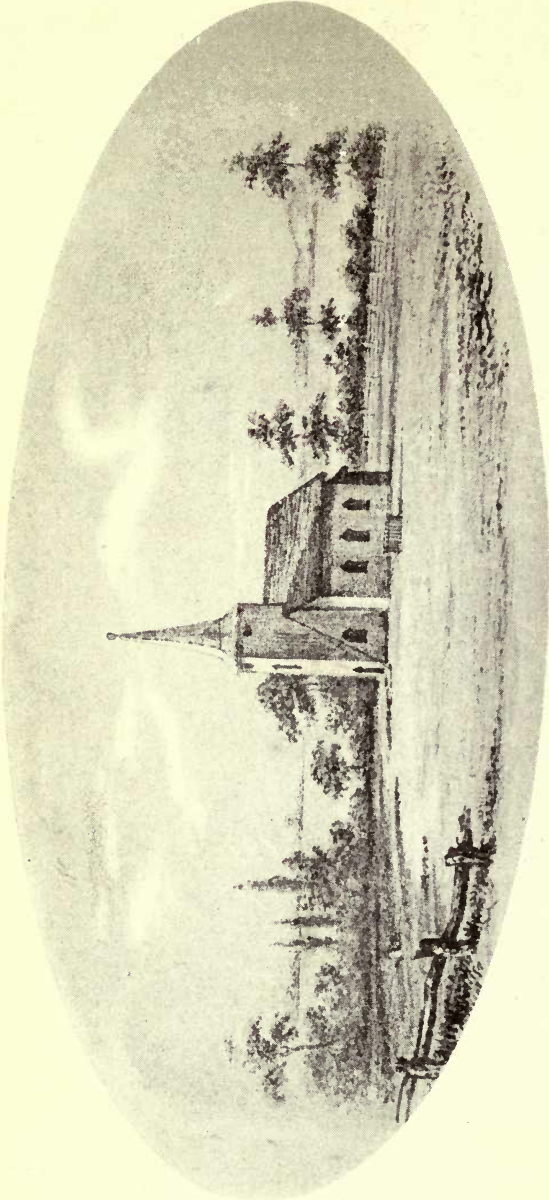
The old trade in spars had dwindled to a very slight one and nearly all the shipping industry came from flour. A survivor of the Garden of Eden tells with pride of his share in turning out 300 barrels in twenty-four hours, and he dwells on the busy life of the river with its schooners and great scow near by, all fed from the small scows that were pike-poled to and from the mill. But drownings occurred even then in the Garden of Eden, and the small scows contributed at least two.

Salmon, also, had some influence in life at the King's Mill and its successors. The tales as to true salmon in the tributary streams of Lake Ontario are verified in the writings of reputable settlers and sportsmen of fifty years ago; and at an earlier date (1825) we have a Report from the Committee Room of the Legislative Assembly on the subject of erecting Mill Dams on any rivers or streams accessible to fish from the Lake, in which the Committee "beg leave to state that no information has been laid before them relative to any Rivers or Water Courses aforesaid, except the Rivers Credit and Humber", and that "Mill Dams may be erected with an inclined plane on the plan of one foot rise to four feet of space, over which the fish may pass up, and rafts down, without obstruction." In 1828 a Bill was assented to concerning the better construction of aprons and dams "to facilitate the descent of lumber and the ascent of fish"; but the Bill had alas, little influence on the Humber. In its day, the King's Mill itself had been an enemy. By 1833 it was common assertion that the accumulation of sawdust and the multitudes of floating oak staves were chief causes in the disappearance of the salmon, and the King's Mill had been the first to send these ills upon the waters. The oak staves were evidently five and six feet long by two inches thick, and those found in the river-bed within recent years were stained the deep colour of age. Good pike and bass were to be found below the mill. Pike were easily got by shooting at them, without a hit, when they dodged the canoe almost cunningly; but the concussion stunned them and they turned over, helpless, to be lifted out easily by hand. The son of a first settler describes Haines' fish trap under Gamble's mill, where householders often sent their messengers to make purchases. The price was always

the same—for salmon large or small, three York shillings; but the fish were invariably of good size, and the supply was constant.

Not only have the waters lost their fish, but they have lost their own volume in recent years, unless during the time of freshet, when they remove banks and landmarks bodily and sometimes lead to loss of life. But inland, nature is more stable, and the flora of Mrs. Simcoe's time later furnished a multitude of specimens for Mrs. Chamberlain's work, and even now scientists refer with respect to the Bur Oak and wild crab apple near the Old Mill. The scene from the east bank and from the rising ground by the miller's "neat white mansion" of 1840 discloses a likeness to portions of the Thames and to Symond's Yat on the Wye, a scene that alternates between gracious panorama and exquisite vignette; the sounds of industry are succeeded by the purr of the motor, and skiffs and canoes replace the scows.

The present owner of the mill and its surrounding property is a man to whom every line of it is valuable, partly for his own present delight and partly as an historical asset for Ontario. The quite charming tea house built in the grounds leads to the gathering of many minds and diverse spirits, and on one occasion I overheard a group of people discussing the comfort of their tea and the pleasantness of the view. They were of both sexes, so the verdict was impartial. The decision was, that the Tea-garden could be made a great attraction if only that old ruin could be abolished.



GEORGINA CHURCH, LAKE SIMCOE.

Notes on Georgina Township

Given at The Women's Historical Society, Toronto, March 8th,
1917. By Miss E. K. Sibbald.

Some time ago at a meeting of this Society I happened in course of conversation to mention an anecdote of the early days of Georgina, and was asked to write some notes on the subject. Now my difficulty is to know where to begin, but as "Jackson's Point" is now so well known as a summer resort, I will take it as my starting point. It takes its name from a Mr. Jackson, who settled there in the very early days of the township, and built a very comfortable log house on the "Point". I do not think any part of it now remains, but I was told the other day, that in my very early youth I resided there for a time. My memory does not reach back to the beauties of Jackson's Point in those days, when no motors or electric-cars disturbed the peacefulness of its wooded solitudes. When on the trolley, I often fancy the horror of my revered uncle and aunt, Canon and Mrs. Ritchie, could they but see the grounds of their once beautiful home at "Springwood" desecrated by the trolley with its load of summer visitors gaily careering through the sacred precincts. Mr. Jackson was the father of the first wife of Captain Bouchier, R.N., from whom he purchased "The Point". Captain Bouchier first came to this country in 1812 to command a gunboat then in building in Penetanguishene, at that time the head military quarters in that district. The anchor imported from England for this boat, is still at the Holland Landing on the river bank and weighs several tons. After the "Declaration of Peace" in 1813, Captain Bouchier returned to England and from there went to India, where he lost his wife. The only issue of this marriage was General E. Bouchier, who was Commandant at Quebec in 1870, and from there visited his relatives in Sutton. "The Briars" was built by Captain Bouchier and was his residence when he came to Canada in 1841, with his second wife who was a Miss Preston. He and his daughter both died of scarlet fever and were buried in St. George's churchyard. During his Voyages, Captain Bouchier used to call at St. Helena, and "The Briars" was so called after the little bungalow in which Napoleon spent the first nine

weeks of his exile while "Longwood" was being prepared for him. About 1870, "The Briars" was bought by Dr. F. C. Sibbald, late of Shanghai, who made various additions to the house, and like his brother Mr. Hugh Sibbald, was a collector of curios, the most interesting of which is a set of cloisonne water bottles, cups and bowls looted from the Emperor of China's palace in Peking, when it was destroyed by the allied armies in punishment for his treachery in blowing up their gunboats about 1858. The Briars has also the distinction of being the birthplace of the Laura Secord Chapter of the I.O.D.E., one of the first chapters organized outside of Toronto.

Captain Bouchier had a land grant of 700 acres, which included the Briars, Jackson's Point, and Sutton village, founded by James O'Brien Bouchier, a Midshipman, and a brother of Captain Bouchier.

Up to 1816, Jackson's Point was called "Fryingpan Point", the Indian name being "QUAH-SA-QUAH-NING". For some years it was called "Bouchier's Point". The Andersons of Ainslie Hall, North Gwillemberry, have pewter dishes marked "P.F." said to be Peter Fisher, but there is no trace of who he was. The dishes were owned by Captain Bouchier, and supposed to have been intended for the gunboat being built at Penetanguishene, which was never put into commission. Two of these plates were used for collection plates in St. James' church, Sutton, Ontario, for 65 years, and were replaced by others to meet the demands of civilization. In the village of Sutton, a sand pit existed for some years, in which several skulls were found, pointing to the fact that in bygone years it had been an Indian burying ground. There is a tradition, that during some Indian massacre in early Canadian days, some Priests managed to escape, and hid their treasure near the Black River bridge, on some spot on the Briars property, but so far it has never been found. The travelled route about 1812, from Toronto, was by Yonge Street to Holland Landing, down the Holland River, to Lake Simcoe. This route was also used to go to Lake Huron by Barrie, using a small river flowing into Lake Simcoe, then down the Nottawasaga river to Lake Huron. Another route to Lake Huron, was by the Severn river and Nipissing Lake.

Georgina, was named after a daughter of Governor Simcoe, and the townships of "Tiny" and "Floss", were named after two pet dogs of the family. When a child in England, I well remember a brother of General Simcoe with

some members of his family, calling at our little country parsonage in the midst of the Cornish moors.

The "Shares" of Lake Simcoe, were settled by retired Army and Navy Officers, amongst whom were Major Raines of "Penn Range"—now "Eildon Hall"—Captain Bouchier, and others. To the west of Jackson's Point, is "Land's End", a very suggestive name in those days when so little clearing had been done, and there was nothing to be seen but bush. This property was settled by the Mossington family, one of whom married a Miss Coomer, whose father, Mr. John Coomer, was one of the first settlers in Georgina, having come out in the same ship as Mr. James O'Brian Bouchier, in 1814. This lady had the distinction of being the first white child born in Georgina, and by the then reigning Sovereign, was granted lot No. 5 in the 7th Con. of Georgina. Mrs. Mossington was born on the 9th of August, 1818, and has just passed away in her 99th year after a life full of strength and activity. A few years ago, when the "Laura Secord" Chapter of the I.O.D.E. was being formed, Mrs. Mossington was very anxious to join, "if not too old". Of course we acceded to her request, and for some years she was quite an interested member. Her birthplace eastward along the lakeshore, was in existence till a few years ago. The property belonged to my father at one time, who gave it the name of "Rotherwood", and it was one of the many residences in which I have been domiciled in my rather eventful life. When living there in 1877, a wolf was killed on the farm, about the last killed in Georgina, I fancy.

Following the lakeshore road in an easterly direction, we come to the Memorial Church, of which more anon, and passing down the avenue we reach "Eildon Hall" the residence of the late Captain Sibbald, R.N., and now occupied by his son Mr. Martyn Sibbald. Eildon Hall is so named after the family estate owned by my great-grandfather Thomas Mein, in Roxburghshire, where the old hall still nestles lovingly amongst the beautiful scenery so dear to Sir Walter Scott, who mentions these hills in "The Lay of the Last Minstrel". The hills are a group of curious formation, the foundation of which is attributed to the magic of Michael Scott, who flourished in the 12th or 13th century, and was called "The Wizard of the North", and who by word of command "Clave the Eildon hills in three". So goes the story. Still further east is Lee Farm, so named after Captain Lee of the East India Company's Service, who settled there with his large family; and after a time my father married the second daugh-

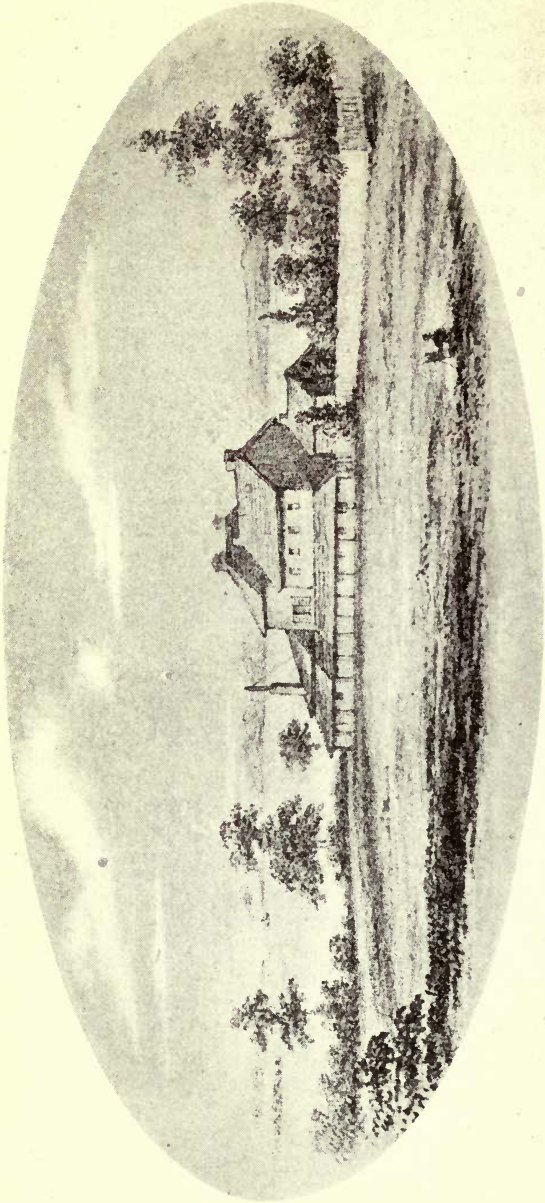
ter; of this union I am the seventh child. One of my aunts married Captain Stupart, R.N., a name, I think well known amongst us,

During one of my grandfather's voyages, his ship ran on a rock, a piece of which stuck in the bottom of the vessel, and might have fallen out at any time, however, providentially, the ship was safely brought to land, but the anxious time told greatly on my grandfather's health, and I believe he never was strong again.

About the year 1833, my father, Mr. William Sibbald, came out from Scotland, and purchased some property in Orillia; he was followed later by my uncle Charles, the sixth of the nine sons of Colonel William Sibbald, J.P., of Pinnacle, Roxburghshire, who for many years commanded H.M. XVth regiment of foot. During this period, he was in Italy, with his regiment when a dispute arose between the soldiers and some Italians, my grandfather being the only officer who could speak Italian, was sent to Rome to confer with the Pope. They became such friends over this, that Colonel Sibbald asked the Pope if he would bless some rosaries for him to give to his R.C. friends. "I will bless a cartload for you if you like", said his Holiness, and then he asked my grandfather to accept the rosary he was wearing, as a personal gift for himself. My uncle, Captain Sibbald, valued this rosary very much and sent it to a R.C. jeweller to find out if any of the beads were missing. The jeweller said it was quite perfect, and if it had not been so, he would not have dared to add anything to such a valuable relic. He would have given any amount of money to my uncle if he would have sold it. It is now amongst the many curios at Eildon Hall.

About 1836, my grandmother, being anxious to know how her sons were faring in a new country, braved the perils of the deep in a sailing vessel, and bringing another son with her, arrived on the scene.

During her visit my grandfather died, and she waited for the spring before leaving the country. When the ice broke up, a friend took her round the lake, and she was greatly impressed with its beauty in its spring attire. "Penn Range" (now Eildon Hall), the residence of Major Raines, was for sale, and having a number of sons, she thought that if the Trustees and the boys were willing, it would be a good thing to bring them out. Needless to say the "boys" were quite willing, as the love of adventure is always strong in the youthful scions of our race. Grandmother returned to the "auld



EILDON HALL, LAKE SIMCOE FROM THE N.W.

countree" and brought her family back in due time. Thus "Penn Range" became "Eildon Hall".

In those days there were no trades-people driving with covered carts or motors, to bring provisions, but a steamer made regular trips on the lake, and brought what was required. When required to call, a flag was hoisted as a sign. My three juvenile uncles went to Upper Canada College, and of course passed through the usual experiences of new pupils. Then came the rebellion of 1837. My Uncle Frank (known in later days as Dr. Sibbald) often told the tale of how he, unobserved by those in authority, followed the older boys when they marched out in force to their country's aid, and was present at the burning of Montgomery's tavern, returning later to find his older brother Hugh in a fearful state of anxiety as to his fate. Dr. Greenwood's house in Sutton, in its original condition was the old schoolhouse where suspicious meetings were held at that time, and in my father's journal, he writes that on New Year's day, he and some others left from that point to capture the rebels.

The following story connected with Eildon Hall, and in which my grandmother and aunt figured as heroines, may be interesting, or at least amusing. "Soon after the troops were withdrawn from the Upper Province, rumours were rife that there would be an insurrection, and one morning, a body of men were seen marching towards the house, who were first supposed to be rebels, but proved to be the militia of the neighbourhood marching to the protection of Toronto, and who called on their way to ask for the lady's eldest son, of course she assented, telling them at the same time to take the youngest, and if it would be of any service, herself and maids would turn out also. A pitchfork and pike were kept in the drawing room, and considering by whom they were to be handled, must have been formidable weapons; however, a Toronto paper had it that a widow and her maid on Lake Simcoe, had defended her house against a party of rebels.

A few days after her sons had left, one of the rebel leaders, paid her a visit, at a time when there was a reward of fifty pounds on his head, the maidservants rushed in from the kitchen in great consternation to say that Godfrey Wheeler, and all his men had come; very pleasant visitors at a time when the only inmates of this house were females, and a little grandchild. The first idea was that they had come to search for arms, and the widow, who had a valuable sword which once belonged to her husband, and which she was carefully

preserving for a son (then in India) with great presence of mind put it in the cradle under the sleeping infant. After remaining in the drawing room for some time, and hearing nothing, the daughter (a most courageous young lady) went into the kitchen, where her indignation was aroused, by hearing the rebel chief tampering with an outdoor servant who had just returned from a distant flour mill, and trying to persuade him to join the insurgents." Two grandsons of this lady, with several others of the family, are serving their country in the present war, and certainly inherit their grandmother's bravery. Amongst other early settlers, may be mentioned the Howards and the Lyalls, both of whom have large farms near Sutton, "St. Juliens," belonging to Mr. John Howard, was built much on the same style as "The Briars", both being of stone. On the shores of Lake Simcoe in 1837, there was not a single church standing, of course now there are many, but in my grandmother's time, services were held in private houses, but through her energy, aided by the other settlers in the vicinity, St. George's church sprang into being.

So far had her fame gone, that when in Cornwall as a child, we had a nurse in a case of severe illness, who finding I was born in Canada, said "I knew the lady who built the first church in Georgina", and it turned out that she came from the same village in which my grandmother lived in Cornwall.

St. George's Church was, for many years the only Anglican church in the neighbourhood. Almost on the same site, the present St. Georges now stands. It was built to the memory of my grandmother by my three uncles, Captain Sibbald, R.N., Eildon Hall, Mr. Hugh Sibbald, who spent many years in India, and Dr. F. C. Sibbald, R.N., late of The Briars, and formerly of Shanghai, China. The church is built of stone brought from Rama, and is 70 feet long, by 40 feet wide. On one side of the tower (from which a beautiful view is obtained) is a tablet let into the wall with a Latin inscription stating that the church is erected to the glory of GOD, and to the memory of my grandmother by her sons. On the other side, is another tablet to the memory of my aunt, Mrs. Charles Sibbald, and her daughter Sarah, who perished in the "Bavarian", when she was burnt on Lake Ontario, in 1875.

The east window was transferred from the old church, and is a matter of interest as having been the handy-work of certain members of the Simcoe family.

The beautifully carved altar (also the hymn board) is the work of the Rev. G. J. Everest, a son-in-law of Captain Sibbald, and for many years a resident of Georgina. At the present time, there is at Jackson's Point, a Mr. Cameron, son of Lieut. Cameron, who for many years lived in the vicinity, and was locally known as "St. Helena Cameron" having been one of Napoleon's guards in St. Helena. Napoleon was quite friendly with him and gave him his violin and flute, the latter was unfortunately lost when the house was burnt, but the violin is still a treasured memento. Lieut. Cameron had two brothers, officers in the British Army, one of whom had two horses shot under him in the Battle of Waterloo. It is a far cry from St. Helena to Georgina, but Mr. Cameron has two brothers buried in St. Helena, and two in St. George's churchyard.

During the present war, the Indians on the two Reserves on Lake Simcoe, have given many of their best men in response to their country's call, and they are giving their money also. Chief John handed over to ex-warden Pugsley, twenty-five dollars from the Island Band, to the Sutton Patriotic Club.

Extracts from :
**A Few Days in the United States and Canada
with some Hints to Settlers**

The following extracts are taken from a rare pamphlet published anonymously "A Few Days in the United States and Canada with some Hints to Settlers".

The writer, Captain Thomas Sibbald, arrived in Halifax, July 30th, 1842, and thence *via* Boston, Albany, Syracuse and Rochester to Upper Canada.

"August 4th. After breakfast we stowed ourselves in an omnibus, which conveys passengers to the Gore Steamer laying two miles below Rochester. Whilst waiting at an hotel to take in passengers, we were favoured by a visit from Mr. Montgomery, one of the outlawed leaders of the Canadian Rebellion; a heavy, dirty, butcher-looking person, one of those men who persuaded the ignorant part of the community to rise against a government, under which he himself had risen from poverty to riches, and whose property is not at this moment confiscated; he entertained us with a long tirade against government, much to the edification of a gaping crowd of free and enlightened citizens who were gathered round him; he spoke long and loudly of tyranny, oppression and bayonets, the advantages the people had gained by the last outbreak, even though it had not been quite as successful as could have been wished. "England", said he, "must now conciliate the Canadas by concessions, troops are too expensive." To have said that the militia and loyalists of the Upper Province had been sufficient to drive him and his canaille out of it, would have been something nearer the truth, and if he wished to be veracious for once, he might have said, that the greater part of the thinking portion of the community, were only in dread that Great Britain might some day discard such a troublesome appendage, like the heir apparent of some old uncle, who having calculated too certainly on good nature, plays all kinds of pranks, and is surprised when he finds himself an outcast on the world: such would be Canada, left without railroads, canals, or improvements of any kind, for as yet she is without capital.

Our street orator might at the same time have lauded the success attending the exertions of himself, and those of his cloth, in having put a stop to all improvements for years, the money which ought to have continued them having been expended in quelling the rebellion.

We were soon on board the *Gore*, bound for Toronto, and after running down about five miles of the river, the banks of which are beautifully wooded, found ourselves on Lake Ontario, one of those fresh water seas which I had been so anxious to look upon. The water was as smooth as glass and we went merrily along. . . . The uninitiated, travelling in America, ought to have as little to do with provincial notes as possible, as banks are constantly becoming insolvent; a small book is published monthly, containing a list of notes which pass current; sovereigns are the best coin to take to the United States, as they always fetch their full value, and sometimes a few cents more, and when paying for anything ask for the change in silver. About nine in the evening we arrived at Toronto, and I took up my abode at the North American Hotel. Next day I employed myself in visiting the city, which is increasing in a most extraordinary degree; from possessing one of the best harbours in the world, and from having such an extent of rich back country, there is no doubt of its prosperity; building lots are selling at what one would imagine to be a most preposterous price. The public edifices are fine, and it has a capital College, the students always wearing their caps and gowns in the street, look highly respectable; the University now in progress will be a splendid building, highly ornamental as well as useful to the Province, The difficulty of educating children, is considered at home one of the drawbacks to emigration in the Canadas; there is no want of it here, and at a very moderate rate; Upper Canada College being endowed, the whole charge for board and education is £30 per annum. The masters are first-rate ones, and at the University are professors from Oxford and Cambridge. The Cathedral has lately been burned, and an Organ belonging to it, valued £1,300.

On the 7th of August, I left in the stage for Newmarket on Yonge Street (as the 37 miles of road from Toronto to the Holland Landing is called). For fourteen miles from Toronto, the road is made interesting by scenes connected with the rebellion, vestiges still remaining of burnings which took place there, particularly of Montgomery's large establishment which was the headquarters of the rebel McKenzie, famous as

one of the leaders in this province, and who is almost the only one who cannot return, on account of having robbed Her Majesty's Mail. In this house had been confined a number of Royalists captured by the Insurgents, who on being liberated by Sir Francis Head and his party, set fire to the building. On either side of the road are fine farms in a high state of cultivation, and several gentlemen's seats. Newmarket is a rising town, near it I found a relation, on a clearing surrounded by a high forest. . . .

. . . The price of wild land varies from five, ten, to twenty shillings per acre; rate of fencing and clearing £3; putting in first crop of wheat ten shillings per acre. If you let cleared land properly enclosed, the rent is ten shillings per acre, and if you lease a man 200 acres of land with ten cleared, also a house and barn, he is bound to clear 100 more in ten years' putting the same under good fence. A man's wages with board is 2s. 6d. per diem, boarding himself 3s. 6d.; masons and carpenters 5s.; gardeners 3s. 9d.; farming men, by the year £30; hinds £45, with cows' feed and house. A waggon or sleigh with two horses and driver, boarding themselves, 10s. a day. Maid servants varying from 12s. to 16s. per month.

AVERAGE PRICES OF GRAIN.

Wheat 5s. per bushel.	Oats 1s. per bushel
Barley 2s. 3d. per bushel	Rye 4s. per bushel
Peas 1s. 3d. per bushel	Potatoes 1s. per bushel

AVERAGE PRICES OF PROVISIONS.

	£	s.	d.
Flour, per barrel of 196 lbs.....	1	7	6
Oatmeal.....	1	0	0
Pork, per barrel of 200 lbs.....	2	10	0
Beef, do. do.....	1	2	6
Mutton, per lb.....			3½
Veal.....			3½
Butter.....			7½
Fowls 1s. per pair; geese 2s. 6d. and turkies 2s. 6d. to 3s. each.			

AVERAGE PRICES OF ANIMALS.

	£	s.	d.
A first-rate horse.....	25	0	0
Good farm horse.....	20	0	0
Common sheep.....	1	0	0

Pony.....	5	0	0
Cow.....	5	0	0
Yoke of oxen.....	20	0	0
* * * * * *	*		

The above prices it must be remembered are all in current money, £8 sterling being equal to £10 currency. For ready money, land may certainly be had cheaper, as there is so little specie in the country, that payments in full at the time of purchase are scarcely known; most bargains are made by barter, a mode of dealing in which people soon become very expert. Flour pays in flour for grinding; a proportion of grain for cutting corn; hay for cutting, and carting, is paid in hay; and outdoor servants receive a greater part of their wages in provisions. On my way to Newmarket a person asked the driver, "what was the fare" and asked if he would take payment in trade, which means potatoes or flour. Wheat is considered as cash in Toronto, in paying your grocer or linen draper.

The average produce of grain per acre, is: wheat 27 bushels, barley 40, peas 25, potatoes 300.

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Bears too, are a formidable enemy to cattle; one was shot here a few days since strangling an ox: they are often killed by placing a piece of raw meat on the muzzle of a loaded pistol. . . . When captured he is a valuable prize, his skin fetches from three to five dollars, his flesh 2½c. a lb., and his fat which is like oil, half a dollar a quart. . . . Six dollars are paid for the scalp of a wolf."

Here follow the paragraphs quoted by Miss Sibbald:

"It is extraordinary to observe the rapid increase of churches in different parts of the province—in 1837, on the shores of Lake Simcoe, there was not one single church standing, where now there are many.

On my return from the Lake, I visited a village called sometimes David's town, Shann (Sharon), or the village of Hope, four miles from Newmarket; it contains 60 or 70 houses, and the inhabitants call themselves "*Children of Peace*". Their chief, both temporal and spiritual, is a man of low origin, named David Wilson (Willson), who manages to touch them up in a tender point—viz., their pockets, and with the proceeds has erected an Eastern-looking building of the most fanciful description, surrounded by smaller edifices, and enclosures, in the same style; these belong to the Temple of David, as he calls his place of worship; what their creed is I

cannot understand. Another Temple is in course of erection, to be called Solomon's, it is to take seven years in building. Though professedly "Children of Peace", they proved themselves to be a nest of rebels, and it was with difficulty that the militia could be restrained from destroying their temple.

On the 13th of September, I left Newmarket for Toronto, where I took steamer for Queenstown. On entering the Niagara River, we have on either side a fort, their flags, American and English, fly as if in rivalry: the Americans are repairing and strengthening their batteries, and are right in doing so, considering that they are within half gun-shot of the opposite shore, and that it would be one of the first points of attack in case of a rupture. For seven miles the steamer takes us through high wooded banks to Queenstown; on the heights above, stand the shattered remains of a monument, erected to the memory of General Brock, by the legislature of Upper Canada. In 1840 some villains came across, and attempted to blow up the monument, and the explosion has rent it in all directions. Soon after this abominable transaction, the Governor, principal authorities, a number of troops, and a large proportion of the militia assembled here, and raised a subscription towards repairing the monument, but I was sorry to find that they had not commenced; surely to leave it in that state, is a national disgrace.

From Queenstown to the Falls we journey seven miles by railroad, the train drawn by horse; at the terminus a carriage in waiting brought me to the Clifton House. . . . At my Hotel which is on the English side, I had capital apartments in a style quite different to anything I have been accustomed to of late, the rooms were nicely carpeted and handsomely papered, besides being well-furnished: the stainless passages and walls, told of a scarcity of tobacco-chewing Americans. . . . After seeing all that the guide book directs, I left the falls of Niagara, and their vicinity, with much regret and found everything very dull at Toronto, where I was much perplexed about cashing bills; what with exchange and currency, 'tis no easy matter for the uninitiated to do business.

September 16th, I commenced my route *en retour* and began by starting for Kingston, in the *City of Toronto*, a mail steamer, and a remarkably fine vessel, with capital accommodation, and good living As we pass along the north shore of the lake, we see Coburg, where the college has an imposing appearance. Every here and there, new towns appear to be

springing up; the site of one called Bye-town was purchased for £500, and is likely to make the fortune of the present proprietor.

* * * * *

A passage of eighteen hours brought us to Kingston, where I determined to devote a day to seeing the town and its environs; the buildings are as plain as English taste can desire, though substantially built of granite. The Penitentiary is a large building, surrounded with high walls; round them was mounted a Burgher guard, in a great variety of costume.

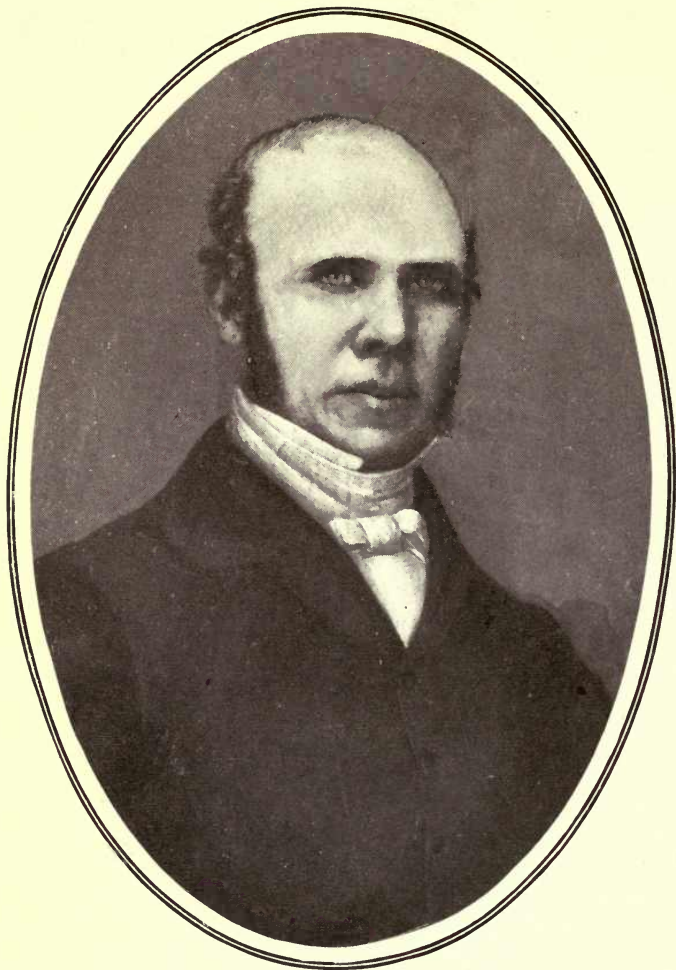
Being the seat of government for the present, the Parliament of the Canadas assemble in a hospital for want of a better house of Assembly; it is said that Montreal is about to have the honour of convening them. From the town a long wooden bridge communicates with Point Frederic, on which is situated the dockyard, and barracks for the seamen employed on the lakes. It struck me that too much attention could not be paid to keeping up this body, the petty officers and seamen of which, ought to be well and carefully selected as a nucleus on which to form a larger force in case of emergency. To be first in the field, must always be a great advantage, and the fine mail steamers now on Lake Ontario, would form a very formidable force, if efficiently manned, and properly armed. The naval establishments are protected by Fort Henry, next to Quebec, the strongest position in the Canadas. In the afternoon I visited the House of Assembly, where debates in broken and bad English were very stormy, several of the lately appointed Cabinet Ministers were objected to, as having been anything but loyal during the rebellion; those who assisted in quelling it do not appear to have been well treated, and have been repaid for their fidelity in much the same manner as a faithful dog who has had his fangs drawn for destroying a cowardly fox in the act of robbing a hen-roost. . . .

Sunday 18th September, at eight in the morning, I left Kingston, in a long narrow propeller canal boat, with a high pressure engine: the whole turn out had not a very secure appearance, but as the cabin was as far forward as it could be, whilst the boilers were in the opposite extremity, there was some chance of escaping if the boiler burst: . . . During the early part of the night we passed Prescott, the roofless buildings, visible by moonlight, tell of a party of rebels or brigands, under Van Schultz, a Pole, who crossed the St. Lawrence on the night of the 14th November, 1838, and took possession of

a strong stone windmill, a little below the town, the provisional militia had kept them in check, until troops and guns could be sent from Brockville. On the morning of the 15th a simultaneous attack was made by land and water, and the result was the capture of the mill, though the loss was, very great on the side of the assailants, considering that their foes fought with halters round their necks. Many of the brigands were killed, those who survived were taken prisoners, among them, Van Schultz, who with five of his officers, was executed at Kingston. . . .

We enter that part of the river called St. Louis; on it were several large rafts of timber, making their way slowly down to Montreal, propelled by immense sweeps, or if the wind be fair, by a number of big sails, scattered in different parts of these acres of wood; mixed with them are small hovels like dog kennels. The men who own the rafts must have a hard time of it; hewing all the winter, living on salt beef, or pork, and biscuit, and while navigation is open exposed night or day with scarcely any shelter. . . .”

A brief visit to Montreal concluded the writer's Canadian experiences.



REV. WELLINGTON JEFFERS, D.D. (1815-1896).

[Dr. Jeffers was born in Cork, Ireland, in June, 1815, and died in Belleville, Canada, 1896. His father, Robert Jeffers, came to Canada almost a century ago and resided in Kingston and Bath. Dr. Jeffers entered the Methodist ministry at an early age and occupied many pulpits in Canada, from St. James, Montreal, to London, Ontario. He had four children; his eldest son J. Frith Jeffers, the author of "A History of Canada" died last year, as did also the younger, Wellington Jeffers, M.D., of Lindsay. The elder daughter, Mrs. James Graham (the writer of this sketch), lives in Toronto; and Mrs. R. C. Wilkinson, the youngest of the family, resides in Agassiz, B.C.]

Three Years Among the Ojibways 1857-1860

By Emma Jeffers Graham.

It was on an afternoon in June, 1857, that the Peterborough train, after crossing Rice Lake, stopped at the station of Hiawatha, where our small party of travellers from Montreal alighted. The station itself was only a shack, one end of which was devoted to the sale of groceries. It was kept by Mr. Waters, who was not only a station master and a grocer, but also a pillar in the little mission church.

My father, Rev. Wellington Jeffers, had been pastor for several years of St. James Methodist Church, Montreal, and had suffered a severe nervous breakdown. At his own request he had been assigned to a mission where the outdoors life might prove beneficial. On leaving the train, my father was surrounded by members of his flock, nearly all of them being of the Ojibway tribe. The women wore plain cotton gowns, neatly made, and simple straw hats, while the men were garbed in woollen shirts and trousers, with red scarfs tied around the waist. They also wore plain wide-brimmed hats of coarse straw. This conventional attire was highly disappointing to my brothers, James and Wellington, who had been looking forward to a community of fierce, dark-skinned braves, who might at any moment decide to go upon the war path. The Indians bent with courtesy and grave decorum before my father, who was a man of commanding height, and seemed to be impressed by his greeting. The women, on the contrary, laughed joyously at the stature of my stepmother, who was but five feet in height, and took a great interest in my baby step-sister, Helen, whom they insisted on carrying in their arms through the village street.

There was neither carriage nor horse to carry us to the Mission House, for the reason that there were no vehicles in the village, except a light waggon belonging to Mr. Waters and a veritable "one hoss shay" owned by one of the Indians. So we proceeded along the street of the little settlement, my father and the chief, Paudaush, leading the way. The Indian women, who were child-like and merry in manner, surrounded my step-mother, while I who was twelve years old, walked hand-in-hand with my brother, Wellington. We were both

rather nervous, as we associated Indians with tomahawks and spears; but we arrived in safety at the cabin of Mr. Gervase Smith, who was an Indian of a superior order, having a house "like white folks", as the villagers said when speaking of him. Here a delicious dinner awaited us of fish, wild rice and other dainties, served on shining dishes, while the polished cutlery might have adorned a city table. The wild rice was a dish of which we became very fond, as it seemed to have a sweetness and richness lacking in the lighter variety.

The little mission church, to which we were taken after this meal, seemed very small in comparison with the St. James Church in Montreal, which was then considered one of the largest Protestant churches in Canada. At the side of the church was a small gate which opened into the lane which led to the Mission House. To this we were escorted and duly welcomed. It was a good-sized modern house, painted a dark red, with a large garden which was fenced with pickets. Behind the church and just beyond the garden was the burying ground, which was held sacred by the Indians, no lawless or profane person being allowed burial there. It was a beautiful and picturesque spot. But who shall describe the lake—which was girdled by woods and hills and dotted with verdant islands? To the right of Hiawatha, high on the banks, nestled Gore's Landing, and away to the left, over which the setting sun rested in glory, was the important mission of Alnwick.

It was a simple yet not uneventful life which we lived among those friendly folk and the life in the open air soon restored my father's shattered health. One of the things I learned was the art of fishing. My father bought a punt and in this we would sit for hours with our lines quivering and jerking, and we usually went home with the basket full of sun-fish, white fish and perhaps a maskinonge. It was there that one had every opportunity to study the art of cooking fish—and it proved a most useful accomplishment. In the autumn the Indians went out in their boats to the rice fields and there they carefully gathered in the grain. The process was a simple one, the Indian possessed himself of two shingles, and with these scraped the rice from the stalks into the boat. When the rice was all gathered in, it was poured into large wooden pans where the Indians shelled it by trampling it (with new moccasins on their feet). The peculiar flavour of the wild rice was remarked by all of us, and we soon came to regard the white rice as tasteless.

In 1859 the Great Comet appeared, causing much interesting discussion in scientific circles. Religious fanatics were sure that the end of the world was very near, and talked constantly of the various signs and wonders which assured them that the Last Day was at hand. I remember going out into our wood-yard one evening and seating myself on a log, prepared to watch the progress of the comet. As I looked at the great star with a tail which swept across half the heavens, my faith in the prophecies of direful happenings grew strong. I had brought from my father's study a copy of Pollock's "Course of Time", as a help to interpret the doings of our celestial visitor. But the descriptions of the Last Day, as imagined by that writer, were so alarmingly vivid that I sprang from the log and ran back to the study with Pollock's "Course of Time", pushing it down behind the larger books, so that I might never see it again. The Indians who had great reverence for the mysterious, looked upon the coming and passing of the great star with profound awe. Some of them believed that the Great Manitou was angry with the world and intended to destroy it. They asked many questions of my father who held very calming views of the "Second Coming" and who did his best to keep the members of his flock from becoming hysterical.

In their religious feeling, these Indians were simple and sincere. The missionary meeting was a great annual event and the young men and girls were trained to sing the old hymns and anthems. I do not think I have heard sweeter music than their singing of "O'er the gloomy hills of darkness" or "Hark the herald angels sing!" One Sunday, my father asked me if I thought I could teach a class of young women in the Sunday School. I was only twelve years old, but I said I would try. So, every Sunday afternoon I knelt on the seat of a pew in the little church and told the most interesting Bible stories I knew to a class of about twenty young women. When they became excited over any incident in the story, they would give loud cries like miniature war whoops and finally became so noisy that my father questioned me as to the matter of my teaching. He told me not to tell them exciting stories, as we were disturbing the school; but when the war whoops lessened, I felt that I had not been a success.

When the hunting season arrived, there was a great stir in the village, every able-bodied man, woman and child preparing for the fray. The Indians depended largely on their success in hunting for their support during the winter months.

When they returned from the hunting-ground, laden with the spoils of victory, they feasted until they became ill with various humors, caused by alternate over-eating and starvation. Forethought was almost an impossibility for many of them. They have learned much in the last fifty years, however, and the improved physique of the Indian is due to greater care in matters of diet.

On the first day of October, two Indians came to the Mission House to tell my father that the day had come when the men filled the yard with wood for the winter. Of course, we had to provide entertainment for our benefactors; so, there was a hurried conference in the kitchen. We had to prepare large quantities of all kinds of food—a huge roast of venison, a boiled ham, a bushel of vegetables, and a vast number of pies. We were very tired at night, but our wood-yard was packed with many cords of good hickory and several cords of pine for kindling. The Indians would accept no payment for this service. We always found them honourable, and even noble, in their business dealings. Would that the same could invariably be said of the white man's dealings with his Indian brother!

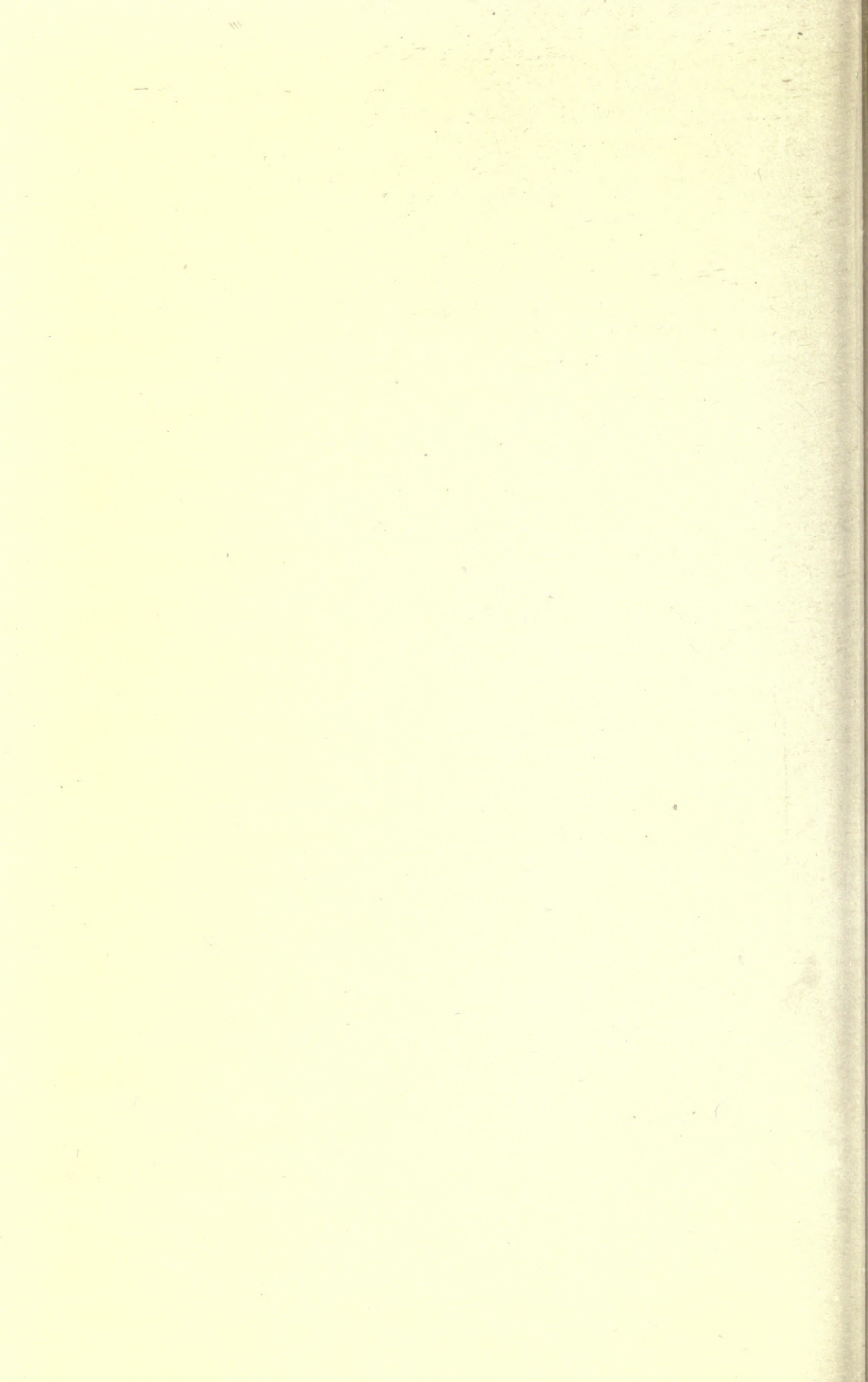
Becoming dissatisfied with the small yearly grant, which was given them by the Government, the different tribes in Canada decided to hold a Council of protest and appeal, and it was held in Hiawatha. Intense excitement was created in the village when it was known that the Great Chiefs were coming to hold a pow-wow. The Council Hall was decorated with boughs and brilliant hangings, and the chiefs sat in Oriental fashion as they palavered. One day, during the Council, two stalwart braves in red garb and feathers, with tomahawks in their belts, came to the Mission House and asked that my elder brother, who was a handsome and extremely fair lad should come to their afternoon session, as they decided to give him an Indian name. He went with them, greatly delighted by the honour paid him. On his return, he related to us how they bade him sit by them and smoke the peace pipe—which he did rather reluctantly, not having as yet learned to enjoy such a rite. I am sorry that I cannot recall the syllables of the Indian name, but it meant the "Rising Sun". I am glad to say that the Government heeded the request of these "wards" and increased their grants, both in money and land.

The mission was frequently visited, especially in the summer, by friends who were delighted with the picturesque



RICE LAKE IN SUMMER.

[This is from a painting of Rice Lake by Mr. R. A. Stewart, which appeared as an illustration in a recent reprint of Mrs. Moccie's "Roughing it in the Bush."]



scenery. Among the most welcome guests were Mr. John Dougall, the Editor of the "Montreal Witness", and professors from Victoria College.

My father used to go to Peterborough frequently to purchase dry goods or household supplies. One day, he brought home a book entitled "Roughing it in the Bush", which he thought was a remarkable production. After reading every word of it, I said to him; "Why, she just writes about everyday life. I know people like those she tells about". My father replied: "That is what makes it literature". My father became a friend of the author, Mrs. Moodie, and after the family moved to Belleville and my father was also living in that city, they had many talks on old times in Canada. I was visiting my father in Belleville years ago, when one morning, in the course of a walk, we met an old lady who was evidently going to market. My father bowed so profoundly that I asked him about the lady who had just passed us. "One of the ablest women in Canada", he said warmly. This was none other than Mrs. Moodie, a member of the famous Strickland family and grandmother of the late Mary Agnes Fitzgibbon, who, with Mrs. Curzon, founded the Women's Historical Society of Toronto and who will ever be kept in grateful memory.

An incident which shows the complications of our quiet existence at Hiawatha may be related. Our charwoman was of Irish parentage, but was the wife of Daniel Cow, a rather riotous Indian, who once came to shoot my father, declaring that the missionary was an idle citizen. Bidy Cow came to my father one day to ask that her son be baptized on the following Sunday. On being questioned about the name to be given the baby, she said that it was to be named after my father and therefore would be known as Wellington Jeffers Cow. Now my father shrank from such an honour in connection with that prosaic name. So, he became a diplomat and suggested that Dr. Wood, who was the Superintendent of Missions, should share the honour and thus it came about that, the little Wellington Wood Cow received his name and grew up to be a stalwart Irish-Indian and a good Canadian too.

Sometimes the greatest enemy of the Indian was the clever and unscrupulous half-breed, who, in some cases, seemed to unite the vices of the two races. Such a one used to swoop down on Hiawatha at intervals and exercise a mysterious fascination over the younger Indians, who were sadly led astray, owing to his evil influence. Then the older Indians would take their guns and search for this destroyer of the

village peace, who was so fleet-footed and cunning that he easily avoided them. I saw this Evil Genius of Hiawatha one Sunday morning, for he did not hesitate to come to the mission church to seek his prey. He was a handsome creature in a dark desperate fashion, and I remember that my small brother whispered to me: "He lookth like a pirate".

The next morning the village was roused by the news that half-a-dozen of the young people of Hiawatha had been lured away from their homes by this rascal and had spent the night in one of the hidden drinking places which the half-breed frequented. One of the finest old Indians in the church came to my father with the tears rolling down his dark cheeks and cried: "Oh, my meenister, he stole my little girl—my papoose—she sit on my knee and sing hymns and be a good little girl. But he take her and I kill him". But he did not kill him, for when the searchers reached an old barn which stood in a deep wood about a mile from the village, the tempter had made his escape and only his victims were found lying in a drunken stupor. A few months later, the half-breed was found in the same old barn, lying wasted by the disease then called "consumption". The old woman who found him took him to her little cabin and nursed him to the end. Before he died, he said to her one day: "I see I very wicked. No one ever taught me—no mother—father very bad white man—sorry!" However, the Indians would not bury him in the sacred ground by the mission church—and the body was carried far into the woods where it was given a resting-place under a maple tree—and the grave was long regarded with terror as an evil spot.

In 1860 my father was appointed editor of the "Christian Guardian" and we left the little mission for Toronto. I have always remembered with affection the simple people among whom we lived for a very happy three years by one of Ontario's loveliest lakes.

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

Women's Canadian Historical Society

OF TORONTO

1917-18

Organized November, 1895; Incorporated Feb. 14th, 1896.

OFFICERS

Honorary President	LADY HENDRIE.
Past Presidents	MRS FORSYTH GRANT.
	MRS. S. A. CURZON.
	LADY EDGAR.
President	MISS M. A. FITZGIBBON.
Vice-Presidents	MISS MICKLE.
	MRS. JAMES BAIN.
Recording Secretary	MRS. H. H. ROBERTSON.
Corresponding Secretary	MRS. W. T. HALLAM.
Treasurer	MRS. SEYMOUR CORLEY.
Convener of Red Cross Committee	MRS. H. T. F. DUCKWORTH.
	MRS. HORACE EATON.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

LADY STUPART.	MRS. W. H. P. JARVIS.
MRS. EDGAR JARVIS.	MISS ROBERTS.
MRS. GORDON MACKENZIE.	MRS. W. H. ELLIS.

RED CROSS COMMITTEE

MRS. HORACE EATON, Convener	MRS. DUCKWORTH.
LADY STUPART.	MRS. FREELAND.
MISS HORSEY.	MRS. ELLIS.
MRS. EDGAR JARVIS.	MRS. JAMES BAIN.
MRS. BODDY.	MRS. MORGAN.

HONORARY MEMBERS

G. R. PARKIN, C.M.G., LL.D.	REV. PROF. BRYCE.
COL. G. T. DENISON.	DR. LOCKE.
MISS CARNOCHAN.	THE VERY REV. DEAN HARRIS.
M. MACFARLANE.	J. A. MACDONNELL.
JAMES HANNAY.	W. D. LIGHTHALL, F.R.S.C., F.R.S.L.
SIR GILBERT PARKER, M.P.	BENJ. SULTE, F.R.S.C.
CHARLES MAIR, F.R.S.C.	REV. JOHN MCLEAN, PHD.
MISS K. M. LIZARS.	EDWARD M. THOMSON, F.R.S.C., F.R.S.L.
MISS MACHAR.	C. G. D. ROBERTS.
BLISS CARMEN.	MRS. J. W. F. HARRISON.
JOHN D. KELLY.	PROF. G. M. WRONG.
PROF. PELHAM EDGAR.	PROF. H. T. F. DUCKWORTH.

President's Address

Since we last met the many victories of the preceding weeks have issued in a victorious peace—a peace not yet fully established, but, we believe, assured and our foremost feeling is that of a great thankfulness to God, who has maintained our just cause. In simple Bible words, “The Lord hath done great things for us; whereof we are glad.”

How great has been the deliverance wrought, we are just beginning to understand. Speakers and writers now tell us that the miracle was that our armies and those of our allies were not destroyed in the first six months—when short of guns, ammunition and aeroplanes, the old “contemptibles” and the French yet managed to hold the enemy.

Looking back over the four years we can see how great has been our development as a people. Through the storm and stress we have grown surer of ourselves, and with our capabilities, our patriotism, our self-respect has grown and new ideals of service, will, we trust, pave the way for further, fuller development.

Canada has done well—her soldiers have won undying glory—we can never repay them; and when it is considered that, unfortunately led, the great sister Province proved lukewarm—and the great number of foreigners among us, we realize that the loyal backbone of the country did splendidly. But while proudly claiming a right to stand among the nations who have saved the world, let us not follow any bad example of boastfulness or vain glory. We have done much, suffered much, but others have done more—still more. “France!—yes, indeed,—France and England.

Britain, the western giant smiles,
And twirls the spotty Globe to find it.
This little speck—the British Isles,
'Tis but a freckle—never mind it.
He laughs and all his prairies roll
Each giant cataract roars and chuckles,
And ridges stretched from pole to pole,
Heave till they shake their iron knuckles.

* * * * *

“But Freedom leaning on her spear,
Laughed louder than the laughing giant.
‘Our Islet is a world,’ she said,
And glory with its dust is blended, etc.”

“A little speck,” but Britain has upheld the world and the glory of her services to mankind we may share. Her great navy was the one unconquerable unit, that always made for victory. Her first small army has been justly called “the army of sacrifice.” Within two years she created and sent into the field an army of 5,000,000 men, since increased to over six million. She has sent troops to every battlefront, Egypt, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Italy, South Africa, etc., besides in the earlier years pouring out treasure to help her Allies and the Dominions. Ex-President Taft writing in September said, that to equal the effort of Canada to that date per population, the United States would have to raise an army of 6,400,000 men, while to equal what England has done would require an army of sixteen million men. In addition to all this England and Scotland have voluntarily rationed themselves for two years in order to feed the troops and their suffering Allies, and one begins to have some idea of the stupendous sacrifices she has made—of the great debt the world owes her.

Nor should the great services rendered by Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and other parts of the Empire ever be forgotten by Canadians.

But the war is over and we must look bravely ahead and face the new problems peace will bring. The transition from war to peace is always an anxious period and amidst our rejoicing there is much to cause uneasiness. An armistice is not a surrender, and the world will breathe more freely when it knows that the great army beyond the Rhine—still powerful—has laid down its arms. It is ominous too, that to the last Germany clung to every evil, illegal practice which had won her odium. It will be long years before the world can trust her—if ever again. If it is true that she is ready to flood the world with anti-British propaganda, we must stand firm and with united front resist.

In our own land, while the unselfish and patriotic have grown more unselfish, the burden of giving and serving

has fallen too exclusively upon them; and the selfish and the slacker have gone too free. For the future some way should be found of making all shoulders bear the burdens. Before the war there was much restlessness—restlessness among women, too—we have perforce been held during the war, but that restlessness will recur; so we see that peace has its perils, too; but surely we have learned much and should face the difficult period of reconstruction with courage and patience.

Democracy is the popular catchword of the hour, drummed into our ears at every opportunity—no President's address could be complete without it! Though, sometimes it seems interchangeable with autocracy, or worse; and it was perhaps in a spasm of democracy—that sounds better than a democratic spasm that the last session of Parliament decided against titles. Doing so gave quite an opportunity for fine rhetoric; yet it seems a pity—they are so harmless—and sentimentally one would not wish a few of them, as the Barony De Longueil—created by the French kings and confirmed by George III. to quite vanish. Titles, too, or changes of name are inevitable; from the earliest times and among all races they have been given. Abraham and Sarah are Biblical examples and the proud title "Prince of God" given to Jacob was, and is, claimed by a whole nation of descendants. Even in these democratic days, the journalist fills a rhetorical column with the evils of titles, and then attends a baseball or hockey match and straightway christens an admired player, "Babe," or "Giant," so and so.

For ourselves we must keep on with our work for soldiers, we must try to do more for the returned soldiers. In every way we must strive for unity and patriotism. Unity in our divided country, unity in our diverse Empire; the strife will sometimes be difficult, but who can measure the effect of the quiet strenuous loyalty each one of us may somehow, in some way, express in our lives.

The opening of the Museum and Art Gallery at the Grange marks a long step forward in historical interests; as does the opening of the Temple at Sharon, really a great event for local historians, and we will trust leading to the collection and preservation of much matter that would otherwise be lost.

Secretary's Report

The past year with its alarms and anxieties has probably been the most momentous since the opening of the Christian Era. Surely the suffering and the sacrifices of our heroic men cannot be lost, they must have an ennobling effect on civilization; the flower of the manhood of Canada has paid so great a price that we women must now strive to make this country a land worthy of their sacrifice. Our first thought must be a devout prayer of humble thankfulness and praise that the powers of darkness of Germany have been vanquished and righteousness has prevailed.

During the year much has been learned of the need of conservation of food; we who have always been so bountifully blessed, find it hard to realize that whole countries are on very short rations, and we are thankful that the appeals for thrift have been heeded with the result that great quantities of food-stuffs have been sent overseas.

The papers have been:

December:—The Gwynne Homestead, by Mrs. Lucy White (Caltha). Mr. W. H. P. Jarvis gave his experiences as a private in France with the Mechanical Transport.

January.—Halifax and the Surrounding Country, by Mrs. Hallam. An Account of the Halifax Disaster as seen by Mrs. Charles Archibald, of Halifax.

February.—Unveiling of Miss Fitzgibbons' portrait, by Miss K. M. Lizars. "William Wilfrid Campbell, poet and dramatist," by Professor Horning.

March.—Inedited letters of Sir John Franklin and Sir John Richardson to Robert McVicar, by Miss Alice Lea. The letters being loaned by Mrs. George McVicar.

April.—Extracts from old Journals and Newspapers, by Mrs. W. H. P. Jarvis. A talk on Food Conservation, by Mrs. H. S. Strathy.

At our annual meeting Mrs. H. S. Strathy gave an account of war conditions and war work in England, and we had the great pleasure of having an encouraging address from Miss Carnochan, the honored President of the Niagara Historical Society.

The attendance at our meetings this year has, perhaps, not been as high as usual, owing, no doubt, to the many calls on the time of our members; the Red Cross Committee, as their report shows, has done excellent work.

We regret that our Recording Secretary, Miss Embree, had to resign owing to change of residence. Our thanks are due to Mrs. Duckworth who so ably and cheerfully took her place, and also to Mrs. Trent for her year's work as Treasurer of this Society.

Seven executive and six regular meetings, besides the annual meeting have been held. The Society has been obliged to change its place of meeting, as the work carried on at the Women's Welcome Hostel had so grown that accommodation could no longer be given us. The pictures and books have been moved to 46 Dunvegan Road, the portraits of Mrs. Curzon and Miss Fitzgibbon have been loaned to the John Ross Robertson collection in the Public Library.

Donations received have been:—The Four Kings of Canada, reprint of a rare pamphlet from Miss Mickle; and Landmarks of Canada, a Guide to the J. Ross Robertson Historical Collection, by Mrs. G. A. McVicar.

The Society has lost a valued member in the death of Mrs. Pearce. For many years she was a regular attendant and was always ready to help forward any project. To her daughters we would extend our sincerest sympathy.

We welcome as new members, Mrs. Dykes, Miss Helen Des Brissay, Mrs. Wetherald, Mrs. Cameron and Mrs. Walker.

All of which is respectfully submitted,
LUELLA CORLEY.

Report of the Red Cross Committee

When the Red Cross Committee of this Society was appointed it was decided to send supplies to our soldiers in the trenches; so the bulk of our work for the past four years has gone through the Women's Patriotic League to the Canadian Field Comforts' Commission at Shorncliffe. Captain Mary Plummer and Lieut. Joan Arnoldi have been our representatives overseas, and I am sure that those of us who heard Miss Arnoldi speak for the W. P. L. in Convocation Hall on the work of Field Comforts, were proud of the part our small Society has been able to take, helping to provide comforts for our noble men. The hearts of all were touched by her strong appeal not to slacken our efforts in this hour of glorious victory. The work must continue for many months, until all our men, who have fought so bravely, are home again. The need for comforts, games and literature will be as great as ever during the period of demobilization, upon which we are entering.

During the past year the Society has forwarded 2,576 articles, including 1,103 pairs of socks, and 902 personal property bags. The other articles were sweaters, scarfs, wristers and stretcher caps. For Queen Mary's Silver Wedding we sent, through Queen Mary's Needlework Guild, 100 pairs of socks and 15 dozen personal property bags. To the Siberian Expedition, 100 pairs of socks; to the National Ladies' Guild for Sailors, \$100.00; for Victrola and records to help cheer the brave lads in the Hospital for Tubercular soldiers, \$100.00; for relief work after the Halifax Disaster, \$45.00. This makes a total of 2,576 articles sent and \$245.00 given in cash.

In April a sale was held of home-made articles, cakes, etc., the proceeds of which reached \$459.00, the expenses, including tea room supplies, wages and cartage amounting only to \$19.06. Our thanks are due to Mr. Hoseason, Yonge Street, who kindly lent us his store, and to all who helped to make it a success.

Our future work will be largely for our returned soldiers. We must not slacken, but with the more energy let us help our Government and our country to keep faith with our brave broken heroes.

Respectfully submitted,

E. M. EATON.

Treasurer's Report

November 1918

RED CROSS COMMITTEE

RECEIPTS.

Balance in Bank, Nov., 1917.....	\$ 47.68	
Donations	214.32	
Teas and Sales	505.30	
Bank Interest	1.85	
	<hr/>	
Total		\$ 769.15

EXPENDITURES.

Donations	\$ 245.00	
Red Cross Supplies	337.23	
Part payment on Loan	108.00	
Tea Room Supplies	11.31	
Printing and Advertising	8.02	
Wages and Cartage	7.75	
	<hr/>	
Total		\$ 717.31
		<hr/>
Balance		51.84

HOPE H. DUCKWORTH,
Honorary Treasurer

Audited and found correct,

SYDNEY JONES,
Auditor.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

GENERAL STATEMENT, NOV. 15TH, 1917-NOV. 15TH, 1918.

RECEIPTS.

Cash in Bank, Nov. 15th, 1917	\$ 189.63	
Fees—Current and Advance	69.00	
Ontario Government Grant	100.00	
Sale of Trans.	5.80	
Bank Interest	1.16	
	<hr/>	
Total		\$365.59

EXPENDITURE.

Rent	\$ 32.00
Refreshments	9.00
Printing and Advertising	117.10
To Halifax Fund	8.00
To Red Cross Fund	5.00
Cartage	5.00
Queen Victoria Memorial Fund	6.80
Memorial Portrait	61.50
Sherbourne Fees	15.00
Local Council Fees	2.00
Postage and Rubber Stamp	2.73
Balance	\$ 101.46
<hr/>	
Total balance, Nov. 15th, 1918	\$ 365.59

H. E. TRENT,
Treasurer.

Audited and found correct,
E. W. TRENT.

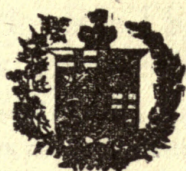
THE QUEEN VICTORIA MEMORIAL FUND

RECEIPTS.

Balance in Bank Nov., 1917	\$ 86.01
Int. and Dividends on Can. Permanent Bonds.....	237.75
Bank Interest	6.80
Sale of Trans.	6.30
Interest on War Loans	37.50
Part Payment of Loan from Red Cross Com.....	108.00
Total	\$ 483.72
First payment on 1918 Victory Bond	\$ 50.00
Balance Nov. 15th, 1918	433.72
Canada Permanent Mortgage Debentures	\$5,000.00
War Loan Certificate	500.00
Receipt 1st Payment on War Loan	50.00
Total to Credit of Memorial Fund	\$5,983.72

H. E. TRENT,
Hon. Treasurer.

Audited and found correct,
E. W. TRENT,
Auditor.



"DEEDS SPEAK"

Women's Canadian Historical Society
OF TORONTO

TRANSACTION No. 17

CONTENTS

Indited Letters concerning Sir John Franklin's First and Second Expeditions 1819-22; and 1825-27. Read by Miss Alice Lea March 1918. Letters loaned by Mrs. George McVicar

Heligoland. Read before the Society December 1918. By the Rev. H. T. F. Duckworth. Reprinted by permission from the "Canadian Churchman" January 1919

1917-18

Some Unpublished Letters of Sir John Franklin, Sir John Richardson and Others

Written during the expeditions to North-west Canada for the purpose
of exploration, 1819-22; and 1825-27

In reading over these letters one of the points which seems to stand out above all others is the great debt that we owe to the British Navy, or, rather, they deal with one of our many debts to the Royal Navy, for these gallant men were officers in that Service. And Canada owes it to them that the northern shores of our great Dominion, its rivers, lakes, bays, islands were explored, surveyed and mapped. These expeditions turned the map of the Arctic regions of North America from a blank void into a distant representation of islands, straits and seas.

The search for a north-west passage was the dream of every Arctic explorer of this period. In the search during their first expeditions, 1819-22, these brave men surveyed 5,550 miles of our North Coast. The most heroic figure of these expeditions, and the best known is Sir John Franklin, whose letters are now presented.

Franklin was born in Spilsbury, Lancashire, in the year 1786. Educated at St. Ives. Went on a holiday to the sea 12 miles away, and there made up his mind to be a sailor. He entered the Navy in 1800, and was in the battle of Copenhagen. Later he joined a ship, *The Investigator*, under Capt. Flinders, who was employed mapping the coast of Australia. There he acquired skill in surveying which proved of use in his future career. He was wrecked and returned to England in time for the battle of Trafalgar, where he had charge of the signals. On account of his scientific knowledge he was chosen to command an Arctic expedition. He went, accompanied by Richardson, two midshipmen and a few Orkney men, *via* Hudson Bay and Rupert's Land; Parry sailing by sea to Lancaster Sound.

Richardson was a great naturalist, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and as famous a man in his way as Sir John Franklin. He left a great record, but as he did not

die in the North is not so well known to us. He was born in 1787 at Nith Place, Dumfries. His father was a friend of Robert Burns. He went through the University of Edinburgh, qualified as a surgeon, and was gazetted to the Royal Navy. He served with Nelson and was in several battles. He was appointed surgeon and naturalist to the Franklin Expedition in 1819.

Franklin writes: "To Mr. Richardson is due the exclusive merit of whatever collections and observations have been made in the department of Natural History." In the second expedition he and Franklin separated, Richardson being sent to explore the coast 900 miles from the MacKenzie to the Coppermine, in boats *The Dolphin* and *Union*. He accomplished 2,000 miles in 10 weeks. He also made a canoe trip round Great Slave Lake for geological purposes, which is mentioned in a letter. He was later knighted for his services.

Of his services during this expedition his chief says: "It is owing to Richardson's excellent arrangements for food and conveyance during the second expedition that there was no loss of life, and not even privation such as to temporarily endanger the health of the men."

The man to whom the letters were written was Chief Trader Robert McVicar, who was born in Isla, the Hebrides, Scotland, early in the last century, and shortly after leaving college came to Canada to take a post in the Hudson Bay Co. That his geniality and courteousness made for him many friends in the country to which he had come to live, and that his young wife, still in her teens, was also popular, and showed hospitality to the members of the Arctic Expedition who, from time to time visited the lonely post at Great Slave Lake, is shown by the tone of these letters. Mrs. McVicar was the daughter of Colonel McBeth, a Scotch officer in an East Indian regiment. Her portrait shows her to have been a beautiful girl. All letters addressed to her husband close with the request that compliments and regards be given to her, who was a gleam of sunshine in the North Land.

On retiring from the post of Chief Trader for the H. B. C., Mr. McVicar bought the Seigniory of Cirgeltene, formerly owned by Sieur de La Ronde, building a beautiful place which he called Silver Heights, where they lived for many years.

In 1819 the first Franklin Expedition started by ship to Hudson Bay, where it traversed North America from Fort York to the mouth of the Nelson River, thence to the mouth of the Coppermine, and embarking on the Arctic Ocean sailed east, exploring the coast, returning through the Barren Grounds to Port Providence and York after terrible privations. The details of the route were left to Franklin's judgment, to be guided by the advice he should receive from the Hudson Bay Company, who were instructed to co-operate and provide it with hunters, clothing and ammunition. Franklin, Richardson, Hood, Back, two seamen from Orkney and boatmen, landed at York in August, 1819, to make arrangements. He found that, owing to the rivalry amounting to almost war between the two rival trading companies which disputed the territory, no supplies were available. The Expedition left Fort Chipewyan July 18th, with little more than two days' provisions and a scanty supply of powder. The story of this first expedition is one of the most terrible in human records. Hood was murdered.

The letters concerning the first expedition are few in number. There is an invoice from Robert Miles, head of the Stores Department of the H. B. C., dated 30th of Sept., 1820, which includes three items for the expedition, and from which is taken this item, "You have, of course, heard of the capture of Mr. Robertson; rather a disagreeable circumstance, but seems not to have had the effect our opponents anticipated. A Mr. Simpson, from London, is come in that gentleman's place, a stranger of course to this country, but from the arrangements he has made with the Montreal agents will, I hope, enable him next year to meet your views, and which he will explain fully in the spring, when he has the pleasure of seeing you."

Thus is introduced Mr., later, Sir George Simpson, the great and redoubtable Governor of the fur countries, who, from the union of the companies the ensuing year, March the 26th, 1821, until his death in 1860, ruled the company for 39 years with autocratic vigor.

The animosities between the H. B. C. and North West Fur Company added greatly to the hardships of the 1819-22 expedition. Sir John Franklin, who had been most punctilious in courtesy and friendship to the officers

of each, received news of the amalgamation of the companies while in the north, and on the return of the expedition, the following letter from Back* written from York Factory July 16th, 1822, gives an amusing picture of the change the very energetic new Governor had already wrought at that place. "Oh! vile disgrace to a Traveller!!!" is doubtless a sly hit at Simpson; who prided himself on his reputation of being one of the most rapid travellers on record, and was noted for the imperious and impetuous haste with which he drove his voyageurs through the lonely wilds.

York Factory, July 16th, 1822.

MY DEAR MAC:—

To describe to you our peregrinations since we parted, would, I fear, add little to your mirth—however, were I not certain that better information would reach you, I should make use of my bungling style to give you some account of them. And now I reflect on the subject it proposes, may not be amiss that I should hold forth a word or two. Well, my bonnie Caledonian, the first is "to tell it, and I dinna think the ——— that Francis Carror was fully able to distance us—but for sole want of a guide he was compelled (and I hope not against his inclination) to remain with us. We started early and encamped late, always taking special caution not to neglect our "devant canoes," or, if you like it plainer, our stomachs—but notwithstanding all this dispatch and (*certes* you cannot say but it was so) Lee Muhei came up with us at Cumberland—*oh! vile disgrace to a Traveller!!!* Howbeit we passed him again, but the Deil take all boasters—he arrived at York before us. However, I must not omit to state that some of your Slave Lake bonny boys—or bony girls, indifferent to us which, stole 61 of the tongues you were so kind as to give me—the perpetrator of this foul deed (I am well informed) was

* Lieut. Back, afterwards Sir George Back. He was born in 1796 and died in 1879. He accompanied Franklin in 1818 on a voyage. Explored the Coppermine in 1819, the McKenzie in 1825, in 1833-35, on an expedition in search of Sir Charles Ross, the Great Fish River. In 1836 commanded an expedition to complete the coast line between Regent's Inlet and Cape Turnagain. Was knighted in 1839, and became an Admiral in 1837.

Thibaut's wife—it is the more certain as she was detected by Lee Muhei stealing our pemican—although I had the same morning given her a good quantity of flour and a cup of tea—nevertheless *I freely forgave her*, and did not even mention the matter. We spent an agreeable night at Ishala Cape—at Cumberland we had a dance one evening and a song the next—with *Heron at Norway House*—the same in excellent style—maintained by Robertson and well aided by Clarke. We left our canoe here and descended in a boat (which, with the exception of running high and dry on Morgan's Rocks) got down to the Rock very well. And here, you know, my good fellow, we were determined to pass a jovial night. And so we did. Bunn was in excellent spirits—drank your health, sang divers many songs, said more witty things, and was *in toto* the very pitch of perfection, and fumony a time and oft, was our *gude chiel* from *Isla* mentioned. We were received with many kindnesses at York, but, Oh! what a change was there. It is no longer the place you knew. You would now be a stranger in your old habitation. A new ministry entirely. There is a throng of persons who commence work at 3 a.m.—assemble three times a day to meals, go away immediately after them, and continue their labors until 1 a.m. again. Such is the present scene, and I am heartily glad that you are not with us. Private conversation is out of the question—for time is yet wanting—but from the little I have had with Mr. Simpson, he appears to think highly of you, and can easily discriminate between your little *jeu d'esprits* and your real qualities, and let none then affront you, my old friend, for I have marked your good and bad points—and ill would it become me to dissemble in either—but on the subject I will say more when I get home—in the interim confide in my integrity and rest assured your interest (as far as in my power lies) shall not be neglected. I send Margaret and my dear little Ellen a few beads which *my mother gave me*, they are trivial, but amends shall be made hereafter. For yourself I say nothing—1823 shall be more explanative. Remember me dearly to your wife and family, and consider me to be in all occasions,

Your friend.

(Signed) GEO. BACK.

Williams is gone to Moose—we did not see him. Simpson is coming in the Athabasca—Prince River, and returns by Sackuschiceine—this he told me, but do not mention it. Leith is to be at Cumberland. Keith at Isle a la Crosse. Kennedy, Columbia—Clark (I believe) Red River. Smith, I am told Athabasca—and a whole string of others whom I do not know. There is, however, an expedition under command of W. McKrugre. They are going up the south branch Senkiescheisin, I don't understand what for, somewhere to the Missourie.

My respects to Walter. Give Guilliam a dram for me. G. B.

435 Martain, 6s. 8d.	144.19
31 Beaver	31.
5 Otter	5.
2 Wolverines	1.
	<hr/>
	£181.19

The expedition returned in 1822 when Franklin published an account of the voyage, which aroused great interest and enthusiasm throughout England, and the two following letters were written in the interval between the expeditions:

Written in 1824.

(To Robert McVicar, Hudson Bay House, London.)

MY DEAR SIR:—

I was very sorry at being from home when you called last evening, as I am very desirous to see you, and if you had left your address (which, by the by, is always necessary in this metropolis) I should have been with you to-day to offer my services in showing you the lions of London. I shall still be happy to do so whenever you please. I am up to my ears in business, as you may suppose, preparing the stores for my next expedition, and writing letters to the gentlemen in the country, but I seldom have time before ten in the morning. Will you come to breakfast at half-past nine on Monday or Tuesday, and we will go out together and return to dinner, if you are disengaged.

Believe me, ever yours truly,

JOHN FRANKLIN.

55 Devonshire St.,
Portland Place.

111 Lawriston Place, Edinburgh,
2 January, 1824.

DEAR MCVICAR:—

I heard lately from Capt. Franklin that you had returned home, and I could not avoid doing myself the pleasure of congratulating you, on your safe arrival and hoping that you found all your friends in good health. I intend to remain in Edinburgh all the winter, and shall be much gratified in hearing from you, but still more in seeing you, if you can make it convenient to visit Old Reeky on your way to London. Capt. Franklin goes out to Hudson Bay with the intention of exploring the coast to the westward of MacKenzie's River, but it is not finally decided whether he sets out this year or the next, most probably the latter. The Company are very desirous of promoting the expedition and offer every aid in their power. Another expedition goes out to connect Capt. Parry's late discoveries with our survey at the mouth of the Copper Mine River, and Capt. Parry goes out himself in another quarter. There will besides be a vessel sent by Behrings Straits, so that the coast bids fair to be completely explored. I am at present engaged in writing an account for Capt. Parry's book of some of the animals seen by him. If you can tell me the Cree and Northern Indian names of the following beasts and birds I will thank you:

Cree. Northern Indians.

Ermine.

Fisher.

Mink.

White Fox.

White Owl.

Raven.

Brown Crane.

Snow Bird.

White Grouse, or William Grouse.

Rock Grouse.

Ptarmigan, small barren ground white grouse.

Golden Plover.

Sand Piper.

Cassawee or long-tailed Duck.

Swan.

White Goose.

Eider Duck.

King Duck.

Loons.

White Whale.

Black Whale.

Seals.

Sea Horses.

Excuse this trouble, and believe me, my dear McVicar, ever yours,

(Signed) JOHN RICHARDSON.

SECOND LAND ARCTIC EXPEDITION, 1825-27.

Early in 1825 Franklin, accompanied by Dr. Richardson, Lieut. Back, Mr. Kendall, Drummond, and four marines again set out to explore our northern coast, but this time much better equipped.

The second expedition had orders to proceed overland to the mouth of the Mackenzie and then by sea to the north-west extremity of America, with the combined object also of surveying the coast between the Mackenzie and Coppermine Rivers. All points were most carefully planned. Some stores, under the charge of Robert McVicar, who was on furlough, were forwarded from England in March, 1824. These stores, with the addition of other articles obtained in Montreal, loaded three "north" canoes, manned by eighteen voyageurs, were delivered by McVicar to Mr. Dease at Athabasca Lake before winter set in. Dease, in 1825, proceeded to Great Bear Lake to make further preparations. The men of the expedition, "five of them from Islay," came out by H. B. C. vessel under the command of Neil Macdonald, a man who had been recommended to Franklin by McVicar, and from whose letters we learn that the men were paid from £45 to £52 per annum. This party of 19 men and three boats arrived at Cumberland House on Oct. 17, 1824.

Franklin and the officers proceeded by way of New York and Canada to Penetanguishene, then the naval depot for Lake Huron, where two large canoes were to meet them. In New York they were well received, and Mr. James Buchanan, then British Consul in that city, conducted the party on their trip to Canada. From New York they went to Albany, thence through Utica, Rochester and Geneva to Lewiston in coaches. They visited Niagara Falls, and crossing Lake Ontario in a sailing

boat, arrived at York (Toronto). Here they were received by Sir Peregrine Maitland and Col. Cockburn and the other Commissioners holding an inquiry on the value of Crown lands. From York they they passed to Lake Simcoe "in carts and other conveyances," halting for a night "at the hospitable home of Mr. Robinson* at Newmarket." Crossing Lake Simcoe in boats and canoes they landed near the upper part of Kempenfelt Bay. A journey of nine miles on foot brought them to the Nottawasaga River, which they descended in a boat, and passing through a part of Lake Huron, arrived at Penetanguishene. Here while awaiting their voyageurs from Montreal, they were entertained by Lieut. Douglass. Passing northward by Sault Ste. Marie to Fort William, Rainy Lake, Lake of the Woods, Lake Winnipeg and the Saskatchewan River, they arrived at Cumberland House on June 15th. Thence proceeding on their journey they reached Robert McVicar's home, Fort Resolution on Great Slave Lake on July 29th; passing on to Fort Good Hope in August. Here, as the season was not yet far advanced, they went on short exploring cruises; Franklin making a dash to the sea and Dr. Richardson exploring the Lake, before going to the winter quarters, prepared for them by Dease, at Fort Franklin, Great Bear Lake. Two letters which follow touch upon these trips:

Fort Franklin, Great Bear Lake,
7th Sept., 1825.

To Robert McVicar,
Chief Trader,
Slave Lake.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—

You will be glad to learn that we have been able to accomplish all the objects which I proposed doing when at your house. Dr. R. has made a very satisfactory and interesting excursion nearly round the lake, and has ascertained the pass to which his course must be directed on the return of the party from Coppermine River next year. I have been down to the sea, which I was delighted to find perfectly free from ice and without any apparent obstruction to our progress next spring. We found plenty of moose and reindeer, and large flocks of geese and swan at the extreme point of the river, and

* Hon. W. B. Robinson.

we might have procured any quantity of provision we chose. We had not the good fortune to meet the Esquimaux, who at this season of the year are employed to the eastward in catching whales and other marine products. But several presents of useful articles were left in their huts to which they are expected to return in the winter.

We had many interviews with the Loucheux, who were delighted to see us. They offered us fish whenever they had it, and in many instances brought us the skins of musk rats and one large beaver, which, of course, we declined taking, and pointed to Fort Good Hope as the place to which they should be carried. I think many skins might be collected if a boat were to go down among them occasionally. I offered a large compensation to any of these natives who would undertake to convey the intelligence to the Esquimaux of our having been on their land and of our intention to return next spring, and I am in hopes some person may be found to do this. At any rate the Esquimaux will see that strangers have been at their huts, and I have little doubt of a favorable reception from them. Our house is quite finished externally, but some of the interior arrangements are yet to be completed, and these I hope will be done in the course of this week, and then I hope we shall be comfortably arranged. You will, of course, suppose that I will be anxious to have the intelligence of our progress sent to England as quickly as possible, and I am sure you will not allow the dispatch that accompanies this letter to remain any time in your establishment. Should our man be able to convey it the whole way to Slave Lake I shall be obliged by your letting it remain with you till our letters from the ship reach you, and then by your sending them in their charge. If the men cannot get up beyond Fort Simpson, and Mr. Smith will carry this packet forward, I must beg of you to send our ship's letters as soon as they come to hand, as the early receipt of them is of importance. Two of the men belonging to the expedition are to carry this packet from you to the Athabasca. The selection I shall leave to yourself. The Doctors Back and Kendall desire their kind remembrances, and I beg mine to Mrs. McVicar.

Believe me, yours very faithfully,

JOHN FRANKLIN.

I shall write to you again by the winter express.

Fort Franklin, September 7th, 1825.

DEAR MCVICAR:

I write to you on the spur of the moment for the dispatch sets off immediately, to tell you that Bear Lake is the finest lake in the world, you have seen none such in your travels and should not if you are wise lose a moment in visiting it. By the finest chance in the world it sends an arm* away to the eastward within a very short distance of Martin Lake, and I hope to see your cariole coming at full speed very soon after you have established your post at the latter place. We shall give you trout, white-fish and carrebeouf, Jamaica rum, Madeira wine, and what you value more, a heart welcome. If the little stranger that I could see was expected at Fort Resolution, has arrived, present my best wishes. If of the fair sex give it a kiss for me, but if a boy, as boys don't care for kisses, from old men at least, wish him a Merry Christmas. Present my kindest regards to Mrs. McVicar. I wish we were nearer neighbors, a visit to or from her would enliven our winter much. Capt. Franklin and Mr. Kendall have been to the sea and found it clear of ice—lots of moosedeer, reindeer and musk oxen. I have been all along the northern side of this lake, plenty of animals, but the Dogribs are poor hunters, and the fishery is our mainstay. When you have read all our old newspapers over I will thank you to send them soon, they will serve us to read over in the spring before we receive others from England. Mr. Duffie was with me in my trip round the lake. He is a fine lad, and as well as the other Isla men we have with us, now does his duty cheerfully. Capt. Franklin, I believe, is writing you.

Adieu. God bless you.

Yours sincerely,

JOHN RICHARDSON.

It is not the purpose of this paper to recount the oft-repeated story of the discoveries and work done by Sir John Franklin and by Sir John Richardson in their voyages during the expedition, of which the two following letters give an incident:

* This Bay bears McVicar's name.

On H. M. Service,
To ROBERT MCVICAR, ESQ.,
Chief Trader,
H. B. Co., Fort Resolution,
Great Slave Lake:

If Mr. McVicar is absent from Fort Resolution the gentleman in charge of the post is requested to open this letter to supply the answers to the queries, and then to forward the paper without delay to Mr. Barrow.

JOHN FRANKLIN,
Captain R. N., in command of the Expedition.

Fort Franklin,
Great Bear Lake,
23rd March, 1826.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—

A report has just reached us as to the probability of Captain Parry wintering on the Northern Coast of this Continent. The establishment of this fact is an object of great importance not only to my party but to the British public, and in particular to the relatives of those who are employed with him. I am, therefore, desirous to investigate the intelligence in every possible manner that it may be conveyed to England by the first ship. But being aware that no information can get to England from this place after this date, I have drawn up a series of queries respecting the points to be ascertained, with notes for your guidance, and shall be much obliged by your annexing the answers and forwarding the enclosed paper in an envelope to Mr. Barrow, Secretary of the Admiralty. If the Indians who brought the original intelligence do not happen to be at Fort Resolution at the time of the receipt of this letter I must beg of you to supply the answers from your notes, and transmit the paper to York Factory that the information may not fail to reach London this autumn.

I shall now put you in possession of the intelligence that we have received as a necessary introduction to the queries, and you will then be the better able to judge whether we have had a correct report of the Indians' statements:

Information has been brought to Slave Lake that a party of Copper Indians had seen certain marks of White

People wintering this season on the Coast, at the mouth of some large river that runs through the barren lands. These Copper Indians had inspected a cache of deer which the party had made after the snow had fallen last autumn, and they had also seen the footsteps of the men who must have recently been there. One of the deer was unskinned and joints had been taken from the other animals. There was a saw pit at a little distance from the cache to which the Indians likewise went, and perceived the saws and axes remaining at the spot. Some of the Copper Indians wished then to go on and find the White People whom (sic) they supposed could not be far off, but others of the party prevented them, and the whole returned to convey the intelligence to Slave Lake where they arrived in January.

These Indians delineated their route on a rough map on which was inserted a river water communication between Slave Lake and the sea.

Mr. W. M. McGillivray has volunteered his services to go in company with a party of Indians and catch the party at their winter quarters before the opening of the navigation will allow them to depart.

The above are all the particulars which have been received, and on these the questions have been grounded. The answers to which can be put in the open spaces which have been left vacant in the paper for the purpose, which Mr. McVicar, or the gentleman who fills them up, will have the goodness to sign.

It is extremely desirable that I should have communication with Capt. Parry this season if possible, and if two or more Copper Indians can be prevailed upon to take the letter for him which I now enclose, I think it perfectly practicable before he leaves his winter quarters which may be expected to happen about the 20th of July. There can be no risk, I apprehend, of the Indians suffering in the least from want of provisions, as the deer will be on the return to the northward at the latter end of May, and in June the Copper Indians are always accustomed to hunt in the vicinity of the Contway-to or Rum Lake. They need not have any fear as to the Esquimaux, for if Capt. Parry has wintered upon the coast near that parallel (sic) of longitude, it is quite certain that he will have urged upon them the necessity of living peaceably with the Indians. I wish, therefore, that you would en-

deavor to persuade some of the Copper Indians to take my letter to Capt. Parry, and they should set forward on the journey as soon as possible. You may offer them a large reward which shall be paid whether they get to the ships or not, providing it is evident that they have gone to the mouth of the river where they suppose the ships to have wintered, and as a further compensation I have requested Capt. Parry to furnish them with an abundant present. If Arkartcho be at Fort Resolution, or so near as to send for him, I am persuaded he would either undertake the journey or send some trusty man of his party.

I repeat that the conveyance of the letter is of the greatest importance to Capt. Parry as well as to myself, and therefore I am sure you will use every exertion to get it forwarded.

If the Indians should succeed in reaching the ship they will have to bring letters back, which they must get to Fort Resolution as expeditiously as possible; and when they arrive it will be necessary to send them to England without delay.

I was much pleased with your very interesting letter of January, and regret that I have not time at present to answer it, my mind being entirely engrossed by the recent intelligence about Parry. But you shall hear from me before we quit our winter quarters respecting the contents. We are getting on very well both as to meat and fish.

All my companions desire their kindest regards and best wishes to yourself, Mrs. McVicar and the young stranger.

Believe me,

Ever yours most faithfully,

JOHN FRANKLIN.

To Robert McVicar, Esq.,
Chief Trader H. B. Co.,
Or the Gentleman in charge
of Fort Resolution,
Great Slave Lake.

Fort Norman, 27 June, 1826.

DEAR MCVICAR:—

The usual hurry attendant on the preparations for a voyage such as ours have left me no time to reply to your kind letters as I ought. I sincerely condole with

you on your domestic calamity, but at the same time rejoice with you that the health of the partner of your cares has not suffered. We arrived here on the 25th and set out to-day with everything in the way of provisions and stores we could desire. As I have been able to do more this spring than I expected in regard to examining the mountains I find that if I return sufficiently early I shall not have to remain in the river next spring and shall therefore most probably pay you a visit in the winter. We have, however, dogs enough at Fort Franklin so that I shall have no occasion to put you to the trouble of sending a train to Fort Simpson, which would be inconvenient, especially as I cannot at present fix the date of my journey.

You seem to have treated the Indian rumors respecting Capt. Parry with the incredulity they merited. They came to us, however, in very different shape, and tricked out with many adventitious circumstances which we scarcely could suppose the Indians possessed ingenuity enough to invent. We now stand in the same relation to Capt. Parry as if the report had never been circulated, and although he may be on the seas, and we may have the good fortune to join him, yet that is uncertain. But for your sensible investigations and communications we might have been led out of our way and perhaps into hazard in search of what had no existence but in the heated imaginations and conjectures of ignorant people.

Adieu, my dear friend, and may God preserve you
et la unitie de votre ame.

Yours sincerely,

JOHN RICHARDSON.

Jack River, 2nd Aug., 1827.

DEAR MCVICAR:—

I have no news of any description, but I cannot quit this place without bidding you good-bye, and begging that Mrs. McVicar and you would accept of my kindest wishes for yourself and my little namesake.

I subjoin my address in the hope of hearing from you as often as you can spare time to write.

Your sincere friend,

JOHN RICHARDSON.

Franklin, returning to England in 1827, was knighted for his services, and that he had not forgotten them, his kind friends were made aware by a letter from Lieut. Robert Douglas, who wrote: "I was very much gratified by reading in one of the London papers Captain Franklin's account of his progress toward the North Pole, and particularly the very handsome manner he made mention of you, and the kind treatment he and his party had received at your establishment."

The last of the letters from Sir John Richardson is of a much later date:

Royal Marine Infirmary, Chatham,
February 26th, 1840.

DEAR MCVICAR:—

On the receipt of your letter about two months ago I took the first opportunity of speaking to Mr. Garry on the subject. He assured me that both himself and the other gentlemen of the Committee valued your services very highly, and were disposed to embrace every means of serving you, but that it was indispensable by the deed of settlement for you to be put in nomination in the country before you could be promoted here. I now find that you have given in an unconditional resignation which has been accepted, but the Committee, with the view of serving you, have recommended the Council to grant you a furlough for one year, provided you can arrange with the person whose turn it is. This will give you a larger claim for a share of the profits. Your agricultural prospects must be very good to induce you to give up four or five hundred a year or your dislike of a trader's life very great. In this country every outlet for young men is closed, and there are so few situations of emolument to be obtained that thousands of well educated gentlemen would gladly accept the situation you have relinquished with all its drawbacks. I did not receive the letter you mention of last year, but should, nevertheless, have written to you as I did to my other friends in the Fur Countries had Capt. Back not told me that it was your request none of the expedition should write to you as you thought being in correspondence with them might be detrimental to your prospects of advancement. I am sorry if my silence could lead you to suppose for a moment that I had forgotten your kindness and hospitality or the senti-

ments of friendship which I have ever entertained for you. Our friend Sir John Franklin, has a very pleasant woman for a wife,* not quite as learned as the first but more a woman of the world and well calculated to make him happy. Back is still a bachelor, looking out every day for a ship, and as a necessary consequence, promotion. Kendall is expected back in a few months from a voyage to the South Seas, on which he has been absent nearly two years. I beg that you will give my kindest remembrances to Mrs. McVicar and my little namesake. Mrs. Richardson unites with me in kind regards to you, and I remain,

Ever yours, most sincerely,

JOHN RICHARDSON.

Parliament has just met and retrenchment is the order of the day. They talk of abolishing many situations and of cutting down the salaries of all public officers."

After his return from his second expedition Sir John Franklin received the appointment of Lieutenant-Governor of Tasmania.

* Lady Franklin, Jane the daughter of John Griffen, a beautiful and accomplished woman. When, after two years, in 1847, there was no news from the last expedition, Lady Franklin fitted out expedition after expedition in search of her husband. The first was undertaken by Sir John Richardson. Finally Sir Leopold McClintock discovered the fate of the party. Even then she would not believe it. She spent her time in constant travel. Just before her death she organized the monument in his memory in Westminster Abbey in 1875, but did not live to see it in place.

† Eleanor Ann, born in 1797, was the daughter of William Porden. A poetess, whose works are forgotten, she published "The Veils," or "The Triumphs of Constancy," in six books. Later "Cœur de Lion," a poem in two volumes; also a short poem on the Arctic Expedition in 1818. A charming woman, she gathered a pleasant society round her of men distinguished in art, literature and science.

On his return from his first journey she met Sir John Franklin for the second time, and in 1823 became his wife. On her marriage there was a distinct understanding that she would never turn her husband aside from his duty to his country or his profession, a promise she held even to death. In 1824 a daughter was born. Afterwards she fell into a decline and died six days after her husband had left England on his second journey. He had not realized how ill she was, she doing her best to hide it.

Her daughter married the Rev. John Philip Gell, head of an old Derbyshire family. She died in 1860, leaving several children.

In May, 1845, he left England on his last and ill-fated voyage, with the vessels *Erebus* and *Terror*, setting forth in high hopes of finding the long-sought-for North-West Passage. He sighted the entrance to Lancaster Sound, and proceeding down the west side of North Somerset and Boothia Islands, reached the North-West Passage, the strait which separates King William Land from Victoria Land. Here he was stopped by that vast barrier of ice of what is now called the Paleocrystic Sea, which forever bars the passage of ships. He died on the 11th of June, 1847, being fortunately spared the sight of the later awful sufferings of the men of the expedition, all of whom perished.

His cenotaph, with the verse by Tennyson, is one of the most interesting in Westminster Abbey.

“Not here! the white North has thy bones; and thou
Heroic sailor-soul,
Art passing on thine happier voyage now
Toward no earthly pole.”

Letters from Peter Warren Dease, Chief Trader, and James Keith, Chief Factor to Robert McVicar, which concern the Second Expedition.

The first letter from Dease, formerly belonging to the N. W. Company, and now with the consent of the Government attached to the Franklin Expedition to look after its material interests is dated Big Bay Island, May 13, 1825. Dease was now on his way up the Mackenzie to Great Bear Lake to prepare for Franklin and full of business concerning the Expedition, engaging hunters, etc.

“Your men reached this about mid-day and delivered me your welcome epistle and the other documents. Indeed, they would have reached yesterday, but for a very thick fog, which prevented them from canoeing over to Big Island, in consequence they camped at the fishery—with the Honorable Gros Pied, Mavgeur de Land, etc., the latter came with them and Prothero and Otterre got up last Sunday. . . . With regard to Trempe I am sorry you did not make known your wants sooner in that respect, as by sending him back now, much time would be lost by him at G. B. Lake, where he will re-

quire to prepare his forge and make coals preparatory to the Captain's arrival, otherwise I would cheerfully have let you have his services until the time you mention and my omitting to say anything about him in my last, was because Carter, who I considered here as in his stead, was sent back and I have no one here capable of making charcoal but him; the wood very unhandy there and much work required for the reception of such a large party will necessarily employ all hands without any loss of time. The powder you sent to be exchanged I duly return measure for measure, but I am sorry to observe they have been rather careless of it and rendered it here almost useless, my only remedy will be to mix it with good so that I can gain nothing, and I have no doubt but you lose also; for although you do not mention the quantity, I suspect there must be some diminution from its having got wet. There is sent in return four quarts and five-eighths, which is what the bag contained. You will also receive 8-lb. shott, which you will return, or the value, to Captain Franklin, and send the account to me, as I will keep the acc. of these articles. The other charges in your account are very well, except the 182 lbs. dry meat at that time, but I believe it may remain so, as there can be no great difference. The gun you did well to keep for your own use, but do not omit to send it by the canoe that will come down the McKenzie River, as we will require the men to have them.

"14. I began this last night and having to dry the bag in which the powder was brought, I deferred until I saw how the new keg would be, as I mixed your wet with what was in the open keg and now Lafrete is waiting and looking so earnestly, while I am writing, that I cannot think of anything but his wish to be off. Your Red Knives I am glad to hear wish to be good boys, but they must be taken care of, they are great scamps at bottom.

"Your Commission to — I delivered. He has been even more unlucky than myself, his powder is useless. So that most of his 12 skins 'are gone to pot.'

"You have sent more sugar than I wanted and I am sure you will be depriving yourself, therefore, send no more. I will have plenty. I am heartily pleased in your relation of a certain circumstance to learn of S. consequence being brought to reason by the only argument

that would prevail against its inflexible perverseness. Your sending a sword, I am obliged to you for, but I have a good Andrew Ferrara, however, as Charles [his brother] has applied to me for a weapon I will accommodate him with one of the two. The man is quite impatient to be off and wants to get home to-morrow, so I must beg of you to give my hearty thanks to Madam for her kind remembrance, etc., etc."

In the next letter from Dease he has reached his destination, Old Fort, Great Bear Lake. This abandoned Post he is busily transforming for the use of the Expedition; its name being later changed to Fort Franklin. The letter is dated July 19th, 1825, and gives some account of his trip to it.

"I have much pleasure in informing you that your favour per Beaulieu" (interpreter for the Expedition) "was duly handed me at the Forks, M. K. R., who reached that with his party (augmented by Grosse Tete) the 11th ult., four days after me, but got to Big Island the day I left there, but I am much surprised Mr. Keith did not write a few lines by him, as I have not yet received the Atha. news; being just on the point of sending down for the property that may have come down for us from there to Fort Perseverance. Mr. Smith left the Forks to go up the river au Laird about three hours before my arrival there, and I waited his return, as the B. L. River is quite impracticable to stem at that season, and indeed, I never dreamed of its being so bad, however, I left the Forks with Mr. Smith the 18th, having taken one of his boats and left one of my canoes, and reached Perseverance the 20th at 1 p.m., found Messrs. Hutchinson and Charles in good health, but not good cheer. They have been running into a close reef most of the spring for grub, and packs not too many. . . . The aspect of affairs at the Lake does not wear the most favorable appearance. Their poverty, has, I believe, discouraged the Indians, as I hear that many of them intend sliding down stream and others going towards the Factory. . . . Beaulieu appears to be very anxious to give satisfaction since he joined us, and will be of service to collect provisions, if indeed, we can collect any. I found ten slaves waiting our arrival here, but a motley crew they are and overstocked with families and vermin. They are incessantly begging for the few fishes we take.

"I entered the river on the 23rd ult., and on the 24th passed some hours of as great anxiety and dread as ever I experienced yet. You may imagine to yourself what were my feelings—in passing along banks of ice that are from 20 to 40 feet high, tossed up along the river on each side, where in some places about two or three feet of beach is all the foot-path, and huge masses overhanging the passenger threatening death at every moment, and almost detached from the general mass, while at the same time those towing such a heavy craft as a boat, were continually exposed to a plentiful cold shower bath from the melting of the ice; with that a beach of a muddy clay, very difficult to get through, at other times obliged to clamber up these walls, as well as they could, and from the summit drag the boat along—the line often hooked on the edges of the ice and the men necessitated to go and extract it. I assure you it was an awful passage, but thanks to the Almighty, we got up safe and sound, after stemming a strong rapidous stream all the way and got to the lake the 26th at mid-day, in the very nick of time, as a strong E. N. E. wind arose and about an hour after our arrival drove such masses of ice in the river that, had we been a few miles below, would have kept us a couple of days more. The bay was quite covered and the ice appeared firm. In the evening wind turned to the westward and cleared a passage for us to cross to this spot the 27th, where we met with the party waiting us—a more miserable set I could not wish to see. Since that time the fishery has supplied us tolerably, and we have been making for winter quarters. Thus I have given you my budget de voyage." After touching on his plans for supplies the letter concludes with this: "N.B.—I have understood that the vise is out of use, in which case I wrote to Mr. Smith not to send it, as an article of that kind charged to them would not look well. I made a present to Gros Pied of two fm. (fathoms) tobo, one Qt. Pow'r, and had for it shirt, leggins and bray, so that he has no cause to regret his visit to Big Island. This was to confirm him in his peaceable disposition as well as a recompense for former services."

The last letter from Peter Warren Dease is dated after the close of the Expedition.

“Mackenzie River, Fort Good Hope, January 29th, 1829. You will see by the heading of the present that I am not an inch more to the southward than I was at G. B. Lake on the contrary. However, as it has pleased the Honorable Committee to change the T. to F., I am well content with a quiet berth for some time, as it may enable me eventually to pack to a civilized part of the world, perhaps a little sooner and I have the highly gratifying assurance of all old affairs being settled, Pub. and Pri., which has relieved my mind from a great load of anxiety and suspense, and I may look forward with hope.” . . .

Morrice tells us that on August 13th, 1828, Governor Simpson sent him, in the course of his famous journey overland, a Chief Factor's Commission for his share in the Franklin Expedition, and this letter continues: “The Governor passed at Ft. Cn. the 13th August on his second voyage to Columbia, via. N. Caledonia. I am sorry I had not the satisfaction of meeting him then, as I remained *Chat d'été* and have no further to go next summer than P. L. L. I got letters from Captain Franklin and the Doctor by Canada packet. They both complain of not enjoying so good health as at G. B. L. Their publication would not have issued from the press before the end of March, both promised to write me by the ship and I shall write them. Captain Back was laid up with sore eyes and forbidden by his medical advisers to read or write, and Lt. Kendal was to be off on a very interesting voyage of scientific discovery. We have heard nothing more of Captain Parry's visit to the North Pole on the ice. “*Je crains qu'ils soyent pres des Glaces.*”

Very different from the warm-hearted letters of Dease are those from James Keith, Chief Factor, then at Fort Chipewyan, who had charge of the accounts as between the H. B. C. and the Expedition, for Franklin writes of settling with him. His letters are full of business, chiefly dealing with “the interests of the concern,” to use a favorite H. B. C. phrase. Though anxious in every way to serve the expedition there is occasionally a touch, a reminder that he served under the motto, *Pro Pelle Cutem*.

Here is an extract from one dated September 30th, 1825:—

"In regard to any expedition men Captain Franklin may be induced to send up, of which he intimates the probability in a letter to me from this place, having already a superfluity of hands in our own establishment for the winter, we cannot think of having any of them, let their capacity be ever so favorable or terms moderate; and as by the Minutes of Council you will perceive that any rations furnished the voyageurs of that party are to be charged at a certain rate Captain Franklin will, no doubt, understand that they will not be called upon, nor do we require them to perform any duty, either at the fisheries or elsewhere, unless that for which they may spontaneously and gratuitously come forward, fetching their own wood and water, or probably building a temporary habitation, if required, excepted; and touching any supplies they may require and can afford on the score of personal necessaries, should Captain Franklin mention nothing on the subject—nothing, of course, can be advanced excepting to those disposed to guarantee the payment which would be by temporarily placing their bill of balance in our possession till they have formally receipted and pledged themselves to the payment of any requisite advance received from the Company, which, of course, would be charged them at the same rate as sold to our own servants, a privilege and accommodation, which, as strangers, running high wages, I do not see they could well expect—and whatever number of them you may be burdened with, if anywise an encumbrance in the way of living, or otherwise, you could send a part or the whole of them to this place.

"Any supplies or charges against the Expedition it will merely be necessary to furnish triplicate sets of the articles composing the same for Captain Franklin's signature, leaving the price and valuation to be settled on a uniform and equitable principle at York Factory."

On January 31st, 1826, he writes: "Your's and Captain Franklin's last packet only reached us the 5th inst., being thirteen days after the departure of our express for the southward, which I had duly intimated was to start by Christmas, occasioned additional carriers being employed from here to Isle a la Crosse, and I fear will cause double expresses throughout. . . I now write Captain Franklin mentioning it as my opinion that in

consequence of Chief Factor McTavish having been disappointed in the forwarding the quantity of goods he intended, and we expected for Mack. River and this district, no alternative appeared to me at present, but to incur some additional expense to the expedition and get the whole of the requisition embarked from the factory in a canoe properly manned and equipped. The barley, tar and junk you asked for to supply the expedition, are now sent." Then follows the inevitable P.S.—"Only the junk is now sent, the tar being necessarily deferred till next opportunity, owing to the short days and deep snow, and my desire of not impeding the conveyance of the accompanying letters for Fort Franklin, which require to be posted onwards with all practicable despatch in order to afford Captain Franklin and Mr. Dease an opportunity of further communication before our embarkation."

The fear expressed in his letter dated September, that some of the men belonging to Franklin's Expedition would become discouraged, or from various reasons drift down to the nearer posts, was, we find, realized, for in March 5th he writes:

"Your barley and Captain Franklin's tar must wait the next opportunity. . . . I wrote to Isle a la Crosse to ascertain whether or not my brother could provide a canoe for and board part of our L. A. Expe'n. Pensioners towards spring, in which case I intended sending him 10 or 12 of them. Should you be straightened in the way of living, send part or the whole of these men hither. Any particular wantages for summer or spring, particularly of whole pieces, you will apprise me of betimes. The Edinburgh Weekly Magazine now tendered for your perusal, you can return at your convenience for our young gentlemen's perusal."

March 18th, to Smith and McVicar. "This I intend posting off to-morrow with the pitch required for the L. A. Expedition, which, together with the junk, say 20 lbs. (and of the pitch now sent, 50 lbs.), sent per last opportunity, we will charge to the Mack. River, leaving you to charge the same, along with any other articles required, when delivered to the Exped'n. C. Trader, Mr. McVicar will of course, forward it on to Mack. River, and should our expected packet soon cast up, I will endeavor for-

warding it as far as Great S. Lake, beyond which, owing to the advanced season, I have mentioned to Captain Franklin, it is not likely to proceed unless something urgent or important connected with his or the Company's affairs should hereafter transpire."

March 5.—"In my last from my brother at Isle a la Crosse . . . he consents to provide for a canoe of our L. A. Expeditionists if sent thither by the last ice, which I propose to avail myself of, we will therefore, be ready to disencumber you of your party whenever you think proper, presuming you will not wish to detain them without some particular object till the opening of navigation. . . . The tar for Captain Franklin and expedition, will, I fear, preclude the sending of your barley by the first opp. One of our young dogs followed the two last L. A. Expedition carriers for your place. Quere, if delivered at the Fort, or if sacrificed and payable."

On April 21,—"Our Land Arctic Expedition party left us for Isle a Crosse on the 8th. Captain Franklin mentions his or Mr. Dease's application to you for some change or addition to their present hunters, which you, of course, will do your utmost to comply with. In order to check unreasonable or extravagant demands from the Indians for any fineries or superfluities from Factory, and to obviate all risk or loss from the possibility of their remaining on hand to the Company, nothing of the kind will be attended to for which a previous deposit in furs to cover the fall payment is not tendered by the applicant."

HELIGOLAND

By

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HELIGOLAND, the name of which means "Holy Land," lies about midway between the two Frisian island-groups. The nearest point on the mainland is $32\frac{1}{2}$ miles distant; the nearest mainland harbour—viz., Cuxhaven, 36 miles. Bremerhaven, the outer port of Bremen, on the Weser, and Brunsbüttel, the western gate of the North Sea and Baltic Canal, on the Elbe, are both within 50 miles as the crow—or the aviator—flies. All of which may be summed up by saying that Heligoland is so placed as to command the waterways leading to and from Wilhelmshaven, Bremen, Hamburg and the North Sea and Baltic Canal, while it lies within about 15 minutes' flight, or even less, by an *avion de grande vitesse* from the nearest point on the mainland. The island is a mass of red sandstone rock, about $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles in length by a little over 600 yards in extreme breadth; the measurements of length and breadth being taken along lines running from N.W. to S.E. and from S.W. to N.E. respectively. The whole circuit of the island, omitting the ground enclosed by the harbour works constructed since 1890, is a little over $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Its total area, even including the space added since the date just mentioned, must be considerably less than that which lies within the circuit of the Belt Line of the Toronto Street Railway. It consists of two distinct parts, being built as it were in two stories, the Unterland or Lowland, and the Oberland or Highland, the latter rising to an average height of 200 feet above the former, though at one point it reaches a height of 260 feet. Before the island was ceded to Germany, the only communication between the two levels was a long flight of steps, which the inhabitants called Last-Allee—a name which might be rendered in Latin by *Via Dolorosa*, or perhaps with more exactness (and indeed propriety) by *Scalae Gemoniae*. Along the Oberland, from S.E. to N.W., ran a thoroughfare called Kartoffeln-Allee—"Murphy's Parade"—a name which indicates at once the prevailing form of agriculture practised in the island, and the general character of its soil.

"On approaching the island," writes Mr. J. M. de Beaufort, in an interesting volume entitled "Behind the German Veil," "the effect of the steep, red cliffs, hollowed by the sea into all kinds of fantastic figures and columns, is very striking.

The red cliffs are fringed above by the grassy slopes of the Oberland, and below by the white sand of the beaches of the Unterland." A Heligolander wrote down for Mr. de Beaufort the following verses in the native speech of the island-folk, showing that green, red and white are the colours of the island in more senses than one:—

“Grön is dat Land,
Rood is de Rand,
Witt is de Sand;

Dat is de Flag vun't Hallige Land.”

The native speech of the Heligolandiers is Frisian, or a Frisian dialect. This specimen illustrates the closeness of the kinship between the Frisian and the English tongue. If we take over the Frisian or “Low-Dutch” word “Rand,” meaning “ridge” or “high ground”—a word which, after all, is familiar to us since the days when the Wittwatersrand, near Johannesburg, in the Transvaal, occupied a prominent place in the newspapers, we can turn the quatrain cited above into English with the greatest ease and no substantial changes:—

“Green is that Land,
Red is the Rand,
White is the Sand;

That is the Flag of the Holy Land.”

In former times, it appears, the Heligolandiers had a flag of their own, coloured green, red and white. Probably enough they were allowed to wave it alongside of the red, white and blue of the British flag, just as the Greeks of Cyprus are allowed to display the white and blue of the kingdom of Greece over against the official banner. But we may be sure that after the transfer of Heligoland from the British to the German Empire, there was room for one flag only—the black, white and red of *Deutschthum*.

About half a mile to the east of Heligoland is an islet called Sand Island. This was originally of one piece with the lower or sandy part of Heligoland. The ridge connecting them was broken through by the sea in A.D. 1720.

The sanctity of Heligoland, a quality which, so to speak, has rather been held in suspension since 1890, appears to have originated in a local cult of Hertha—the Earth-Goddess—to whom a great and notable sanctuary was dedicated there. It may seem strange that a little island should be selected as a site for a temple of the Earth-Goddess, but those who instituted the cult may be supposed to have regarded the sea as part of the property of the Goddess, they having conjectured—and rightly enough—that the sea was not bottomless. The inhabitants were pagans down to the latter part—in fact nearly the close—of the 8th century C.E. They were first visited by

Willebrord, the Apostle of Friesland, an Englishman, but Willebrord appears to have found them too stiff-necked for his powers of persuasion, though he had been very successful with their race-kinsmen of the mainland. After him came Lindger, a Frieslander, who for some time had been a pupil of the celebrated Alcuin at York. Whatever the explanation may be, Lindger succeeded where Willebrord had failed, and the inclusion of Heligoland in Christendom may be said to date from about A.D. 800.

Too small ever to become the permanent habitation of a fully independent community, Heligoland was necessarily dependent upon the nearest predominating power upon the mainland, except when it became, as it did from time to time, a home for pirates. The nearest mainland power might at one time be the ruler of Friesland, at another the Duke of Schleswig or the King of Denmark, at another the city-commonwealth of Hamburg. From 1398 to 1402 it was the headquarters of a notorious company of smugglers and pirates known as the Victualling Brothers. These adventurers derived their name from the successful blockade-running in which they engaged, for the benefit of the defenders of Stockholm, when that city was besieged by the army of Margaret, Queen of Denmark, to whom a considerable party among the nobles of Sweden had offered the Swedish crown. When Stockholm opened its gates to the Queen, who then became sovereign of Denmark, Norway and Sweden—a victory commemorated in the name of the Tre Kroner, or Three Crowns, Fort at Copenhagen—the "Victuallers" seized the town of Wisby in Gothland, and made it a base for piratical enterprises in the Baltic and the North Sea. So far as piracy in the North Sea was concerned, their lawless attacks upon such as passed that sea on their lawful occasions were greatly facilitated by the possession of free entry into the port of Emden. Working from Wisby and Emden, they held up and plundered Spanish, French, Dutch, English and Scandinavian ships—anything, apparently, that carried cargo. In 1398 the Teutonic Knights attacked and captured Wisby, and about the same time one of the pirate-fleets was defeated in battle by the naval forces of the city of Stralsund. The Stralsunders took a number of prisoners, including the pirate-admiral, whose name was Von Moltke.

These blows, however, failed to destroy the pirate-association. They now fixed their headquarters in Heligoland. Von Moltke was succeeded by Godeke von Michelsen, a noble of Verden, near Bremen. Among his lieutenants the most notable was one Klaus Stortebeker, a German knight, who had been publicly disgraced in Ham-

burg for his crimes, his spurs being hacked off his heels, a ceremony similar in its signification to the scrubbing of a priest's fingers with pumice-stone.

From Heligoland the pirates, under Michelsen and Stortebecher, pushed their expeditions as far as the coast of Spain. Strotebecher seems to have been the more brutal and ferocious of the two—which is saying a good deal. It is said that he gained his nickname of Stortebecher from his practice of making all his prisoners "walk the plank," save those who could empty, at one draught, a huge beaker (*becher*) of wine or beer. If they could not drink Stortebecher's measure of wine or beer without pausing, they had to drink with or without pausing, their fill of salt water. It goes without saying that most of Stortebecher's captives were "spurlos versenkt."

In the course of one of their maritime forays, Michelsen and Stortebecher plundered a convent on the coast of Spain. Out of the spoils they selected as their special—not their only—portions certain alleged relics of St. Vincent, which they thenceforth wore at all times next their skins, believing that the relics would be talismans protecting them against the stroke of any and every weapon that might be lifted up against them. To compensate for the plundering of a Spanish convent, they gave most liberally of their ill-gotten gains to adorn the Cathedral at Verden with stained-glass windows.

Among all who suffered by the depredations of Michelsen and Stortebecher, none probably suffered more than the Hamburgers. Certainly it was the Hamburgers who took in hand the suppression of this pest. A fleet from Hamburg captured Emden in 1400. In that year and the year following there were naval actions between the pirates and the maritime forces from the great city on the Elbe, resulting in severe defeats for the former. Finally, in 1402, Stortebecher was defeated and taken prisoner in a great battle off Heligoland by a naval expedition from Hamburg commanded by Simon of Utrecht, and soon afterwards Michelsen also was taken. The relics of St. Vincent protected both so long as they were able to fight, but proved of no avail when they were cast into prison and thence brought to the scaffold. With the capture and execution of these sea-robbers ended the history of the Victualling Fraternity—a licentious, but quite unlicensed, Company of Victuallers.

It is of some interest to notice that cannon were used on shipboard in the battles at sea between the Hamburgers and the pirates.

I have not been able to ascertain whether Heligoland played any important part in the conflicts between the English merchants and those

of the Hansa in the 15th century. Probably it was an outlying naval station for the Hamburg fleets. In 1472 a fleet equipped by the Hansa landed an army on the east coast of England. The invaders penetrated forty miles inland, pillaging, burning and slaughtering. They dragged back to the coast a number of captives, whom they hanged from the yard-arms of their ships. This done, they cruised along the coast, keeping close inshore, in order that the inhabitants "might see what manner of fruit grew on those trees." Before hanging these prisoners, it should be noted, they first tortured them in various ways of barbarous ingenuity.

About 1490 the Duke of Schleswig (who was also King of Denmark) built a fort on Heligoland. The Hamburgers attacked and destroyed this fort in 1499. Apparently they did not deny that the Duke was the feudal lord of the island, but they contended that no fort had ever been built there before. This sounds very improbable. Michelsen and Stortebecher must have erected some sort of defences for their stores of stolen goods. Ultimately, however, the Hamburgers succeeded in obtaining, as part and parcel of a treaty made between them and Schleswig in 1523, an agreement that Heligoland should remain unfortified.

The political position of Heligoland for the next 284 years seems to have been as follows: It was part of the territory of which the Dukes of Schleswig were feudal lords, but it was not infrequently occupied by the Hamburgers, being held by them as security against moneys loaned to the Dukes. After the Thirty Years' War, however, the control exercised by impoverished Hamburg must have become more and more a memory of the past.

Among the articles of the secret treaty made at Tilsit between Napoleon and the Tsar Alexander, was one which provided that if by the 1st December, 1807, Great Britain would not recognize the equality of all flags at sea and restore the territories taken from France and the allies of France since 1805, then Russia would declare war as the ally of France, and the two Emperors would "summon the Courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm and Lisbon to close their ports against the British and declare war upon Great Britain." If any one of these States refused, it was to be treated as an enemy. If Sweden in particular should refuse, Denmark was to be compelled to declare war upon Sweden.

The agreement was made on July 7th, 1807, between Napoleon and the Tsar Alexander that Denmark should be forced to declare war on Sweden, if Sweden would not close her ports against Great Britain. The British Government already knew, from the report of an

agent who had been in Tilsit on June 25, when Napoleon and Alexander embraced each other on the raft anchored in the Niemen, that the two Emperors were by way of becoming allies. This report was followed by news of menacing movements of French troops towards Holstein. It was necessary for Great Britain that the entrance into the Baltic should be kept open, for British were co-operating with Swedish forces against the French near Stralsund, in Pomerania. Again, it was of the greatest importance that Napoleon should not be allowed to get the Danish fleet into his power. Canning, therefore, who at this time directed our foreign policy, resolved to compel Denmark to enter the war as an ally of Great Britain or at least to observe a "benevolent neutrality." In either case, the Danish fleet must be surrendered, for it was too large and well equipped to be left at Napoleon's disposal. The Danes were valiant fighters; they had given proof of that in 1801. To save Denmark's face, an overwhelming armada would be despatched to back up Great Britain's demand. Furthermore, the sum of £100,000 was to be paid to Denmark for the use of her fleet, and Great Britain would be prepared to come to Denmark's assistance if she were attacked by France.

The Prince Regent of Denmark seems to have feared Napoleon more than he feared Great Britain. He rejected Canning's offer. The armada had already set sail—88 ships, to which were presently added others bringing British troops which had been operating in Rügen and the neighborhood of Stralsund. When a last offer had been made and rejected, the troops were landed near Copenhagen, batteries were constructed, and a heavy bombardment of the city began. The force brought to bear upon the Danes was too great for them to resist, and they were brought to a capitulation on September 7. Six weeks later, the British fleet set sail again, taking with it 15 Danish ships of the line, 15 frigates, and 31 smaller craft. It was in the course of these operations against Denmark that Heligoland became a British possession. The island was used as a base for smuggling enterprises on a vast scale, which helped to break Napoleon's continental blockade.

Deprived of her fleet, Denmark was unable even to make an attempt to regain Heligoland. It was finally ceded in due form to Great Britain in January, 1814, when all hopes that Denmark could

base on Napoleon's power to aid her had passed away forever with his retreat from Germany. In order to facilitate the return of peace, Great Britain offered to return some of the French dependencies taken in the course of the war with Napoleon, but made it perfectly clear that the offer did not cover the case of Heligoland any more than it covered the case of Malta. Both islands remained in her possession after the general settlement of the peace of Europe in the treaties made at Paris and Vienna in 1814 and 1815. But, though Malta remained fortified, and in the course of the nineteenth century became a stronger fortress than it had ever been, hardly anything was done by way of fortifying Heligoland. It was practically defenceless when it was handed over to Germany, twenty-eight years ago.

Prussia had a navy in the seventeenth century, and an attempt was made towards the end of that epoch to provide the duchy, as it was then, with a trading dependency on the Gold Coast. During the eighteenth century and the earlier part of the nineteenth, very little attention was bestowed by the rulers of Prussia on naval affairs—very little, certainly, in comparison with the amount bestowed on the Prussian army. But in 1848 the King of Prussia (Frederich William IV) sent his brother, the Prince William—afterwards German Emperor—to England, not only to get him out of the way while the Berlin mob, which hated Prince William, “had its tail up,” but also to make some study of the British naval administration. Five years later Prussia purchased from Oldenburg a piece of territory on the Jade, the great bay just west of the Weser-mouth, and there began the work of laying-out and building up a naval station. Nothing was said, publicly or officially, about Heligoland, but the question whether the island was to be left for all time a British possession had now become inevitable.

Certain unpleasant experiences which had befallen Prussia in the Danish War of 1848-1849 had suggested the desirability of Kiel as a Prussian naval station. Similar reasoning would point to the desirability of Heligoland. Danish cruisers, in 1848 and 1849, had blockaded Prussian harbours—these at that time were nearly all on the Baltic—and captured a number of Prussian merchant-ships. Kiel was then a Danish naval base. If Heligoland had also been Danish, Prus-

sian shipping might have suffered much more even than it actually did. If Great Britain and Prussia should ever be at war, Heligoland would become an advanced base for cruisers, and no Prussian vessel would be able to show its nose in the North Sea. The Prussian war-fleet might easily be penned up in Emden or the Jade, the approaches to both of these places being commanded by the island.

The possession of Kiel and the cutting of a ship-canal from the North Sea to the Baltic were undoubtedly the objects in view, on the part of the Prussian Government—i.e. Bismarck—when war was declared on Denmark in 1864. The annexation of Holstein and Schleswig made the acquisition of Heligoland doubly desirable, for the island commanded the approaches, not only to the Jade, where Prussia's new naval station was being constructed, but also to the mouth of the Elbe, from which the projected North Sea and Baltic canal was to be opened. But Bismarck had other fish to fry in the meantime. Austria and France had to be "arranged with," to be put where Prussia wanted them to be. The question of Heligoland had to be postponed. Prussia could afford to postpone it, for Great Britain had not made Heligoland a second Malta, and showed no disposition to do so. Possibly the Queen of the Seas might some day be wheedled into making a present of it to Germany, for some sentimental reason or other. Had she not, out of mere sentiment, handed over the Ionian Islands to Greece in 1864?

The Ionian Islands, it may be observed, were one of the prizes of the war with Napoleon which Great Britain had retained in the peace-settlement of 1815.

When Heligoland was at last ceded to Germany, Bismarck gave the German public to understand that in his opinion the cession was worthless. But Bismarck had just before that quarrelled with the Kaiser, and resigned the Chancellorship of the Empire. He himself had been Chancellor, and director of the foreign, as well as the internal, policy of the Empire, at the time when Count Münster, the German Ambassador in London, approached Lord Granville on the subject of Heligoland. The interview between Count Münster and Lord Granville on this matter took place in the course of 1884. It is impossible to suppose that Münster acted without some instructions from Bismarck, and equally impossible to suppose that

Bismarck was satisfied with the result of the interview.

Count Münster proposed the cession of Heligoland on the ground that the island, in its existing state, was of no use to Great Britain, whereas it might, as a harbour of refuge, be of great service to Germany, who was both willing and able—as Great Britain could not be supposed to be—to undertake the conversion of a mere fishing-haven into a great harbour which could be at the service of every maritime nation in the world. Furthermore, the possession of Heligoland by Germany was an indispensable corollary of Prince Bismarck's project of cutting a ship-canal from the North Sea to the Baltic. The harbour of Heligoland would be always open to British vessels, but its acquisition for Germany was part and parcel of the ship-canal enterprise. It was practically impossible that war should ever break out between Great Britain and Germany, "but the cession of Heligoland would strengthen the good feeling of Germany towards Great Britain to an extraordinary degree." At this point Lord Granville remarked that doubtless the cession of Gibraltar to Spain would strengthen the good feeling of Spain towards Great Britain to an extraordinary degree, but— It was courteously put; Lord Granville was ever the "pink of politeness." But it had the desired effect. Münster saw that further argument would be wasted, and begged, not without signs of discomfiture, that the matter might not be mentioned to any of Lord Granville's colleagues. It is not too much to suppose that Münster was also extremely anxious to have the affair kept secret from other members of the *corps diplomatique* resident in London, and especially from the representatives of France and Russia.

It was in 1884 that German colonial enterprise was beginning its ill-omened and ultimately disastrous career. Six years later, a situation had arisen in Africa which menaced the continuance of friendly relations between Great Britain and Germany. Some definition of "spheres of influence" was needed. The German Emperor drew up, or supervised those who drew up, a project of agreement under which Great Britain would recognize certain regions in East and South-west Africa as German protectorates or dependencies, while Germany conceded similar recognition to Great Britain with regard to Nyassaland and Somaliland. In exchange for German recog-

dition of the British protectorate of the island of Zanzibar, Great Britain was to cede Heligoland to Germany.

At the time when this proposal was made, the naval power of the German Empire was not by any means formidable. It is open to question whether the German navy could then have compared at all favourably with that of some of the South American Republics. But there was nothing—short of a certain action upon the part of Great Britain such as could not be contemplated as a possibility—there was nothing to prevent the naval power of the German Empire from becoming what it actually was twenty years later—very considerable indeed. Disputes over territorial questions arising in Africa might very easily have the effect of spurring Germany on to the construction of a large and formidable navy. Furthermore, the Germans might address themselves to the task of making trouble between Briton and Boer in South Africa. The cession of Heligoland, an unfortified islet, which imported less than £100 worth of British goods in a year, a summer resort far more frequented by Germans than by Britons, lying in relation to Hamburg very much as the Isle of Man to Liverpool, the cession of such a dependency could not be accounted of as a great matter. To retain it, and to fortify it, would be a provocative act, which would at once supply a new text for sermons in the foreign press upon Britain's maritime tyranny.

Lord Salisbury, who was then Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, was not a man of peace at any price, but he was prepared to do a good deal in order, not so much to directly avoid war as to remove possible occasions of war. The German proposals were therefore accepted, and after 83 years of an easy-going existence under the British flag, Heligoland was pushed into the *Sturm und Drang* of Prusso-German imperialism.

The islanders themselves were far from welcoming the change. They had managed their own local affairs very much in their own way. Though Great Britain had taken very little notice of them, they had been proud of belonging to the British Empire. They knew what Germans were like—they had shoals of Germans summering in Heligoland and Sand every year—and the knowledge did not edify them. Their opinion ought to have been consulted. Lord Rosebery attacked Lord Salisbury in the House of Peers for disre-

garding it. The Prime Minister's somewhat unsatisfactory reply was that local must give way to imperial interests. The objections of the Heligoland, however, to being handed over to the tender mercies of German military and police officers, would have been very good ground for refusing that part of the Kaiser's proposals which related to the island, and for insisting on keeping consideration of the condition of affairs in the North Sea separate and distinct from discussion of African territorial questions. But by the time Lord Rosebery raised his voice in protest, it was too late to go back on what had been done.

Count Münster had spoken of making Heligoland a great harbour of refuge, open to British vessels, and all others that might need to put into it. He also pressed the argument that German friendship for Great Britain would be strengthened. Heligoland became a German Malta—a naval base, not a harbour of refuge. German friendship was not strengthened. The cession of Heligoland for German recognition of Britain's protectorate over Zanzibar was denounced by Bismarck and others as a crafty device whereby Britain had checkmated the cherished German design of erecting an African Empire. There were other Germans, however, who realized the true value of Heligoland, and despised Britain for giving up so important a strategic point, and this view ultimately prevailed.

At the time when the war broke out, the German Empire must have spent the equivalent of at least two millions sterling on harbour works and fortifications in Heligoland. There are now two harbours, which during the war served as a base for the operations of light cruisers, destroyers and submarines. On the highest point of the island a new lighthouse was erected, the lantern of which stands at a height of 460 feet above the sea and is furnished with an electric apparatus of 42 million candle-power, visible at a distance of 30 miles. Massive walls of concrete were built wherever the sandstone rocks showed signs of being eaten away by the sea.

The armament of the island consists of five batteries of four guns each. Two of these batteries are made up of 12-inch long guns; three of 11-inch and 17-inch howitzers. The turrets in which the guns are mounted are built up of Gussong plate, which has resisted the impact of shells weighing over a ton fired at short range. The

island was provided with a very complete system of defence against air-craft—a system all the more necessary as a Zeppelin “hangar” was erected on the Oberland.

The islet of Sand continued to be a summer resort until the war broke out, but most if not all of Heligoland itself must have been “verboten.”

What difference would it have made in this war if Great Britain had not ceded Heligoland to Germany?

It is difficult to say. But it is not likely that the difference would have been to our advantage. *We* should almost certainly have left the island unfortified. Even if we had installed fortifications and deepened the harbour, Heligoland would still have been a very much exposed outpost. It would have been constantly under attack, and with it the vessels in its harbour, by air-craft, and I have pointed out that it lies only 32½ miles from the nearest point of the mainland. The blockading of Emden, Bremen, Hamburg and all the great ports of Germany, has been maintained, so far as one can see, just as effectively along the line from the Orkneys to Norway, as it could have been maintained with Heligoland as an exposed advance-post.

In German hands, however, Heligoland is certain to be in the future, as it has been since 1890, a menace to the peace of Europe and indeed of the world.

Great Britain ought to resume possession of the island, dismantle the fortifications, and restore its proper inhabitants to the freedom they enjoyed aforesaid under her flag.

HELIGOLAND.—WORKS CONSULTED.

J. M. DE BEAUFORT. *Behind the German Veil*. (Part of this book appeared in two articles in the *Quarterly Review*, April and July, 1916.)

WILSON KING. *Free Cities of Germany*. (Histories of Hamburg, Bremen and Lübeck.)

Article, *Heligoland*, in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

J. HOLLAND ROSE. *Napoleon*, ch. xxvii.

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

Women's Canadian Historical Society

OF TORONTO

1918-1919

Organized November, 1895; Incorporated Feb. 15th, 1896.

OFFICERS

Honorary President	MRS. LIONEL CLARKE.
Past Presidents	MRS. FORSYTH GRANT. MRS. S. A. CURZON.* LADY EDGAR.* MISS FITZGIBBON.*
President	MISS MICKLE, 48 Heath St. E.
Vice Presidents	MRS. JAMES BAIN. MRS. EDGAR JARVIS.
Recording Secretary	MRS W. T. HALLAM, Wycliffe Coll.
Corresponding Secretary	MRS SEYMOUR CORLEY, 46 Dun- vegan Road.
Treasurer	MRS. DUCKWORTH, 234 Crawford Street.
Convenor Soldiers' Comforts Com.	MRS. HORACE EATON, 141 Lynd- hurst Ave.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

MRS. RALPH L. BRYDGES.	MRS. GORDON MACKENZIE.
MRS. W. HODGSON ELLIS.	MRS. JOHN MORGAN.
MRS. HILLS.	MRS. NEELANDS.

* Deceased.

SOLDIERS' COMFORTS COMMITTEE

MRS. HORACE EATON, Convenor.	
MRS. JAMES BAIN.	LADY STUPART.
MRS. DUCKWORTH.	MRS. TRENT.
MRS. BODDY.	MISS HORSEY.
MRS. MUSSON.	MISS ROBERTS.

HONORARY MEMBERS

SIR G. R. PARKIN.	DR. LOCKE.
COL. G. T. DENISON.	THE VERY REV. DEAN HARRIS.
MISS CARNOCHAN.	J. A. MACDONELL.
JAMES HANNAY.	W. D. LIGHTHALL, F.R.S.C., F.R.S.L.
SIR GILBERT PARKER.	BENJAMIN SULTE, F.R.S.C.
CHARLES MAIR, F.R.S.C.	REV. JOHN MCLEAN, PH.D.
MISS MACHAR.	EDWARD M. THOMSON, F.R.S.C., F.R.S.L.
BLISS CARMAN.	C. G. D. ROBERTS.
JOHN D. KELLY.	MRS. J. W. F. HARRISON.
PROF. PELHAM EDGAR.	PROF. H. T. F. DUCKWORTH.
PROF. G. M. WRONG.	
MISS K. M. LIZARS.	
REV. PROF. BRYCE.	

ANNUAL REPORT

WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE SOCIETY
OF WASHINGTON

1911

Presented to the Board of Directors at their meeting held on the 15th day of December, 1911.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

The year 1911 has been a year of unusual activity for the Society. The work has been carried on in a most efficient manner, and the results are most gratifying. The following is a summary of the work done during the year.

The first object of the Society is to secure the moral reform of the individual. This is done by the distribution of tracts, the holding of classes, and the giving of personal visits.

The second object is to secure the moral reform of the family. This is done by the holding of family classes, and the giving of personal visits.

The third object is to secure the moral reform of the community. This is done by the holding of public meetings, and the giving of personal visits.

The fourth object is to secure the moral reform of the nation. This is done by the holding of national conventions, and the giving of personal visits.

The fifth object is to secure the moral reform of the world. This is done by the holding of world conventions, and the giving of personal visits.

The work of the Society during the year has been most successful. The number of tracts distributed has been 1,234,567. The number of classes held has been 123,456. The number of personal visits made has been 1,234,567.

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President's Address

A year ago we rejoiced in the cessation of war, and the series of victories which secured this. Then all seemed fair—now we are not so sure. The attitude of our late enemies must cause anxiety, for though the various reports from Germany may be confusing, her actions are not. Scapa Flow, her unwillingness to return her plunder and stolen machinery to our Allies, are ominous for the future.

Nor does it seem likely that the multiplication of republics must issue in peace. In theory they are peaceful; but according to American histories the war of 1812 was caused by Madison's desire for a second term of office, the Venezuela Incident is fresh in our memories; and if in a majority of the first-class powers, their ablest and most ambitious men are to struggle for the great prize of Presidency every few years, I do not see how it can make for the peace of the world.

In Canada the first year of peace has been disappointing to all. The problems that beset us seem to be intensified; life in someways has become more difficult.

The easy, foolish optimism that prophesied a new world, a better era, as the outcome of the war in which so many of our best and bravest perished—is partly to blame for this; and we have not learned the lessons war should have taught us. The craving for material, well-being, for ease and self-indulgence—all ignoble ideals seem to hold as before. Also the voices of dissension and disloyalty that were perforce silent during the war, are again being raised; sometimes it seems that all our sacrifices may have been in vain.

All this is not to discourage—but to show that as a patriotic society there is much for us to do, and need for each of us to make our influence felt. Love of country is our watchword, and love of Empire, and we must express this in deeds as well as words. Our aim must be to build up—not to pull down. I suppose there never was a country of which it was so true as of Canada, that its prophets have no honour in it—and our prophets leave us!

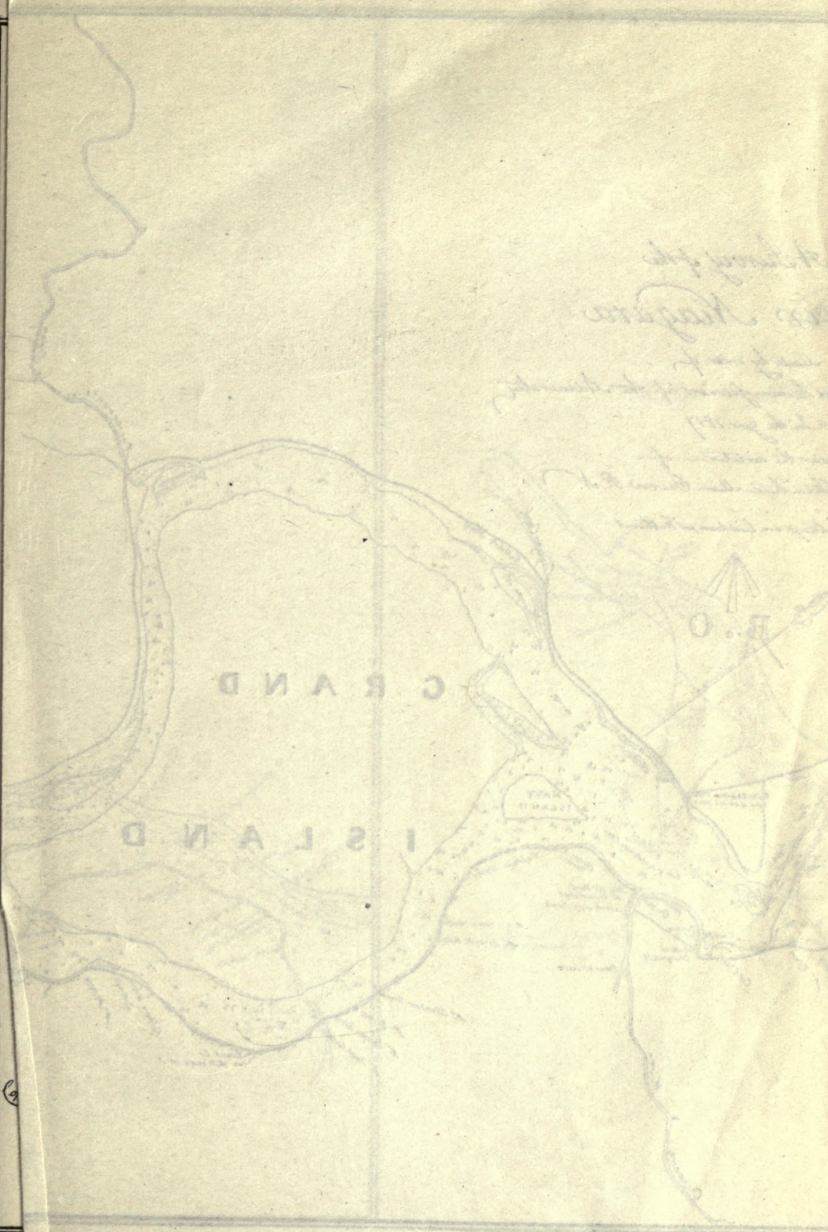
This must be changed. Good work, if done by a Canadian, should meet with just and warm appreciation. Just now there is urgent need to buy only, or as far as possible, Canadian and British goods. There is need, too, to uphold Canadian ideals, lest the foreigner to whom we have given a vote should snatch the heritage we hold with careless hands from us.

As a result of the Referendum the forces of Prohibition have triumphed; but this does not necessarily mean a complete triumph for temperance, which is a far finer thing than enforced abstinence. Sometimes one feels that our children are being virtually trained to over-indulgence; the foundation of many a career of intemperance has been laid in the unrestrained use of harmless things indulged in until it amounted to a weakening of the child's moral fibre. Then, too, the use of drugs has increased and so many deaths are caused by the poisonous substitutes of the boot-legger, that the moderate man is justified in doubting whether we have yet reached the best possible solution of this difficult question.

The visit of the Prince of Wales has been made happy and memorable by his rare personality, wonderful tact and simplicity of spirit. None who saw him could fail to be touched by his courtesy, his modesty—nor could one but mark his quiet resolution in the fulfilment of duty—many of the functions must have been irksome to one of his ardent temperament, but to each he gave with painstaking care part of himself and made it memorable. Let us hope that the love and affection he aroused, the thrill of pride in our great Empire he seemed to represent will never die down. The bright buoyant youth, who touched all hearts, has a hard task before him—a task only to be lightened or fulfilled by the loyal co-operation of all his subjects. In the coming years of his kingship may it be ever his!

In our own Society we should try to increase the knowledge of history and our pride in it. The need for true patriotism is great; also I think that we should earnestly pursue our work for soldiers—those broken men who gave up health and strength which brighten life, for our sake and in humanity's cause.

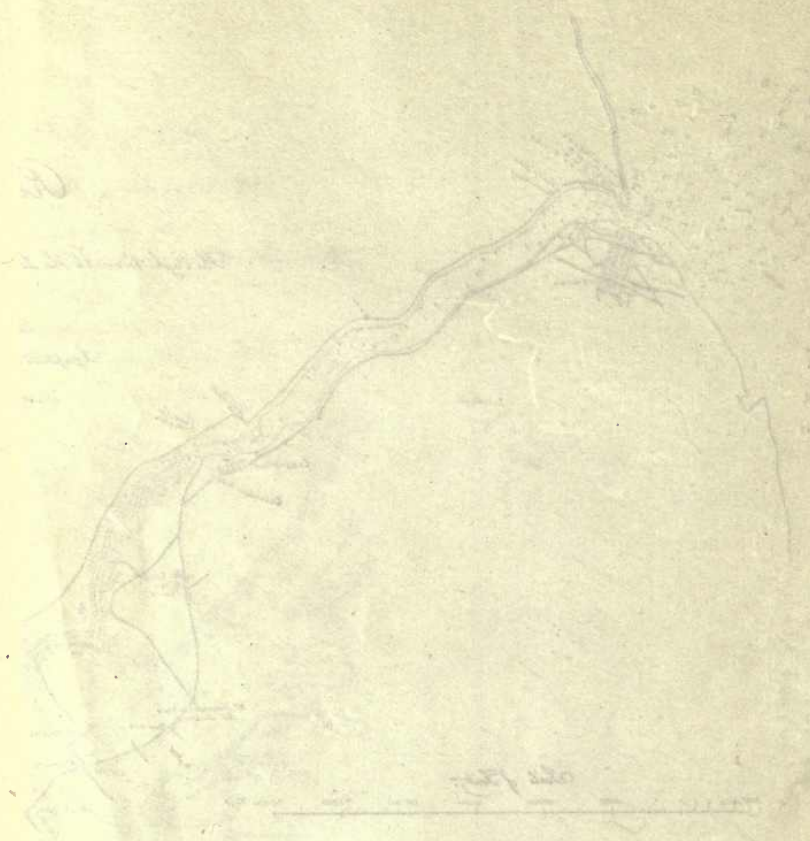
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GRAND ISLAND

SMALL ISLAND





Secretary's Report

During the past year the historical and literary papers and readings have been of a very high order.

At our annual meeting in November Miss Josephine MacCallum gave an account of the opening of "The Temple of Peace" at Sharon, by the York Pioneers, in September.

December—"Heligoland," by Prof. H. T. F. Duckworth, of Trinity College. Reprinted as part of Transaction 17.

January—"Land Grants in Upper Canada," by Prof. A. H. Young, of Trinity College.

February—"Fort Garry in the Seventies," by the late W. J. Morris; read by Miss Mickle.

March—"Canadian Poets," with selections, by Prof. Pelham Edgar.

April—"Slave Days in Canada," by Mrs. W. T. Hallam. This was later printed by the *Canadian Churchman*, and issued through Mrs. Hallam's kindness, as an occasional paper by the W. C. H. S., the first, we hope, of a series.

October—"David Willson and the Temple of Peace at Sharon," by Prof. J. Squair, of Toronto University. Patriotic selections read by Mrs. Frank Halbus were much enjoyed at this meeting.

At the end of May about fifty-four members visited the "Temple of Peace" at Sharon, and we hope this may be the first of a series of historical expeditions. Places of interest on Yonge Street were pointed out by the President who had prepared some "Notes by the Way." A halt was made at Thornhill to see the quaint, historic church over which we were shown by the Rector, and to visit the grave of Colonel Moodie, of Richmond Hill, who was killed near Montgomery's Tavern in 1837 while on the way to Toronto to warn the authorities of the rebellion. At the Temple—a unique and interesting structure—a short address on David Willson was given by Prof. Squair.

The Society has begun a book for the collection of historical pictures, and already we have some valuable

photographs. Another book is kept for collecting war post cards.

During the year we have lost the following: Mrs. Galbraith, a valued member who helped in our Red Cross work; Mrs. Stratford, a foundation member, who, though latterly unable to attend, to the last generously supported our patriotic work; Miss E. K. Sibbald, who contributed a paper, "Notes on Georgina Township," to Transaction 16; Miss B. McLean Howard and Mrs. Primrose, interested members for many years, and Miss A. Sanderson, who was very active in our patriotic work. All will be missed, and to their loved ones we tender deepest sympathy in their loss.

Nor can we forget one whom we have been proud to claim as a member, that devoted Red Cross worker, Mrs. Stearns-Hicks, who, in very truth, laid down her life for the cause. Many press notices and a memorial service at St. Paul's Church attested the widespread appreciation of her unselfish service, and grief for her loss; and for us it is pleasant to remember that she never forgot the Society. Though far too busy to attend, once she left her onerous duties to address us; and several gifts to help on the work, showed that her interest remained with us. She died leaving a noble example, on February 24th, 1919.

We welcome the following new members: Mrs. Walter Evans, Miss E. F. Currie, Mrs. Hills, Mrs. Bligh, Mrs. Neill Sinclair, Mrs. Neelands, Miss M. Armour, Mrs. F. S. Jamieson, Mrs. Leadbetter, Mrs. John Garvin, Mrs. Thornloe, Mrs. Sweatman, Miss Helen Perkins, Mrs. A. F. Moore, Mrs. Van der Smissen.

The new honorary members are: Prof. G. M. Wrong and Prof. H. T. F. Duckworth.

Exchanges:—Ottawa Historical Society, Landmark Association, Ontario Historical Society, Waterloo Historical Society, Essex Historical Society, True stories of the North-west Mounted Police by Hon. W. R. Riddell, York Pioneer Association, Smithsonian Institute, Library of Congress, Washington, Washington Quarterly, Seattle, Minnesota Historical Society.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

LUELLA CORLEY, *Cor. Secretary.*

Report of the Red Cross Committee

Although the Armistice was in force when the annual meeting was held, it was decided that the committee which had done such good work during the war should continue its efforts by devoting its energies to the returned soldiers in hospital in Ontario. In all 1,412 articles have been sent to the Soldiers' Comforts Headquarters. In December a Christmas shower was held at which gifts of games, books, house-slippers, caps, etc., furnished presents for 185 tubercular soldiers at the Mountain Sanatorium at Hamilton. Gifts of money were sent to the Dover patrol, \$25.00; to Serbian Relief, \$8.00 (per cheque from Treasurer, \$5.00, per convenor, \$3.00), and to the Indian Famine Fund, \$12.00.

In November a bridge and tea dance was held in the rooms of the Woman's Art Association, at which nearly two hundred dollars were realized. This, with the small sums made each month by afternoon tea, will be devoted to Braille books for blind soldiers, to gifts for tubercular soldiers, and to repaying the small debt still owing The Queen Victoria Memorial Fund.

At the December meeting a Life Membership in the Red Cross Society was presented to your convenor, "as a slight acknowledgment of zeal and perseverance shown in furthering the work of the committee."

The personal work of visiting the soldiers in hospital has been most efficiently done by Mrs. Edgar Jarvis who has taken fruit, cake, fresh eggs, much of which was supplied to her by the Clarkson, Lorne Park Branch of the Women's Institutes, also books and magazines in large numbers, to the ward allotted to us by the Red Cross Society.

Respectfully submitted,

ELIZABETH R. EATON.

Treasurer's Report

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS.

Balance in Bank, Nov., 1918	\$101.46
Fees	54.00
Receipts of Sharon Ex.	85.25
Ontario Government Grant	100.00
Bank Interest	1.20
Total	\$341.91

EXPENDITURE.

Sherbourne Club Fees	\$15.00
Local Council Fees	2.00
Printing	124.15
Advertising	3.96
Postage	5.00
Sharon Ex.	51.00
Flowers	12.00
Refreshments	10.50
Total	\$223.61
Balance Nov., 1919	\$118.30

THE QUEEN VICTORIA MEMORIAL FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Cash in Bank, Nov., 1918	\$433.72
Int. of Canada Permanent Debenture	250.00
Interest on War Loans	52.50
Bank Interest	5.74
Sale of Trans	90
Total	\$742.86

EXPENDITURE.

Final Payment 1918 War Loan	\$452.40
First Paymen 1919 War Loan	30.00
Total	\$482.40
Balance	\$260.46

SECURITIES.

Canada Permanent	\$5,000.00
1917 War Loan	500.00
1918 War Loan	500.00
1919 War Loan	300.00
	\$6,300.00
Total cash and securities	\$6,560.46

RED CROSS ACCOUNT.

Balance in Bank, Nov., 1918	\$51.84
Donations	98.75
Teas and Sales	237.07
Bank Interest	5.80
	\$403.46
Total	\$403.46

EXPENDITURE.

Donations	\$42.00
Red Cross Supplies	55.52
Red Cross Life Membership	25.00
Rent of W. A. As.	25.00
Music	8.00
Tea Supplies and Service	18.85
Printing and Advertising	12.25
Postage60
	187.22
Balance Nov., 1919	216.24

HOPE H. DUCKWORTH,

Honorary Treasurer.

Audited and found correct,

SYDNEY JONES, *Bursar,*

Trinity College.



"DEEDS SPEAK"

Women's Canadian Historical Society
OF TORONTO

TRANSACTION NO. 18

CONTENTS

Fort Garry in the Seventies
by the late William J. Morris

The Boulton Letters
Letters of the Rev. William Boulton, Master of U. C. C.,
to His Wife, 1833-34

1918-1919

PREFATORY NOTE

This paper casts some light on a formative and crucial period in the history of the West and of Canada. To understand conditions we must go back some years. Canada had passed through the Fenian disturbances (from 1866-71) and became a Dominion in 1867. When the H. B. C. charter expired in 1869 Canada gained 2,300,000 square miles—a mixed population of 10,000 and had to administer it hundreds of miles away; her total revenue being about twenty and three-quarter millions.

In the new province was great unrest caused partly by Indian troubles to the south that had extended over years. In 1862 there was a Sioux war, with attendant massacres in Minn., Iowa and Dakota, and many of the bands and chiefs took refuge across the line. In 1866 the Indians refused to concede a wagon road to Montana, and the massacre of Fetterman's party began a war which lasted 12 years. In 1872 there was trouble with the Modoc Indians in Oregon; and in 1876 occurred the war with Sitting Bull, the Custer massacre and flight of the Sioux into Canada.

These were troubles from without; nor were internal difficulties lacking. The Indians were disturbed at the change from H. B. Company to Canadian rule; England they trusted, H. B. C. they knew—Canada far away was an unknown quantity. The Provisional Government had perplexed, and the Riel Rebellion affected them. American traders poured into the land freighted with fire-water and impoverished the tribes. Settlers coming in and squatting on their hunting grounds and surveying parties often aggressive, passing through worked upon their fears. Uneasy they were and turbulence threatened. To govern and protect them and gain their friendship was most necessary, the more so as the country must fulfil its pledge and build the C. P. R.

One of the first steps in governing was: In 1871 liquor was prohibited to the Indians; in the same year telegraphic communication was opened—the dreaded "speaking wire" of the Indian, and in 1873 Governor Morris arrived, his great task being to gain the confidence of the Indians and to influence them to give up their title to the land. This he did by treaties, one of the most important of which was the famous North-west Angle Treaty.

Old Fort Garry in the Seventies.

BY THE LATE WILLIAM JOHN MORRIS.

Many years ago, the writer then living in Eastern Ontario, decided to pay a visit to Fort Garry (now Winnipeg) where a near relation was Lieut.-Governor of the Province of Manitoba. The only route at that time was through the United States, by way of Detroit, Chicago and St. Paul. It was late in the year, the early part of December when I started, and, of course, the whole land was in the grip of frost; but I was surprised after we had crossed the Mississippi into Minnesota, to see what a slight depth of snow was on the ground. It was Saturday afternoon when we reached St. Paul, that fast-growing city, which is beautifully situated on the high banks of the Mississippi. So putting up at the Merchants' Hotel, I waited till Monday for the one daily train that would take me on to Moorhead, on the Red River, which point was to see the beginning of my long stage drive of about four-hundred miles to Fort Garry.

Sunday opened fine and clear, so I took a walk of a few miles across the prairie to Minneapolis, seeing the great flour mills built at the falls of St. Anthony, the beginning of the gigantic mills and elevators which now almost shut the grand falls out of sight. My walk in the sharp keen air was much preferable to the coarse conversation in the Hotel, carried on by a lot of Western men, of a stamp I had never before met, for this was but shortly after the suppression of the Sioux uprising and the terrible massacre of the whites in Minnesota, and the whole conversation of these gentry consisted in blood-curdling yarns and boasts of how many redskins each individual had himself "wiped out." It was easy enough to see that most of this talk was nothing but windy boasting, at the same time it was not pleasant to hear.

In the morning I took train on the Northern Pacific and for many a weary mile travelled a most desolate region, which seemed to be entirely composed of shallow lakes, and dark tamarac and cedar swamps, with a wretched-looking shack at rare intervals; though one of them amused me not a little, as on a board was painted up the name "Rush City," the city in question consisting of a couple of small shacks and cow stables, with a small wayside passenger station. At last, towards evening, we reached Moorehead, situated on the right, or Minnesota side of the Red River, which I now saw for the first time. Its high banks on each side are clothed thickly with red willows which has given the river its name, for in all its very tortuous course it is the same, the red willows cover all the banks, and higher up and extending back a short distance is a pretty thick growth of ash, maple and scrub oak.

At Moorehead, I got a fairly comfortable meal and a small bedroom, to which I was only too glad to retire to get rid of the ribald language and loud boasting of the Westerners. In addition it seemed to me that the greater portion of those present, and there could not have been less than twenty or thirty, were professional gamblers, "three-card-monte" men, and I confess to having been glad to avoid their company, as if one were to believe their statements, they would just as soon as not use pistol or knife if offended, and I fear this was to a great extent true. At all events, I slipped off to bed, and was called in good time in the morning to a hasty breakfast, and told the stage was at the door. It was a ramshackle affair, on a pair of bob sleighs, with some straw laid on the floor, and an old nearly worn-out buffalo skin for the only robe. For companion I found an American soldier, a decent fellow, returning to his company at Pembina, he having been left behind to collect material they had left in the chase of "Sitting Bull," the great Sioux Chief and his band. The other occupant from his dress I at first took to be a "half-breed"; he wore moccasins, leather hunting shirt, and a fox skin wound round his head by way of a cap. What surprised me, however, was the excellent English he spoke, and after a time I found he had a thorough knowledge of the Classics. I noticed that our driver carried a heavy pair of Colt revolvers, and beside

him was seated a guard similarly armed, who had also a repeating rifle. These I was told were for use in case of meeting any wandering Indians, which surprised me, as when I could see out between the flapping of the canvas sides of the stage, nothing was visible but the white boundless prairie, without sign of life, and every now and then the dark outline of the river-bank with its willows and trees. However, I soon began to feel my feet on which I foolishly wore boots instead of moccasins, getting cold, when my companions kindly made me get in the middle, and we lay full length on the straw, with the old buffalo hide spread over us. Thus we went on day and night, but after a few miles crossed the Red River on the ice, scrambled up the bank and found ourselves on the high plains of Dacotah. Here there appeared to be still less snow, and every short space we could see the rich black soil, the blackest I had ever seen, where the wind had swept away the snow; this was the genuine wheat-producer, whence millions of bushels have come. Now and then we came to a half-breed's shack, where horses were exchanged, and sometimes we were told to go in and get our dinner or supper. These I shirked as much as possible after my first meal which consisted of "Pemmican" not of the best, and plentifully besprinkled with hair, besides smelling very strong; so that a very little went a long way.

As we journeyed onward I found my educated companion was inclined to be talkative. He informed me he was called "Farmer Brown," which I afterwards found was well known over a great part of the North-west, as designating one of the most unprincipled, cold-blooded rascals, who was more than suspected of having taken human life; but this seemed to be less thought of than his clever swindle at "three card monte." All this I did not learn till afterwards, but in the meantime he informed me he had taken his degree at Oxford, been educated for the army and had gone to Mexico with Maximilian as aide-de-camp, and on the downfall of that empire had drifted all along the Pacific coast, away up through Behring Sea. He also told me of many adventures which may or may not have been true. He boasted of how many Greasers, as he called the Mexicans, and Indians he had "wiped out"; winding up with a cold-blooded

story of one occasion when, with some companions, he wished to try a new rifle, and took sight at long range on the head of a poor squaw who was getting water from a creek, killing her instantly, and then he and his party having to fly for their lives from the enraged Indians. All this style of talk made one feel very uncomfortable, especially as the soldier every now and then gave me a quiet nudge with his elbow, warning me to be on my guard when "Farmer Brown" began to question me as to my business at Fort Garry. "Did I know many there?" "Who were they?" as he was well acquainted round there. I informed him I had never been to Fort Garry, and that I had never before seen a prairie; I took very good care to not to tell him I expected to stay at Government House.

Finding me rather reticent, and on the plea of trying to get warm, he then produced a bottle of Hennessy's brandy, of which I was glad to take a small sup to start the circulation, but on his again and again urging it on me, and each time getting a warning nudge from the soldier, I tried to sham sleep, but without avail. The attempts to find out who I was and what my business, went on till I was tired, and so was he; when he would return to his blood-curdling stories. Finally, writing on a scrap of paper a lot of names, he told me these were persons he knew at Fort Garry, who would probably be of use to me. I of course thanked him, and pulling out my watch to see how the time passed, happened to catch his eye fixed upon it in a way I did not like. He said nothing, however, but in a short time called to the driver to stop, as this was his shortest way home. I was astonished, for looking out, nothing was to be seen but the flat white prairie as far as the eye could reach; and he explained that he had only twelve miles to walk to his winter home, which he had established pro tem. at a point on Red Lake River where a railway was just about being completed.

As soon as he was gone the soldier told me what little was known about the fellow—a thoroughbred scoundrel who could not return to Minnesota as there were warrants out against him for homicide, and lesser crimes. He warned me I had better find out carefully who the parties were whose addresses he had given me, for they might be as bad as himself.

Another day, or a night and part of a day passed, and we reached Pembina, a large square white-walled fort, garrisoned by American troops, situated on the banks of the Red River. Here I was sorry to part with my soldier companion, and after an hour's stop, dinner and change of horses, a look around, we once more started on the final sixty miles which ended at Fort Garry.

Crossing in a few miles the International Boundary Line at the village of Emerson, late that night in the cold, clear midnight I was deposited at the gate of Fort Garry. The fort I found was a large enclosure of stone wall, perhaps twenty feet high, and inside the gate two brass field pieces faced it. Further back was Government House, a large two storey building of solid oak logs, clapboarded and painted white. This was the residence of the Lieut.-Governor, and not very long before had been the headquarters of the rebel chief Louis Riel. Behind the main building were a number of smaller buildings, used now as servants' quarters, which had been in former times store-houses, etc., for the H. B. Company, whose chief factor had resided here. At last, arrived and welcomed, after a good night's rest and comfortable breakfast, I went out with the Governor to have a look over the surroundings. Going out of the gate of Fort Garry, which I am told is now the only portion of the old Fort left standing, I found there was a great stretch of open prairie before the first building, the Hudson Bay Company's store was reached; and then, with many gaps, the stores and houses, including the Legislative Halls which were solidly built of oak logs, made up the then village on both sides of the main street, which seemed to be about 150 feet in width, with one other street less built on, reaching out to the west over the prairie; while quite a number of cottage residences had been erected on the bank of the Assiniboine, which falls into the Red River, immediately to the south of the old fort. I was much interested in my stroll over this then new prairie village, destined in a few years to be the great city of Winnipeg with a population of nearly 100,000 and growing by leaps and bounds. I was much amused by the Provincial Treasurer, to whom I was introduced, telling me, that for want of a better place, he kept the funds of the Province in a valise, under his bed!

I also began to realize for the first time the extent of our then newly acquired possessions in the North-west on meeting an old friend, who informed me he was next day starting with a dozen or so Red River carts, on a trading expedition to Edmonton, and would be glad to meet me on his return. I asked, "How long will you be away?" "Well," he said, "it is a good long step, but I hope to be back by the middle of June." "June," I exclaimed! "Why, how far is it?" "Almost nine hundred miles" was the reply. Remember, that at that time no railways traversed the land, and the only means of transport was either by dog-train in winter, or the famous Red River ox-cart in summer.

I hardly know how to describe this vehicle, in no part of which was there a particle of iron, all wood, with great high wheels, the tires of which were made of raw-hide put on wet, and then shrunken as they dried, and as no grease was ever applied to the axle, the screams and groans of this last were easily heard a couple of miles away. Each cart was drawn by one ox harnessed like a horse, with Flemish harness.

Another object of interest during the start was a number of dog teams, some of them harnessed to heavily loaded toboggans, and a few attached to handsomely finished carioles with sides of parchment, while all the dog harness was ornamented with numerous small bells, and bright colored bead work in Indian half-breed fashion, while the drivers were all costumed in hunting shirts of moccasin leather, heavily fringed around the neck and along the arms, and often beautifully embroidered in the front, with either moose hair, or porcupine quills, while they too also wore finely worked leggings and moccasins, but their garters to hold up their leggings seemed to have exhausted the taste and designs of the squaws in the elaborate ornamentation and vivid colors with which they were adorned. It all formed a scene not easily to be forgotten.

Returning to Government House, after a pleasant lunch, I again sauntered out with the Private Secretary, and telling him of my stage companion, Farmer Brown, he laughed heartily, and told me I had got off well, as he was noted as the biggest rascal in the West. I then showed the list of names the fellow had given me, to be

told that "he did not think there was a gambling house or place of ill-repute omitted," and there were plenty of them even at that time.

A few days amid these novel surroundings, then I was told that the Government had notice of a lot of whiskey smugglers crossing the Lake of the Woods from Minnesota to the North-west Angle, and also that it was important to try and prevent the Indians coming in contact with the Icelanders, settled near Lake Winnipeg, as smallpox was very prevalent. I was asked if I would act as leader of a small party to suppress the one and warn the Indians of the danger of infection. The offer I accepted, being desirous of seeing as much as possible of the country, and also having some knowledge of the Ojibway language.

We at once began our preparations and were to start the following day, but suddenly a furious blizzard, the only one I ever saw, sprang up, raising the fine dry snow in dense clouds, and in places heaping up great drifts; while in other parts the ground was swept bare. This storm caused a change in the plans, as all trails were obliterated, and I was detained three days; then, with a good stout team of four hauling dogs and a large toboggan, loaded with our supplies and accompanied by two constables, a start was made, and crossing the ice of Red River to St. Boniface we struck out to the prairies, hoping to reach Brokenhead River about fifteen miles distant, where we knew there was a Government shanty, but "the best laid schemes of mice and men gang aft a-glee," and as there was no trail, we were soon lost. I had to camp without supper or shelter, first taking care to see the dogs had their food. Then spreading our blankets and robes on the snow, each man made himself as comfortable as he could, and lay down to sleep.

In the early morning, having no fuel to make a fire, the dogs were once more put in harness, and we pushed on, till at length we saw in the distance a line of trees marking the eastern limits of the prairie, on reaching which we were able to boil our kettle of tea, fry our bacon, and then push on once more; now through a wooded country. One more night we camped on the snow, but with the advantage of plenty of fuel. Sleep was, however, difficult, as several times during the night

a white Toygany Wolf, that had been attracted by the smell of our cooking, came prowling round, only to be chased away by the dogs.

Late next afternoon we reached Whitemouth River, where I proposed to stop for a few days. This was a Government shanty occupied by a Norwegian named Nord, and his family, who had the privilege of accommodating the few passers-by, allowing them the privilege of spreading their blankets on the floor beside the cook stove.

We made ourselves as much at home as possible, had supper and lay down to sleep, but a curious thing happened which deprived me of much-needed rest. Hardly had I lain down when some creature ran across my forehead, and back again, several time a minute, with all the regularity of the swing of a pendulum. This went on all night, and in the morning we found the explanation. I had hung up my moccasins to dry and now found both of them full of wheat, and so was the ash pan of the stove. It turned out that Nord had laid in a little wheat for seed, and this had been discovered by a pair of tiny white-footed mice of the north, and they had been hard at work all night storing this away for future use; and as my head happened to lie in their line of travel this was the cause of my discomforture.

Next day Nord took us out to show his mode of catching fish, of which he had a large supply, chiefly small pike, to sell for dog food. His plan was a very ingenious sort of weir, made with evergreen branches in the old Norwegian style.

Days passed by, and Christmas arrived, Nord preparing a small Christmas tree for his children, hanging on it a few small paper bags each holding two or three raisins and some small toys, supplies specially obtained in Fort Garry. Towards evening he gave each of the youngsters his share, and then gravely handed each of my party *three* raisins, accompanied with good wishes, at least we suppose so, as he spoke in Norwegian. Just then one of the men remembered he had some peppermints and bulls-eyes in his dunnage, and these to their great delight were given to the children. Supper, tea and pemmican, was then in order, and we had barely finished when the distant musical sound of dog bells announced a new arrival.

Arrived at White Birch River, about fifteen miles further on, we found the shanty occupied by two young fellows from Ontario, trading with the Indians and doing fairly well. They made us welcome and gave us a good dinner of caribou, which was a welcome change from pemmican. Here we remained three days in order to rest our dogs, which were footsore, and required to be provided with "boots," as the crust on the snow had cut their feet. Time being up we made a fresh start, this time for the noted North-west Angle, distant about twenty miles; passing still through a region of dark evergreen woods, and at length reached our destination, and saw only one or two Indian wigwams, and the H. B. Company's trading post; nor must I omit an iron post, prominent on the path with the word Canada on one side, and the letters U. S. on the other, and below the words "Treaty of 1818," all cast in the metal; while on the American side stood a rather large tent, which was the temporary home of the whiskey traders.

Having reached our temporary goal, we enquired for an empty building belonging to the H. B. Company which we were to use for our lodgings, only to find it had been burnt down a few days before. There was nothing for it but to choose a suitable place on our side of the line, where we could keep an eye on the doings of the tent-dwellers. This was soon found, sheltered from the wind by a cedar clump, as we had no tent, and collecting a lot of branches soon had our blankets spread, and a good fire going, while our tea was preparing, bacon frying and the dogs being fed, when we were visited by the H. B. agent and several Indians, one of whom was conspicuous in his scarlet treaty coat, decorated with lots of big plated buttons, and whom I was told was Powassan, the head chief of the Lake of the Woods Indians, and who was shortly to become a warm friend of mine. Having enquired who I was, and what had brought us there, we explained our mission and warned him that if the Indians had any dealings with the whiskey dealers, who were anxious to barter their goods at the rate of one dollar (a martin skin) in fur, the H. B. Company would not allow them "to take debt" as they termed getting advances before going off to the hunt. I also explained the danger of coming in contact with smallpox, or "Ka Moc-

casin" as they called it, and Powassan promised to impress it on his people.

By this time quite a number of Indians had assembled, and it was decided to have a business smoke, when the whole matter could be discussed. Therefore I produced some good tobacco, and Powassan his red stone pipe and medicine stem, for Powassan was not only a chief, but a Medicine Man. The pipe being filled and a live coal placed on the tobacco, he put it to his lips and gave one whiff to the East, West, North and South, and then handed it to me to repeat the performance, when it went round to the others; after which ceremony, that was looked upon as most important, we went over the whole matter, the Indians agreeing to do as they were told, and finally leaving us to a much-needed rest.

A couple of days passed during which I called on the tent-dwellers, and warned them of their risk if found on our side of the boundary post. They were very civil and asked me to taste their liquor. This I did, though it never entered my mouth, as it burnt the skin off my lips. Asking what sort of stuff it was, they explained that in starting out they had fifty half-gallon kegs, one-half of which were filled with ordinary whiskey, and to save weight the others empty, till they arrived where we found them; then they partially filled with lake water and a proportion of the whiskey from the full kegs, which also got their addition of water; but in order to bring the stuff up to proper strength, some tobacco was boiled down and the liquor added, as well as a couple of pounds of blue vitriol, which you can fancy made a delectable drink.

Finding after a short time that they could do no business with the Indians, the tent was taken down and its owners quietly departed for less guarded regions. As we had no means of tracing these fellows, who had gone off in the night, my most active constable was sent with the dogs on a trip among the many islands that fill the northern end of the lake. It is likely he fell in with them, though we never knew, as while his trip should have taken some three days, five elapsed, when I heard the missing man was at an Indian encampment about a mile off acting strangely.

Sending for him he soon appeared, and on my asking

what was the matter, he suddenly drew the large hunting-knife he carried and made a lunge at me, but was fortunately knocked down by the other man in time to save me; then he went into a fit foaming at the mouth and convulsed.

What to do we did not know, but thinking the Indians must have some knowledge of medicine, we sent for aid, when Powassan and a couple of other Medicine Men appeared, armed with their rattles and drums, and began the most awful row, accompanied by yells and shrieks to drive out the "Wendigo" or Devil, whom they thought had taken possession of my unfortunate man, who by this time had been securely tied both hands and feet.

It was evident the poor fellow had had a heavy dose of some poison, most probably from the whiskey smugglers. After considerable thought it was decided to send him to jail, the only place available at Fort Garry, but how to do it was the question, as the Indians under the impression that he had a "Wendigo" might kill him. Just at this time I received a special despatch from the Governor asking me to carefully investigate a case reported to him by the H. B. Company of two young men killing their mother, and if it was a case of murder to arrest them and send them in, but to be careful to consult the chief and leading men and make a full report. This happened most opportunely, so sending for the chief and head men a "Medicine Smoke" was held, and it was stated that the old squaw who had been killed had a Wendigo, *i.e.*, periodical fits of insanity. She was a widow with two sons, and when sane asked them next time the Wendigo came to her to kill her, and thus free the tribe from his terrible presence; and she would go to the Spirit Land, where her husband was waiting for her, and would as of old hunt for her, for all knew that the Wendigo would torment her until she died, and then pass on to some one else; but if she was killed while he was in her he would be killed also, and the tribe would be free of him.

Accordingly at her next attack of insanity her two sons, thinking they were doing a kindness, one of them with a gun and the other with an axe killed her, and their action was approved by all the tribe, chiefs, Medicine Men and all, including their own family.

What could be said; this was not a murder, as these

men wished to do what all their people considered right and their duty, but now my sick man came in opportunely, so addressing the assembly, I said, "You know that at the Fort we have a strong house, with iron bars running up and down the windows and across them, and you Medicine Men know as well as I do, that a Wendigo cannot pass through these bars, so we will send our man into the Fort, and they will put him behind the iron bars, and give him plenty to eat and smoke, but will not let him out till the Wendigo dies, as he soon will, when he finds himself shut up in this way." To all this Powassan and his friends, who had never heard such talk before, agreed, and so we arranged to have our sick man carefully lashed in a toboggan hauled by four dogs and accompanied by two Indians, who had strict orders on no account to loosen his hands, but to see he was fed and attended to, even to putting a lighted pipe in his mouth, and to deliver him safely at the "strong house," also to give the letter which I wrote detailing the whole affair, as well as the killing of the old squaw, and asking the Governor to repeat to the Indians what I had told them, and to promise to take charge of any of their "Wendigoes" instead of killing them.

All went as we hoped, and our man was safely lodged in the jail. Nothing, however, would have induced the Indians to enter it, even for an instant, a look at the terrible iron bars was quite enough. After being well fed and receiving ample supplies, the Indians returned bringing me the desired letter; whereupon another "Medicine Smoke" was held, and the two detailed their adventures. They had handed over our man, and had seen him taken in to the "strong house," and seen the iron bars, and the Governor had told them the same as had been done before. Therefore they promised that they would not kill any more Wendigoes, but send them in to be kept out of the way.

Thus happily ended a most difficult and delicate question, and glad to be rid of it, we moved camp some miles further into the wooded country to reach a large number of Indians, who gladly promised to keep away from contact with "Ka-Moccasin," or smallpox, and many of them asked to have "their arms cut" as we had a supply of vaccine points, which, along with castor oil and very large antibilious pills, were all the medical supplies we had brought.

We found life rather monotonous here, but one night as we were lying by the fire, suddenly a young Indian came up, and after producing his pipe and smoking silently as is the custom, enquired for me. Having been pointed out to him, he produced a small piece of tobacco carefully wrapped in birch bark, and spoke so fast that we could not make out what he said. It was evident the message was important, as it was accompanied by tobacco, so getting a half-breed from near by as interpreter, we learned that Powassan was camped about forty miles off and had killed two moose, and knowing we had nothing but rabbit, wished us to move camp and help him to eat his meat. This could not be done, but I sent a messenger back with the Indian, and when he returned he brought about twenty pounds of moose beef and a special "mouffie" for myself. A couple of weeks later I was able to repay Powassan for his kindness in another way, which is worth telling. The Indians near where we were camped took it into their heads to have a great feast, and not being able to get liquor, they procured two pounds of splendid black tea and a similar quantity of lady's twist tobacco, at the Hudson Bay Company's post, and having boiled each of them down till the whole of even the coloring matter was exhausted, the liquors were mixed, and to give the decoction a good flavor some half dozen bottles of Perry Davis Pain Killer were added, and this extraordinary mixture was swallowed with great gusto, the result being such drunkenness or madness as I never saw. The squaws had removed all the guns, knives, etc., and as the Indians never fight with fists, they let off the steam by yells and howls; and this was kept up for a whole day until they were all worn out, and, needless to say, were feeling very miserable.

In this state my friend Powassan came to me stating he was very unwell and wanted medicine. We had nothing but big antibilious pills, and seeing he was a large, strong man, I counted out four to him, which looked in his huge palms like so many buckshot, and explained to him that he was to take two, and if needful in a few hours repeat the dose. Looking them over Powassan evidently thought they were small affairs, and before he could be stopped had swallowed the whole lot to our great horror, for we did not know what the result would be, for he

was such an important person if anything serious happened to him it was hard to say how we would be treated. However, after a couple of hours Powassan appeared, evidently suffering considerable pain, as evidenced by his grunts, when suddenly throwing off his blanket he disappeared among the trees, shortly to return and give me a whack between the shoulders and tell me what a good fellow I was, for the more the dose hurt him the more he thought of the giver of it. This was repeated several times, till at last we were left in peace.

Next day he reappeared with about a dozen of his friends who were feeling very wretched after their spree, and all desirous of getting some of the "great medicine" which had cured Powassan; but this was refused, as we had had enough of doctoring.

A few days elapsed and signs of spring, in the way of soft weather and sleet falls, warned me to be on the move, so with a half-breed guide and a borrowed team, my own dogs being foot sore, a start was made northwards *via* Lac Plat.

Unfortunately, soon after starting a heavy soft sleet storm began, and we took refuge in an Indian wigwam on the shore of the lake. Here in the one small room were assembled fifteen people, old and young, yet we were heartily welcomed, a space being cleared in the crowd where I could lie down packed like another herring in the barrel, and so the night passed.

Having cleared somewhat in the morning a start was again made over the ice of Lac Plat, and we expected to reach an encampment in about ten miles, but the snow got heavier and at last fairly blinding, when all at once a shout from my guide, and before I knew where to go, down I went in an air-hole, up to the shoulders in water, but fortunately with some large boulders under my feet, so that I managed to scramble out. Then my guide said he had lost the way, but we shortly struck a small island with one tree on it, and here we spent the night, wet, cold and hungry, as expecting to find the encampment, we had brought no supplies with us for either the dogs or ourselves.

Next morning turned out bright, and passing on we reached the camp, but only bare poles marked the spot, the Indians having moved elsewhere; so on we pushed

till late in the day we struck the line being surveyed for the C. P. R., and shortly reached the engineer's camp, only again to be disappointed, as there was only one man left in charge, the others having gone to fetch supplies. However, he was able to give us a cup of tea and a couple of soda biscuits, and a good fire to warm and dry my still wet clothes; and then we started again on the long travel of sixty-five miles back to my camp.

The route was partly on the rough ice of the Lake of the Woods, and partly by Indian trails over a very rough country through the woods; and finally we reached camp after midnight completely worn out.

After resting for a couple of days we were surprised by a messenger bearing peremptory orders to return at once to Fort Garry before the snow disappeared, and travel became next to impossible. We therefore started at day-break, and after coming some half dozen miles were obliged to unharness dogs, and hang up the toboggan and snow-shoes on a tree by way of "cacheing" them. The snow was now all sleet, and at night-fall, wet and weary, we camped on a rock in the great "Caribou Muskeg" only fourteen miles from the Angle. Here the growth of grass and reeds was so great that nothing could be seen; but the noise caused by the innumerable flocks of geese, ducks and other water-fowl was deafening.

Again an early start, and carefully picking our steps we plodded on, wet to the skin, sometimes sleeping in shanties, at others camping on the trail, when we could find a fairly dry spot; finally, at the end of six days, reaching St. Boniface, to find the Red River wide open and carrying down great masses of ice, which came in from the flooded Assiniboine. The ferry, which was worked by a rope, was not yet in commission, and after some trouble we succeeded in getting over in a small boat, not without considerable risk. The dogs were left to be brought over next day when the ferry was to start.

Once more in civilization, a few days' rest and the steamers, big stern wheel affairs, began to appear and bump their noses into the bank, for wharves there were none. By this time the snow had all disappeared from the prairie, and wherever the ground rose a few inches the beautiful prairie anemonies opened their blossoms.

One morning, going out for a short walk in the pleasant air, with a fine breeze blowing, I saw a most extraordinary procession. It was an Indian deputation on the way to Government House to interview the Governor on some real or imaginary complaint, or to make some request. First, as they were "Treaty Indians," came a big stalwart fellow carrying a large British flag that taxed his strength to hold in the wind. He was dressed as usual in moccasins, breech cloth leggings and blanket loosely thrown around his body, held at the waist by a belt, but exposing his bare chest and thighs as his blanket blew open. Next came the Chief in similar costume as far as the legs, but in all the glory of a red coat with lots of large buttons, and the treaty medal on his breast; next came of couple of the head men, somewhat similarly arrayed, and then a string of, say, a dozen of the tribe, all in Indian file, like a string of geese on their way to water.

Curiosity prompted me to follow them to the Fort to see how such matters were conducted. Arrived in front of the main entrance the whole party squatted down on the ground till the Governor was informed and the Interpreter sent for, when they were ushered into a large room containing besides a seat for the Governor and a table and couple of chairs, a stove; and in a corner a large wood box, now empty as the weather was warm. Once more the party squatted on the floor, the Governor and attendants entered and seated themselves; and the flag-bearer, who it seems was chief spokesman, took it into his head that the wood box was the proper place for him; so into it he got, with only his black shiny hair and painted face peering above the side. Now, the Chief produced the inevitable pipe and medicine stem, and after the usual formality of puffing the smoke to the four quarters of earth, it was handed to the Governor, who, much against his will (as he was no smoker), had to follow suit, and so it went round. A short pause, then, like a "Jack-in-the-box," the Indian in the wood-box sprang up, throwing off his blanket, and exposing to view his bare brown chest and ribs, and began in a rather musical tone, to make his speech. This was translated sentence by sentence to the authorities, and then some reply being made, after a distribution of tobacco and fat

bacon the party withdrew as they came, evidently well pleased. The flag-bearer seemed prouder than ever as he struggled to hold up his burden while it fluttered in the wind. It was a curious sight, not soon to be forgotten.

Having decided to return to Ontario, instead of the wretched staging I boarded a steamer, by sliding down the bank to the gang-way, thereby ruining a new overcoat, as wharf there was none, and Red River mud is proverbial; and now we had to plod upwards against the strong current of this very tortuous stream, so crooked that at one point the captain told the passengers we could land if we liked and walk across to the next bend, where he would pick us up. This a number did, and enjoyed a ramble of perhaps a mile, when we again came to the river, and had to wait nearly two hours before the boat came along, having travelled a full eight or nine miles to reach the same place. It amused me much to see when they wanted wood, or some signal was made, how they simply bumped the nose of the boat into the bank, and tied her to a tree, there being no hard shore to injure her; and the same at night, we tied up to the most convenient tree, and resumed the journey by daylight.

We next turned into the Red Lake River, which, though narrow, seemed to be deep, for on one occasion a cabin boy dropped a line when we bumped into the bank and at once hauled out a large cat-fish of about twelve pounds in weight. Proceeding on our way we reached Fisher's Landing, a point to which a new branch railway had just been opened, though as yet no station was built. Here the most conspicuous erection was a rather large tent, boarded and sodded up for about three feet, and this the captain told me was the home of the "Notorious Farmer Brown."

Remembering that we had staged it together the previous winter, and having some hours to spare before the train was expected, I thought I would call on my quondam traveller; so entering the tent, which I found was fitted up as a bar-room with my former acquaintance behind the counter, I said, "Well, Farmer Brown, we have met once before." "Yes," he said, "and I know now who you are, and am glad to see you, for I have a crow to pick with you; so let us have a drink. It is your treat."

As he spoke he reached under the counter, as I supposed for a bottle, but instead produced a pistol, which he pointed at me, saying, "Now out with half a dollar," which I hurriedly produced, not feeling at all comfortable; and he, still pointing the pistol, put two glasses and a bottle of whiskey on the counter, ordering me to help myself, while he did likewise.

He then said, "You thought I wanted to steal your watch, but I never was a thief, and if I had wanted to do it I could not, away out on the prairie, and three armed men on the stage with you; and I never killed a man unless he had insulted me; now it's my turn to treat, so out with another half dollar, and be quick."

I was as quick as possible, for I was now thoroughly alarmed, for whether the pistol was loaded or not I did not know, and the prospect was not pleasant. But just then one of his "wives" (for he was reputed to keep a harem) came in to speak to him; and as he turned, I bolted for the steamer, where I remained till the train came in, when I gladly took my seat, thankful to have seen the last of "Farmer Brown"; of whom later I heard that he was serving a life sentence in Minnesota penitentiary for homicide.

My homeward journey furnished no further adventures. Thus ended my winter's trip to the frozen North.

NOTE

W. J. Morris, second son of Hon. Wm. Morris, was born at Perth, Ont. A banker, widely read, he had great knowledge of mineralogy, geology, etc., and explored much of Northern Ontario. In 1866 he raised a unit of militia. A Freemason, he reached the rank of Deputy Grand Master. He died in 1907. The trip was taken in 1876.

The Boulton Letters

NOTE:—BY A GRAND-DAUGHTER, MRS. MARSH, of *Lindsay*.

These letters were written by the Rev. William Boulton to his wife, and from her to him.

He was the youngest son of Judge Boulton (referred to as "the judge" in the letters)—whose home was York, Upper Canada. His brothers were D'Arcy, of the Grange, Auditor-General of Canada, George, Henry John and James.

He was appointed Junior Classical Master of Upper Canada College at its first beginning, and lived in the old residence on King Street, where his first two children were born.

On his appointment he married, and brought his wife to this country—he had before that been teaching in a school at Cadbury, England, and perhaps had a church there.

His wife was Frances Carew, daughter of Capt. Henry Carew, Royal Navy, of Tiverton, Devonshire, England. Her brothers were John, George and Harry, and her sisters Anne, Harriett, Charlotte and Dorothea.

Their children were Somerville, Carolina (my mother) Charlotte and Henry (twins)—Charlotte died young. After her husband's death, Mrs. Boulton lived most of her life in Toronto, and died at the age of 86. She was well known to many people as "Aunt Fanny." Her husband died at the age of 29.

These notes will explain names and allusions in the letters. His brothers and hers, and her sisters are often mentioned.

J. C. Jones to William Boulton,
Exeter College,

DEAR SIR,—

July 28, 1829.

I have the pleasure of informing you that at the conference of the Electors this morning, you were appointed to the office of Classical Master in the College of Upper Canada.

I have been instructed by the governor to advance one

hundred pounds to each of the masters for the expenses of the voyage, &c., and as much more as they shall find requisite on account of their first year's salary. If you wish for a personal interview with me on this subject, I shall be happy to see you here at any time in the course of next week, requesting the favor of due notice of your coming.

I remain, etc.,

(Signed) J. C. JONES.

The other appointments are as follows:

The Principal—Mr. Harris,* Clare Hall, Cambridge.

1st Classical Master—D. D. Joseph.

2nd Classical Master—Mr. Matthews, Pembroke Hall, Cambridge.

3rd Classical Master—Mr. Boulton, Queen's College, Oxford.

Math. Master—Mr. Dade, Caius Coll., Camb., late of Elizabeth College, Guernsey.

(From Rev. William Boulton to his wife in England. They had been married about 3 years, and she and her 2 children were in England visiting her parents. Her maiden name was Frances Carew.)

York, 8th July, 1833.

MY DEAREST LOVE,—

I am beginning what is a great undertaking for me in sitting down to fill such a large sheet as this, but I have a great deal to tell you, and therefore I hope I shall have leisure to fill it, and when I think that it is for the satisfaction of my dearest Fanny it makes me move my pen with increased spirit and delight. And first I must tell you that the day before yesterday I received your most welcome and anxiously expected letter from Liverpool, dated 23rd May, giving an account of your safe arrival at Mr. Collins, although I could have wished it had been a little longer, yet as it contained all that I was most

*Mr. Harris was a brother-in-law of Lord Seaton, having married Miss Yonge, Lady Colborne's sister.

anxious about, I should not say a word, as I have promised myself another from you dated very soon after that, probably by the packet on the 1st of June. You can easily imagine what has been my state of suspense for the last two months about you, but I feel heartily thankful to our common preserver and Benefactor that He has preserved you and our dear children in as great a degree of health as could be expected, though I am sorry to hear that you suffered so much the first week of your passage, but it is like life in general, checkered with good and evil, with favour and disappointment, which, like hill and dale in the landscape, only serve to enhance the beauty of the scenery and make the humble Christian to appreciate more highly the goodness and mercy of Divine Providence. I was also very glad to hear that Charlotte was not worse. I promised in the last letter but one that I wrote that I should write to her, but afterwards, as I had heard nothing of her for so long a time, I thought that I would wait for your letter to say how she was before I performed my promise. Indeed it has troubled me not a little that no tidings have arrived from Tiverton since the letter from Dorothea which you saw just before you left York, so that I do not know even now how the proposal of your visit to your friends has been received. However, I shall now make up for my neglect with all expedition. When you talk of your father and Dorothea meeting you at Manchester the thought of your happy meeting makes me envy you, at least makes me long to be one of the party, but there is no use thinking about it. Your passage I called 23 days, but Mr. Tweedle in a letter to Mr. Foote says that you were only 18 days from land to land, that is, from Sandy Hook to Cape Clear, which must be nearly the quickest which has been performed this season. You did not say whether Caroline has made any progress in walking or talking, but all no doubt will come in due time. Well, so much for the subject of your letter, now for the changes and chances in our little circle (not so very little by the bye). And first I must tell you that Mrs. Muttlebury is to leave me at the end of this quarter, but do not be alarmed at that, for it will be no inconvenience but rather the contrary to me, for Edward O'Neill is going away to Mrs. Nelles' on the Grand River near Brantford. Arthur Wells will also go,

and I rather think Mrs. Meyers, too, so that Pyke and McNab only will remain, and I can manage with them very well through the winter, and I shall of course not take any more until you return. Mrs. M. has been advised (and perhaps rightly) to go up to Blandfield* where Dr. M. drew 700 acres and forthwith settle herself and make a permanent home for herself and family in case of any thing happening to her, and though she is quite willing to remain if I in the least degree wish it, yet she evidently wishes me to consider it very much *against my* interest to continue our present arrangement and that *she* is the sole *gainer* by it, and it is true enough I do not gain much, and it is very unpleasant to have a constant bustle with such a set of unmannerly boys, besides I find the furniture gets knocked about a great deal, and my time of course greatly interrupted by attending to many things which I could not leave to her. In consequence of this, and my other numerous calls, the garden has been almost entirely neglected and grown up with weeds and rubbish, notwithstanding I gave Riley \$4 or \$5 to put it in order for me early in the season (which no doubt you will abuse me for doing), but I could not see it going to ruin, so upon the whole I do not think you will be uneasy about the conclusion we have come to about parting. When I settled with Mrs. Muttlebury for last quarter I charged her with the wood and spermacetti candles, the remaining barrel of flour having been paid for before, and the balance was between 23 and 24 pounds. The candles were charged at her request, as she had used them for herself, but now that we are to part I must of course take them back if she wishes. I could not find the amount but I thought they were 1s. 10d. a pound, and so charged them. We have been plagued a good deal with servants. The one who came after little William was a thief, but Mrs M. suffered, which I was sorry for. She had been induced to give him \$8 a month, too, and that was the most provoking part of it, because he came with good recommendations. The next boy we took was for \$6, and he will do nothing without strict looking after. He is going as soon as we can get another. Jane became at last

*No doubt Blandford, Oxford Co., London District, is meant. In Almanac for 1831 it is given as having no population.

quite intolerable with her impertinence, and so she went off and was succeeded by a very respectable looking young woman whom they call Sarah, and I am in hopes she will answer very well. I have partly engaged to get my wood from the man who has supplied Mr. Dade for two years, who says he has found him very honest, giving ample measure, and excellent wood throughout, and in that respect I was very much deceived by Mr. Moore, as a great deal of his was rotten. I am to pay 12/ per cord, but, however, I think it better to pay a little more and get it good. . . . I have not yet told you that I purchased D'Arcy's pony for \$70 and paid for it, but I found it quite impossible to do without it during the summer, having to go up to the Garrison, and on Sunday particularly when I have but little time to spare. But I can at any time get the money I gave for him, and shall probably dispose of him before the winter, so you must not be angry with me for buying him. Now I am going to give you a particular history of myself and how I occupy my time, though I must beg of you not to publish it as some of it may not be very flattering to me. By this, you see, I mean to be very candid. I began soon after you left me, though I have not always continued, to rise early in the morning, that is, I used often to be up and dressed by 6 or 7, and from that time till prayers, which we have pretty regularly at quarter to 8, I employed myself in reading or writing. At 8 or a little after we sit down to breakfast after reading a chapter and praying. The latter I have brought myself to do without book, and I can perform the duty sometimes with great satisfaction. . . . From breakfast till 4 o'clock the time passes as usual, except on Wednesdays and Saturdays. On the former day I visit the Garrison Hospital and on the latter I am generally finishing a sermon. From 4 o'clock till dark is commonly occupied with funerals, baptisms, or marriages, visiting D'Arcy's, or Henry's family, taking such exercise as is necessary for my health, and whatever leisure is left me from these and the like interruptions I spend for the most part in writing or reading. Of the former I have had a great deal to do since I entered upon my new office of acting Chaplain to the Forces, independent of sermons, and the office of Secretary to the Sunday-School Committee and to the Society for Promot-

ing Christian Knowledge have contributed their share of occupation in that way. . . .

York, 30th November, 1833.

MY DEAREST LOVE,—

. . . The first thing I have to mention is that this day terminates my engagement with the Archdeacon.* The occupation on the whole has done me good, I hope it has been the means under God's blessing of my growing in grace and in the knowledge and Love of our Saviour. I feel assured that if I could obtain employment exclusively professional without a sacrifice of income, I should in every way be the better for it. . . . I have never yet, I believe, said anything to you about our new Church. It has given better satisfaction generally than was expected. [On the 29th October was the first sale of pews, when the purchases amounted to nearly £6,000, and a week or ten days afterwards nearly £1,000 more in amount were disposed of, so that the church will be paid for without much difficulty. All the money due from pews must be paid within the year, and there is a ground rent of £1 10 on each. At the first sale I could not attend, nor indeed at the second, but at the latter D'Arcy bought me one of my own choice for £50, but it was too far from the pulpit and I could not hear well in it. Since that, however, I have been so lucky as to get one of the best pews in the church, in my opinion, which was bought for Henry, but which he did not want. For this I gave only £2 10 more. Of this I have to pay a quarter now and a quarter each at the end of 6, 9 and 12 months. Out of this about £15 will be deducted for the old pew, so that in fact it will only cost me £37. 10s. I shall have it lined. I think with dark blue or green, and hope you will like it. Many are lined with crimson and look well, but I think the color is too smart for a clergyman, although the Archdeacon seems to think differently.] The Churchyard is now enclosed with a neat fence. The old church, which was sold for £62, pulled down, the old pulpit and reading desk and communion rails were reserved, and I managed to get them for the Scarborough church,

*Archdeacon Strachan, later the 1st Bishop of the Diocese of Toronto.

and in addition I purchased £9 worth of the old pews, and that will save them great expense. There are subscriptions to the Scarborough church amounting to upwards of £15 not paid, and I will pay it from them when I receive them. I mention this lest you should imagine that I am involving myself in expenses for others. Before I have done with the church I must tell you about Mr. ———, who, you know, has turned Catholic. On the first day of the sale of the pews, he came into the church and bought 8 or 10 pews *on speculation*, and at the second sale he attempted to do the same, but the Archdeacon told the auctioneer not to take his bid, and gave him a complete set-down for his impertinent interference. One which he purchased for £40 he modestly asked £80 the next day. He got severely handled for it, too, in the *Courier*, in fact, every one cried out shame at it. The roads are now in a dreadful state, as a good deal of snow fell lately, and it has thawed since. Mrs. Harris has been very ill for the last week with a violent sore throat and fever, which, coming on a constitution already weakened, was very near proving fatal, but she is now recovering fast. . . . Mary and Miss Brenchley are to be married on the 10th of December. The Archdeacon is to perform the ceremony, from Mr. Gamble's choice, it appears, though I had always understood that that matter was left to the lady. They are to live in a new house of Mr. John Baldwin's on the corner, opposite to Sir William Campbell's.** . . . Mr. H. is gradually sinking under consumption, brought on by intemperance. . . . I have seen the design of a Catholic chapel* which Mr. Elmsley talks of building upon his property near this. It's to cost £12,000. I think he must be a little cracked. . . .

This day I have made remarkable for several *important* events—Do not laugh! I have had my hair cut, my shaving-box filled with fresh soap, the first time since you left me, my new cravats put in requisition for *the first time*, and lastly, I have this day resigned my curacy. I must now, I think, wait till to-morrow to add to these important events by finishing this letter to my dear wife, so adieu for the present. . . .

**On Duke Street, at the head of Frederick Street.

*St. Basil's, St. Joseph Street.

1st December.

This day is celebrated in the annals of history for the death of a great man and the birth of a *little one*, (himself) not in stature but in importance, but when both are in the grave this worldly distinction will, I fancy, be of little account. I leave you to discover who these two persons are, and proceed with my letter. I have not yet received your letter which I expected by the packet of the 16th about the end of this week. How I do long to hear your account of my dear little *twins* and still more to see them.

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I will send another fifty pound draft early in January, this will make altogether £150, which I think you will find sufficient for your expenses. I allow £100 for your passage to New York and travelling from thence to this place, and the other 50 with what you have left of Mr. Jones' 100 will be sufficient for other occasional expenses. You must be careful of it, I do not mean in the spending of it, for that you are sure to be, but in the keeping of it in a safe place. If you do not mind sailing on the 16th of April that would bring you to New York about the 16th of May, and Whitsuntide holidays commence on the 18th of May, which would allow of my meeting you probably at Utica or Schenectady.

Tell Dorothea with my love if she has not her heart engaged I shall be very glad to see her on this side of the Atlantic, and I can introduce her to some very smart beaux.

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I ought to give you some account of the wedding, which has taken place since last I wrote, that is, on the 10th, and was very smart, indeed. About a dozen carriages attended. The Archdeacon performed the service, as I told you. It was so intended, and as it took place at 4 o'clock I was just able to go to the church after college hours, in time to witness it. All looked as happy as need be, and at six o'clock, after a very handsome dinner, the brides and bridegrooms had their health drank until I should think they must have been sick of it. I must leave Helen Phillips or Mrs. D'Arcy to supply the remaining particulars of this happy event."

U. C. College, December 25, 1833.

MY DEAREST FANNY,—

Miss Street is now engaged as a Governess in George's family. You will be concerned to hear how badly the Streets have been disappointed in their school, solely for want of a house, the man which was to have built a house for them having gone off and left them in the lurch, with a large frame standing for which they had paid a great deal without deriving any benefit from it. The family, I believe, intend removing to Cobourg in the Spring.

Charles Heward is still lingering on, and although there can be no doubt of the fatal termination of his complaint at last, yet it is wonderful how all his family cling to the idea that he will recover, and what makes it the more lamentable is that he himself is far from being in a prepared state for the event which must soon happen, and will put no confidence in anyone who tells him of his danger. I have been at the house several times, but could only see him twice, and then he evaded the main subject. The Archdeacon and Mr. Gwynne have also been with him, but I fear have not succeeded much better. Frank has just come up from Quebec, and he is a very serious young man. I hope he will be an instrument of great good to his brother.

I do not intend to commence my country duty till the second week of next month, when it is to be hoped the roads will be more passable than at present. So far as the weather is concerned it has been a dismal Christmas, about 6 inches of snow, which we had 10 days ago, is all gone, and it was raining to-day.

Mr. Elmsley has just resigned his seat in the Executive Council, because he pretends he cannot conscientiously support the measures of Government in the Council, but the fact is, he found his duties as an Executive Councilor interfere with his land speculations.

Kiss my dear little children for me. I almost feel frightened at myself, to think how many there are of them.

. . . I did not tell you that I presented Mary upon

the occasion of her wedding with a pair of silver butter knives, with handles of the Prince's pattern. They had more the appearance of dessert knives, and were honored with being displayed in cutting up the cake the week after. I think I never saw anyone perform their part with more perfect composure than Mary. Everything came quite as a matter of course, and you might have supposed her, apart from her youthful appearance, a bride of 35, instead of 17. She is very sad to-day at the idea of Mr. Gamble* going to Cobourg to-morrow, to be absent a week or ten days.

York, U. C. College, Jan. 24, 1834.

MY DEAREST FANNY,—

York has been uncommonly gay this winter. Dinner parties or routs twice a week at the Government House, at two of which I have been within the last month. At their evening parties dancing is generally introduced, which the young people no doubt think a great improvement upon the old custom, although I am glad to find they are determined to keep reasonable hours; 7.30 is the commencement of their rout and they end at 11. It was ludicrous to see the contrast between this and Mrs. Gillespie's extra fashionable entertainment for this evening, at which, by the bye, I am glad I was not asked, as I am now much more agreeably employed than in elbowing my way through a crowd. Mrs. G.'s cards were for 9 o'clock, to end, I suppose, at daylight. A sudden gloom was cast over this gaiety by the death of Sir William Campbell, which occurred last Saturday morning. You know, perhaps, that he was a member of the Legislative Council, and it was a most singular circumstance that on the same day a member of the House of Assembly died, a Mr. Mount, whose son boards with Dr. Phillips, and they were both buried at the same time. Such a thing would probably not occur again in a century.

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*Joseph Clarke Gamble, the 4th son of Dr. John Gamble and Isabella Elizabeth, daughter of Dr. Joseph Clarke, U. E. L., was born at Kingston, 1809, and married, first, Mary Boulton; second, Harriet Boulton, first cousin to his first wife.

I have been enquiring lately about Mrs. Adams and her sister, Mrs. Hodgson. I find they have both left Mr. Dutcher's employment, finding it difficult to get their wages. Adams has taken a saw mill on Yonge St., on shares with another person in whom he has the greatest confidence. There he means to do the turning business, whilst his partner is to manage the mill, and he says there is every probability of his doing well. Hodgson has got into employment with Mr. Bicker, who has set up a steam mill a little below Mr. Charles Small's, and expects to do well.

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Col. Jarvis is always worrying me about your seeing his daughter, Mrs. Maule's family, who are now living in Plymouth and will not be satisfied when I tell him you will not be able to visit many of your own relations. Every one remarks how much the Colonel is improved since his accession to office, and he told me with great glee the other day that he had at last got his half pay after a great deal of asking. Mrs. Phillips is as kind as ever, in fact, she is quite my right hand man. She bakes my bread, gives me milk, and breaks my sugar. I find Sally Alderdice very dirty unless closely watched, but her being near is so convenient that I would put up with a great deal rather than change.

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You will be pleased to hear how handsomely the people of Cobourg have acted towards Mr. Al. Bethune* in regard to the late reductions in his income. They not only resolved to make up the entire deficiency in his salary, but were withheld solely by motives of delicacy towards the Society and the Government from taking it entirely on themselves. This shows how they appreciate his services. In consequence of this reduction in the pay of the Clergy, the Bishop, (the Hon. Right Rev. Charles James Stewart, 2nd Bishop of Quebec), has sent round a circular to the different missions calling upon the people to contribute a portion of each clergyman's salary, which, considering they have to build churches, too, is a great deal to expect,

*Alexander Neil Bethune, 2nd Bishop of Toronto, 1867-89.

when there is, comparatively speaking, but little money in the country. I expect when your next letter arrives that you will tell me something about Tiverton School. I have taken a great fancy for going, if the vacancy occurs whilst you are in England, though, as I said to Charlotte, I think the prudence of the step would be very doubtful, if you left home before. . . . Mr. Dade means to give up housekeeping, he finds it too expensive. I asked him if he would not become our boarder, and let us have his house, but he said he likes to have it all to himself. You can't think how smart he has made his drawing-room. It is hung round with framed engravings, mostly of ships. Mr. Matthews, I think, is becoming selfish. I wish he would marry. I feel much flattered at being so particularly remembered by my old flame Miss Dick; if you see her again pray return the compliment, and say that I have by no means forgotten sundry pleasant walks in the neighborhood of Exeter. Pray give my best respects to Dr. Dicken and thanks for his kindness in giving the boys a holiday for me. If you don't think it is too much to ask, perhaps he would give them another just before you leave Tiverton. . . .

You made a grand mistake about my salary. When serving the Archdeacon, I used to receive it from the Commissariat office every two months, as Acting Chaplain to the troops, and the Archdeacon had nothing to do with it: in fact, my services to him never cost him a shilling, because the military pay, together with the Marriage fees, a little more than made up the sum he agreed to give me. If I remain here, I may perhaps stand a chance of getting the Chaplaincy to the Legislative Council, as Mr. W. Macaulay sometimes talks of giving it up. Frank Heward is just going to Montreal again. The person he is with speaks in the highest terms of him. To me he has always appeared the flower of the flock, and he appears to be growing a fine young man and advancing very steadily and respectably in his business. Charles is still living, and Dr. Gwynne who now attends him thinks he will recover. But I should think his constitution must be so much shattered that even if he recovers he will never be fit for anything again. William Heward is farming below the Don Bridge. I met Mr. Fraser a few days ago and he spoke of the Cottage Bible, and when I

told him of the two kinds he said he should be glad to have one of the large paper copies bound, if it did not cost more than £4, and it will not at the rate you mention. Hitherto the winter has been very open, with little or no snow about town, but yesterday and to-day it has snowed a good deal, though it is so light that I fear it will not add much to the sleighing. I have been but once into the country, having been prevented last Sunday from going out by the heavy rain. but I shall probably go to Scarborough next Sunday. I have in hand the first annual report of the Sunday School Commission, and being the first thing of the kind I ever concocted, I suspect it will be a queer production, but they must take it as a man takes his wife, for better for worse. I have to read it on Wednesday next, and shall be glad when it is over.

York, 9th February, 1834.

. . . The Newmarket Church, which has been so long talked of, is to be erected next summer without doubt, and as I promised them a Bible and prayer book for it, I should be glad if you could manage to purchase them before you come out, and do not forget to bring out half a dozen of the old English razors, they are 2/6 each.

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York, 21st February, 1834.

MY DEAREST FANNY,—

. . . Mrs. Scadding, as you may suppose, is highly delighted with her son's success at Cambridge. I have given her a copy of all the prizes distributed at Christmas to send to him, but you may perhaps receive a letter of mine, in which I have given a full account of the examination, while Scadding is at Tiverton.

. . . I am much obliged to my Uncle George for his good wishes, but I should be satisfied with one moderate living in England, being no advocate for pluralities. I gave up the *Emigrant* some time since, and have been thinking of discontinuing the *Cobourg Star*, and the *Western Mercury*. The latter I certainly shall forthwith, but the *Star* has lately been greatly improved, and is reckoned one of the most respectable papers in the Upper Province. If I keep this, I shall then have only the number you allow me. . . . I am glad to hear

you give so good an account of all the children: you must be puzzled certainly when they both cry at once. . . .

Britannia and Octavia Phillips are looking forward to Somerville's return, with almost as much anxiety as I am, and what with his gentleman's hat and cloth pelisse he will be quite a beau for them. You cannot think how much Mrs. Delahaye's youngest girl Angelique has grown like her.

If you get flannel waistcoats for me, do let them be open entirely in front, and button or tie, because the jerseys are so awkward to take off and put on that I am tired of them. I do not know whether Mrs. Phillips is dissatisfied with Mrs. Street's management or not, but the girls are to return home in June, when the boys will also leave the College. I suspect that Mrs. S. has been so inconvenienced for want of a proper house for her school that she has not been able to do justice to her scholars. I hear she is wishing to leave the Falls, but I am not aware as to what her future plans are. You will be glad to hear that Mrs. Cockburn's school is flourishing.

As to my opinion about having twins, I assure you I am greatly pleased at the event. You know I always consider children a blessing, but like all other gifts of a bountiful Providence, they will prove such only when rightly used. The increase of a family, while it renders frugal and industrious habits more necessary on the part of the parents, supplies the most interesting of all motives to maintain such habits; it makes that which is at all times a duty, a real pleasure; it increases that flow of tenderness and affection which are intended by our merciful Creator to sweeten our toils and enhance all the social enjoyments of life. It checks our selfishness by presenting us with new objects to engage our interest and attention, and shows in a palpable manner the necessity of moderating our desires. If these results are produced, I say that the increase of a family, in so far as it tends to produce them, is a real and substantial blessing; but if it ministers only to an over-anxious and worldly frame of mind, and fails also to produce any of those valuable habits I have mentioned, then it is far otherwise, and although parents who are thus affected by it may reap much gratification, yet it cannot be of a permanent or substantial kind. Yes, my bonny little bairns, I long to

see you all around me, that the sight of you may prove the sincerity of what I have just said.

. . . I have now to give you a very sad piece of news. Mrs. Harris, whose constitution you know was so weak and delicate, was confined about a fortnight since with a son, after which she had the fever, which is now very prevalent on such occasions, which at length turned to scarlet, of which she died last Sunday night. Since her funeral Dr. Harris's eldest girl, who was before very ill with some complaint in the head, has been getting worse and worse until to-day at noon, when she died. So that now the poor Doctor has only his little infant left him. He is, as you may suppose, in as low spirits as he can be, and if he were a different sort of person I would have been the first to have gone in to him, and performed the part of a friend on such a sad occasion, but you will understand my feelings. . . .

(From Mrs. William Boulton to her husband.)

Tiverton, 20 March, 1834.

MY DEAREST WILLIAM,—

. . . In my last letter I mentioned how uncertain it was when we should leave Tiverton, and I am now in as much doubt as ever. At the furthest we shall, I hope, sail the middle of May, and next week I will write again with an account of how we get on. . . .

The new Master for the school (Tiverton) is not to be chosen till the 29th of June, so I shall not be able to bring the news. . . . Mrs. Boulton has heard from Mrs. George, who appears much pleased with Miss Street, and speaks in high terms of D'Arcy. . . . The weather is now fine, but colder than it has before been this winter, notwithstanding which, the trees are budding fast and look well. . . .

Tiverton, 4th April, 1834.

MY DEAREST WILLIAM,—

When writing to you last week, the time for our leaving Tiverton was quite uncertain, as Charlotte had not then had the measles; now, however, the case is different, as the 4 children have passed them well. . . .

Yesterday I sent some of my boxes by the waggon, not

being able to take them all by the coach, and my possessions have so much increased since I came here that I shall have some difficulty in packing them, and now the time for my departure is so near, I shall be very thankful when I have left Tiverton, and you may be sure that it will give me real pleasure to see York again. I often think of your wish to board the 2 College batchelors, but I do not approve of doing so unless they pay handsomely, as we must keep one servant extra, and it would interfere with our comfort of course. My opinion is that if Mr. Dade were to sleep in his own house, and Mr. Matthews in ours, we might do very well; of course, we should supply the former with wood and candles, and our servant would make his bed, etc. The man might also attend to his horse. I would undertake any mending they might want, except what a tailor ought to do, and should not object to hemming handkerchiefs, etc.; this you see would give me some trouble; the back room might be at the command of Mr. Matthews when he wished to be alone, and, of course, our newspapers would be sufficient without their taking the same kind. I have been thinking you may be inclined to make some arrangement before my return, but do not allow them to consider it an accommodation to us. We would get their washing done, and find them beer and spirits, but, remember, that £80 a year each (*at least*) is not too much. Should they appear anxious to come you can read them this, if not, do oblige me by not saying a word on the subject; should we be alone, I mean to blend comfort with economy as much as possible, which you will allow is necessary.

Next Tuesday week is now fixed for our departure, and to-morrow the places are to be taken, when half the money must be paid. . . .

Boulton Grange, June 8th, 1834.

MY DEAR FANNY,—

As your young friend Darcy Edward (Col. D. E. Boulton, of Cobourg) is going to New York, we are desirous of your meeting him that he may be your company in the remainder of your journey. I hope he may make himself useful to you in every way he possibly can. In order that you may be aware of his intentions, my letter will be sent

to Mr. Buchanan with a request that he will be on the look-out for you, lest otherwise you might miss Darcy. He is to leave this for New York on the 15th, and should you arrive before him you had better await his arrival, of course, as it will be a troublesome journey for you to take with your dear children alone. If you did not leave England till the 24th, you probably received my letter of the 21st of April, mentioning the illness of your dear husband, but should you not have received that letter, I will again mention some of the circumstances of his illness. He was taken ill on the 26th of March with pleurisy, and suffered very much from the severity of the attack, which at one time he appeared to be recovering from, but did not continue to regain his strength as was expected, and has since remained in a very weak state, but without suffering actual pain; he has a bad cough, which occasions very restless nights. I shall write to you by Darcy, and tell you further of him. We have of late had a great deal of illness in our family. The poor Judge, after lingering in a miserable state for a week or 10 days, died on the 24th of May. Mr. Boulton is also ill, indeed, he has been very sick in consequence, we think, of anxiety of mind and fatigue, he was much distressed at the sufferings of his Father & Brother. Nothing has so much disturbed my mind for a very long time as poor dear William's illness, and really, my dear Sister, I very much fear you will never again see him in this world. We have all, I may say, suffered much for you in thought and for your dear children. They, however, are not to be considered in comparison with you. I grieve that your well-meant and delightful visit to your family should have such a termination, but you must now bend with submission to your fate, my poor dear sister, and believe, as your good Husband does, that God orders all things for the best, tho' to us it is not manifest. God bless and supply you in whatever trials may await you, is the wish and prayer of your affectionate sister, S. A. Boulton.

(He died and was buried before his wife reached New York. One of the twins died not long after.)



"Deeds Speak"

Women's Canadian Historical Society

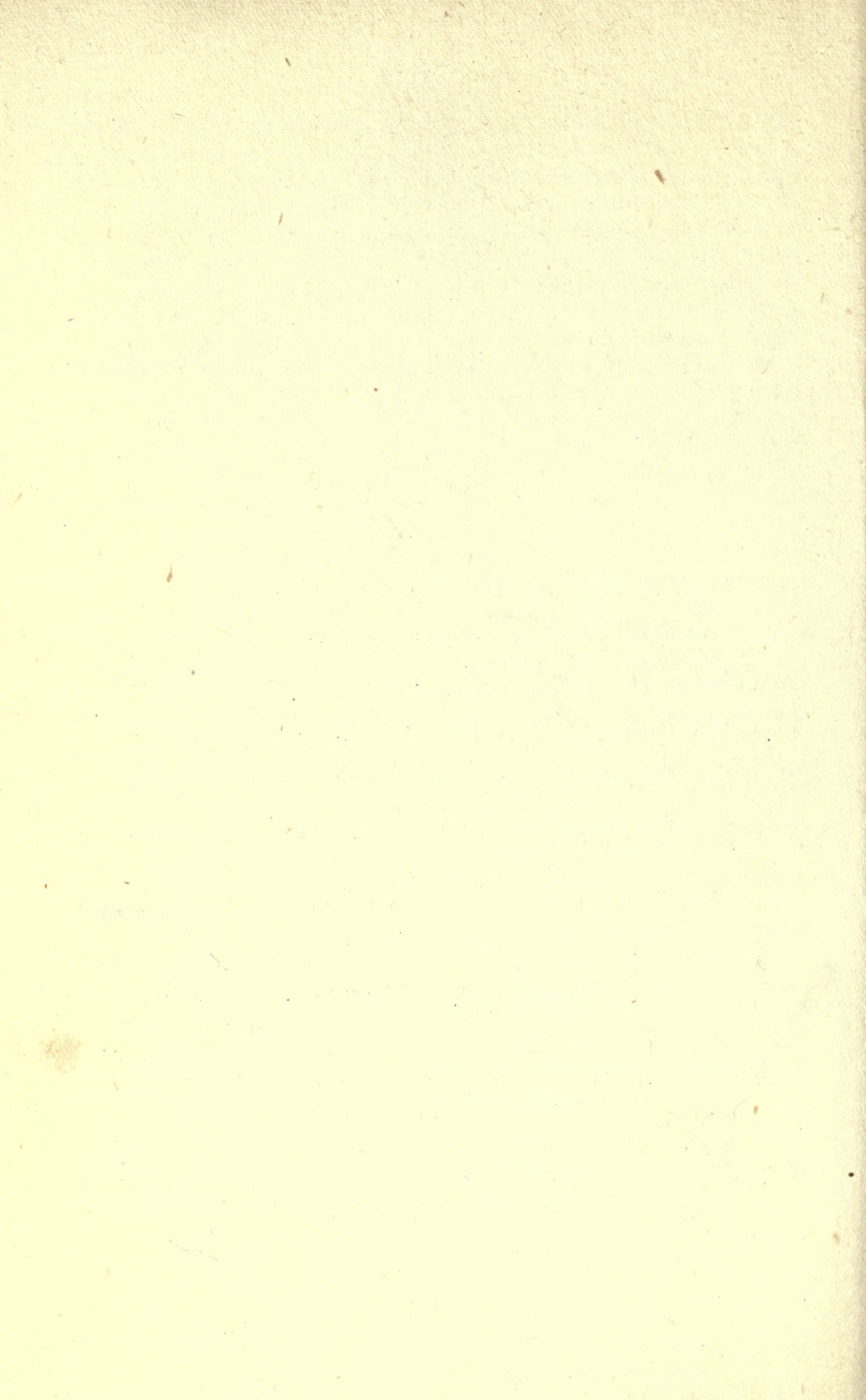
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TRANSACTION No. 19

1. District General Orders of Maj.-Gen. Sir Isaac Brock from June 27th, 1812—Oct. 16th, 1812.
2. Instructions sent to Officers commanding Forts, by Major-General Brock shortly before the attack on Queenston.

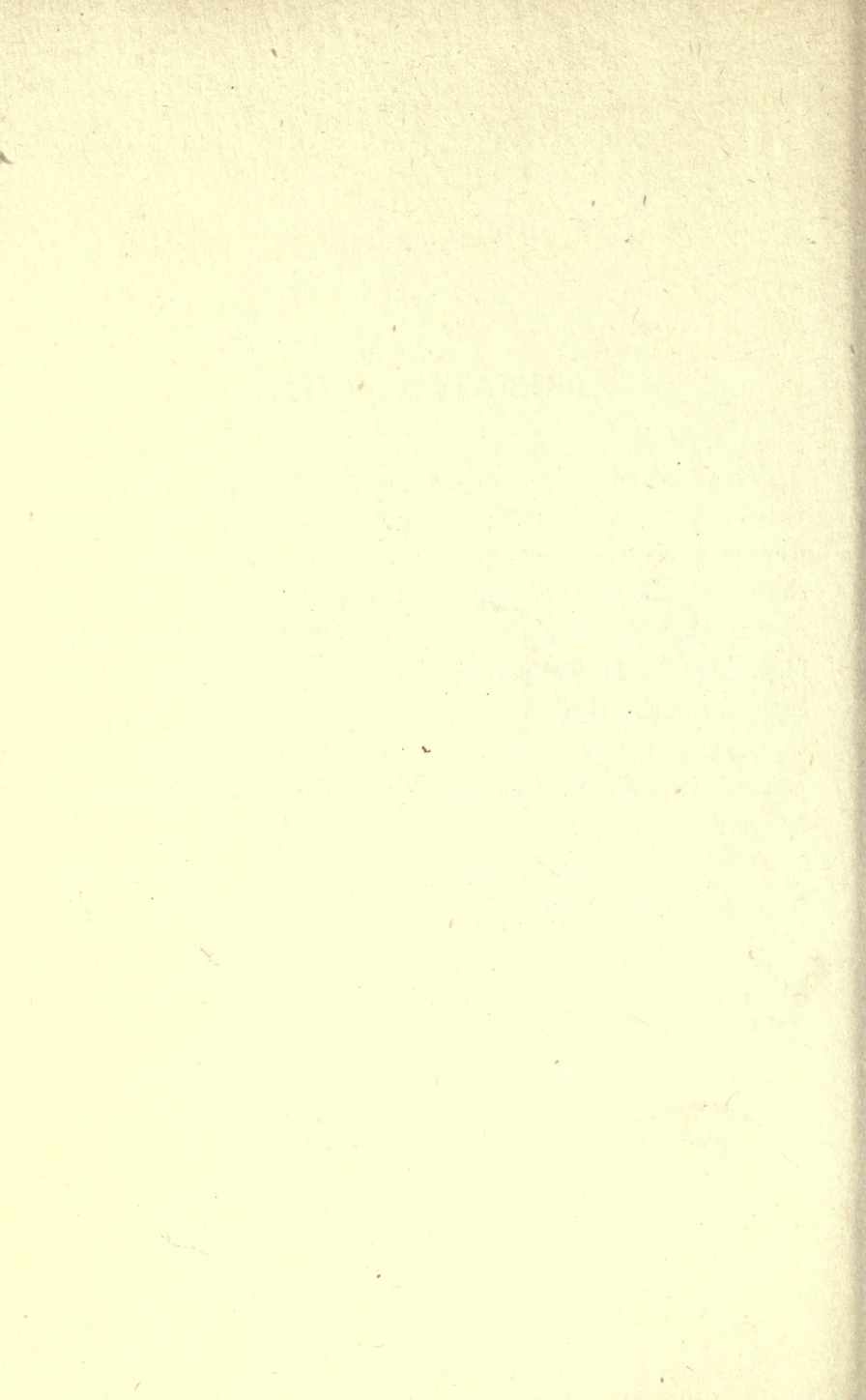


PREFATORY NOTE

These orders, with other papers, were sent to Sir Isaac Brock's family in England by his aide-de-camp, Major Glegg, who, with his cousin and private secretary, James Brock, took charge of his personal effects in Upper Canada. They are now in the possession of his great niece, the daughter of his biographer F. B. Tupper, by whose kind permission we are enabled to print them.

Certain of these orders—in whole or in part—have been printed in Col. E. Cruikshank's 'Documentary History of Niagara.

The map is copied by kind permission from one in the John Ross Robertson collection in the Reference Library. page 4'



Brock's Last District General Orders

Orders by Major-General Brock.

D.G.O.

NIAGARA, 27th June, 1812.

No. 1. Colonel Proctor will assume the command of the troops, between Niagara and Fort Erie. The Honorable Colonel Claus will command the militia, stationed between Niagara and Queenston; and Lieut.-Colonel Clarke from Queenston to Fort Erie.

No. 2. The Commissariat, at their respective posts, will ration and fuel, for the numbers actually present; the Car Brigade horses, and those of the Provisional Cavalry are included in this order. Officers commanding corps or detachments, will sign the necessary certificates previous to issuing the rations.

3. The detachments of the 41st Regiment stationed at the two and four-mile points, will be relieved by an equal number of the 1st Lincoln Militia to bring blankets with them on service.

4. The troops will be kept in a constant state of readiness for service, and Colonel Proctor will direct the necessary guards and patrols, which are to be made down the bank, and close to the water's edge.

5. Lieut.-Colonel Nicholl is appointed Qr.-Master General to the militia forces, with the same pay and allowances as those granted to the Adjutant General.

By order of the Major-General,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B. Major.

D.G.O.

NIAGARA, 29th June, 1812.

Lieut. McClean, of the 41st Regiment, is appointed to act as aide de camp to Colonel Proctor, and is to be obeyed as such; he will receive pay and allowances accordingly till further orders.

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B. Major.

D.G.O.

NIAGARA, 2ND JULY, 1812.

The troops will be formed into four divisions to be composed of regulars and militia as follows:

First, or right division, commanded by Capt. Derenzey, 41st Regiment:

Detachment 41st Regiment	200
Detachment of Militia	200
	<hr/>
With two three-pounders.	400

Second, or right centre division, commanded by Capt. Bullock, 41st Regiment:

Detachment of 41st Regiment	100
Detachment of Militia	200
	<hr/>
With two six pounders.	300

Third, or left centre division, commanded by Capt. Chambers, 41st Regiment:

Detachment of 41st Regiment	100
Detachment of Militia	200
	<hr/>
With two three pounders.	300

Fourth, or left division, commanded by

Detachment of 41st Regiment	200
Detachment of Militia	300
	<hr/>
With Artillery	500

These divisions to be posted in the following manner:

- First, or right division.....Fort Erie
 Second, or right.....Chippewa
 Third, or left centreHeight of Queenston
 Fourth, or leftFort George

These detachments of militia for the first division will be furnished by the Third Lincoln Regiment and will be commanded by—

The detachment of militia for the 2nd Division will be furnished by the 2nd Lincoln Regiment, and will be commanded by—

The detachment of Militia for the 3rd Division will be composed of the flank companies of the 5th and 6th Regiments of Lincoln, and will be commanded by Captain Hall. *

*Probably a mistake of the copyist for Hatt.

Samuel Hatt came from England about 1798 and settled near Ancaster. His sister, Susannah, married Col. Johnston Butler, who was killed November 20th, 1812, in the attack on the batteries opposite Black Rock by Gen. Smythe. Samuel Hatt married Margaret Thompson, of Niagara. He commanded the detachment of the 2nd York and 5th Lincoln, which accompanied Sir Isaac Brock to Detroit, consisting of three officers, three N.C.'s and fifty-nine rank and file. He commanded the 3rd Militia Division at Queenston from July, 1812, until after the Battle of Queenston. After the war he settled at Chambly, L.C.

His brother, Richard Hatt, came with him to Ancaster about 1798. He was the first to utilize the water privileges of the Dundas Valley, where he erected saw, grist, and carding mills. In 1799 he was married at Ancaster to Mary Cooley, U.E. Peter Desjardins, the projector of the canal which bears his name, was associated with him commercially, beginning apparently as his bookkeeper. In the war Major Hatt commanded the militia at Fort Erie under Colonel Bisshopp, when the attack under General Smythe was repulsed and Colonel Johnston and Captain John Lottridge were killed. At Lundy's Lane Major Hatt's command formed part of Colonel Hercules Scott's reinforcement which after much counter-marching arrived on the scene of battle at 9 p.m. Here he was severely wounded. After the war both brothers Hatt became J.P.'s. Richard was also 1st Judge of the Gore District Court, and in 1816 he represented the Gore District in the Legislative Assembly. The silver communion service of St. James' Church, Dundas, was presented by Richard Hatt and his wife in 1817.

—From papers of the late H. H. Robertson.

The detachment of Militia for the 4th Division will be composed of the flank companies of the 1st and 4th Lincoln Regiment, and will be commanded by Lieut.-Col. Butler.

The 1st and 2nd Divisions will receive their orders from Lieut.-Col. Clarke, the 3rd and 4th from Col. Claus, to whom the said Divisions will respectively report.

Reports of all occurrences of consequence will at the same time, be made to Major-General Brock and to Col. Proctor.

Morning States will be regularly transmitted to the Brigade Major's office by Col. Claus and Lieut.-Col. Clarke.

Officers in command of Militia Regiments will direct the officers of their respective corps (not embodied) to use every exertion to discipline the men under their command, and to have them in constant readiness to march to their respective posts on the shortest notice; they will at the same time give orders for their moving to the point attacked on the first alarm without waiting for orders to that effect.

Colonel Proctor will appoint the stations of the detachments of light dragoons and will particularly direct that they shall not be detached from their posts, except on urgent occasions.

James Muirhead, Esq., is appointed surgeon to the militia forces, and will be stationed at Chippewa with the pay of 10s. per diem and the usual allowances.

The officers in command of divisions will be allowed forage for one horse on furnishing the usual certificate.

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B. Major.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 9th July, 1812.

The following proportions of officers and non-commissioned officers will be entitled to receive pay and allowances:—

ESTABLISHMENT:—

	Capt.	Sub.	Sergt.
For every company embodied for service consisting of 30 rank and file..	1	2	2
For ditto consisting of 45, and not exceeding 80	1	2	3
For ditto consisting of 80 men and upwards	1	3	4

For every 250 men, one field officer, and so in proportion. The difference of pay between a subaltern and adjutant will be allowed for every 200 men. A paymaster will be appointed for the district of Niagara, who will muster on the 23rd or 24th of every month all the corps stationed between Niagara and Lake Erie; pay lists are to be certified on oath by the captains of companies, and the officer commanding division (whether of the line or militia) will examine and certify their belief as to the correctness of the accounts.

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B. Major.

Memorandum—

In consequence of the above order the circular letter from his Honor the President to officers commanding regiments dated April 8th, 1812, is rescinded, and officers commanding regiments are directed to transmit to headquarters an account of the actual expenses which have been incurred under it.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 9th July, 1812.

The militia forces in the district will be provisioned in the same manner both as to quantities and species of provision as the regular troops.

There being no branch of the Commissariat establishment in the London district, from whence supplies may be derived, the proportion of troops called out for the defence of that dis-

strict will be allowed their full pay so as to enable them to supply themselves.

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B. Major.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 23rd July, 1812.

No. 1 Grand Rounds will be established along the whole line, from Four Mile Creek to above Fort Erie; the officers to perform this duty betwixt Four Mile Creek and Queenston are Lieut.-Col. Short, Cols. Claus and Butler, and Major Merritt; the hours at which these officers make their rounds are left to their own discretion, only that they are not to commence before 11 o'clock. Captain Saunders will select from his command the necessary officers for the performance of this duty from Queenston to the extent of his command on the Chippewa Road, and Lieut.-Col. Clarke will make arrangements for the performance of this duty, betwixt the port at which his command commences on this side Chippewa to above Fort Erie.

2. Lieut.-Col. Myers, Deputy Quartermaster-General, being arrived, all reports and communications relating to that department will be directed to that officer agreeable to the standing regulations, dated 12th August, 1811.

3. Lieut.-Col. Walter Kerr, of the Glengarry Light Infantry, will continue to do duty with the 41st Regiment until further orders.

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 12th July, 1812.

No. 1. At all times when vessels shall arrive at any of the ports in this command, a boat will be immediately dispatched by the officer commanding the post with a proper person on board, to ascertain the number and description of the passengers on board, and who will not be permitted to land until leave is first obtained from the commanding officer

unless such passengers should be officers in his Majesty's employ.

2. It having been reported to the Major-General commanding that one or two of the sentinels placed on the bank of the river Niagara have fired upon persons on the opposite shore without orders for so doing, he has been pleased to express his disapprobation of such irregular conduct, and to direct that officers commanding at the different posts on the communication will take the necessary steps to prevent a repetition of such discreditable practices.

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B. Major.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 12th July, 1812.

Mr. John Symington is appointed paymaster to the militia forces stationed in the Niagara district with the pay of 10s. per day and allowances as captain, to take place from the 1st inst. Mr. S. will afford every assistance to officers in command of militia corps, so as to enable them to make exact returns (paying particular attention to the broken periods), and on which he will take his measures for immediately bring (ing) forward his pay list to 24th July.

By Order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B. Major.

D.G.O.

NIAGARA, 16TH July, 1812.

The officers on duty this morning were exceedingly remiss in allowing a boat within four miles Mississaga Point without reporting it until too late for it to be intercepted. Col. Claus will adopt the necessary measures to guard against its recurrence in future; a proper person will be stationed at the top of the lighthouse half an hour before it is daylight, to remain throughout the day, who will be particularly instructed to

watch whatever passes on the lake and on the enemy's side of the river, the officer on duty will frequently visit him to assist him in making the necessary observations.

The Major-General was surprised this morning to find that the order for the apprehension of all strangers travelling on any part of this communication was not complied (with), and that avowed Americans were permitted to parade the streets and examine the works with impunity. Col. Claus will explain to every officer and militia man that it is expected (whether on or off duty) that they will stop all suspicious characters and take them before a magistrate for examination.

Officers commanding posts will not only examine the arms, accoutrements, and ammunition in use, but likewise those which the men or furlough have left in store, and see that the whole be in a state fit for service, they will report having done so.

Notice will be taken on the back of the morning report of any orders that have reached them during the day, the date and purport of the days already received will be inserted on the back of the morning report of next Monday.

By Order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 22nd July, 1812.

No. 1. Captain Chambers, of the 41st Regiment, is appointed to the command of a division of the army, to serve in the western and London districts, with the local rank of major.

Major Chambers will exert himself so as to be able to march this evening, and will make the best of his way with the forces to be put under his command to the Moravian Village. Major Chambers will in the first instance receive his orders from the Major-General Commanding.

No. 2. Captain Saunders will succeed Major Chambers in

the command on the division stationed at Queenston, to which post he will instantly repair.

3. Lieut. Lenn, of the 41st Regiment, is attached to, and will proceed with, the forces under the immediate orders of Major Chambers.

4. Heads of departments and officers commanding corps will attend every morning at 9 o'clock at Government House, there to receive the Major-General's commands.

By Order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 23rd July, 1812.

Mr. Cyrus Sumner is appointed surgeon to the division under the command of Major Chambers, with the pay of 7s. 6d. per day and the usual allowances.

By Order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 26th July, 1812.

All reports and communications relating to the Guards (to go) through the field officer of the field offices of the Grand Rounds, to the Major-General, or officer in the immediate command of the forces.

By Order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B. Major.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 31st July, 1812.

The garrison clerk at York being for the present discontinued, the Major-General commanding approves of Corporal Henry Glover, of the 41st Regiment, being appointed to act as such at Fort George, with the pay of 1s. army pay, per

diem, in addition to his present pay, and until further orders is attached to the Brigade Major's office from the 24th inst.

By Order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B. Major.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 31st July, 1812.

No. 1. The Major-General commanding is happy to announce to the troops under his command the surrender of the fort at Michilimackinac, together with its ordnance, stores, etc., to his Majesty's arms, the garrison prisoners of war. Too much praise cannot be given to Captain Roberts, who commanded, as well for his firmness and judgment during the preparations made for the attack, as to his prudence which controlled the feelings of his forces after the enemy surrendered. The Major-General thanks those gentlemen, etc., in the neighborhood who so honorably contributed to Captain Robert's exertions, and is pleased with the conduct of the Indians who on this occasion (directed by the generous feelings of Britons) spared that enemy, which otherwise they would have annihilated.

No. 2. The Major-General announces with pride and satisfaction the complete repulse of the enemy by that part of the army stationed at Amherstburg, on two separate occasions, and thanks them for their gallantry. The militia behaved honorably, the Indians with the most determined spirit, but the conduct of the 41st Regiment commanded the admiration of all who witnessed their heroic valor. If the enemy is thus made to sustain severe losses at the threshold of our territory by a *small* but determined band of united troops, what has he to expect from the whole physical force of the province actuated by ardour and loyalty worthy of their sires.

3. Commanding officers will be attentive in ascertaining that all general orders are read to the troops composing the militia force.

4. Mr. James Cummins is appointed to act in the Commissariat Department, with the pay of 10s. per day and forage for one horse, from the 25th inst.

By Order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B. Major.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 1st August, 1812.

Paymasters to the militia will be appointed at York, Fort George, Amherstburg, and Kingston, who will regularly muster the militia on the 24th of each month, or as soon after as possible; the officers in charge of the Commissariat at Fort George, Amherstburg, Kingston, and York will issue to the paymasters the amount of the monthly estimate of the militia, which are to be certified by commanding officers of the post, whether of the line or militia.

The pay list will be certified on oath by the captains or officers in command of companies, and the officers commanding the militia will examine and certify their belief as to the correctness of the account.

By Order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B. Major.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 1st August, 1812.

No 1. During the absence of Col. Proctor, Lieut.-Col. Myers will take upon himself the general superintendence and direction of the forces stationed on the line of communication betwixt Fort George and Fort Erie.

2. A subaltern will be directed to make visiting rounds from Fort George, commencing with the white house guard and ending at Four Mile Point once during the day, once during the night, and once in the morning, the latter to be made between the hours of 1 and 4 o'clock. Captain Saunders will direct a subaltern to perform the same duty from Queenston to the Four Mile Point, subject to the same regulations; the officer for this duty will be taken from the 41st Regiment and the

militia agreeable to their strength, and will report to the field officer of the Grand Rounds.

3. The sick of the militia stationed at Fort George pronounced as hospital cases, will be admitted as patients into the 41st Regiment Hospital, subject, however, to the same regulations and orders with respect to stoppages, etc., as those established for soldiers of the line.

4. Mr. Lafferty is appointed assistant surgeon to the militia forces, and to do duty with the division stationed at Chippewa.

No. 5. Until further orders all guards and sentinels stationed at the outposts are excused from turning out, or paying compliments to any officer, whatever may be his rank.

By Order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B. M.

D.G.O.

YORK, 5th August, 1812.

Lieut.-Col. Myers will assume, during the absence of Col. Proctor, the command of the district of Niagara.

Major-General Shaw, having offered his services in any manner in which they may be useful, Major-General Brock is pleased to appoint him to command between Chippawa and Sugar Loaf, as colonel of militia, with the pay and allowances of lieut.-colonel.

It is to be understood that no officer in the militia when embodied, will receive a higher rate of pay than lieut.-colonel, and that officers of every rank are subject to the same deduction as the line, including the income tax.

The field officer of the Grand Rounds will collect the written reports from the officers and non-commissioned officers in charge of guards, and in the performance of other duties, who will enclose them in his own written report to the officer in command of the post where he may be stationed.

By Order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

YORK, 4th August, 1812.

The business of the Commissariat at this post having been decreased, Major-General Brock has appointed Mr. William Stanton to act as paymaster to the militia for the York district until further orders. Mr. Stanton is to receive no pay for performing this duty, other than what he derives from his situation in the Commissariat Department.

By Order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 12th August, 1812.

No. 1. The sick of militia capable of attending will assemble every morning in rear of their respective parades, for examination by a medical officer, and the quarters of those not able to attend will be signified by an officer of the company to which such sick belong, to the attending medical officer.

2. Fort Major Kemble will be pleased to take charge of the letter box, to whom heads of departments and officers belonging to the garrison having letters to forward to the east or westward will send them. Major Kemble will be pleased to receive such letters and forward them by the first opportunity.

3. Commanding officers of the militia and officers in the command of companies who have not already provided themselves with orderly books, will do it without delay, as it is expected they will be produced at all general inspections.

By Order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 5th August, 1812.

No. 1. The troops in the Niagara district will be under arms so as to fall in on their respective parades every morning at daylight, an hour after which time the men for

guards, picquets, and fatigues will assemble, and be regularly marched off for their respective duties.

No. 2. All drills for the militia will take place after guard mounting in the morning, and at 6 o'clock in the evening, at which time the officers will be most particular in the examination of the men, arms, appointments, etc., and report forthwith every deficiency discovered.

3. Captain Holcroft, of the Royal Artillery, will arrange as to the manner and place of parade for the field artillery, and will also make arrangements for the distribution and drill of that proportion of the militia allotted for the service of the different batteries and car brigades.

No. 4. The places of parade will be considered, the alarm posts, to which in cases of alarm the troops will instantly repair, and it is to be understood that no commanding officer of a corps, or any other, will, for a moment, leave their division, corps, or company without orders for so doing, from the officer commanding at the post.

No. 5. It having been reported to the officer in command that the quarters of the militia are in a very dirty state, he cannot too thoroughly impress upon the minds of the officers generally that on cleanness alone is to be expected health and comfort to the men; they will therefore see a necessity for the utmost vigilance and attention on their part to this essential particular.

6. The officer in command holds the officers and non-commissioned officers in charge of posts along the line of communication responsible that both the men attached to their post and guns are in every sense of the word at all times completely ready to meet the open attacks of the enemy; no excuse can be received for the want of any species of appointment and ammunition. At this moment commanding officers of detachments are enjoined to look to this, as it is the intention to make frequent and general inspections of corps and posts in order

to ascertain that attention has been paid to this necessary command, and it is further ordered that a weekly inspection be made by the officer commanding at each post, and the result transmitted to the Brigade Major.

No. 7. Should any of the batteries be attacked, they are to be defended to the last extremity, but in the event of any one being completely overpowered, the men defending such battery will fall back in a cool, regular manner to the next one, and so on till they are enabled by increased strength to resist the enemy.

8. All requisitions for ball cartridge and flints are to be transmitted in the first instance by officers commanding corps or posts to the officer commanding for his approval, which will afterward be transmitted by them to Captain Holcroft commanding Royal Artillery, who will give directions for the issue.

9. No officer or soldier is to be permitted to sleep out of quarters without special permission being first granted by the officer in command of the post, to which such officer or soldier making the application may belong.

10. Major Merritt will be pleased to keep two dragoons in constant readiness, saddled, etc., during the day and night for the immediate performance of any duty required of them.

By Order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B. M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 17th August, 1812.

Lieut.-Col. Myers, in the absence of Major-General Brock, has the heartfelt satisfaction to congratulate the troops in general of the Niagara District on the further brilliant successes obtained over the enemy by the brave band stationed at Amherstburg. On two recent occasions detachments from the force have penetrated thirty miles into the enemy's territories,

and although contending against 4 times their numbers, have invariably put them to flight with a loss of from two to three hundred in killed and wounded; the fruits of these victories have been the desertion of the Indians from the American interest, the capture of their supplies of provisions, and the interception of Governor Hull's despatches, wherein he describes the deplorable situation of his army. Regulars, militia, and Indians vied with each other in feats of valor and enterprise, our loss compared with that of the enemy has been trifling, though it is to be regretted those brave officers, Capt. Muir and Lieut. Sutherland, 41st Regiment, should have been wounded in these services.

By Order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B. Major.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 18th August 1812.

Until further orders the following captains will take their tour of Grand Rounds, viz., Captain Hamilton, Dragoons; Captains Crooks, Nelles, Moore, and McCuen, of the flank companies.

By Order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B. Major.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 19th August, 1812.

Major-General Sheaffe having arrived at this post to assume command of the Niagara District, all reports and communications will, until further orders, be made to him.

By Order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B. Major.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 20th August, 1812.

Orders having been received for a cessation of hostilities, commanding officers of corps and those at the head of departments will give the necessary directions to the troops under their orders of the event, so that ignorance may not be pleaded in excuse for any act of hostility committed by them after the receipt of this order. It is by no means to be understood, however, that the least relaxation is to take place in our exertions; on the contrary, the Major-General expects unremitting vigilance and attention to discipline from all ranks, by the aid of which we may look forward with confidence to an honorable issue should hostilities be recommenced.

By Order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B. Major.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 21st August, 1812.

Major-General Sheaffe has very great satisfaction in announcing to the troops the surrender of the Fort Detroit, with Brigadier-General Hull and the N.-Western Army of America under his command, consisting of 2,500 men. This important success was gained by Major-General Brock at the head of 700 of the 41st Regiment and volunteer militia, with the co-operation of 600 Indians, it in no small degree contributes to the joy of which such an event is calculated to excite that brilliant achievements have been effected without loss on our part, it also affords particular gratification to the Major-General to add that the commander who so nobly planned the enterprise bestows the highest commendation on the gallant little band that executed it.

By Order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B. Major.

G.O. HEADQUARTERS, POINT AUX PRINCE, 12th August, 1812.

It is Major-General Brock's intention, should the wind continue fair, to proceed during the night, officers commanding boats will therefore pay attention to the order of sailing as directed yesterday; the greatest care and attention will be required to prevent the boats from separating or falling behind. A great part of the bank of the lake where the boats will this day pass is much more dangerous and difficult of access than any we have passed, the boats will therefore not land except in the most extreme necessity, and then great care must be taken to choose the best place for beaching.

The troops being now in the neighborhood of the enemy, every precaution must be taken to guard against surprise.

By Order,

(Signed) J. B. CLEGG, A.D.C.

G.O. HEADQUARTERS, AMHERSTBURG, 14th August, 1812.

Major-General Brock announces his arrival to the troops in the western district, and directs officers in command will immediately transmit returns of their respective corps. The Major-General congratulates the troops on the evacuation of the country by the enemy, he is persuaded that nothing but the spirit manifested by those who have remained doing duty, and the judicious measures adopted by Col. Proctor, have compelled him to so disgraceful a retreat. Col. Elliott, Major McKee, and the officers of the Indian department are entitled to his best thanks for their judicious management of the Indians, and for the example of gallantry which they have uniformly shown before the enemy. The Major-General cannot avoid expressing his surprise at the numerous desertions which have occurred from the ranks of the militia, to which circumstance the long stay of the enemy on this side of the river must in a great measure be ascribed. He is willing to believe that their conduct proceeded from an anxiety to get in their harvest, and

not from any predilection for the principles or government of the United States.

He requests officers commanding corps to transmit to him the names of such militia men who have remained faithful to their oath and duty in order that immediate measures may be taken to discharge their arrears of pay.

The enemy being still in the neighborhood, the whole physical force of the country will be employed to drive him to such a distance as will ensure its tranquillity. Officers commanding militia corps are responsible that every individual bound to embody himself according to the law does immediately repair to his station, in default of which he will be treated as a deserter and subjected to all the penalties of the new militia laws.

Captains Muir, Tallon and Chambers, 41st Regiment, Capt. Glegg, 49th Regiment; Capt. Mockler, Royal Newfoundland, and Capt. Dixon, Royal Engineers, are appointed to the rank of majors so long as the local service on which they are employed continues.

The troops in the Western District will be formed into three brigades:

1st Brigade. The first under Lieut.-Col. St. George to consist of a detachment Royal Newfoundland Regiment and of the Kent, 1st and 2nd Regiments of Essex militia.

2nd Brigade, under the command of Major Chambers, consisting of fifty men 41st Regiment and the whole of the detachments of the York, Lincoln, Oxford and Norfolk militia.

3rd Brigade, under Major Tallon, will consist of the remainder of the 41st Regiment.

Col. Proctor will have charge of the whole line under the orders of the Major-General.

James Givens, Esq., late Captain of the 5th Regiment, is appointed Provincial Aide de Camp with the rank of major in the militia.

By Order,

(Signed) J. B. GLEGG, A.D.C.

G.O. HEADQUARTERS, AMHERSTBURG, 15th August, 1812.

The troops will be in readiness to embark at McKees Point at 3 o'clock to-morrow morning, Col. Elliot will proceed during the night, with the Indians to the eastern shore of the River Rouge and upon his communicating with the general, the boats will immediately commence crossing the Detroit River and land the troops between River Rouge and Spring Wells. Col. Elliot will place the Indians in a position to take the enemy on flank and rear, should he be disposed to oppose the landing. Lieut.-Col. St. George will march his brigade this evening and canton them in the houses close to the spot at which the embarkation is to take place. The Officers of the Commissariat will make the necessary arrangements to supply the troops with provision and every other article required by the different departments during the operations of the troops in the field.

Each man will receive one gill of spirits per day; the number for which provisions are to be drawn may be calculated at 2,000.

By Order,

(Signed) J. B. GLEGG, A.D.C.

G.O. HEADQUARTERS, DETROIT, 16th August, 1812.

Major-General Brock has every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the troops, he had the honor to lead this morning against the enemy. The state of discipline which they so eminently displayed and the determination they evinced to undertake the most hazardous enterprise decided the enemy, infinitely more numerous in men and artillery to propose a capitulation the terms of which are herewith inserted for the information of the troops.

The Major-General requests Col. Proctor will accept his best thanks for the assistance he derived from his experience and intelligence.

The steadiness and discipline of the 41st Regiment and the readiness of the militia to follow so good an example were highly conspicuous, the ability manifested by Captain Dixon, Royal Engineers, in the choice and construction of the batteries and the high state of the Royal Artillery under Lieutenant Troughton, afforded the Major-General much gratification and reflects great credit on those officers.

The willing assistance given by Captain Hale and the Marine Department during the whole of the service has been very conspicuous and the manner the batteries were served this morning evinced a degree of steadiness highly commendable.

Lieutenant Dewar, Deputy Assistant-Quartermaster General, afforded strong proof by the local knowledge he has acquired of the country of an unremitting attention to his duty, and the care and regularity with which the troops were transported across the river must in a like manner be ascribed to his zeal for the service. To Lieutenant-Colonel St. George, Majors Tallon and Chambers, who commanded brigades, every degree of praise is due for their unremitting zeal and attention to their several commands. The Detachment of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, under the command of Major Mockler, is deserving of every praise for their steadiness in the field as well as when embarked in the King's vessels.

The Major-General cannot forego this opportunity of expressing his admiration at the conduct of the several companies of militia, who so handsomely volunteered to undergo the fatigues of a journey of several hundred miles to go to the rescue of an invaded district, and he requests Major Salmon, Captains Hatt, Heward, Bostwick and Robinson, will assure the officers and men under their respective commands that their services have been duly appreciated and will never be forgotten.

The Major-General is happy to acknowledge the able assistance he has derived from the zeal and local information of Lieutenant-Colonel C. Nicholl, Acting Quartermaster General

to the Militia; to his personal staff the Major-General feels himself under much obligation, and he requests Lieutenant-Colonel McDonald, Majors Glegg and Givens that their zealous exertions have made too deep an impression upon his mind ever to be forgotten.

The conduct of the Indians under the command of Colonel Elliot, Captain McKee and the other officers of that department, joined to that of the gallant and brave chiefs of their respective tribes, has since the commencement of the war been marked with acts of true heroism and in nothing can they testify more strongly their love to their great father than in following the dictates of honor and humanity by which they have hitherto been actuated; two fortresses have already been captured from the enemy, without a drop of blood being shed by the hands of the Indians, the instant the enemy submitted his life became sacred.

By order,

(Signed) J. B. GLEGG, A.D.C.

D.G.O. HEADQUARTERS, FORT GEORGE, 27th August, 1812.

Lieutenant Fowler, 41st Regiment, is appointed Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General to the forces in Upper Canada from the 24th inst. until further orders.

By order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O. FORT GEORGE, 27th August, 1812.

The detachment of the 49th Foot, under the command of Major Ormsby, will march to Fort Erie on Sunday morning at daylight, there to be stationed until further orders. Immediately on its arrival at Fort Erie, the detachment of the 41st Regiment under the command of Captain Derenzy, will march to Fort George, leaving one subaltern, two sergeants and thirty rank and file at Chippewa.

The Commissariat will provide the necessary conveyance for the baggage upon the movement taking place, of which they will be made acquainted by the officers commanding the respective detachments and the Barrack Master will make the necessary arrangements for their reception at the different posts.

The Major-General commanding impresses upon the officers in Barracks that under existing circumstances they must not expect the indulgence of additional quarters, they must in the first instance be confined strictly to the regulations requiring rooms and if requisite be prepared for doubling up.

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 28th August, 1812.

Major-General Brock having been pleased to order the formation of a company of people of colour of which Robert Runchy is appointed to command with rank and pay of captain for the time, the said company may be embodied.

By order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 31st August, 1812.

The Detachment of the 49th Regiment on board of *Glouster*, under the command of Captain Wall will disembark immediately and occupy the Quarters at Navy Hall. This detachment will hold itself in readiness to march for Fort Erie on Wednesday morning at daylight, the Commissariat will provide the necessary conveyance for their baggage.

By order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O. FORT GEORGE, 1st September, 1812.

The 41st Regiment will take the whole of the garrison duties until further orders.

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O. FORT GEORGE, 2nd September, 1812.

The Detachment of the 49th Regiment on board the *Royal George* and *Earl Moira*, under the command of Major Plenderleath will disembark this forenoon and until further orders will occupy the council house and store at Navy Hall.

By order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

Heads of Departments and Officers commanding corps will attend at the Government House at 11 o'clock this day.

By order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O. FORT GEORGE, 3rd September, 1812.

No. 1. Captain Chambers, of the 41st Regiment, will resume the command of the second division stationed at Queenston on Monday, 7th inst.

Captain Saunders will immediately afterwards join that part of the 41st Regiment stationed at Fort George.

2. Civilians and aliens taken upon suspicion, or for having committed offences liable to military cognizance, are to be brought to Fort Major Kemble to whom every necessary information concerning them is to be given, and he will report their cases without delay to the officer commanding that he may receive his further directions thereon.

3. Hospital Mate Steel will proceed and do duty with the division stationed at Fort Erie and Acting Surgeon Moore, 41st

Regiment, will on Mr. Steel's arrival proceed to join the division of his regiment at Fort George.

Acting Staff-Surgeon Thom will give any further necessary directions to these officers.

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 4th September, 1812.

No. 1. The Detachment of the 49th Regiment, will take their share of the garrison duties at Fort George, agreeable to their strength.

2. An intelligent person from heads of Departments, Corps and Detachments will attend every day at 2 o'clock at the orderly room in the Fort for the purpose of receiving orders.

Captain Vigereaux will be pleased to order a person in attendance at the hour pointed out in the D.G.O. of the 5th ultimo to receive the men and point the fatigues, for the performance of which the party is furnished.

By order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 5th Sept., 1812.

An intention of renewing hostilities having been declared by the General commanding the forces of the United States, the Armistice will terminate at noon on the 8th inst; after which the most active operations may be expected on the part of the enemy, to counteract which, the utmost vigilance and activity will be requisite and are confidently expected.

Commanders of Corps by personal inspection will immediately ascertain the state of their arms, accoutrements and equipment in general, and whatever may be requisite to put them in a fit state for active service it is to be provided with all possible expedition.

Returns of the ammunition in the possession of each corps and requisitions for such articles as they may want from any of the departments are to be sent to Headquarters without delay.

The Major-General will inspect the part of the 41st Regiment stationed at Fort George at 3 o'clock to-morrow afternoon in marching order, after which he will inspect the flank companies of the 49th Regiment in similar order. He also proposes inspecting the Corps of Militia and other troops of the line in the district, the periods for which will hereafter be notified.

By order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D. G. O.

FORT GEORGE, 4th Sept., 1812.

It having fallen under the observation of Major-General Brock that a considerable portion of the men of the Newfoundland Regiment doing duty on board the vessel of war on Lake Ontario, are by no means calculated for that service, it is his order that Colonel Vincent may be pleased to take the earliest opportunity of selecting from that corps in the district under his command such men as appear the most efficient for the performance of that important duty, as well as from their bodily strength, as from the knowledge of the particular service in which they are to be employed. Lieutenant King, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General at Kingston, will, with officers commanding the vessels, make a minute inspection of the men now on board them, and report thereon to Colonel Vincent, furnishing him with the names and companies of those whom they consider as unfit for their present situations, in order that they may be exchanged for those more effective.

Major-General Brock having observed that the system of discipline amongst the men of the Newfoundland Regiment on board the vessels of war on Lake Ontario is extremely relaxed and irregular, he calls upon the officers to use their

utmost exertions to render them perfectly effective, and by their own personal efforts and example to support the Officers of the Marine in establishing that energy and zeal on board the several vessels, which can alone ensure success against the enemy in the moments of trial.

The Major-General commanding having witnessed the most shameful blasphemy on board the vessels without it being noticed by the officers, he desires that those of the Newfoundland Regiment and of the Marine do use their best endeavors to put a stop to so disgraceful a practice; and he is pleased to order that Divine Service be regularly performed by an officer on board each vessel every Sunday.

(Note on margin states that "This D.G.O. is by Major-General Sheaffe.")

By order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 7th Sept., 1812.

All officers and soldiers belonging to the different corps stationed at Fort George not employed on other duties are directed to attend the works going on in the Garrison until they shall be completed.

THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 8th Sept., 1812.

Captain Williams, of the 49th Regiment, with the light company under his command, will march from Chippewa tomorrow morning at daylight for the camp at Queenston, where he will be stationed till further orders. Captain Chambers with the whole of the detachment of the 41st Regiment will march from Queenston to Chippewa at 3 o'clock to-morrow evening. Captain Bullock will select sixty men of the 41st Regiment and order them to march early to-morrow in charge

of a subaltern to the head of Navy Island; application will be made to Deputy Assistant Quartermaster Fowler for quarters for this Detachment.

Major Plenderleath is appointed to command the whole of the forces from Browns on this side Queenston to the Falls, the troops at both of these posts included.

Captain Chambers on his arrival at Chippawa, will, himself proceed to the head of Navy Island and assume the command of the troops stationed at that post.

By order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 8th Sept., 1812.

Major-General Brock was disposed to view the Armistice as the forerunner of a restoration of peace and amity with the United States, the pretext on which their declaration of war was chiefly founded having been removed by the British Government and an opening offered by it to an adjustment of all differences of minor importance between the two countries; but in vain has Great Britain thus held out the hand of conciliation, it has been rejected. The President of the United States having thought fit to direct their troops to resort again to active warfare and what motive can now exist for his authorizing a renewal of hostilities at the time too (as is confidently asserted) that he has sent an ambassador to treat for peace. Is it to facilitate its attainment, that he, by his own voluntary act, places two countries in a situation to inflict mutually the horrors of war, thereby to have their minds more embittered towards each other; perhaps he may imagine that by conquest on the side of Canada he can indemnify the United States, for the loss to which they are exposed on the Atlantic side from the superiority of the naval power of Great Britain, and that with a proportion of her Provinces in their possession more favorable

terms would be obtained for negotiating for peace. But the militia of the Province have too just and manly a sense of what they owe to their own personal dignity and independence to submit to be disposed of at the will of the Chief Magistrate of any foreign country, they will not sink to the degradation of being unresistingly a weight to be thrown by his hand into the scale. Such baseness belongs not to them, they have already offered to the world an instance of what can be effected by the aid of their loyalty and valour, and Major-General Brock relies with confidence on their continued exertion of those ennobling qualities for defeating any designs on this Province, and for contributing no less honorably for themselves than useful to their families to their King and country towards bringing the contest, in which the implacable enmity of the American Government has engaged us to a favorable issue.

By order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 9th Sept., 1812.

Captain Saunders is substituted for Captain Chambers in command of the forces stationed at the head of Navy Island as expressed in D. G. O. of 8th September and will proceed to Queenston without delay. Captain Chambers will return to headquarters at Fort George.

His Honor the President has been pleased to confer the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel on Major Plenderleath, 49th Regiment, during the local service on which he is employed.

By order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 9th Sept., 1812.

No. 1. The detachment of the York Militia under the command of Capt. Cameron, will march forthwith to Brown's Point where quarters are prepared for their reception, the

Deputy Commissary General will be pleased to furnish a waggon for the conveyance of their baggage.

2. The Deputy Commissary General will give directions that the whole of the scarlet and other cloth for military purposes and all military appointments in the possession of the commissariat now in store in York may be brought over to Fort George by the first opportunity.

By order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 11th Sept., 1812.

No. 1. Major-General Gordon and Mr. Conductor Bryson, of the Field Train Department, will be allowed forage for one horse each on furnishing the usual certificate.

2. The attention of heads of departments and officers commanding Corps, is called to the D.G.O. No. 4 of the 22nd July.

3. Commanding Officers of Corps, Detachments, etc., are directed to adopt every possible precaution for turning out their men at a moment's warning, either by night or day; for this purpose it is essentially necessary that each man's arms and appointments should be so arranged that in case of alarm he might know where to seize on them in an instant. It is also of the utmost importance that the officers of the militia generally should satisfy themselves that the arms of the men are at all times in good and efficient order.

4. One subaltern, one sergeant, one corporal and twelve privates from the Militia stationed at Fort George to be furnished a guard over the Batteaux at two mile Creek, their duty will be to furnish sentries and patrols for the protection of the Batteaux and coast during the night.

By order, (Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 13th Sept., 1812.

Lieutenant-Colonel Short and Lieutenant Taylor, 41st Regiment, with the detachments of the 41st and 49th Regiments as

previously ordered, will embark on board the *Earl of Moira* this day at two o'clock, the Darlington Company of Militia, stationed at Brown's Point, will march so as to arrive at Fort George to embark at the same time; the necessary boats will be furnished by the Quartermaster General's Department.

By order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 14th Sept., 1812.

Appointments in the Commissariat from 25th June, Militia, Jacob Natharvit to be storekeeper at Queenston at 4s. 8d. per day.

Edward Hartney to be clerk at York at 5s. per day, Chas. Van Kenin to be issuer at Fort George at 2s. 6d. per day.

Whenever a corps or detachment is ordered to march from one station to another or to embark or disembark within the Province, the officers commanding such corps or detachment will immediately transmit to Lieutenant-Colonel Myers, the Deputy Quartermaster-General and to the Brigade Major, an exact return of the number to move agreeable to such order.

Mr. Augustus Thompson is attached to the 49th Regiment as a volunteer and will do duty with the detachment of that corps stationed at Fort George.

Mr. S. Jarvis is attached to the 49th Regiment as a volunteer and will do duty with the detachment stationed at Queenston.

Departments, staff and other officers of the line stationed within the limits of the upper Province and entitled to forage for horses, will transmit returns for the same to the 24th to Fort George, addressed to Lieutenant-Colonel Myers, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, and will henceforth continue to do so at the regular periods until further orders.

By order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 16th Sept., 1812.

No. 1. The detachments of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, arrived in the *Royal George*, will disembark without delay; the Deputy Quartermaster General will furnish the boats for this service, and will fix a spot for their encampment when landed.

2. In cases of alarm a blue pennant will be hoisted on the flag staff at Fort George, and a field gun fired from one of the batteries; if by night a lanthorn and a gun, on which being done, every officer in command will repair to his post and be ready with the men to act according to circumstances and the orders which they shall receive from their superior officers; Captain Holcroft, of the Royal Artillery, will be pleased to give such directions as in his judgment will ensure most prompt attention to the making of the above signals when necessary.

By order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 17th Sept., 1812.

The detachment of the 10th R. V. B.,* arrived from Kingston, will march this morning for Chippewa and will proceed to-morrow morning for Fort Erie, where they will embark on board the *Queen Charlotte*, the Deputy Quartermaster General will provide the requisite means for the conveyance of their baggage, etc.

Major-General Sheaffe will inspect the detachment of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment at 3 o'clock this day, in marching order, at the garrison at Fort George.

By order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B. Major.

*10th R.V.B. Royal Veterans Battalion.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 18th Sept., 1812.

No. 1. An arrangement having been entered into between Major-General Brock and Major-General Van Rosselear (Van Rensselaer), commanding the American forces stationed on the Niagara Frontier for the mutual prevention of so unmilitary and degrading a practice as that of individuals indiscriminately firing across the river without orders:—

The Major-General henceforth positively forbids a continuation of such practices, and calls upon officers in command of posts to give directions to every individual under their orders, that no one can plead ignorance of the Major-General's intentions and instructions on this head. The officers in charge of the Indian Department will take every pains to explain and prevent the Indians from a commission of this wanton practice.

2. The detachment of the Royal Newfoundland, stationed at Fort George, will take their proportion of the duty and fatigues of the garrison; an effective return of their strength will be sent to the Brigade Majors this evening and an intelligent person will attend at the orderly room in the garrison every evening at 2 o'clock for the purpose of receiving orders.

By order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

X.D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 20th Sept., 1812.

No. 1. The Grenadier Company of the 49th Regiment will hold itself in readiness to march in an hour's notice for Queenston, where it will remain under orders of Lieut.-Col. Plenderleath.

2. Sixty men of the 41st Regiment under the direction of Lieut. Bullock will march for Chippewa, and on their arrival at that place Captain Bullock will be pleased to strengthen the detachment stationed at the head of Navy Island under Captain Saunders, with 20 additional men from the 41st Regiment.

3. Captain Selby's company of York Militia will hold itself

in immediate readiness to march to Brown's Point.* The Deputy Quartermaster-General will be pleased to signify the route of march and point out the quarters to be occupied by the above detachment, the Commissariat will provide for the necessary conveyance for the baggage.

4. A Board of Survey to assemble at 10 o'clock to-morrow morning at the Barrack Master's quarters for the purpose of ascertaining the extent of damage done to barrack articles.

By order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 20th Sept., 1812.

No. 1. The Major-General Commanding most earnestly calls the attention of the officers in command of divisions, and that of the officers in general, to the state of the men's arms, ammunition, and appointment under their immediate superintendence as he expects every soldier, whether of the line or militia, will be at all times in the most efficient state in this essential particular, and every way prepared to meet the enemy's attack should he venture to make it.

2. The Major-General trusts that the officers in charge of the different divisions use their best exertions in forwarding the drill of the several detachments of militia placed under their orders, and that the non-commissioned officers and men selected by them from the line for this important duty are very qualified to give the instruction required.

3. It is expected that officers in command of companies both of the line and militia are provided with orderly books, and that the orders are regularly read to the men, in conformity to No. 3 of the D. G. O. of the 31st July.

The Major-General cannot too strongly impress on the minds of the several commanders the necessity of their attention and punctuality in this part of their duty.

*Probably near Stamford, where the road branched toward the Falls passing Brown's at an angle. Barracks not far distant covered the road leading to interior.

4. The Major-General acknowledges with thanks the willing manner in which that portion of the troops stationed at Fort George have contributed by their exertions to the accomplishment of the present works established there, and directs that in future as small a number as possible may be furnished in finishing them, in order that the militia last joined may have the opportunity of perfecting themselves in their drill.

By order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 22nd Sept., 1812.

The Major-General Commanding returns his particular thanks to the militia for the handsome manner in which they have on all occasions volunteered their services for duties of fatigue, and is pleased to direct that for the present, service for such duty shall be dispensed with.

No. 2. Colonel Claus will give the necessary directions for the hour and place of drill for the militia, and Sergts. Lyons, 41st Regiment, and Thomas, Royal Newfoundland Regiment, will attend as instructors at the hours pointed out by Colonel Claus; the 41st will also furnish a second non-commissioned officer capable of instructing the men for this particular duty.

By order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 25th Sept., 1812.

No. 1. Major Merritt will be pleased to furnish daily an orderly dragoon to be at the Brigade Major's office by 12 o'clock each day for the transmission of orders, etc. Heads of departments, officers in command of corps and others having letters on the public service to forward to any part of the line betwixt this post and Fort Erie, and to Amherstburg and Detroit will send to the Brigade Major's office any time before half past 11 o'clock. Officers in command of divisions and posts

stationed along the line will avail themselves of this orderly express to forward their communications to headquarters.

No. 2. Until further orders the tattoo will beat at 8 o'clock in the evening.

By order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 27th Sept., 1812.

No. 1. The Major-General having observed great deficiencies in the ammunition issued generally to the troops of the militia, he cannot too strongly impress on the minds of the officers commanding divisions the necessity of their explaining to the men under their orders, that at a period like the present a greater military offence cannot possibly be committed than a careless negligence or wilful waste of any ammunition that may be delivered out to them for the use of the public service.

2. Whenever cartridges may be injured by wet or otherwise the balls of such cartridges will be carefully preserved and sent in with an account of their number to the ordnance storekeeper, who will give a receipt for the same.

By order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 29th Sept., 1812.

Until further orders the Grand Rounds will go their rounds betwixt the hours of 10 and 2 o'clock, and the visiting rounds betwixt 2 and 5 in the morning.

By order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B. Major.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 30th Sept., 1812.

A subaltern and 30 privates, with a due proportion of non-commissioned officers of the 41st Regiment, will march this day, immediately after the men have dined, for Chippewa. On

the arrival of this detachment at Chippewa Captain Bullock will detach one subaltern, 2 sergts., and 40 rank and file of the 41st Regiment to Millers,* where they will receive their further orders from Major-General Shaw. The Deputy Quartermaster General will be pleased to have the necessary conveyance prepared for the carriage of the baggage of this detachment.

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 1st Oct., 1812.

The Major-General Commanding forbids the practice of individuals firing in the swamp, or in any other place within the limits and neighborhood of the garrison.

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 2nd Oct., 1812.

No. 1. Major-General Sheaffe, having noticed in the reports frequent inattention of the visiting rounds in not visiting the different batteries established at the head of the lake, he trusts that in future they will be more exact in their performance of this essential part of their duty.

2. Until further orders one third of the troops off duty will sleep in their clothes fully accoutered and ready to turn out at a moment's notice.

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 5th Oct., 1812.

Quartermaster-sergeant Pointer, of the 49th Regiment, is appointed to act as barrack master at Fort Erie with an allowance of 1s. 6d. per day.

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

*Millers' store between Palmer's and Fort Erie, on the line of communication.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 6th Oct., 1812.

No. 1. Until further orders the regular troops and militia force in this command are to be under arms in their quarters at the first break of day, and are not to be dismissed till broad daylight and distant objects seen. The guards are to turn out and mount as usual, and the strictest attention is enjoined to the order requiring one-third of the men in quarters to be clothed and accoutered during the night with their arms at hand, in readiness to turn out in a moment's warning, which commanders of corps or detachments are directed to regulate in such a manner as to avoid, as much as may be practicable, including men for guards in that number.

2. The 41st Regiment will give up the quarters lately occupied as a hospital to the detachment of the Newfoundland Regiment, who will occupy it this evening.

The commanding officer of the 41st Regiment will distribute his men in the most convenient manner in the barracks now occupied until additional rooms can be appropriated for them.

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 8th Oct., 1812.

The undermentioned gentlemen are appointed volunteers in his Majesty's regular forces from the period specified opposite their respective names, they will continue to do duty with the 41st Regiment until further orders.

Henry Proctor, gentleman, 1st July, 1812; Alexander Wilkinson, 1st July, — Richardson, 9th July.

THOS. EVANS, B.M.

Surgeons at the several posts where hospitals are established will receive from the Commissariat stores as much fresh beef as they may judge necessary for the use of the sick.

The remainder of the rations due to the sick will be left in

store and paid for to the surgeons at the contract prices. For the future $\frac{1}{2}$ an ounce of salt will be added to the rations of the fresh meat.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 9th Oct., 1812.

The flank companies of the Newfoundland Regiment will march at 2 o'clock to-morrow morning for Fort Erie, and on their arrival there will receive further orders from Major-General Shaw; the Deputy Quartermaster General will have the requisite conveyance ready for the carriage of their baggage. The 41st Regiment will relieve the men of the Newfoundland on duty after the men have dined this day.

THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, Oct. 9th, 1812.

Officers in command of the several divisions will call for, from officers in command of corps and detachments serving under their orders, a return of armourers belonging to the same, which will be transmitted to the Brigade Major's office without delay.

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 12th Oct., 1812.

Major-General Brock directs that no communication be held with the enemy by flag of truce or otherwise than by his special permission unless such an occurrence should arise as to render delay prejudicial to the service, of which officers commanding posts are to be the sole judges. It is understood that in the boat captured on the morning of the 9th from the enemy, arms of various descriptions were found which have not been accounted for. Major-General Shaw will institute the necessary inquiry and retain them for the Major-General's disposal, and

it must be clearly understood by every officer and soldier that all property taken from the enemy must be reported to the Major-General before they can be applied to any purpose, and that arms in particular are at all times to be returned for the public service.

Major-General Brock receives Major-General Shaw's report of the spirited conduct of the troops of the militia on the morning of the 9th with the utmost satisfaction. Cornet Pill Major was particularly conspicuous, and he has much pleasure to find that the wounds he received on that occasion are not likely to deprive the service very long of his gallant exertions.

THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 13th Oct., 1812.

A cessation of firing having been agreed on by Major-General Sheaffe and Major-General Van Ransselear, commanding the American troops at Lewiston, etc., for 3 days ending on Friday, the 16th inst., at 4 o'clock p.m. The officers commanding the several posts on the line will regulate their conduct accordingly.

THOS. EVANS, B.M.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 14th Oct., 1812.

A return of the general and regimental staff officers, also one from the different corps and detachments engaged in the action of the 13th Oct., of the killed, wounded, and missing will be immediately sent in to the Brigade Major's office.

THOS. EVANS.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 14th Oct., 1812.

Major-General Sheaffe offers his best thanks to the troops for the bravery and good conduct so eminently displayed by all ranks and descriptions in the action of yesterday, which terminated in the complete overthrow of the enemy, their General

with many officers and about 800 men having been made prisoners, and a considerable number killed and wounded, and a stand of colors and 6 prisoners taken.

This brilliant success is, however, clouded by the ever-to-be-lamented death of Major-General Brock, who gloriously fell whilst foremost in the ranks gallantly cheering his troops whilst opposing far superior numbers. The zeal, ability, and valour with which he served his King and country render this a public loss which must be long deplored, and his memory will live in the hearts and affections of those who had an opportunity of being acquainted with his private worth.

Major-General Sheaffe has also to regret that Lieut.-Col. McDonald, aide-de-camp to Major-General Brock, whose gallantry and spirit rendered him worthy of his chief, received a wound in the action, and which there is reason to fear will prove mortal.

All arms, accoutrements, ammunition, and articles whatever of a public nature taken from the enemy in the action of yesterday to be delivered into the ordnance store without delay.

In consequence of the death of Major-General Brock, the command of his Majesty's troops serving in U. Canada devolves on Major-General Sheaffe, to whom all reports and communications will be made accordingly.

Lieut.-Col. Myers will take upon himself the superintendance of the troops of the line from Fort George to Chippewa inclusive, all reports and details for that portion of the Niagara district to be made to him and for the greater facility and despatch of the public service Major-General Shaw, acting as Col. of Militia, and commanding between Chippewa and the Sugar Loaf, will be pleased to report to and communicate with Major-General Sheaffe through Lt.-Col. Myers as Deputy Quarter-master-General.

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

*Sugar Loaf a conical hill north side Lake Erie.

D.G.O.

FORT GEORGE, 16th Oct., 1812.

A prolongation of the cessation of hostilities having been agreed upon between Major-General Sheaffe and Major-General Van Ransselear for an undefined period, the officers commanding posts along the line will strictly govern themselves accordingly until further orders.

Captain Glegg, 49th Regiment, aide-de-camp to the late Major-General Brock, will be pleased to act in that capacity with Major-General Sheaffe until further orders; Lt. Wm. Kerr, of the Glengy. Lt. Infantry, when his duty of assistant engineer will permit will attach himself to Lieut.-Col. Myers, and will receive his directions.

By Order,

(Signed) THOS. EVANS, B.M.

General Brock's last instructions to Officers Commanding Forts.

This MS. is labelled:—“1812. Instructions sent to Officers commanding Forts, by Major-General Brock, some days prior to the attack on Queenston.”

Should the enemy determine on a serious invasion of this part of the Province, it appears likely to me (now that the season is so far advanced as to render any attempt to turn either of our flanks extremely dangerous) that his principal attack will be made between Fort Erie and *Palmer's*.* He may at the same time attract our attention by sending a small force in light gun boats up the channel between Navy and Grand Island with a view likewise of impeding our retreat to Chip-

Notes, p. 2, Palmer's Tavern not far from Black Creek on a creek opposite Grand Is.

pewa, but I cannot imagine that a force of any magnitude will attempt in crowded boats to stem so strong a current, and expose itself to an attack in that situation.

The imminent danger which boats liable to attack from our batteries would encounter from the rapidity of the waters, and vicinity of the Falls, in crossing from the north point of Navy Island, would almost lead one to conclude that no officer could be found hardy enough to direct an enterprise from that quarter. But if we weigh well the character of our enemy we shall find him more disposed to brave the impediments of nature when they afford a probability of accomplishing his end by surprise in preference to the certainty of encountering British troops ready formed for his reception.

The prospect of success by this route is not only more probable than the tedious course of the south channel, but the incitements to undertake it are so great, that no officer will allow himself to be lulled into security, under pretense, by the evident risk attending such an attempt.

Once in complete possession of both sides of the Chippewa the enemy would obtain an advantage, not only as it regards military operations, but likewise over the feelings of the militia that might be productive of fatal consequences. It is, therefore, our first object to prevent by every means such an occurrence—so long as he is confined between Fort Erie and the river we may confidently look for hourly support, but if allowed to spread, the disaffected will assume a tone and posture that cannot fail to operate in deterring the loyal from active exertions.

Should the enemy, however, reject such a hazardous mode of attack and confine his operations, as has already been suggested, to the upper part of the river, under cover of his artillery, the officer in command will, of course, oppose him to the utmost in his endeavors to obtain a footing, but should he be at length compelled to retire, he will, if practicable, fall back upon Chippewa disputing manfully every step. The nature of

the ground is particularly favorable for a small force to impede the rapid advance of any number. The several detachments stationed along that line will arrive in rotation to his support, and will enable him to check the enemy until such a force is collected as cannot fail making him repent his temerity.

Sufficient attention has not been paid to ensure the destruction in case of necessity of the numerous bridges upon that communication.

Should the troops composing the garrison of Fort Erie be cut off and prevented joining and retreating with the detachment stationed at the Ferry side, the officer commanding will be left in a situation requiring his utmost prudence and activity. He will have either to annoy the enemy as he advances, or to retire before a superior force; the fort is only tenable against musketry, it will therefore be most expedient to give up the place rather than expose the troops to capture. The back road leading to Palmers has, of course, been minutely examined, and although, at this season very bad, may afford a safe retreat. Temporary footbridges might likewise be constructed near such places along the skirts of the wood as are otherwise impassable, this precaution may be the means of preserving the detachment.

An alarm from the right will not induce the force at Navy Island to move until it be ascertained that no attack is meditated in that direction, and measures are taken to station sufficient parties to watch narrowly the approach of any enemy.

The possession of and safety of Chippewa must be considered a primary object, consequently only such portions of its force will march as can with perfect safety be spared.

On the contrary the troops quartered on the road between Queenston and Chippewa will repair thither with the utmost rapidity on the first alarm, and half of the force at Queenston will follow the same route without waiting for further orders.

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE
Women's Canadian Historical Society
OF TORONTO
 1919-1920

Organized 1895; Incorporated February 14th, 1896.

OFFICERS

Honorary President - - -	MRS. LIONEL CLARKE. MRS. FORSYTH GRANT.
Past Presidents - - - - -	*MRS. S. A. CURZON. *LADY EDGAR. *MISS FITZGIBBON.
President - - - - -	MISS MICKLE, 48 Heath St. E. MRS. JAMES BAIN. MRS. EDGAR JARVIS.
Vice-Presidents - - - - -	MRS. W. T. HALLAM Wycliffe College.
Recording Secretary - - -	MRS. SEYMOUR CORLEY, 46 Dunvegan Road.
Corresponding Secretary - -	MRS. DUCKWORTH, 11 Gore Vale
Treasurer - - - - -	MRS. HORACE EATON, 141 Lyndhurst Ave.
Convenors of Memorial Fund Committee - - - - -	MRS. BOYD MAGEE, 8 Wellesley Place.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

MRS. NEELANDS.	MRS. BRYDGES.
MRS. HILLS.	MISS J. MACCALLUM.
MRS. W. A. PARKS.	LADY STUPART.

HONORARY MEMBERS

SIR G. R. PARKIN.	J. A. MACDONNELL.
COL. G. T. DENISON.	W. D. LIGHTHALL, F.R.S.C., F.R.S.L.
MISS CARNOCHAN.	BENJAMIN SULTE, F.R.S.C.
JAMES HANNAY.	REV. JOHN MCLEAN, PH.D.
SIR GILBERT PARKER.	EDWARD M. THOMSON, F.R.S.C., F.R.S.L.
CHARLES MAIR, F.R.S.C.	CHARLES G. D. ROBERTS.
MISS MACHAR.	MRS. J. W. F. HARRISON.
BLISS CARMAN.	PROF. H. T. F. DUCKWORTH.
JOHN D. KELLY.	REV. PROF. BRYCE.
PROF. PELHAM EDGAR.	PROF. JOHN SQUAIR.
PROF. G. M. WRONG.	PROF. A. H. YOUNG.
MISS K. M. LIZARS.	
DR. LOCKE.	
THE VERY REV. DEAN HARRIS.	

*Deceased.



President's Address

The past year has been one of disillusion and disappointment. War has not ceased. Even now, with the defeat of Gen. Wrangel, the last hope of a renewed Russia seems to have disappeared. The using of gas is like a defiance of the impotent League of Nations—nor is it only from Russia that danger threatens.

In our own land we see plainer than ever that the peace for which we longed has not brought tranquility, the unrest continues and none now talk of a new and better world as the outcome. It is true, as someone has said, that war does not change, but intensifies the individual or the nation; we who rejoiced in the heroism and unselfishness of our soldiers now see with dismay materialism rampant, profiteering not confined to one class, and that selfishness has reasserted itself. Our ideals of life are false; a good time; the modicum of work; ease and luxury are looked upon as an inalienable right, and because these cannot, nor ever can be obtained, unrest and bitterness result. We have forgotten in the quest for material well-being the words of the Divine Social Worker, "A man's life consisteth *not* in the abundance of the things that he possesseth."

This undying truth must be emphasized, old and young must realize the glory of duty, the ennobling effect of responsibility faithfully performed, and the need of self-restraint if the world is to be lifted to a higher plane. No wealth however evenly distributed, no multiplication of law upon law can ever ennoble a people. "There is no succor here! The aids to nobler life are all within."

As patriots there is another phase of to-day which must give us concern. There is peace, but only after a fashion. Open warfare has ceased, but there is a ceaseless propaganda against our Empire, a ceaseless effort to besmirch and to disunite us. The British Empire is not given to self-advertisement, but sometimes one feels as if it would be wise if adverse propaganda were resolutely met with a clear statement of the truth. Instances of absurd falsities will occur to everyone. A few years ago the Royal family were supposed to be barely able to speak English—a lie industriously circulated by many—we remember with shame how the refusal of the Imperial authorities to accept the Ross rifle for Bislely was set down to their pigheadedness and jealousy, etc., and the brief kudos, the Canadian Minister of Militia won by threatening that were it not allowed, Canadians would not be sent to Bislely. A rather striking instance of this baleful propaganda occurred in Egypt. After the war the British built a canal for irrigation purposes, about ten feet deep and fifteen feet in width. This bolshevik or German agents told the ignorant felahaen, was being prepared in order that the warships might sail up it and bomb

their villages, and this preposterous lie was responsible for much of the trouble in Egypt.

As patriotic women our aim should be to discountenance and discourage all this idle and evil tattle against the state to which we owe allegiance, and to seek out the truth in every case.

In regard to our own work—we as a society have come to a point where we must go forward, with courage, energy and vigour, with our project of securing in the Queen Victoria Memorial Hall a home for our meetings, and a place where our documents and collection, small as yet, can be displayed. On behalf of this scheme I ask the help and co-operation of every member of this society, and trust that all former members will join us in the effort to secure a little spot which we can call our own. There is much other work which needs to be overtaken. We should have more books for the systematic collecting of items of historic interest, and I shall be very glad if someone will offer to undertake work of this character. The reports of this year will show progress has been made.

S. MICKLE.

Secretary's Report

The meetings of the Society, held in Sherbourne House Club, have been well attended, the papers have been of great interest. Eleven new members have been welcomed to the Society.

A resolution was passed making possible the enrolment of Life Members upon the payment of Twenty-Five Dollars to the Treasurer.

Other resolutions have been (1) one in favour of the incorporation of the Maple Leaf in the Canadian Coat of Arms; (2) one protesting against Jane Addams being invited to speak in Toronto on Social Service.

PAPERS.

November.—A graphic account of an air raid at Folkestone, by Mrs. Gordon MacKenzie.

December.—Prof. Young gave a paper on the Reverend Dr. Samuel Peters, the Loyalist. Miss Lea also spoke of the work and need of the Allied Red Cross caring for the destitute children and people of Serbia and Roumania and other parts of suffering Europe.

January.—A paper prepared by Miss Addison giving extracts of the reports sent to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel by the Reverend Dr. Addison of Newark; read by Miss Mickle.

February.—Mrs. W. H. Cawthra gave an account of her efforts at shop-keeping at Folembay in the devastated regions of France. Mr. Thomson, of the University, introduced the subject of a Canadian National Flower, the bunch berry *cornus Canadensus*, being suggested.

March.—A paper on the Hudson Bay Company's Expedition in search of Sir John Franklin, in charge of Chief Factor James Anderson; read by Miss Mickle.

April.—"Letters from Mr. Secretary Jarvis and his wife to her father, Dr. Samuel Peters, 1794-1813"; read by Mrs. W. H. P. Jarvis. (These threw light on the doings of early days).

October.—"An Old Account, 1785-1788, Adam Crysler to Messrs. Street & Butler"; read by Miss Mickle.

We welcome as new members Mrs. John Garvin, Mrs. Ivey, Mrs. F. N. G. Starr, Mrs. Pyke, Mrs. W. H. Cawthra, Mrs. Blackstock, Mrs. Parks, Mrs. Covert, Mrs. Wilson, Mrs. Orde.

Members who have passed away during the year have been Miss Ellerby, Mrs. Beemer, Mrs. Julius Miles.

Publications have been received from Ontario Historical Society, Annual Report and Report of Red Cross; Industrial Occupation, McGill University; Report and Transaction from Ottawa; Report and Transaction from Waterloo; Report and Transaction

No. 31, from Niagara; Blockade of Quebec, from Quebec Historical Society; three from Washington, Seattle; two from Smithsonian Institute; complete set from London, Ont.; Niagara River and Its Environs, from Parks Commission; a Contemporary Account of Rebellion in U.C. and the Mosquito in U.C., by Judge Riddell; Transaction No. 19 from Halifax; Donation of the Anglo-American, 1845.

Correspondence has been carried on with Historic Sites and Landmarks Association, asking for our co-operation in marking places of Historic Interest.

During the summer some of your members took part in outings: the first to York Mills to visit the Church and environment; next to Stoney Creek Battlefield; next, the work of the Niagara Park Commission in beautifying the historic Niagara River and environs, and lastly the 25th Anniversary of the Niagara Historical Society, when the visitors were driven to places of great interest.

The most excellent work done by our Soldiers' Comforts Committee will be shown in the Treasurer's Report. This Committee has now dissolved, but at Christmas time the Tubercular soldiers in Hospitals have been remembered by gifts, for which letters of appreciation have been received.

Our last year's transaction, No. 18, consisted of two numbers, Old Fort Garry in the seventies, by the late Wm. Norris, and the Boulton letters, 1833-4, given by Mrs. Marsh of Lindsay, granddaughter of William Boulton.

During the year we also issued transaction No. 19, District General Orders of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, from June 27, 1812 to October 16, 1812, together with his last instructions sent to officers commanding forts, by Major-General Brock shortly before the attack on Queenston.

These were printed from the Mms. sent to Sir Isaac Brock's family in England, by Major Glegg, his aide-de-camp; with other papers they came into the possession of his great niece, the daughter of his biographer, F. B. Tupper, and were given by her to our President with permission to print; they are now in the Dominion archives at Ottawa.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

C. L. CORLEY.

Treasurer's Report

GENERAL ACCOUNT 1919-20.

RECEIPTS.

Balance in Bank, November 1919	\$118 30	
Balance from Mrs. Trent	1 40	
Fees	73 00	
Life Memberships	50 00	
Ontario Government Grant	100 00	
Donations and Excursion	13 25	
Bank Interest	2 86	
		\$358 81

EXPENDITURES.

Printing	\$143 88	
Advertising	9 00	
Postage	2 94	
Flowers	10 80	
Refreshments	3 00	
Fees	17 00	
		\$186 62
Balance, November 1920		\$172 19

THE QUEEN VICTORIA MEMORIAL FUND

RECEIPTS.

Balance in Bank, November 1919	\$260 46	
Payment of Loan by Soldiers' Comforts Com.	100 00	
Interest on Canadian Permanent Debenture	250 00	
Interest on War Loans	52 50	
Bank Interest	8 75	
Sale of Transactions	1 00	
		\$672 71

EXPENDITURE.

Payments on War Loan	\$272 52	
Balance, November 18th, 1920		\$400 19

SECURITIES.

Canada Permanent Debenture	\$5,000 00	
1917 War Loan	500 00	
1918 War Loan	500 00	
1919 War Loan	300 00	
		\$6,300 00
Cash and Securities		\$6,700 19

THE SOLDIERS' COMFORTS COMMITTEE

RECEIPTS.

Balance, November 1919	\$216 24	
Donations	281 85	
Teas and Sales	73 25	
Ticket Money	7 50	
Bank Interest	1 72	
		\$580 56

EXPENDITURES.

Donations	\$377 15	
Final Payment of Loan (Memorial Fund)	100 00	
Tea and Service	19 60	
To Ellis Bros.	2 75	
		\$499 50
Balance, November 18th, 1920		\$81 06

Since November 1916:

Paid in Donations and Red Cross Supplies \$1,779 99
 Also a Loan from The Memorial Fund of 200 00

HOPE H. DUCKWORTH,
Hon. Treas.

SYDNEY JONES, Trinity College,
Auditor.



"DEEDS SPEAK"

Women's Canadian Historical Society
OF TORONTO

TRANSACTION NO. 20

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The Hudson Bay Company's Expedition in Search of Sir John
Franklin, commanded by James Anderson, Chief Factor

1. Introduction by Miss S. Mickle
2. James Anderson's Journal

The Temple of Peace

David Willson of Sharon, 1778-1866

By Professor John Squair

1919-1920

The Hudson Bay Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin

INTRODUCTION BY S. MICKLE.

Sir John Franklin left England on his last voyage on May 19th, 1845. His ships, the *Erebus* and *Terror*, were provisioned for three years and hopes were high that they might discover the long-sought North-West Passage. At first all went well; on July 4th despatches were sent from Whale Fish Island, off Greenland, and later a whaler in Melville Bay was spoken to.

The ships entered Baffin's Bay, Lancaster Sound, passed Cape Warrender, and reached Beech Island at the entrance of Wellington Channel, sailed for 150 miles when they were stopped by ice, and passed to the channel between Cornwallis and Bathurst Islands into Barrow Straits; wintering on the North-East side of Beechey Island.

Ice broke up in July 1846, and they sailed for 150 miles; but were frozen in by the middle of September, the ships being held by ice off the northerly point of King William's Land, 1846-47.

In May 1847 an exploring party under Lieut. Gore, from a height, saw the North-West passage, and elated at the great discovery, named the place Point Victory. Sir John Franklin died June 11th, 1847.

The ice never broke up during the summer of 1847, but the ships were moved with it west nearer to Point Victory and the Coast. Winter came on, and with it scurvy, of which 20 died.

The ships were abandoned on April 22nd, 1848, by the remaining 105 men. At Point Victory they wrote the last message the world was to have from them. It ends, "Start to-morrow, April 26th, for Back's Fish River." This message was found 12 years later by Sir Leopold McClintock's search party.

The mystery concerning the fate of the gallant explorer touched the heart and imagination of the public. Sir John Richardson, his old comrade, headed the first party in search of him. In all 21 expeditions were sent out, 18 of these being British and three American. The British Government offered a reward of £20,000. Half of this was paid to Dr. Rae, who first discovered relics of the party in 1854; one year before the expedition headed by Anderson.

At Pelly River, Rae met some Esquimaux who told him that four years before (1850), some of their tribe, hunting at King William's Land, saw a party of forty white men travelling southwards dragging a boat and sleigh; that they reported that their ships had been lost in the ice; that they were starving; and that later in the same spring their bodies were found by the Esquimaux, some on the mainland and some on an island "at a day's journey from the mouth of Back's River." Rae purchased various articles of silver plate, etc., bearing the initials and names of

officers belonging to the missing expedition, which the Esquimaux had received from the party in exchange for a seal.

Rae was in London after his discovery and recommended in a letter to *The Times*, that two expeditions should be sent out, one down MacKenzie River, to pass eastwards along the Arctic coast, and one to descend the Great Fish (or Back's) River to the coast, to search King William's Land and the coast. It is this latter expedition which, under arrangement with the British Government, was undertaken by the Hudson Bay Company and commanded by Chief Factor James Anderson, with which we are concerned. The expedition was sent out to test the accuracy of the information already obtained; to gather further details; to find any written records that might have been left; "at the same time bearing particularly in mind the faint hope that some of the party may have survived, who may yet be rescued." They were to start from Fort Resolution on Great Slave Lake and from thence descend the Back River, search the island and mainland at its mouth, and return in time to winter at the East end of Great Slave Lake, where a boat with supplies was to meet them. If thought wise they might winter on the Coast, but this was left to their discretion.

James Anderson, the man chosen to lead the Expedition, was the grandson of a distinguished writer and scientist, James Anderson, LL.D., F.R.S., of Scotland. As Chief Trader, he had had charge of the important Post at Fort Simpson, on the MacKenzie, with supervision over other posts to the West and North. He had succeeded Rae and under his management Fort Simpson had become the mainstay of "the Concern" as its officers called the Company. He had just received (March 1855) his commission as Chief Factor. He was used to travel, having in the preceding years, made several voyages of discovery. A very fine man, upright and honorable, with a strong sense of justice, which led him to battle fearlessly with the Governor-Autocrat, Sir George Simpson and the Council, when he felt that the rights of others, or his own, had been disregarded. He had done a great deal of work for former expeditions, entertaining travellers forwarding supplies, etc., was a friend and correspondent of Sir John Richardson and others.

He was surprised and delighted when he received his Commission to command the search party, from Sir George. He had been writing one of his long intimate business letters to the Governor and thus breaks it: "I had written thus far when the express arrived on the 29th (March) about mid-day. I am not easily put out of the way, but certainly this appointment was a bit of a stunner. I can only say I am deeply grateful for the honour you have conferred upon me, and that all the energy I possess shall be put forth for the accomplishment of the objects of the Expedition, and for the honour of the Service." To Sir John Richardson and to Lady Franklin he writes later, "All the energy and ability I may possess will be put forth to accomplish the aims of the Expedition"; "All that can be accomplished without absolutely throwing away the lives of the party committed to my charge, shall be done." "Shall be done" but not without sacrifice; for his letter to Sir George Simpson has a P.S.: "Hardly know how my right leg will stand a long walk—the veins are swollen

as big as your thumb (varicose), but I suppose I shall rub through it somehow."

He immediately begins preparations for the journey, writing to tell Stewart, the 2nd in command, to engage "King" Beaulieu, who was Franklin's interpreter, and whom he considers indispensable. Instead of hurrying off to Fort Resolution, he waits to put his Post, "the mainstay of the Concern," in running order for the summer's work. While waiting, he received a curious letter from Lady Franklin, through her niece, Sophia Cracroft, who was engaged to Captain Crozier, Franklin's second in command. Addressed to "The Commander of the Expedition down Back's River" it is pathetic in that it shows that after all the years of silence, hope was still strong. She considers that "nothing more was proved by the relics Dr. Rae brought home, than that *some* disaster of a fatal character had happened." The party Rae was told of were probably a mere fraction of the main body. She insists that *the discovery of the ships* will alone settle the question.

"Other duties too will be yours on the discovery of any party, or the ships—those namely of collecting and securing for us, all that will be most precious to us. Your own heart will guide you in this work of charity. You will doubtless find records, journals (private, as well as those public ones, the examination of which will guide your future operations), letters addressed to them before they left this country and *from* them expressing their dying wishes to those dear friends whom they were never more to see in this world. I may particularly allude to a remarkable volume, square in form and bound at the corners in brass, with a lock. This book was intended for my Aunt *alone*, and she would consider its restoration to herself as worthy of a special and ample reward. She is most anxious to secure the inviolability of these precious private documents." He "will of course have the honorable feeling that would shrink from the examination of such private papers," but she urges him to "give such positive orders as will compel the *instant* sealing of all such private documents, whether to the members of the expedition or *by* them to their friends." To this Anderson replies that "his second in command is a gentleman and would, of course, scorn to read what was not intended for his perusal; and for the rest, with one or two exceptions, none of them can either read or write."

In Rae's report, one paragraph speaks of the possibility of cannibalism having occurred and months before Anderson had written to Sir George Simpson, that this would raise a storm. Miss Cracroft's letter continues, "Then again we have his (Rae's) revelation as to the presumed cannibalism, an assertion which has met with universal reprobation and disgust, both at the conception and the publication of it. Mr. Dickens' powerful pen has been employed on this particular question in two Nos. of his Household Words, conveying a scorn and disgust, which will be as effective as his narratives of other starving beings who yet never contemplated and never employed 'the last resource' alluded to by Dr. Rae." The letter goes on to say *the details* of Rae's report cannot be relied on.

To all of which Anderson replies that he is deeply sorry anything in Rae's report has wounded her feelings so deeply. Rae is

an intimate friend of his and "as no one has been more anxious to afford relief to your gallant and unfortunate husband, no one would more regret the circumstance than he." To the veiled offering of reward he says, "It is from no greed of lucre, no hope of fame that I undertake this task, but solely from a sense of duty."

To Sir George Simpson he writes, "My prediction regarding the cannibal part of Dr. Rae's report is verified with a vengeance. I can assure you she works him up a trifle, and informs me that Dickens has employed his powerful pen in two Nos. of his Household Words on the subject. This is a recompense for all Rae's sufferings and privations."

The equipment for this perilous trip down a river, ice-beset, with 84 rapids to be passed, was wretched. They were to have four canoes—two to be taken from Fort Simpson and two built at Fort Resolution, but Rae had unfortunately advised that the canoes be made shorter than the North canoes to which all H. B. travellers were used—the consequence was that when the two built at Laird came to Simpson Anderson found them "well made and the bark superb," but they had been shortened 5 feet, would not hold the necessary baggage, and were "as cranky as a small Canada canoe and quite useless." Those made at Fort Resolution were also defective—the bark wretched—the wood-work much too heavy—almost doubling the work on the portages.

There were no interpreters. Rae had pronounced Oo-lig-back, his own man—indispensable, and Simpson had promised to send him and another, neither of whom arrived to the leader's great disappointment.

Nor was Anderson fortunate in his second-in-command. John Green Stewart, Mr. J. B. Tyrrell informs me, was related to Lady Simpson, and connected with others of the powers that were. His being put on strikes one as a piece of pure favouritism. Nor was his record better than that of most favourites. Some of the men engaged by him were not first-rate. George Kipling was too old; Mustegan and Fidler, Rae's men, were with them, but apparently "King" Beaulieu could not be induced to join. In other ways their equipment was poor, none were provided with water-proof clothing, etc. They also had the severe handicap of a very late season.

The Journal speaks for itself. To Sir George Simpson, his friend Eden Colville and Lady Franklin, the leader speaks of it as a "very severe journey," with many hair-breadth escapes—and it is quite certain there was no eight-hours-a-day system in force. To his friend, Sir John Richardson, he writes that stimulated by the offer of rewards the men had searched diligently. "In fact, the whole of Montreal Island, the small islands in its vicinity and the coast between Elliott's Bay and McConachie's Island was searched as minutely as if we were looking for pins! No risk was shunned, and the search was only abandoned when the canoes were almost worn out; 4 kettles or 24 gallons of water were generally thrown out of each canoe at the end of a pipe. On the latter part of our voyage up the river, I have seen as many as six thrown out of one of them."

In spite of all their exertions very little was accomplished by this expedition except to corroborate the information of Rae. Sir

John Richardson, to whom Anderson sent a copy of his journal, writes that certain men who were anxious to be sent out bitterly attacked Rae's reports and maintained that Anderson's voyage did not extend to the district which ought to have been searched, "but the Government has taken a sounder view, and when the subject was brought into Parliament by some personal friends of Lady Franklin, declared they would countenance no further search." Richardson goes on to say that to show how carefully he (Anderson) had searched Montreal Island and the neighbouring shore, he had copied all that portion of the journal, and sent it to the Geographical Society for publication. . "Lady Franklin is still determined to send another vessel, and has laid aside £10,000 for it." He too would like to have the journals recovered; "but I am not willing to recommend the risk of another attempt."

The story of this Expedition has a curious and interesting sequel given in full in *The Transactions of the Canadian Institute* April, 1909, p. 393.

Readers of the *Journal* will note that on August 8th four men were sent by the Halkett collapsible boat to Machonachie's Island to search for traces of the missing party and none were reported. In the Autumn of 1890, 35 years after the event, Mr. J. B. Tyrrell, while travelling up the east shore of Lake Winnipeg, was visited by Boucher, who had been cook to the expedition. He said that three men, Thomas Mustegan, Edward Kipling and Paulet Papanakies, had been sent northward to look for traces of Sir John Franklin's party, that they saw one of the ships far out on the ice, but returned and reported they had seen nothing, fearing that if they confessed the discovery would be followed up and all their own party would perish of starvation and exposure.

Mr. Tyrrell followed up the clue thus given and obtained confirmation of the story from the three men mentioned. Edward Kipling's story was that the party sent to the island divided, Fidler (the fourth man) and himself going to the west, the other two, Mustegan and Paulet to the east. That on their return Paulet told of having seen a ship far out to sea—but that the leaders were not told as the men were tired out and anxious to get home. The remainder of his story is confused. The broken boat was well known to Anderson, who writes to McClintock, "The place where the boat was cut up was on a high rocky ridge at the eastern point of Montreal Island, remarkable for the number of Esquimaux caches on it, and below it, to the westward, is a sheltered sandy bay, apparently overflowed in gales" (he supposed some of the survivors perished there) "as we could trace on the rocks where pieces of the boat's keel had rubbed off when the Esquimaux were hauling it up to their encampment." To Lady Franklin is an added detail, "There were butt ends of planks evidently sawed by unskilful hands and a quantity of chips," etc.

Thomas Mustegan's story agrees in main points with that of Kipling. He said that three men, Paulet, himself and Kipling, were sent off in a water-proof boat to examine some islands. Going to the last island, which was high and rocky, he was left behind, and Kipling and Paulet went on and reported on their return that they had seen nothing—later Paulet told him that he had seen a ship from the lofty island, and had begged Kipling

to say nothing about it, lest the leaders should attempt to reach it and they should perish.

Paulet's own story was explicit. He said that it was he only who from the summit of a rocky island saw quite distinctly what he believed to be the two masts of a ship. On being asked why he did not tell the chief what he had seen, he replied, "Well, I was tired of the whole thing and was thinking long to be home, and was afraid if I said anything about it, we should have to go back and see what it was, so I thought I would keep it to myself, yet awhile, anyhow."

One cannot help a feeling of thankfulness that Anderson never knew of the treachery of his followers. It is probable that wretchedly equipped as they were with "the ice firm and unbroken from 6 to 7 feet thick, and new ice forming every night," they would have been unable even to traverse the few miles which separated them from Starvation Cove where the last survivors of the Expedition perished, much less reach the ship, yet we may be sure that had he known Paulet's story he would have attempted to reach it; though to Lady Franklin he writes, "Even if the ice had broken up, our canoes were in such a wretched state that I could not have proceeded further without sacrificing the lives of the party." To Rae, Sir George, Lady F. and other correspondents, he speaks of the impossibility of there being any survivors, "no party could possibly winter on that horrid coast"; yet the hope of finding the papers and records might have led Anderson "to make adventure for such merchandise" if he had known.

Journal of Chief Factor Anderson Commander of the H. B. Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin

FROM FORT SIMPSON TO BIG ISLAND.

Monday, May 28th, 1855.—I took my departure with 2 canoes and 10 men, with supplies for the expedition, a little after midday. Ice still drifting in the upper Mackenzie. We broke one of the canoes near the Green Island. It drifted so thickly that we were compelled to encamp at 7½ p.m. at the head of the Island. The water appears to have risen very high in the river; appearance of several dykes.

Tuesday, 29th.—Detained by ice till 8.50 a.m., when we left and reached the point below Rabbitskin River, where we were compelled to encamp, the ice drifting very thickly in the midst of this. B. Le Noir came drifting in a small canoe. He says that the river is free as far as Couteaux James R., but impracticable for even a boat to ascend. The people shot a few ducks and rabbits. A few drops of rain fell and the sky was overcast all day. Got a fresh stock of duck eggs.

Wednesday, 30th.—The ice detained us till 10½ a.m. We got many knocks and rubs, but reached Spencer's River at 8½ p.m. Saw Babillard's son and old Le Noir and son. Got a few fish, 2 geese, a beaver and a piece of bear from them. They had hunts varying from 40 to upwards of 100 MR. The birches and poplars began to put out their leaves. The weather was warm to-day. Previous to leaving Ft. Simpson the highest the therm. reached this spring was 62°.

Thursday, 31st.—After gumming the canoes, embarked at 4½ a.m. Obligated to take the paddle owing to the quantities of ice on the beach. Experienced some heavy showers, accompanied by thunder. We had much trouble with drift ice, but managed to reach a little above the _____ when we saw the ice coming down full channel, evidently from the little lake. By using our best exertions we managed to get our canoes out of the water 5 p.m., just as the ice came down with tremendous force, sending huge boulders up the bank like skittle balls. The canoes suffered much to-day. On one occasion a mass of ice tumbled from off the bank, sent a wave into the canoes and *broke the paddle of one of the men*. A few inches more and we should have been all smashed into a thousand pieces. As it was, we escaped, except an Indian, who was hurt by the handle of the broken paddle being driven into his side.

SIMPSON TO BIG ISLAND, 1855.

Friday, June 1.—Detained all day by ice. Immense quantities have passed: about 3 a.m. the waters rose with a sudden rush, bringing down immense fields, portions of which were shoved with tremendous force up the bank. Fortunately I caused the baggage and canoes to be carried high up before the men went to sleep. Still one of our canoes had an narrow escape. The ice though still (8.30 a.m.) drifting thickly, is getting a little clearer. This is a bad place for hunting. Nothing has been killed to-day by the hunters. Weather warm.

Saturday, 2nd.—Still detained by ice. Cloudy with some slight showers. The Big Island boat arrived at 11 a.m. Took out its crew and sent the Simpson people back in it, except two Indians. Mr. Clarke was a passenger. The ice is drifting thinly this evening, and I am in hopes that we shall be able to leave in the morning.

Sunday, 3rd.—Cloudy all day. Just as we were preparing to leave, a canoe arrived from Simpson which Mr. Miles was kind enough to send with some provisions upon hearing the state of the ice from the Indians. Of these I took 1 bag of pemmican, 22 bags grease, 25 tongues, 1 bag potatoes and sent back the remainder. We left rather too soon, as we broke both canoes with ice, and were compelled to put on shore to repair them. It was tough work getting up to the head of the line. The water is high, which precludes tracking, and the current very strong. Both canoes were nearly upset in rounding fallen trees. And the old canoes had a most narrow escape of being crushed by a floe of ice. Saw 5 Indians with excellent hunts, and a boy of 12 years old who had killed 70 MB in martens. The lowest their men

had was 80: the others 100 and upwards. Encamped late in the little lake opposite Point Au Foin. Men much fatigued after this hard day's work. It was one continued stretch.

Monday, 4th.—A beautiful calm, warm day. Vegetation has made considerable advances the last 2 or 3 days. We left the encampment at 4 a.m., and encamped at 7 and a half p.m.—the canoes requiring considerable repairs—at a pipe from a small lake close to the "Ecaurs." Saw only a few pieces of ice until we encamped, when we saw a considerable quantity. I suppose from the small lake. Saw old Bedeau and the Grand Noir. The men who are unaccustomed to the paddle complain of sore arms and breasts.

Tuesday, 5th.—Left early, but were stopped by a large body of ice (or rather a stream of drift ice, apparently much broken) supposed to have come from the channels, about Big Island. Did not unload till sunset in hopes of a passage cleaving. In the evening a heavy gale arose. We are encamped in the little lake opposite Lop Stick Point. The weather warm. I need not say the pain and vexation I feel at these repeated detentions. However, I could do nothing were I further advanced. Slake Lake is still firm, but the appearance even of advance is consolatory.

Wednesday, 6th.—Left at 1 a.m. Stopped by ice at the Island at 7.30 a.m. until 5 p.m. We then managed to cross among the drift ice and reached Charleson's fishery, where we were again compelled to encamp by our enemy at 8 p.m. Stopped at an Island where we saw many of the small forked-tailed, black-headed tern. They had just begun to make their nests, but had laid no eggs. Saw one of these birds drive off a crow. Gooseberries in flower. Very warm and clear until the evening, when it was overcast. Mosquitoes troublesome.

Thursday, 7th.—Detained here the entire day by ice, drifting so thick that we can't see water. It is all smashed into separate "candles." Very sultry. Thunder at some distance, a few drops of rain fell here, but heavy showers falling to the northward. Saw a grasshopper, strawberries in flower.

Friday, 8th.—Another warm day, thunder at intervals and a shower in the evening. Mosquitoes rather troublesome. Still detained by ice which is drifting full channel.

Saturday, 9th.—Another warm day, cloudy at intervals with a few drops of rain. Still detained by ice, running full channel. Saw a dragon-fly and some yellow butterflies.

Sunday, 10th.—At 3 p.m. we managed to cross the river amongst the drift ice, and put ashore for supper at 9 p.m., after which we continued our route. Very warm, sultry. About 6.30 p.m. the sky to the N.W. became of an inky colour with long streamers like waving hair hanging like a fringe. The sun shone through this as if a hole had been cut in the cloud. This shifted gradually round the compass, accompanied by violent squalls and heavy showers of hail and rain. We had some narrow shaves in the ice, and the tracking of the rapids was execrable.

Monday, 11th.—We marched all last night, got up the Batteau Rapids about daylight, when we were within sight of the Isle aux Bouleaux. We were again stopped by drift ice, but managed to get on by dint of wading and hauling the canoe through the small

channels and afterwards by keeping along shore, which was shoal and full of stones. We reached the point before reaching the Big Island Fort at 5 p.m. There we were obliged to unload as the channel is choked by ice. Sent all hands to the Fort except my servant. Saw some Big Island Indians and one belonging to Resolution, who is waiting for the disruption of the ice to go there. The men marched 26 hours, except during the time they put on shore to sup and breakfast.

Tuesday, 12.—The ice cleared sufficiently about mid-day to cross over to the island, along which we found a channel and reached a point on it about 15 miles from B. I. at 6 p.m. Here we found our road barred by ice. Encamped on a nasty swampy point. Set a short net which yielded by sunset 3 fine trout, 8 W. fish, and 13 red carp.*

BIG ISLAND TO RESOLUTION.

Wednesday, 15th.—Detained all day by ice. The water rose and drove us to another encampment. Obligated to take up the net as the ice was covering it. It yielded 32 fish, chiefly whitefish. Some marsh flowers are in bloom, such as the large buttercup. It is blowing fresh from the N.E. The land here is evidently encroaching on the lake. The process is first drift wood, then a sediment of mud, moss then springs up, and grass and marsh plants. Willows take root and when the ground is a little raised, birch. Beyond that we see spruce, the leaves of the birch here are just appearing, and the grass is 18" high, though the ground is frozen 6" from the surface.

Thursday, 14th.—Heavy rain with wind all night. The ice is packed against the beach so that we cannot even set a net.

Friday, 15th.—Calm and cloudy. A most gloomy day. Ice as yesterday. This perpetual detention is most distressing, but it is useless repining.

Saturday, 16th.—Very warm with a slight shower. Foggy. Mosquitoes dreadfully thick. About 5 p.m. we managed to get off from our beastly swampy encampment. We found some lanes of water, and bored through much drift ice till we reached near De Marais Islands, where we could get no further. The ice being hard and in close pack. At the same time the fog was impenetrable. It was an awkward situation. We bored away into the bay and suddenly came on one of the islands and afterwards managed to reach the last one by sunset. Canoes rather damaged. Saw several fields of ice still white and hard. Very cold in the evening. Set the net.

Sunday, 17th.—Left very early in hopes of finding a clear road. We were soon, however, undeceived, as after pushing through much drift ice, and injuring the canoes much, we were brought to a standstill by thickly packed ice in the bay at a short distance from Pt. Des Roches. Foggy with some showers of rain. Were the wind to blow off shore I think we could get on, as the ice is in pieces and moving. Mosquitoes awful. The net only produced 2 fish. Shot a goose.

*Gave 1 oz. tea out this evening.

Monday, 18th.—Got off at mid-day and after 5 hours' hard labour in getting through the ice reached Pt. Des Roches. Got a few gulls' eggs. Weather warm with thunder. Mosquitoes awful. Set the net, the bay beyond the point quite blocked up.

June 19th.—At 7 p.m. yesterday a slight land breeze drove the ice from round the point and left a channel. The net was instantly raised and we started. The channel, however, only extended a mile. We then began to bore through the ice, and at last found a fine open channel, which, with many bars of ice, took us to Hay River. Afterwards we bored through a great deal of ice, with occasional lanes of water, and reached here after being 23 hours on the water. (6 p.m.) We are encamped on a stony isle about 2 miles from the Sulphur Springs. Much to my surprise the lake here seems much stronger than towards Big Island. The floes seem unbroken, white and hard. We shall require a breeze of S.E. wind ere we can start, as it is impossible to get through such ice. The canoes suffered much damage. We have been troubled with perpetual fogs for the last three days. Much of the ice yesterday and to-day covered with sulphur.

Wednesday, 20th.—About 5 a.m. a breeze sprung up which cleared the channel outside, it ran far out, but I could not see whether it approached the Presque Islands. I, however, determined on venturing, and after breaking some ice we fortunately reached the Presque Isle, after which we got pretty clear water to Les Isles aux Mort. A head wind put us ashore on one of the Les Isles Brulés for 3 hours. We then started and reached the house* about 10.30 p.m.

RESOLUTION, 1855.

Thursday, 21st.—Gave the men their advances and prepared for starting, calm and warm.

Friday, 22nd.—Last night and most part of the day blowing a gale from sea which has undoubtedly cleared our road, as we can see large bodies of ice with the naked eye driven in. In the evening we made a start and encamped a little beyond the small channel. Mosquitoes awful.

Crews (bows): Baptiste, Ignace Joseph.

(Steersmen): Thos. Mustegan, Alfred Lafarti, John Fidler.

McLellan, Han Fisher, Edward Kipling, Don McLeod, George Daniel, Joseph Bouché, Will Reid, Paulet Papanakies, Jerry Johnson, Four Copper Indians.

FORT RESOLUTION, 1855.

Saturday, June 23rd.—Left at 3 a.m., but could not get beyond Rocky Island, owing to strong head winds. The Resolution canoe exceedingly heavy. Set two nets in the evening.

Sund. 24th.—About 4 a.m. the wind lulled and we made a start but it soon arose again and we were driven ashore at Pt. Des Roches (where we take the traverse) where we remained all day.

*Fort Resolution.

The nets set yesterday produced only 6 fish. They cannot be set now owing to the enormous quantities of drift-wood which line the shore.

SLAVE LAKE, 1855.

Mon. 25th.—Unable to move from this encampment; blowing to a heavy gale all day with no appearance of its abating. An Indian here says that his band follow a road from near the mountain to Lake Aylmer. It is through a chain of small lakes with many portages—six of them long ones. I wish to follow this road, but unless I can get additional information, shall adopt another which they all represent as longer but perfectly safe and with few portages, this falls on the east of Lake Artillery near "Rat Lodge".

Tues. 26th.—Detained still by wind. This delay is most distressing. The men shot a goose, some ducks and gulls. I was in hopes that the Esquimaux Interpreter might have overtaken us here. Had this occurred, I would not have regretted the detention.

Wed. 27th.—The wind fell a little after 4 a.m. and we started immediately just after making the traverse, it began to blow from the N.E. harder than ever, but we felt little of it among the numerous islands of the Simpson Group. But in making some of the traverses, the canoes shipped water. The evening is delightfully calm and serene. We are encamped about 8 miles from Pt. Keith at 8.30 p.m. The view from a high rock near our encampment is of extraordinary beauty. In this rock is a nest (last year's) of a fishing eagle composed of sticks, hay and moss. Set two nets. Saw some Canada geese with their young ones. I may here add that Back's description is generally correct and that I do not intend to repeat his descriptions. I however think that he has estimated the height of the rocks too highly.

Thurs. 28th.—A fair day with one or two showers; wind rather strong ahead. Back mentions that the rocks are from 200 to 2,000 feet in height; the highest estimation that both Mr. Stewart and myself have formed is 500 feet and this only in one or two instances; his description otherwise is correct. The cut rocks (trap) strikingly resemble those in Nipigon Bay, Lake Superior. Three peaks indistinctly seen by Back between Petherent and the East coast, I perceive as portions of a considerable island. There are many islands along the coast not noticed in the map. Many plants are now in flower, but they are all to be found in the valley of the Mackenzie. I have therefore only collected a few of the rarest. We left our encampment at 3 a.m. and encamped at 9 p.m. at the end of Tal, the, la (a strait which does not freeze during the winter), on an island called "the Bag." Our nets provided eight white fish and a very fine trout. They were set again to-night. We met with a little ice in this strait and I fear we shall be stopped to-morrow, as it appears unbroken in the distance. I saw an eagle's nest. The young eagles were peering out over the edge.

Frid. 29th.—Young ice formed last night and we could not leave till the sun had some effect on it and the old ice, which when cemented together is as strong as ever. We embarked at 6 a.m.

and after breaking through some ice, put in shore in a high rocky island where we remained until 12 o'clock. Then made a move out after proceeding 2 or 3 miles, put in shore again as the ice was still too strong. Started again at 3 p.m., the ice was now breakable and we found occasional pools of water. We managed to reach a small stream about 15 or 16 miles from the mountain portage—a road leading to the Barren Lands and Lake Aylmer. Back rejected this route as impassable, but as it is the only chance we have of reaching the Thlewyocho in time to descend to the sea, I have determined on adopting it. The head of this lake is still firm and the other lakes (Artillery, Clinton-Colden, etc.), will probably be still unbroken. This mountain route is a chain of small lakes with many portages. Our nets produced nothing. It was curious to see the men at this date—on the ice chopping a road. Mr. Stewart took a meridian altitude when we breakfasted which gave 62°, 47', 11".

Sat. the 30th.—Calm and clear; the ice froze in a mass last night and we could not attempt to leave before 2 p.m. It is thicker than what we saw yesterday and bore the men easily; it was from 1 to 2½ feet thick. By dint of chopping and pushing pieces apart, we made about 3 miles when it became so thickly packed that I could not venture to proceed further without risking the destruction of the canoes. We encamped at 5 p.m. within sight of our last encampment. The men went to hunt, but nothing was killed except a goose and white partridge—the latter had only half its plumage changed. At 6 p.m. therm. in the air showed 59°, in the water near the shore 39°. Our nets yielded nothing. On account of the ice, none were set to-night.

Sunday, July 1st.—The wind arose (N.E.) rather fresh, and by driving away the ice permitted us to leave. We made about 2 miles and were again driven ashore till past 3, when by breaking through some ice we got paddling till 9 p.m. (breaking occasionally through ice) when we were brought to a stop by an impenetrable pack opposite Kahoochellah or Rabbit Point. The wind blew very fresh from 2 to 7 o'clock, and has broken up the ice which had not previously moved. The rocks on the mainland (N.W.) are higher than any we have seen, the ascent is sloping. I think the highest does not exceed 700 feet. Most of the rocks are in a state of disintegration. They appear to be of a granite and trap. The process is easily seen. The rocks are in layers of 5 feet thick. The upper layer is split into quadrangular pieces. Water enters into these cracks, freezes and splits off the outside one, so that at last the whole of the under layer, which is perfectly rounded and smooth, is covered with these blocks. In process of time the angles are worn off and they have much the appearance of boulders. This may explain why boulders are apparently found on high mountains without having recourse to either water or ice. The islands are apparently of trap and resemble very much those in Nipigon Bay. They have many peaks with a cut face to the north. The water is of immense depth even close to shore. Only a few ducks and geese are seen and a chance gull and a few small birds. I have not seen the cyprus (Banksian Pine) since leaving Resolution. We passed two insignificant streams to-day.

SLAVE LAKE TO LAKE AYLMER.

Mon. 2nd.—Obliged this morning to make a portage—Half a mile—previous to embarking, after which we only met two bands of ice. We embarked at 3 a.m. and reached the "Mountain portage" at 8½ a.m. We passed one insignificant stream about 2 miles from the portage. Another falls into the bay where the portage commences. The portage is an ugly business. It is almost a continual ascent for some 1,500 feet? In the first place, a portage of about half a mile is made to a pond of about a mile in length, which I have named Another portage is then made over the mountain of about 3 miles to a small lake now named *..... The whole of the ladings with the canoes rendered by 10 p.m. and the men are now laughing over their day's work !! The general direction of our route to-day about N., N.W.; latitude head of the portage, 63 degrees, 46 minutes, 19 seconds, by meridian observation of Mr. Stewart. Moostigues or sand flies and mosquitoes dreadfully annoying.

Tues. 3rd.—The men only got to bed about 1.30 o'clock last night. I therefore allowed them to sleep till 6½ a.m. We crossed a small lake (about half a mile across) and made a portage to another lake about three miles in length. From the top of one of the highest mountains, perhaps 2,000 feet above the level of Slave Lake, I had a fine view of that body of water, (There seems still to be a good deal of ice in it) and counted no less than 15 small lakes or tarns. The interior is inconceivably rugged and desolate. The mountains are riven in every shape. Only a few dwarf spruce and birch are to be seen and scarcely even a bird to enliven the scene, Labrador Tea is in full flower and some berries are nearly full size. The first portage was about a mile in length, and of course, from the steep ascent and the ruggedness of the country, very fatiguing. We then made two short portages and crossed 2 small tarns. We then made a portage of about ¾ mile, which, though it had some steep ascent, was less rugged than the others. It is thickly carpeted with reindeer moss and from their vestiges appears to be a favorite haunt of those animals. This brought us to a lake where we encamped at 7¾ p.m., as the men, though in good spirits, seemed pretty well done up with their last 2 days' exertions. Set 2 nets, as the lake is said to abound in trout.

Wed. 4th.—Began to load at 3 a.m. Our nets produced nothing. We made 8 portages to-day, most of them short, and about 35 miles of lake water. The lakes are getting longer and the height of the mountains is diminished. Wood is fast disappearing, the whole country is clothed in reindeer moss and is evidently much frequented by those animals. It is now utterly lifeless, with the exception of a *very, very few birds*, such as robins, loons and eagles. The water in the lakes is of crystal purity. They are said to abound in fine trout and W. fish. We, however, have caught none. We passed through a *lake about 7 miles in length, which empties itself into Slave L. by a very rapid river (unnavigable). A little to the N.E. of the mountain at the head of this lake we found banks of snow still 10 feet thick. A little before encamping we passed through a large body of water broad

*See note on page 35 for route July 2-8.

and 10 miles in length. Another lake empties itself into it by a fine fall of about 50 feet in height. It pours through a door-like cut in the rocks. We encamped a little beyond this at 7¼ p.m. Set the nets. Weather is very warm and mosquitoes and sand flies dreadful. A slight breeze to-day gave us some relief. I shall for the sake of reference name all the lakes we run through, but not those I see from high mountains. They are innumerable, of all sizes, and at every elevation. Saw some old Indian encampments, last year's, of 11 lodges. Latitude of the portage where snow was seen by meridian observation of Mr. Stewart 64 degrees, 4 minutes, 52 seconds. The general direction of our route is (compass) a little to the W. of N. (Spent up to this date 3 bags of pem., 2 bags flour. Opened one of each at mid-day to-day.)

Thurs. 5th.—Began to load at 3 a.m. We are very unlucky. The nets set last night produced nothing. We made 6 portages, 2 of them half a mile each in length, the others short, and about 47 miles through lakes, 2 of these were 12 and 13 miles in length, 2 of 5 and 7, the 2 others very small. We are now encamped about half way in a large lake full of islands. We saw divers and gulls in it, as well as white partridges in their brown garb, and traces of marmots are also seen at our present encampment. A fine salmon trout and a pike were taken, the one with a line the other shot. The appearance of the country is less savage, the mountains (granite) now rise gradually, and rarely exceed from 100 to 200 feet in height. Their rounded summits are covered with moss and debris of rock. The same process of disintegration is going on with the next layer. Some gravel islands and sand hills were seen. Wood is getting rare, indeed, we cooked breakfast with a kind of heath to-day; it burns well. The weather is excessively warm, but an aft wind tempered the heat, and helped us on our way. It also kept down the mosquitoes and sand flies *a little*. In the evening, however, they were in clouds. Set the net again, encamped at 9½ p.m. Men rather tired. The canoes are very heavy, particularly mine. It takes 6 men to carry her. Our route to-day was crooked, but the general direction is N.N.W. compass.

Fri. 6th.—Began to load at 5½ a.m., having given the men a little extra sleep. The Indian took us into a bay yesterday evening and we lost a quarter of an hour in getting to the proper road. The remainder of the lake was free from islands, in some parts we had a clear horizon, it is a splendid body of water. Some rocks were still covered with ice, and patches of snow were seen throughout the day. It is evident that the ice has only lately broken up. This lake is 23 miles in length and perhaps 8 or 10 in breadth in most parts. The water from the lake runs towards Lake Aylmer. We ran the canoes down two short pieces of river, but the pieces were carried as they were both shallow, this brought us to the largest lake we have yet met with, we encamped in it after making about 30 miles. The mountains are now gently sloping hills, some sand hills were seen in both lakes. Wood is very rare. A patch of moderate sized spruce was, however, seen in the lake, but with this exception, it is about 2 or 3 feet in height. The trunks are shaped like carrots. At this encampment the trees are like walking sticks (the largest) and about 1½ feet in height. We shall leave even this to-morrow. A marmot was seen and 6

white grouse, with 2 Canada geese (moulting) killed. We were alarmed a little before encamping by seeing our road apparently barred by ice, but fortunately we found a passage round it, it was a broad belt traversing the lake. One of our best men is sick. He has injured his testicle in some of the portages. Weather extremely warm. Flies as usual. Encamped at 8½ p.m.

Sat. 7th.—Left at the usual hour. Made 3 portages. They together measured 5¼ miles of *bad* road and 17 miles of lake way. This brought us to a small lake communicating with the river falling into L. Aylmer. Encamped at 8 p.m. Men tired. At the last portage but one we saw a clump of small spruce, about 16 inches in height. A few grouse were shot. Nets set. These lakes abound in fine salmon trout.

Sun. 8th.—Left our encampment at 5½ a.m. The canoes are well arranged. Took up the nets, which yielded only 2 trout. Got into the river at 6 a.m. and reached the mouth at 7½ a.m. Ran 6 good rapids. Except at the mouth of the river we found L. Aylmer fast, along shore however, and the bays afforded a passage. After paddling about 30 miles we found our passage barred. Broke a piece along shore, but at last the ice began to drive on shore and we were compelled to encamp. The whole of the lake to the Nd. and Eastward is full of unbroken ice. All hands were on it, chopping away, though the weather is very warm. In a shallow bay in this lake we surprised a whole shoal of splendid salmon trout, 3 or 4 were captured by the men with their hands. The Cariboo tracks appeared to be fresher than those hitherto seen. The rocks in this part of the lake are chiefly sandstone fit for the finest grindstones and some granite.

LAKE AYLMER.

Mon. 9th.—This day has been employed battling against ice. By making portages (3 of about 2½ miles in total length) chopping and pushing ice aside, we rounded a deep bay and reached a point about 3 miles in a direct line from our encampment of last night. We were again stopped by ice and a similar day's work is before us. Wind as usual N. and cold. It froze hard last night and began to freeze at 9½ p.m. when we encamped. One of our canoes narrowly escaped destruction by being nipped between 2 fields of ice. They actually met, but by shoving poles under her the ice went under her bottom. All the canoes slightly damaged, notwithstanding all our care. A Canada goose shot to-day. One of the Indians injured his foot by letting a bag of pem. tumble on it! Our sick man still unable to work. Therm. 39 degrees air, 34 degrees water.

Tues. 10th.—Wind N.N.E. and piercing cold. The ice all frozen in a solid mass, and to give it time to soften we left only at 10 a.m. The whole day was spent in breaking through ice and making portages, of the latter 4 were made, say 1½ miles. We are obliged to round all the bays, some of them are very deep. I really think that we have not made 10 miles of direct distance. We are now in a bay, the N. and N.E. portion of which is formed of sand hills, and is, I trust, the Sandhill Bay of Back. We have still much ice to break through before reaching the bottom. The

men, notwithstanding their working among ice and water, are in famous spirits, and many a joke and laugh is raised at the expense of those who run a risk of breaking through weak portions of the ice. In general it is about 2½ feet to 3 feet thick and sound, except close along shore. Encamped at 10½ p.m. Unable to set the nets.

Wed. 11th.—Wind moderate and variable. Cloudy with occasional showers. Left our encampment at 11 a.m., having waited to allow the ice to soften a little. Just before starting a crack appeared at the next point across to the other shore: along the side we were on was choked by ice, and though the risk was great, I was determined on attempting it. Fortunately the wind was very light and after a sharp paddle we got safe through. We then had 4 hours of uninterrupted paddling, when ice again barred the road, another crack appeared in the ice which we immediately entered and re-crossed to the opposite side. We were as nearly crushed as possible; 2 canoes only succeeded in crossing, the third had to retreat and take a passage across higher up. We then, with the exception of a decharge, reached the bottom of what we considered Sandhill Bay of Back. All our Indian guides were ignorant of this particular portion, having come either from the river falling into this lake, or from Clinton Colden Lake overland. On mounting a high sand hill we immediately recognized Sussex Lake from Sir G. Back's admirable drawing. The river running from it is nearly dry, and we are now cutting across to an elbow of the river by a chain of 3 ponds and 4 portages. The first one is made. Rocks granite, with occasional sand hills. Some of the rocks nearly white, with plates of talc. In some of the bays yesterday sandstone appeared. I never saw regions so destitute of animal life. Since leaving Slave Lake we have seen a white wolf and a marmot, some divers, perhaps 20 Canada geese, as many gulls, a few plover, some bands of grouse and a few small birds. One Indian has lamed himself and our sick man is still hors de combat. Fortunately, notwithstanding the dreadfully severe labour they have undergone the others are well and full of spirits.

GREAT FISH RIVER. *Thlewyocho River.*

Thurs. July 12th.—The day commenced by making 3 portages and traversing 3 small tarns, which brought us to the river, which is at present nearly dry. The distance from the Lake (Aylmer) is about 2 miles of portage, and 1 of lake. We then crossed it and made another portage of 1 mile to a small lake, after crossing which we made 2 more portages—the river being still almost dry—of one quarter and one mile. We then encamped at 9 p.m. Men very tired and several lame. Mr. Stewart and I went on ahead to view our road and determine on the best places for portages, two are before us, 1 short and the other long. Saw 2 white wolves and had a long shot at one of them. A grey wavy was killed to-day. Our Indians are still ignorant of the route. We are guiding ourselves by Back's Journal. His description of the route is so minute and correct that it is needless for me to say

anything. The wind was strong from the N.W. and very cold. No mosquitoes to-night: they were in clouds this morning.

Fri. 13th.—The men were so fatigued that I gave them an extra hour's sleep. We made 2 portages, one of quarter the other $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles over the angular debris of rocks. Four men were so lame as to be unable to carry. We then proceeded across the little lake and Muskox Lake. Back's descriptions are excellent. I think he under-estimated the distance between the portage and Muskox Lake. Ice in river was fast. The Island particularized by Back in the small lake is no longer conical, the middle is sunk, and the N.W. and S.E. ends raised like a saddle. The white rocks (are of Gneiss?) very little decomposed, the middle is in a complete state of disintegration. The rock first splits into squares by ice then the angles are decomposed by the atmosphere, and they assume the appearance of boulders; and eventually are entirely decomposed, forming round spots of gravelly earth a little higher than the moss which surrounds. The rocks may be seen everywhere in these regions in all stages of decomposition. At the head of Muskox rapid we found a few Copper Indians. We purchased some meat from them and encamped a considerable distance down the Rapids. The entire loadings were run, except at one place, where a decharge was made. From this encampment a sick man and four Indians will return: the former and one of the Indians proceed to join Mr. Lockhart: the others will join their relatives at Clinton Colden Straits. The Expedition will now consist of 14 men, Mr. Stewart and myself. This will leave only 4 men for one canoe, and 5 for the 2 others, 3 of whom are lame. These crews are quite insufficient. I shall therefore leave one of the canoes either to-morrow or the day after. The weather was cloudy with slight showers of rain. We found enough of dry willows to cook with. In Lake Aylmer we had nothing but heath. Saw a grouse to-day with its brood. It attacked me bravely. A wolf was also seen as well as a crow, and a few teal, which had long been strangers to us. On arriving opposite the Indian Lodges we found the carcasses of at least 20 deer rotting along the beach. It shows the improvidence of these people.

Note.—Expedition: James Anderson, Commanding. J. Green Stewart, second Commanding. Baptiste Accusation, Joseph Avarise, Ignace Montour, Iroquois Bows. Thomas Mustegan, Paulet Papanakies, Muskegegon, Steers. John Fidler, Half-breed Steer. Henry Fidler, Edward Kipling, Donald MacLeod, Geo. Daniel, Half-breed Midshipmen. Jeremiah Johnson, Muskegegon Midshipman: Joseph Boucher, Canadian Midshipman; Murdock McLennan, Highland Midshipman; W. Reid, Orkney Midshipman.

Sat. 14th.—Blowing a N.E. Gale, accompanied by rain and fog, which prevented us from leaving the encampment until $10\frac{1}{2}$ a.m. We were obliged to carry most of the loadings for the remainder of the Rapids, say half way (2 miles), but the canoes and agrets were run with difficulty and rather damaged, particularly one of the Resolution ones, the bark of which is most wretched. Sent back the man I mentioned with the 4 Indians. The loadings were carried at the Rapid where Back nearly lost his boat, but the canoes were merely lifted over a ledge of rock and were run safely with all the agrets. We encamped close to the spot—a little below it—where Capt. Back repaired his boat, and which

he left on the 8th at 10 a.m. Two of our present weak crews are so lame that they cannot carry. Encamped at 8½ p.m. Two nets were set, as fish appeared to be running. Two musk oxen were seen at the Rapid of that name.

Sun, 15th.—Left at 4 a.m. The nets produced nothing, though the fish were visibly numerous. This is attributed to the extreme clearness of the water. Ran 10 Rapids with full ladings, except at 2 rapids where Mr. Stewart and myself, 3 men per canoe and 6 pieces, were put ashore. Encamped at 9¼ p.m. at the foot of Malley's Rapids, some distance below Capt. Back's encampment of July 1. I don't find the rapids nearly as bad as I was led to expect by Capt. Back's narrative, and the water is certainly lower than it was when he passed, which renders them in this part of the river worse. Saw some Canada geese, a cache of one bag of pemmican was made exactly where Back made his first cache. Wind still N.W. squally, with showers of rain. A little before encamping saw a reindeer, but could not put ashore as we were just entering the rapids. When making this portage a big musk bull was discovered and I had the luck to knock him over. The men are now cutting him up. Query the quality of the meat. We shall sup on a goose shot by Mr. Stewart. The worst canoe was left at the cache. We are now rather deep, but get on well with 7 men per canoe. Some frozen snow was encumbering the shore of a rapids. 5 deer are now running about on the other side of the river. One is a fawn. Slate rocks on the beach at our encampment and 2 or 3 small alders, which we have not seen for some time.

Mon. 16th.—Our canoes required so much repairing that we could not leave until 10¾ a.m. All the rapids mentioned by Back were run without difficulty. The water must have been higher and the rapids stronger when he passed. Saw 4 deer and Fidler shot one. Saw 2 bands of Musk oxen, one of 5, the other of 20 animals, besides 5 or 6 solitary bulls, but only one shot was fired at them. 11 grey wavy were also run down. Back's description of the country is in general very correct, but I did not perceive several branches of the river before arriving at L. Beechy, at the entrance or head of which we encamped at 9 p.m. Wind dead ahead and strong all day. Weather cloudy and chilly. The rocks at our encampment composed of slate.

Tues. 17th.—Left our encampment at 2¾ a.m. and passed Lake Beechy with a fine breeze aft. A complete portage was made at the Cascades. All the rapids below it were safely run, with full cargoes, with the exception of one, where the canoes were lightened of a few pieces and 3 men each. The current carried us on very swiftly, and we encamped at 9¼ p.m. at the "Sand Cliffs", passed by Back on the afternoon of the 16th inst. His description of the scenery is most correct. It is beautiful indeed. The mosses which are in full flower and in patches on the cliffs with their green leaves and purple flowers on the cream coloured sand look most beautiful. Back saw immense numbers of reindeer and musk oxen in this part of the river. We saw but 10 of the former and about 40 of the latter, 28 of these were in one drove. They were all sizes, the calves looked like black pigs. Killed 4 Canada geese and 18 grey wavyes, which are now

moulting. They gave all hands a severe run to catch them. Saw a doe and her fawn cross a narrow part of L. Beechy. 2 wolves were waiting for them. The poor creatures were in a sad dilemma, afraid to return on account of us and to land for the wolves. We shouted and drove the wolves off, and I trust the poor animals escaped their fangs. Observed a great change in the temperature: since leaving Lake Beechy it is much warmer. Capt. Back observed the same thing, and accounted for it by the distance from Bathurst Inlet being increased. Made a cache of a bale of dried meat at our encampment of last night and of 1 bag of pemmican at the head of the cascades of Beechy Lake.

Wed. 18th.—Left our encampment at 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ a.m. The canoes were lightened at the 2nd cascade and portages made at the first cascade and the "dalles" previous to arriving at Baillie's River. That stream is now only a few yards in width, though when the water is high it is evidently an imposing stream. Encamped at 9 p.m. about half way between Baillie's and Warren River. 24 Canada geese were killed. They are all males. No young ones to be seen. A few musk oxen and deer were seen. The weather was clear and warm. I searched minutely for the Esquimaux marks mentioned by Back, but saw none, either on the banks of the river or on the Gneiss mountains mentioned by Back. Along the bank of the river small stones were often found, placed one on the top of the other. But this is evidently done by the washing away of the sand from the stones. 2 of Doctor Rae's men say that they do not resemble Esquimaux marks. I saw nothing of the old encampments. 3 kinds of gulls were seen at First Cascade.

Thurs. 19th.—Raining and blowing a gale, which prevented us from leaving until 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ a.m. About 1 p.m. it began to rain and did not cease until we encamped at 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ p.m. at the head of the Hawk Rapids. Just before we encamped it rained so heavily and blew so hard that the bowsmen could not distinguish the lead. Saw no musk oxen to-day, but perhaps a hundred deer. We did not go after them as we have plenty of fresh provisions, having killed 31 large male Canada geese at one run of 10 or 15 minutes. Hundreds of these birds were seen. The so-called Esquimaux marks are seen on the edge of every sandy or gravelly hill, but nowhere else. They point or run in every direction according as the river runs. Blue Lupins are found here in great profusion and several other flowers, among others the dandelion. Warren and Gervais' Rivers were dry.

Fri. 20th.—The night turned out fine but cold, and the morning was a lovely one. The rapids were run safely. At this stage of the water, though strong they are not dangerous. Just before reaching McKinlay R. we saw fresh Esquimaux caches of deer along the water's edge and crows were seen, shortly after their tents were seen, 6 men, one of them blind, came down. From signs they made they came down McKinlay R. and most probably belonged to the Chesterfield Inlet tribe. Their boots were made of bear-skins and muskox soles, and their canoes of deer parchment. Paddles of spruce, spear-heads of iron. One of their women had bracelets of round coin beads and the oldest man brought down some wolf and white fox skins to trade, which we could not take

at present. I gave them all presents of files, knives, needles, etc., and the women a mirror and small scissors, gartering and needles. After leaving them we came on two other lodges and 3 men came to visit us, and further on 2 more, which we did not visit as it was blowing too fresh. The men were short and stout, the women not bad looking, with clean faces, tattooed the same as the female in Capt. Back's book. I regretted much not having an interpreter with us so as to learn the route they take from Chesterfield Inlet (assuming that they come from there). Two of Dr. Rae's men with me understand and speak a few words. Shortly after leaving the Esquimaux lodges a gale came on, which shortly after increased to a storm, which nearly swamped us. This was accompanied by showers of hail and clouds of sand, which nearly blinded us. At last I gave up the contest and encamped near Button's River at 6 p.m. It was piercingly cold. Capots, cloaks and blankets in general demand. Both yesterday and to-day we were much incommoded by sand banks. The Esquimaux also made us lose some time. They had evidently not heard of Franklin's party, as we made them understand that white men who had come in ships had died from starvation at the mouth of the River. About 50 or 60 deer were seen to-day, but neither musk oxen or geese. At the Esquimaux encampments many deer were lying at the water's edge till they get *high* enough for their taste. They were all does. Several fawns were lying close to the encampments apparently unalarmed. Several deer were also seen.

Sat. 21st.—Detained all day by wind and rain.

Sun. 22nd.—The gale of yesterday abated a little this morning, but the weather was still miserably when we left our encampment at 2½ a.m. When we reached Pelly's Lake we hoisted sail and carried it most part of the day. Encamped at the second Narrows in Lake Garry (Back's encampment of 20th) at 9 p.m. Saw 2 lodges of Esquimaux at the rapid between L. Pelly and Garry, but the inhabitants ran away on perceiving us. They evidently have intercourse with the Churchill Esquimaux as there were 2 tea kettles in their lodges, as well as our dogs. I put a few articles in each tent and left, a number of young fawns were running about the lodges, I suppose that their dams have been killed. Two bags of pemmican were cached at our encampment of last night. Very few deer seen. 30 geese were killed.

Mon. 23rd.—Left at 4½ a.m. Lost most part of the day in finding our road. We were also retarded by cutting through ice 3 feet thick. Encamped at the 3rd straits of L. Garry at 10 p.m. (Back's encampment of 21st). Either we are very stupid or the map in Back's work is very incorrect. The day has been the warmest we have had for some time. I shot a deer to-day—a doe,—I am ashamed to say, but we had no fresh provisions and the pemmican must be saved. The fawn was half grown and was, of course, allowed to live. In a bay surrounded by sand hills to the N. of the sand hill at the end of the 2nd strait Esquimaux encampments and signs of the spring seen. From a height a chain of lakes leading to the N.E. were seen, by which road I think the Esquimaux come from Lake McDougall.

Tues. 24th.—(Encamped 8.30 p.m.)—It was midnight before the men laid down last night. I therefore allowed them to sleep

till 5½ a.m. We rounded all the bays in consequence of ice. We were also much retarded by cutting our way through the ice at three points. It was from 2 to 3 feet thick. It is a curious sight to see men working on the ice at this date. We at last reached the rapid at the end of L. Garry, to which we joyfully bid adieu. It falls by three rapids into the river leading to Lake McDougall. This rapid was easily run. At its foot a cache of pemmican (one bag) was made. The rapids below this, five in number are all strong and dangerous, with the exception of the last one. A little below we camped at 8¼ p.m. Two decharges were made at most of these rapids. There are several channels. Capt. Back's map, (the one affixed to his narrative) is on so small a scale as to be utterly useless in these large bodies of water. 17 geese were killed; no animals were seen, with the exception of a young fox. This has been the finest day since we left Slave L., clear and very warm. The refraction was very great. Esquimaux ducks seen.

Wed. 25th.—Left at 4 a.m. In about 3 hours paddling we reached an easy rapid. This led into an extensive sheet of water where the current became imperceptible. It ran on either hand n. and s. in deep bays. Land was seen in every quarter, (Back said no land to be seen to the n.) though distant. From this we struck due south to the end of Lake McDougall about 10 miles from the rapid. The map is perfectly useless. We ran part of the Pick rapids (3) but a decharge was made at the last one after which we ran 3 rapids and carried over 2 cascades and falls. We encamped at the foot of the latter (Sinclairs Falls). All these rapids are strong and hazardous. Our Iroquois have had fine opportunities both yesterday and to-day of exhibiting their matchless skill. Saw 6 or 7 deer, and killed 13 male Canada geese. Esquimaux marks were very numerous above the head of Rock rapids and below them to this spot, made a cache of 1 bag pemmican at the Cascades above this place.

Thurs. 26th.—Left at the usual hour. It rained last night slightly. Made a decharge at the Escape rapid and at 2 of the Sandhill rapids, but ran the others with whole ladings. All of these rapids are strong and long. Two barren does were shot to-day in the water, one by Mr. Stewart, the other by E. Kipling. Two or three others were seen, and immense numbers of Canada geese. 64 of these were killed in two runs ashore; an ermine and beaver mouse were also killed at Escape rapid and here we encamped above Wolfe rapids. A cache of 1 bag flour, 1 bag pemmican and a case of tea, &c., at the head of Escape rapid. Some old Esquimaux marks and encampments seen at Escape rapid.

Fri., 27th.—One-third this day nearly was lost by our mistaking a channel of the river which led us into a deep bay at the bottom of which was a small river. It appears to be frequented by the Esquimaux. The above occurred at Mt. Meadowbank. It was blowing a tempest with rain which prevented the steersman from observing the current in this lake-like expansion of the river. The Wolf and 9 other rapids were run with whole cargoes. They were all strong, some with whirlpools which must be dangerous in high water. Two large bands of musk-oxen were seen just before encamping; 2 or 3 deer; 3 wolves; many Canada geese and a hawk. We encamped late about 3 miles below the rapid with whirlpool,

and Esquimaux marks. A cache of 1 bag pem'n, and 2 nets was made at a bold point at the bend of the river about Mt. Meadow-bank.

Sat., 28th.—Left at the usual hour. The day was fine, which gave us an opportunity of drying our clothes while breakfasting, only to be wetted again by the spray arising from a strong head wind which retarded us very much. 4 rapids were run, 3 of them very strong. The eddies or whirlpools strain the canoes very much; we cannot keep them tight; they are evidently getting shaky. 2 plovers and immense numbers of Canada geese were seen; 20 were killed; 2 deer were also seen close (does), one of them had a fawn with a leg broken, but the little creature managed to ascend a steep and rugged mountain pretty swiftly on 3 legs. Some good sized willows were gathered. Extensive patches of snow on the right bank of the river. We encamped late a little above Montessor River. (Note: I was nearly upset by the canoe grazing a stone. It was only a shave, the gum only was rubbed off.)

Sun., 29th.—Left early. Ran a bad rapid above Montessor R., in which Mr. Stewart's canoe was completely ungunmed. We were consequently obliged to put on shore at 6 o'clock to gum, when we breakfasted likewise, and made a cache of 1 bag pem'n. and 1 bag flour. The rapid at McKay's Peak was little more than a strong current. In the rapid below it my canoe was nearly broken though it was an easy one. We had to contend against a strong wind all day. In the evening this was accompanied by a soaking Scotch mist. This compelled me to encamp in case I should miss my road at 7 p.m. near the outlet of Franklin Lake. Esquimaux marks numerous and traces fresh. Saw Esquimaux ducks. No animals were seen, but abundance of Can. geese, of which 53 were killed at one run. They are beginning to fly. Montessor River has a rapid at its mouth. It does not appear a large river at present. 2 small black headed gulls attacked us at the encampment, even striking at our hats.

Mon., 30th.—Left early. The rapids at the outlet of Lake Franklin were partly passed by a portage and partly run. At their foot we saw 3 Esq. lodges in which were an elderly man, 3 women and a host of children, the others being absent. Large numbers of W. fish and trout were hung out to dry, as well as some deermeat. The lodges were made of musk-ox skins dressed with hair inwards. These people made us understand that a party of white men had starved to death at the sea after their vessels were destroyed. 2 of Dr. Rae's party understand many words and phrases. In their lodges are copper and tin kettles, both round and of a square form, longer than broad, evidently belonging to cooking stoves. Various pieces of wood poles and boards of ash, oak, white pine and mahogany were about the lodges, also a brass letter clip, but nothing to identify any person. Some of the boards were painted white. Nothing could be learnt about books or manuscripts. The absence of the interpreter is a sad blow to us. We ran the last Falls. They were only an easy rapid at this stage of the water. At some distance below them we saw 2 cyakes, but they turned tail immediately on seeing us and joined 3 others on shore. 2 finally took courage (one an old, the other a young man) to

cross to us, but we learnt nothing additional from them. They confirmed the accounts given by the others of the death of the crews of the vessels, etc. The weather has been most gloomy and the wind ahead with occasional showers. About 5 it commenced raining in earnest, and increased to such a degree that I gave the order to encamp, but we could find no fit place till 7¼ p.m., when we disembarked, thoroughly soaked. No fires could be made so that pemmican and cold water were the order of the day. Some spirits should be provided for an expedition of this kind. The men really require it on such occasions as this. A little before encamping saw a small band of deer in a bay, Canada geese were also running. Encamped among the islands, about half-way between the Fall and Victoria Mainland.

Note: On an island below the falls found the head of a blacksmith's tongs—the handles broken off.

Tues., 31st.—The rain prevented us from leaving before 5½ a.m. It recommenced just after embarking, and we had a wretched time of it till we reached Victoria headland. To breakfast at 11 a.m. It then partially cleared up; but we had occasional showers, with fog, till we encamped at 8 p.m. at Point Beaufort—Red granite is the prevailing rock at all points on this side of the inlet. Victoria headland is principally composed of hills of rounded stones, like shingle, though I believe them to be only decomposed rocks. Willows were found at the waterfall at Victoria headland; fuel of two kinds in small quantities, and most of the flowers we saw inland. No animals were seen to-day, nor any traces of any, except a wolf and two seals, the latter below Victoria headland. There is no such thing as a deer pass, or any place where even Esquimaux could live. We have seen no marks this afternoon at this encampment. I found all the aigrets of an Esquimaux, most of them of deer horn, and a few iron; one had holes evidently drilled by a tradesman. There was also a piece of tin. I suspect they belonged to a dead man. They must have been here some time, as they were in a state of decay. Also Esq. ducks, a loon, and large gulls. Noticed the tide at Victoria headland.

Wed., Aug. 1st.—Detained by wind and rain till 2½ p.m. The wind was from the S.W. and has doubtless cleared away some of the ice. We took the traverse to Montreal Island, and with the aid of the paddle made it in 3 hours. We lost some time among the drift ice, driving very rapidly with wind and tide from Elliotts' Bay. We had some narrow escapes, and I was heartily glad to get safe through it. The ice is 6 or 7 feet thick and perfectly sound. We encamped on the north side of a rocky island divided by a channel from Montreal Island. The whole inlet to the north and eastward is blocked with ice. To-morrow morning the island shall be thoroughly explored for vestiges of the missing party. Saw 2 or 3 seals, some gulls, and many Esq. ducks. A track of a deer was seen on this island.

Thurs., 2nd.—The men breakfasted early and left to explore the island. At mid-day we heard shots. I left immediately with Mr. Stewart. We met Bouché and Reid, who showed us sundry articles belonging to a boat, and a chip of wood with "Erebus" upon it. We then proceeded to the point where these were found, and examined all the Esq. caches, most of which contained blubber

and seal oil, but one of them contained a kettle (tin), and others sundry iron works, such as chain, hooks, blacksmith's cold chisel and shovel, and a bar of iron, and the hoops of butts, apparently; a piece of cane, parts of the stands of instruments, a piece of a rod of a gun, pieces of rope, with the government mark on, and a piece of wood with "Mr. Stanley" cut on it. (Surgeon of the "Erebus.") The search was continued till late in the evening, but no traces of the graves were discovered. A band of 10 deer were on the island, of which 5 were killed, 2 by E. Kippling, 1 D. McLeod, 1 J. Johnson, and 1 J. Fidler—all fat bucks. Our best hunter, Mustegan, is lame. The day was beautiful, and we had an opportunity of drying everything. The whole inlet is full of ice, except to the eastward, where there appears to be some water. Wind light and from the N.E. I promised a reward of £2 to him who found the first traces of the missing party. This was divided by W. Reid and J. Bouché.

Fri., 3rd.—Wind moderate, N.E. and N.W., cold, but a fine day. All hands searching for the graves, without success. A few trifling articles, belonging to the ships, found. Some of the adjoining islands were also examined. Two deer were killed, fat bucks, as were those yesterday, by Mustegan and J. Fidler. The inlet is choked with ice, except along the E. shore.

Sat., 4th.—Wind moderate, varying between N.W. and N.E., clear fine day. As the whole island is completely explored I made an attempt to get over to the Western mainland, but could not succeed. We worked along shore through the ice, along the western end of the island, till we came to nearly the narrowest part for crossing. The whole inlet appears to be still choked with ice. We can do no more till the ice is driven out. Some Canada geese were seen yesterday; Esq. ducks, loons and plovers are pretty numerous about the island. An Arctic hare was killed by one of the men.

Sun., 5th.—We worked through the ice to the western shore, and all hands were employed in exploring the Western shore, to the south and north; but no traces of the missing party were found. In the evening we worked our way through the ice opposite to the north-west extremity of Montreal Island. A buck deer was shot just after we put on shore. Mr. Stewart and myself put the first balls in it, and the others afterwards finished the animal. Many deer were seen by the exploring parties; but none were killed, as I allowed no guns to be carried, as we have plenty of meat. Very little fuel to be found. The shore is low with sand hills inland. Weather in general fine, but foggy in the morning; wind light from N. E. New ice was forming before we put on shore.

Mon., 6th.—Near Point Pechell. A beautiful calm day. We have been working through the ice the whole day, either Mr. Stewart or myself, while the other remains with the canoes, with four men. Have traced the coast from Montreal Island, but not a vestige of the missing party has been discovered. The country in this vicinity is dotted with small ponds of water, with ridges of sand and gravel and occasional immense square blocks of gray and red granite, pieces of limestone are also scattered about. Many deer, perhaps 150, were seen. We can find no fuel at our encampment, or within 5 miles of it. Previously we found a

scanty supply of the fuel used by Rae. The canoes were much damaged to-day, and I can shove them on no further, the remainder of my task must be completed on foot. Some Esq. ducks, with their young, loons and laughing geese, with plovers, snowbirds and w. grouse were seen. In the clean sandy bays some whitefish were seen. Many very old Esq. encampments were seen. The entire inlet seems to be choked with ice of great thickness and solidity; notwithstanding the day was warm, new ice formed after 4 p.m.

POINT OGLE.

Tues., 7th.—Took an early breakfast and started with Mr. Stewart and all the men, except two of the Iroquois, who were left to arrange the canoes and look after the luggage. We were in light marching order. Five men followed the sinuosities of the coast, while the rest of the party swept the country further inland. For about one-third of the distance the country was intersected by small lakes, the remainder was composed of sand hills, devoid of all vegetation, and between them low valleys, which are overflowed in high tides. In one place the water appears to cross the peninsula, and often nearly cuts through it. If the missing parties died in one of these low spots, their bones must have been either swept away, or buried in the sand. Many very ancient Esq. encampments, but no new ones, were seen. Some, perhaps four or five years old, were seen at Point Ogle, among them were found a small pice of cod-line, and a small piece of striped cotton, which were the only vestiges found. We encamped late at the point opposite Machonochie's Island. A very fat buck deer was killed, and a few other were seen.

MACHONOCHE'S ISLAND.

Wed., 8th.—Early this morning 4 of our best men were ferried across in the Halkett boat and the whole of Machonochie's Is. was minutely examined, without success. The wind drove in the ice so fast into the strait separating the Island from Richardson Point that we were unable to cross over and examine it as I wished. The party killed another fat deer* on the Island and returned at 2 p.m. It then began to pour down rain, with a sharp N.E. gale and we were all thoroughly soaked when we reached our encampment about 9 p.m. The last of the party only arrived at 11 p.m. No fuel was to be had, and, of course, no fires could be lighted, so that we passed an uncomfortable night. A little fuel was seen on Machonochie's Is.

RETURN JOURNEY.

Thurs., 9th.—The rain ceased at 7 a.m., and the canoes were gummed. We started at 9 a.m., and it turned out a beautiful day so that we were able to dry our clothes partially. The ice was even worse than when we were coming. Our portage was made, and by

*Killed by Paulet and Fidler.

dint of shoving the ice aside and cutting it we reached to within 4 miles of our encampment of the 6th at sunset. New ice began to form at 4 p.m., and was thick enough to cut the canoes before we reached the encampment.

ADELAIDE PENINSULA.

Fri., 10th.—Left our encampment at 3½ a.m. The ice was very close and cemented together with new ice so that we made slow progress and injured the canoes. We therefore breakfasted early and afterwards got on a little better when we arrived at the strait separating Montreal Island from the West mainland. The Halkett boat was launched and a small island examined, on which were some old Esq. encampments. We afterwards proceeded along the south shore of the Blont Island, which we found nearly free of ice, and after examining the traverse from a high mountain I determined on risking it, though the eastern land appeared to be lined with ice. We crossed with a fine breeze, aided by paddle, and got through the ice easily, there being large openings between the floes. The breeze increased to half a gale and we continued on till 11½ p.m., when we encamped at Point Backhouse shortly after which it began to rain at intervals and blow still harder. 2 seals were seen at this point; heather is pretty plentiful, but there are no traces of deer.

POINT BACKHOUSE.

Sat., 11th.—Unable to moor. Blowing very hard between N.W. and N. all day, with squalls of rain. (Note: Ice came on again. Most fortunate we got across yesterday.)

Sun., 12th.—Unable to leave the encampment before mid-day. It then lulled a little and we embarked. It was still blowing very fresh from the N.W., with a heavy sea, but we kept on and encamped at sunset above our encampment of the 30th. Showers of rain all day, which turned to snow in the evening. I never experienced such piercing winds as blow on this coast. All of us are in winter rig, but still chilled to the bones. No deer seen to-day. 3 starving wolves come close to the canoes and stole a piece of pemmican—fortunately for them all the guns were wet. (Note: mountains white this evening with snow.)

Mon., 13th.—Left at 3 a.m. Just after embarking it began to snow and then rain heavily, and this was the case, with a slight interval, all day. Saw the Esquimaux at the rapids leading to Lake Franklin. They now numbered 3 families, consisting of 5 men, 3 women and about 12 lads and children. Endeavoured by all means in our power to find out if they had papers of any description, but they had none. They showed us sundry articles got from the boat, such as tin boilers, about 18 in. long by 12 in. broad; an oval frying pan; do. iron; 7 copper boilers and tin soup tureens, a chisel, a fragment of a handsaw, a piece of the white metal plate of a thermometer, and of an ivory rule. Most of their paddles were made out of ash, oak, pieces of mahogany, elm and pine. They made us understand that they had not seen the ships which had been wrecked, but had heard of it from others,

and again showed us by signs that the crews of the vessels had died from starvation. We got Esq. boots, etc. for the men, and made them presents of a grafting saw each, fish spears, seal spears, knives, and bags and sundry trifles for the ladies. We got a little aft wind in L. Franklin. I encamped at the head of the rapid before arriving at McKay's Peak, but Stewart below it, having broken his canoe *very* badly. No animals whatever seen. (Note: The Esquimaux were just leaving, their fish caches were made. They were leaving for some pass to watch for deer.)

THELEWYCHO RIVER UP.

Tues., 14th.—Mr. Stewart arrived at 4 a.m. and we then left. The water has fallen so much that we ascended McKay's Peak Rapid with the paddle, and an aft N.E. wind helped us on famously. Encamped late, considerably above Back's encampment of 26th July. It was raining the whole day. Just before encamping a fine rainbow made its appearance. A solitary starving wolf seen to-day.

Wed., 15th.—We were all so wet and stiff that no one awoke until late. We left at 4¾ a.m. The rainbow of last night did not deceive us. The day was beautifully clear and warm, and we carried sail with a fine N.E. breeze for half the day, and made fine progress, having encamped at the Rapids below Wolf's Rapid. This fine day enabled us to dry our clothes and bedding, which were actually getting mouldy. Some of the men begin to complain of rheumatism and it is not surprising. I did not take up the pemm. cached on the 27th ult. as it was rather out of the road. We have also enough, and the canoes are rather too heavy. Geese are now flying. Not an animal has been seen to-day, but the tracks of deer were seen both yesterday evening and to-day. All going to the South. This accounts for our seeing no deer on Adelaide peninsula on our way back.

Thurs., 16th.—This has been a day among the Rapids. The canoes received much damage. In Escape Rapid Mr. Stewart's canoe was broken and mine completely ungummed. Encamped at 6¼ p.m. about 6 miles above Escape Rapid. Mr. Stewart's canoe only arrived at 7½ p.m. We lost also about ¾ hour at breakfast in gumming her. A decharge was made at one strong place in Escape Rapid. Took up our cache in good order. Wind fresh. Fresh ahead from the S.W. Showery. Yesterday we saw a few sand flies, but to-day they were in clouds. Neither musk oxen nor deer seen. The geese now fly so that we get no fresh provisions. 3 wolves, a few ermines and several young foxes seen. Last night the aurora was seen for the first time faint in the South, as well as the Great Bear. Venus we saw some days since.

Fri., 17th.—Left at the usual hour. Rained at intervals last night and throughout the day. Mr. Stewart's canoe again broken badly in still water. It was repaired at breakfast time. The river below Sinclair's Falls very shallow. A portage was of course made then and the canoes gummed hastily. The remainder of the rapids to Lake McDougal were passed safely. We encamped late at the head of the rapid. A doe r-deer was seen to-day. I shot 3 white grouse (young ones), they are now 2-3 grown.

Sat., 18th.—It was blowing such a gale from N.E. this morning that it was impossible to leave before 10 a.m. It had then moderated a little, though still blowing fresh with a heavy sea, we managed to reach the first rapid in the river (say 10 miles from Rock Rapids). Falling into McDougal's Lake we then hoisted sail and had a fine run for a couple of hours. We got up several small rapids and encamped at 7½ p.m. considerably above our encampment of the 24th ult. The river is now rather shoal, having fallen 10 or 12 ft. Not an animal of any kind was seen. Weather showery.

Sun., 19th.—Made all the rapids to L. Garry without accident, and encamped at the Narrows at our encampment of the 22nd ult. This first part of the day was clear and calm which enabled us to dry our clothes, only to be again wetted in the evening by heavy rain. Wind variable. We carried sail about 2 hours as far as the E. sand hill from nearly the first one. At the last long rapid coming up a decharge was made, it being shallow. Saw swamp berries for the first time coming up. They were 2-3 formed. The men chose to compliment me by calling the fine sand hill in the middle of the channel connecting L. Garry with L. McDougal "Anderson's Hill." 10 deer were seen this evening. Took up our cache below the rapid at the end of this Lake in fine order.

LAKE GARRY.

Mon., 20th.—Heavy rain and strong gale last night from various points. It was still raining when we embarked at 3¼ a.m. It cleared up partially afterwards. At the rapid between L. Garry and Pelly we saw some Esquimaux, then only women and children when we passed on our way up, and they then ran away. But now the men were there and they came to us immediately. They had various articles used by us in the trade which they must get from the Churchill Esquimaux. There were 3 lodges and 5 men (2 old, 1 middle-aged, and 3 young men) 2 of them we had previously seen at McKinlay's River. There were 3 women and 6 children. I think there must be a river falling into the deep bay on the Ed of Lake Pelly. We gave them knives, spears, dago, scissors, etc., and parted famous friends. They gave us some deer meat. Encamped at sunset near the head of L. Pelly. The wind was strong ahead all day. About 25 deer were seen to-day all going to the South. The same is the case with the Canada geese.

LAKE PELLY.

Tues., 21st.—It was miserable weather when we embarked at 3 a.m. It was blowing hard and raining. At Buttons River we hoisted all sail and carried it for about half the day. We were much incommoded by sand banks above Buttons River. The same was the case in a minor degree when going down the water in L. Garry, and above it does not appear to have fallen so much as below it. Below and at McKinlay's River we saw the same Esquimaux as when descending. There were 8 tents, about 10 men were present and 8 women and several children. The women are all of very low stature, good-looking. The young women are

only tattooed after they have children. Saw several stone kettles made with 5 slabs, sand stones cemented together. These Esquimaux seem a remarkably harmless, honest and clever race. Canoes and tents made of deer skins. Have many of our articles of trade. They made us understand that they came down McKinlay's River, but that it was nearly dry at present. The wind headed us towards the evening and the rain never ceased. We encamped a piece above McKinlay's River. Everything we have is now soaked with rain. We have found plenty of willows since reaching L. Garry.

THLEWYCHO.

Wed., 22nd.—Left early. 3 Esquimaux came to see us start and accompanied us a short distance. Alders are seen at the Hawk's Rapid: for the first time the long line of rapids below and above Hawk Rapid were safely ascended. It then began to rain very hard and continued without cessation till at last I could not endure seeing the men suffering so much and encamped 5½ p.m., 5 hours above Hawk Rapid, among the sank banks. Mr. Stewart's canoe cannot keep up with mine and retards us considerably. The fact is, both canoes are now dreadfully leaky and his the worst. Some ripe berries, "crow berries," were picked. The leaf is red. Several wolves, gulls and crows were below Hawk Rapid, feasting on the drowned deer. But not a deer was seen either to-day or yesterday. Several bands of Canada geese and grey waxies going to the southward. At the rapids between L. Garry and Pelly and below Hawk Rapids, appeared to be the only good deer passes we have seen since leaving the coast, though there are doubtless others. Heavy rain all night.

Thurs., 23rd.—Left at 2½ a.m. 'midst drizzling. It cleared up at breakfast and enabled us to partially dry our clothes, etc. But heavy showers soon wetted us again. The sun, however, shone out at intervals. I encamped at 6½ p.m. (to avoid a heavy storm which threatened us) a little below Baillie's River. The wind assisted us a little to-day and the men paddled well. But our progress was much impeded by sand bars which rendered the channel of the river most tortuous. Esquimaux marks as high up as this.

Fri., 24th.—Ascended the Cascades, etc., above Baillie's River. Made two decharges, encamped late at the sand cliff, a little below our encampment of the 17th ult. For a wonder, it did not rain until midday, and was positively warm when walking. It then began to rain, and we had occasional showers till evening. 4 deer and a wolf seen. Numerous flights of laughing geese going to the southward. The wind helped us on after midday.

LAKE BEECHY.

Sat., the 25th.—Left at 2 ½ a.m. Wind blowing fresh from the west, with frequent showers of rain and hail. Mr. Stewart's canoe again broken before breakfast, which retarded us a little. We encamped at 9 a.m. at Beechy's Lake at the head of the Cascades. This was, of course, a complete portage. The canoes are now

distressingly heavy, particularly mine. No deer seen, but about 20 musk oxen were grazing on the left of the river, below the Cascades. Laughing geese going to the south. It appears that much rain has fallen about here. L. Beechy has only fallen about 6 in. Took up our cache in good order, except a bag containing some meat, which the wolves had got at and devoured. Two of these beasts were seen in the portage. The men gave two of the sand cliffs to Messrs. Lockhart and Stewart.

Sunday, 26th.—The canoes required so much gumming, etc., that it was 4¾ a.m. before we left. Strong head winds accompanied by rain and sleet prevailed all day and retarded our progress. Much water was shipped and our crazy canoes bent in with every wave. 20 or 30 musk oxen were seen, but no deer. Encamped at dusk about 5 miles above the Willow Island at the head of L. Beechy. Froze hard at night.

BEECHY'S LAKE.

Mon., 27th.—Left at 2½ a.m. amidst rain. It cleared up in the middle of the day and we rejoiced to see the sun. Towards evening the rain re-commenced. The wind, however, was favourable and helped us on considerably. Encamped when it was nearly pitch dark at foot of the Long Rapids below where we left our canoe on the 15th ult. Mr. Stewart's canoe was again badly broken and he was obliged to encamp below us. With this exception the long line of rapids in this day's march was ascended without accidents. Two young laughing geese were killed. Some of our best shots fired at a musk bull from the canoe and one ball hit him apparently on the end of the spine and paralyzed his hindquarters. He, however, soon recovered and escaped. A few musk oxen were seen, and at dusk 2 or 3 deer. Many flocks of waxies flying to the southward. Froze hard at night.

THLEWYCHO RIVER UP.

Tues., 28th.—Detained till 5.40 waiting for Mr. Stewart. This delay is most vexatious. Everything was hard frozen this morning. The tent was as stiff as a board. Found our first cache in good order, and took all the penches and mast yards of the canoes left there for poles. The canoe was also broken up for firewood. Met with no breakages to-day. Encamped at dusk above the rapid where Capt. Back repaired his boat and sent back his carpenters. A little snow fell before breakfast, but afterwards the day turned out beautifully fine but very cold, though the wind was fresh from the southward, which retarded us much. 7 deer were seen, but no musk oxen. Some flights of grey waxies were seen. The river is lower than on our way down, but not so low as I had anticipated.

Wed., 29th.—Left at the usual hour. Just below Musk Ox Rapid a small band of deer was seen, one of which, a fat buck, was shot by Mustegan. Musk Ox Rapid was very shoal. Its ascent by the canoes' light and the carriage of the pieces occupied upwards of six hours. The canoes were completely ungummed and it took 2 hours to repair them. Encamped at dusk at the head of Musk Ox Lake. It took 1.35 hours to make the traverse hard pad-

dling. The day was the first day without rain, and beautifully clear, that we have had since leaving Point Ogle. As the men have behaved so well, and as we have hard work still before them, I have promised them each five pounds in addition to their wages, and, moreover, that should their conduct be good, and if they exert themselves on their way to R. R. and Norway House, that should they arrive before the expiration of their year's time that they shall receive their whole wages as for the entire year, thus changing their terms from the year, to the trip. J. Fidler and Paulet are to get five pounds extra for acting as steersmen.

Thurs., 30th.—Another fine day. The men worked splendidly. The river from the lake above Musk Ox Lake is nearly dry, and it was therefore a continuous portage interrupted only by a small pond and lake. We reached the little lake close to Sussex Lake and saw Lake Aylmer close to us. There is still a little ice on the borders of this Lake (the one nearest). Saw 3 deer. One of the men laid up with a sore foot. Saw 3 rock partridges and faint, to the southward, numerous flocks of snow geese passing south.

LAKE AYLMER.

Fri., 31st.—Made 2 short portages and passed 2 ponds of water, and then a third portage brought us to Lake Aylmer at 6 a.m. The canoes were thoroughly gummed and we embarked at 7. We had to contend with a strong head wind all day, which retarded our progress much. The weather was bad also. Foggy in the morning and rain afterwards. Several deer were seen to-day, perhaps 30, and 2 were shot by Mustegan and J. Fidler. A two-year-old buck and doe. A slight deviation was made, entering a bay running to the south-east, which is not noticed in Back's map. We lost by this about an hour and a half. Encamped at dusk near the Narrows leading to Clinton Colden Lake. We have now lost the willows and are reduced to burn heath.

Sat., September 1st.—A beautiful day, most of which was wasted in finding our road, and I am not quite sure if we are, as I supposed, encamped at the Straits leading to Clinton Colden Lake. Back's map makes it appear that the Strait was bounded by the southern shore, whereas, a deep bay running E. and S. E. intervenes between the straits and the south shore. The map is utterly useless for such a lake as this. Some very small spruce were seen at the bottom of the bay before mentioned, out of which we got by a short portage to the proper bay. Several deer were seen and 2 shot by E. Kipling and J. Fidler, the former a large fat buck, the latter one of 2 years.

Sun., 2nd.—Blowing a gale from the N. and N. E. We were compelled to pull down the tent during the night to prevent its being carried away. The wind abated about 3 p.m., but we did not leave as I had sent off Mustegan to see if this was the right Strait. He returned late with the information that it was. Immense flocks of Canada geese passing all last night and to-day. The men arranged all their little affairs and dried the contents of their bags. Froze sharply.

Mon., 3rd.—Reached Clinton Colden Lake at breakfast 9 a.m. The wind was blowing a gale from the E. and S.E., which rendered it impossible to take the traverse to the first point. Snow in the morning. Froze sharply.

CLINTON COLDEN LAKE.

Tues., 4th.—Detained by the gale till 6 p.m. It then subsided a little and we took the traverse. Shipped much water and our rickety canoes were sadly strained. Encamped at 11 p.m. at the first large island. Ignace killed a buck.

Wed., 5th.—Started at 2½ a.m., having just laid down on the beach till we could see. Fog till after breakfast. The whole day has been spent in looking for the river. Back's small map is a snare and a delusion. We are encamped on what we suppose (for the third time) to be the Straits. Many deer seen and some snow geese.

Thurs., 6th.—Detained by dense fog till 9 a.m. We then left, though the fog was still thick. This compelled us to round several extensive bays. We at length fell on a strait with some current in it, and encamped at dusk near the rapid leading to Artillery Lake. I trust never to be guided by such a map as I have again. Many deer seen, bucks, 3 very fat ones were killed, 2 by J. Fidler and one by Ignace. Traces of Indians were seen.

ARTILLERY LAKE.

Fri., 7th.—Ran the two first rapids but —— down part of the 3rd, the water being so low that there was a small fall. Saw very small pines above the 2nd rapid, and afterwards they increased in size, till about half way in Artillery Lake they became of *respectable* size. Good many deer seen about the rapids, but not many in this lake. The majority of those seen to-day, does with young. We had strong head wind till about 2 p.m., after which we carried sail, with the paddle for about hour and a half, and it then fell calm. Day clear. Last night aurora borealis everywhere in irregular patches. We encamped at dark opposite what I suppose to be the island called the Rat Lodge. Left a notice for the boats in case we missed them at the Narrows below the Rapids. We took the west shore at the 3 first islands marked in the map (4). There is a pretty deep bay running to the W. and S. W. not noticed in the map.

Sat., 8th.—Blew N.W. a gale last night, with rain. The waves were beating so high against the shore than we made a portage to a small bay and after shipping much water and working our crazy canoes much we succeeded in crossing to the Beaver Lodge. The wind increased with rain and snow till at last we were compelled to encamp at 7 a.m. at a bay on the west shore where we afterwards discovered Capt. Back built his boats. We were detained here all day.

Sun., 9th.—The ground was white with snow this morning and still blowing a heavy N. Wester, with drizzling rain and snow. Took an early breakfast and left at 5 a.m. under double-reefed sail. Kept along the E. shore until we fell in with some Indian

lodges, and the rest of the day was spent in trying to find out their road to Fond du lac des Esclaves. We made a move in the evening to the bottom of the deep narrow bay. On the E. shore were 10 Indian canoes, several Indian lodges, or at least the poles of lodges, and remains of deer. The Indians had left this about a fortnight since. We are not yet quite sure of our road. It is really too bad that Indians have not been sent to meet us. Numerous flocks of geese and waxies passing, 4 kinds of berries seen. (Note: Larch found in this bay.)

ARTILLERY TO SLAVE LAKE.

Mon., 10th.—Ground white with snow this morning. Very early this morning Mustegan and J. Fidler went to find the straightest road to the height of land. Returned, and after breakfast (8 a.m.) we began the portages, and before night had passed 8 lakes and had made 5 miles, 8 ponds all in an S.W. direction. The Lake we are on is rather larger and the rivers connecting the lakes are more considerable. The last one was navigable. Men much fatigued. Wood increased in size and quantity as we approached Slave Lake. Birch fit for axe handles to be found. Very few deer tracks.

Tues., 11th.—Left early. Fell on an Indian track. On entering the river made 2 portages equal to $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and shortly after got sight of Slave Lake. The river was here larger, but shallow and interrupted by several falls and cascades. The pieces were carried straight to the mouth of the river (5 miles) and the canoes were brought down (light) the river partly by water and several bad portages. They did not succeed in reaching the pieces. Mr. Stewart and I crossed the river by wading at a rapid and found the Fort. It is built on the old site of Fort Reliance, but on a much smaller scale. We slept here. Mr. Lockhart left yesterday with the 2 boats. He is not far off, as there is a long portage to make, and I sent off immediately to tell him to return. A whiskey jack was seen when we breakfasted, the first for many weeks.

GREAT SLAVE LAKE.

Wed., 12th.—The canoes arrived at 10 a.m. After arranging matters I left at 2 p.m. with my canoe. Mr. Stewart remaining to meet Mr. Lockhart. Carried sail to the Point, but afterwards had the wind strong nearly ahead. Encamped late a little beyond Hoar Frost River. A. B. faint. (Aurora Borealis.)

Thurs., 13th.—Left early. Met an Indian about 7 a.m. who gave us some fat meat. We afterwards saw some women and children. Arrived at the Mountain Portage about 3 p.m. Put ashore in the bay beyond it to await the arrival of the 2 canoes from Simpson, which were seen under sail. Took one of these canoes and sent off the other with the two crews at 4 p.m. to meet Messrs. Stewart and Lockhart. Gummed and arranged the canoe and proceeded about 6 miles beyond the Mountain Portage at a little river. Wind strong ahead since midday. Shipped much water. These 2 canoes are the proper length, but too narrow and low. The gunwales also are too weak by far.

Fri., 14th.—Left early. Met some Indians going to Resolution about 7 a.m. Encamped about sunset at the beginning of the Cut Rocks leading to Pipe Stone Point opposite the mouth of the large bay. Weather rather cloudy with some light showers. Nearly dead calm and consequently a splendid day for paddling. A great many waxies passing to-night. A. B. superb in streamers and rays of all colours. Very active about 11 p.m. Rays apparently descended to within 100 ft. of the water.

Sat., 15th.—Left early. Wind rather strong ahead. Encamped at dusk among the Islands where we dined on the 27th June. A. B. very active, same as yesterday. Saw few small poplars before encamping.

Sun., 16th.—Left at 2½ a.m. nearly calm. Men paddled very hard, smoked once, and arrived at the last Cariboo Island 9 a.m. Wind a little stronger ahead. Took the traverse straight to Stoney Island 3¾ hours (Mustegan never once missed his way through this labyrinth of islands). Supped at 6 and arrived at Resolution at 9 a.m. Men quite fresh. 17th at Resolution, 18th, 19th, 20th and 21st at Resolution. Stewart and Lockhart with one canoe arrived at 1 p.m.

22nd.—Equipped men. Remainder expedition men arrived.

23rd.—Stewart and Lockhart and the 2 other boats arrived.

24th.—Sent off 2 boats to Simpson. I would now start, but have to pay off some Indians. Pack up the remainder of the Expedition goods, and, if possible, await the arrival of despatches per "A" boats which should now be here.

25th, 26th, 27th, Fri., 28th.—Left Resolution at 10 a.m., the "A" boat having arrived yesterday afternoon. Boat very deep. Wind moderate till we came to the last Islands to go to Isle aux Morts, where we were compelled to encamp. Drizzling rain.

Sat., 29th.—Wind N.E. with a very heavy swell, which compelled us to put on shore at 1 p.m. at Sulphur Springs, where we were wind bound all day. Showers of rain and snow at intervals all day. A. B. faint in the evening. Sharp frost.

Sun., 30th.—Left at the first appearance of dawn. Carried sail with a very light breeze, and pulled supplies, at Point des Roches, and reached Big Island about 2 a.m. of Monday the 31st. Arranging different affairs for Fort Rae, etc. Left B. Is. at 1 p.m. Soon after hoisted sail to a light breeze and at the same time pulled. Water extremely high, both in the lake and river. Supped at 7 p.m. a little below Point de St. Restaux. Then hoisted sail to a light air of wind. Day broke when we had entered the small lake. Met Brough about 5 p.m. above Pt. St. Restaux.

Tues., October 1st.—Wind veered ahead after daybreak broke. Put ashore at the foot of the little lake to breakfast, when it began to blow a gale, which compelled us to enter a little river on the left bank, where we were nailed till the next morning.

Wed., 2nd.—Encamped at Spence River.

Thurs., 3rd.—Reached Fort Simpson about 9 p.m.

NOTES.

Anderson drew a map of his route from the Mountain Portage to the Sandhill Bay of Back, on which the Lakes, etc., are named as follows:

July 2nd, p. 13.—Sandy Portage Lake; or Thai-Koh Antetti.

July 3rd, p. 13.—Clark's Lake 3 miles, encamped at head of Miles Lake, or They-gee-yeh-too-ey Lake at the end of the Rocks. Miles L. 6 m.

July 4th, p. 14-15.—Passed Pruden's Lake and Harrison, entered McFarlane's Lake (7 miles in length), passed to Barnstone's Lake or Eh-get-they-too-ey, or Lake further than the Rocks (10 miles in length), with Rae's Falls (50 ft. in height).

July 5th.—Passed Campbell's Lake (13 miles long); Ross' Lake (12 miles) Nai-youchey-too-ey or the Lake among the Rocks; Hardisty's Lake (5 miles); and Mackenzie's Lake (7 m.), and encamped about half-way down Margaret's Lake (23 miles long).

July 6th, p. 14-15.—Through Margaret's Lake, by river to Back's Lake, encamping about 30 miles down. Indian name Tlon-thai-kiye-to-ey or Lake of the White Sandy shores.

July 7th.—Passing out of Back's Lake, portages led to Ballenden's Lake (6 miles), thence by portage to unnamed Lake.

July 8th.—The River which falls into Lake Aylmer was named by Anderson, Outram, after General Outram, "the Bayard of India," who was a relative of his. The Lakes are named after friends in the H.B.C.

APPENDIX TO JOURNAL.

List of articles found at Montreal Island and at the mouth of Back's River, sent to Sir George Simpson (exclusive of articles forwarded to England with the despatches):—1 Blacksmith's coal chisel iron; 1 tomahawk; 1 piece of Gun wash rod; 1 Copper chain hook; 3 Copper nails; 4 strips of bunting; 3 pieces of rope with Government mark; 1 handle of dinner-knife (bone); 1 Copper rudder, iron (broken); 1 iron rudder (broken); 1 iron hinge (broken); 1 brass ring binnacle; 1 brass nail with binnacle; 1 piece of a copper ring; 1 piece Mahogany board; 1 part of a theodolite stand; 3 pieces of pine wood (one having a sheet of copper attached to it; 1 piece Oak; a small piece of wood belonging to Capt. Back's boat.

James Anderson was presented with a medal by the British Government for the Expedition. This is in the possession of Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson, now retired, of South Devon, England.

The manuscript and letters from which the transaction is printed were kindly loaned to the Women's Canadian Historical Society by James Anderson of Ainslie Hill, West Sutton.

The Temple of Peace

DAVID WILLSON OF SHARON,
1778-1866.

BY PROFESSOR JOHN SQUAIR.

The first time I heard of David Willson was from a certain Ben Willson, who for some years, in the neighbourhood of 1860, was in the service of my father in the Township of Clarke. Ben claimed a far-off relationship with David of Yonge Street, but was apparently a very different kind of man, detesting church services and all pertaining thereto as much as David seems to have set store by them. Nevertheless, David was for Ben, a great man, and he occasionally edified me, a growing boy, with stories regarding King David, his white-robed maiden acolytes, his music band, his processions, his feasts and his temple lighted with hundreds of candles. Now and again, since those bare-foot days, I have heard of Sharon and the Davidites, but only very recently have I made them and their founder the object of any serious attention.

In a book called *The Rights of Christ*, Willson speaks thus of his origin, "I, the writer, was born of Presbyterian parents in the County of Dutchess (*sic*), State of New York, in North America." In his *Practical Life* he says, in his quaint style, "I was born in the year 1778, of poor but pious Presbyterian parents, whose fortune in life left me far below the means of common school learning. My occupation was hard labour in cultivating the soil, till I was left an orphan in a friendless world at the age of fourteen, without a father or a mother to assist me in life; after which I inclined to mechanical business in joining timber, one part unto another, by which I have erected, in the village of Sharon, memorials of the patterns the Lord hath given for the erection of His house; and with the pen I have drawn the lines of His Spirit as to me they have been given."

He was married to Phoebe Titus in about 1806 and in 1801 he came to Canada. He took up land in 1802 in the Township of East Gwillimbury, where the village of Sharon now is. Many of his neighbours were Quakers and he seems to have soon joined that sect. He tells us that he kept silence for some seven years, "but," as he says, "when I began to speak to them from the proceeds of my inward grace, I was excommunicated from them as unworthy of the privilege and esteem I had once enjoyed, and the whole body, save four or five, turned against me, and I was cast out from the care of Society into the open world, to loathe the excommunication they had placed upon me." This seems to have been in 1811. Then he organized a new sect called the "Children of Peace" and reports visions that he had in 1812 representing to him the Church of God under various similitudes such as a

beautiful queenly figure, a pure stream of water, a beautiful newborn babe and so on. But Willson's style is vague and incoherent and no ordinary reader, like the present writer, can guarantee the correctness of any condensation of the matter of his writings.

In 1815 he published what seems to be his earliest book, viz., *The Rights of Christ, according to the Principles and Doctrines of the Children of Peace, Philadelphia, 1815*. The whole volume contains 59 pages, and is divided into three parts, "The Rights of Christ" proper, of twenty pages, "Address to the Crown of England," of seven pages, "The Pattern of Peace or Babylon Overthrown," of nineteen pages, and two poems, "Some Reasons for believing that the Spirit of Christ is Not in all that Profess his Name," and "A Song giving God Praise on the First Day of the Week or the Morning of the Resurrection Triumphant over Death, Hell and the Grave." Prospective readers are, however, to be warned that the essays and poems are less interesting than these titles would seem to indicate. The information regarding Willson and his neighbours in the matter of their attitude to the world contained therein is extremely meagre.

In 1825 the building of the Temple of Sharon appears to have been begun, although I have not found any exact account of this. It was not finished earlier than 1830. It is a remarkable structure but since it is described in Dr. Hughes' Brochure of 1918 we pass it over.

In September 1828, there came to Sharon, on an electioneering visit, one of the most remarkable men of our early history, William Lyon MacKenzie. He had already founded his newspaper *The Colonial Advocate* (1824), and had received a visit from certain young men who, to teach him better manners, pitched his type into the Bay (1826). He stayed at the house of Enos Dennis for two nights and was delighted with what he saw and heard of the Children of Peace. The Society consisted at that time of thirty or forty families residing in and about the village of Hope (now Sharon). The country was well cleared and the village possessed a variety of tradesmen, such as tanners, weavers, blacksmiths, coopers, joiners, shoemakers, and so on. Dennis himself was at once a millwright, wheelwright, blacksmith, cabinet maker and cart and plough maker. Willson was busy working on his "elegant and fanciful" temple. There were two schools in Hope, one for the ordinary branches of education and the other, on a far larger scale, for the instruction of young females in knitting, sewing, spinning, making chip and straw hats and bonnets, etc. There were a male and female superintendent. The pupils cooked, made their own clothes, kept the garden in order, and received lessons in reading and the like. MacKenzie counted nearly a dozen large "wool-wheels" in one room. And he found amongst the pupils two young girls from York (Toronto). It may be remarked here that this is doubtless the earliest account of a School of Domestic Science in Ontario.

On September 2nd, 1829, MacKenzie met the Children of Peace again about eight miles from York where they were holding a meeting. Here he was particularly pleased with the music furnished by some twenty men and six or eight women who sang and also played on a variety of instruments, such as violins, bass viols,

bassoons, flutes, flageolets and the like. David Willson on this occasion preached for over an hour.

MacKenzie saw the Children of Peace again in July 1830 and reports that they were preparing for the erection of a third building, in brick and wood, and that the Temple was nearly finished.

He visited East Gwillimbury again in July 1831, and this time in connection with his petition to the King for a "redress of grievances" from which Upper Canada was suffering.¹ After the public meeting there was an evening demonstration, during which there was marching up and down the village of Hope, the procession being headed by the "powerful band of the militia regiment," playing on a variety of instruments. One may doubt whether this was a militia band or merely what we may call Willson's Temple Band which was celebrated. John Ross Robertson speaks of it as a Temperance Band, in which he is pretty certainly in error.² These meetings with the Children of Peace are described in MacKenzie's *Sketches of Canada and the United States, London, 1833*, which were published in London when the alert Reformer was busy presenting his case to the British Government.

There is another work of MacKenzie, *New Almanack for the Canadian True Blues*, of 1834, in which he again speaks in a complimentary way of Willson and the Children of Peace. It is to be remembered in this connection that Willson and his friends were largely, if not altogether, in sympathy with MacKenzie and the Reformers. Two of his sons were arrested as rebels in 1837.³

In 1832 the Rev. Isaac Fidler visited the County of York and in 1833 published "*Observations on Professions, Literature, Manners and Emigration in the United States and Canada*" (New York). Mr. Fidler speaks of Willson as King David, and is mildly satirical regarding the "virgins" who accompanied him on his preaching tours, although on the whole respectful in tone.

In 1833 another gentleman, Patrick Shirreff, of East Lothian, Scotland, who was on a tour in Canada and the United States, made a visit to East Gwillimbury, which he describes in his book, *A Tour Through North America, Edinburgh, 1835*, p. 106. He gives an interesting account of the Temple and of Willson. In describing the latter he compares him with Edward Irving (1792-1834), the great preacher and founder of the Catholic Apostolic Church, then at the waning of his celebrity, and near the end of his life. If Willson's appearance suggested Irving to Shirreff there must have been something striking about him, for according to Thomas Carlyle,⁴ Irving was a very handsome man of impressive aspect.

In 1835 Willson published two books: *The Impressions of the Mind and Letters to the Jews*. The former is a volume of 358 pages. In his "Observations to the Reader" he says that his "object in the publication of these few broken hints to the world, hath been to improve the small measure given," so that in the end he might "lay down his head in peace with God." He hopes he will be excused for his "singular deviations in Church and State Govern-

¹See Lindsay's "Life of Mackenzie," 1862, Vol. I., p. 202.

²"What Art has done for Canadian History," No. 3440.

³Lindsay's "Life of Mackenzie," 1862, Vol. II., p. 379, and Durand's "Reminiscences," 1897, p. 316. Durand speaks of three sons.

⁴Carlyle's "Reminiscences" edited by Froude.

ment"; but let no reader be afraid, Willson will not shock any one with revolutionary sentiments. The book is really a collection of colourless sermons or addresses (delivered from 1832 to 1835), interwoven with short poems, taken down, at least in part, by a faithful amanuensis or redactrice, Anne Reid, who seems to have died in October, 1833. Who carried on her work up till 1835 is not disclosed. One of the peculiar features of these sermons is the small *rapport* existing between them and the events of the great world outside. Willson, as he says, draws everything out of his own mind. But occasionally he does make some reference to contemporaneous occurrences, as for instance on November 1st, 1832, where he speaks more or less vaguely of the many graves dug during the previous summer to receive the victims of the cholera which was so severe at that time in our region.

An interesting section of the book deals, more or less vaguely, with political questions. Willson, although not expressing his views in a very coherent manner, seems to be wise enough to realise that a republican form of government is not necessarily superior to a Monarchical. As he says, "What have republicans to boast of? They are as much at variance as the subjects of our Monarchical government, and as dissatisfied with senate and president as we are with William our King. Good government doth not consist in form or system, nor religion in church orders, or what is called sacred ceremonies, but in the established principles of the Son of God." His sentiment of loyalty to Britain and her King is sturdy and complete. He expresses himself thus: "Britain is my hope, for there I shall see the salvation of God. I love the King as my father, for he will receive grace, and be at peace with his people. Britain is the star of nations; the sun will rise and shine upon her as morning rays on the western hills."

At pages 269 and 314, five of the older men of the village of Hope, present, on behalf of David Willson, testimony in quaint style, which has some interest as explanatory of the life and character of their leader. From these two passages the following extracts are chosen: "His life was singularly spent, between labour and devotion, often retiring to bye-places, fence corners, or the woods; always allowing one hour in the after part of the day for any person who might be working for him to retire also for devotion, if they inclined to do so; never employing any person without first seeing the way to pay when wanted or required; living in peace with his neighbours, never disputing about any points of doctrine. His doctrine was unto us very singular, who were bred up strict sectarians; he pleads the sinner's cause (not the cause of sin) and convinced many of us of our partial dispositions. He hath written much, hath often delivered publicly, and also wrote truths which has (*sic*) proved to us that he was favoured with some foreknowledge of events, which has (*sic*) come to pass within our knowledge. He is a man of scarcely any education; but hath been able to teach us doctrines we never knew. He is no sectarian, nor pay preacher—his mind (as he has often intimated to us) has travelled backward from the last dissenters, until his mind dwelleth much with Abraham, Moses, David and the prophets, and latterly he has been engaged in writing some manuscript in favour of the restoration of the Jews, and the downfall

of Christian sectarianism. His disposition is to patiently hear the cries of the young or old, and to perform any kind of labour or service in the church—preaching the ways of salvation to all mankind, through the blood of Jesus or His Sufferings. He has given the whole of his time to religious service for rising of twenty years, although a man in limited circumstances, and he would never receive any remuneration for this service. He has given gratis to his brethren his services as a builder, also the ground whereon our three buildings of worship stand. And although he is a man not versed in science, yet his pattern for building will stand the test of the most strict scrutiny, and we can say the house (which he designed) for our Monthly Sacrifice (i.e., The Temple) has obtained the character of being a modern structure for chasteness of design unsurpassed.”

As has been already said, the *Letters to the Jews* were published in the same year (1835). There are twelve of them and they make a book of seventy-one pages. The thought running through these letters is that it is a pity to have lost Judaism. The world is as unstable as water and needs the stability and conserving force of the Jewish religion. It is evident that the Christian Sun is departing from the western skies and what shall take its place? He mourns for the Deliverer and his soul slumbers not.

In 1837 Thomas Duncumb published in London *The British Emigrant's Advocate*, in which he speaks (pp. 272-5) of Hope or David's Town, the home of Willson. He speaks of Willson's preaching as original and of his manners and habits as “homely.” He states that Willson used to preach every month in Toronto.

In 1846 Willson published a volume of *Hymns and Prayers* (153 in number) which were written for use in the services of the Meeting House, now no longer in existence. Again in 1849 he published, for the same services, a second volume of *Hymns and Prayers* (314 in number).

The poetical quality of these verses is not high, but I shall venture to quote one of them, as a fair sample of the whole. It is No. LXXXI of the volume of 1846, and is entitled,

The Trust of the Redeemed.

“To Thee, O God, my praise shall be,
My hope, my joy, my trust;
For thou hast been a God to me
That am but earth and dust.

“Altho' the wise may rise and boast,
And princes fill the throne,
My soul shall love the Holy Ghost,
A God to whom I'm known.

“Into his hands my life I give
And lean upon his breast,
His Spirit bids my soul to live
And with His own to rest.

“Thy saints my sorrows do attend,
And Jesus sees me there;
A hand to me His love doth lend
And saves me from despair.”

In 1851 W. H. Smith published *Canada, Past, Present and Future*. In vol. I., at p. 285 he speaks of Willson.

In 1852 a book called *Canada as it Was, Is, and May Be*, by Sir Richard H. Bonnycastle, was published. Beginning at p. 284, of vol. I, the author devotes a page or two of description of an uncomplimentary kind to David Willson, some of which was quoted by Dr. Scadding, twenty years later, in an interesting book.

In 1853 Willson published a book entitled *Sacred Impressions of the Mind in Praise and Prayer*. It is a little volume of 103 pages, composed of devotional prose and verse interspersed.

In 1860 appeared *The Practical Life of the Author from the Year 1801 to 1860*. It is also a small volume of prose and verse, containing eighty pages. The information regarding Willson or his surroundings to be found in this volume is exceedingly meagre, and the reading of it is disappointing. It has also the defect of vagueness which characterises all the writings that Willson has left behind him. Still one can find something in it regarding the religious doctrines and practices of the Children of Peace. They had no written creed, although they proclaimed their belief in God and Jesus His son. To arrive at Truth they did not consult the writings of others, but searched their own minds, which were enlightened by the Spirit of God. They had no Sacramental rites in their services, but they had music and feasting. There were two great feasts in the year,—one in June and the other in September, at which all animal diet was excluded.¹ Union and peace were the foundation stones on which their doctrines and organization rested.

In 1861 Rev. J. Carruthers, a Presbyterian missionary, published at Hamilton, a *Retrospect of Thirty-Six Years' Residence in Canada West*. He speaks of Willson as the “remarkable leader of this religious sect.”

In 1866 Willson's long life of 88 years came to a close, and for twenty years the Children of Peace continued their existence. But they seem not to have used the Temple after 1886.

Since Willson's death several books have appeared in which he and his companions are mentioned. First, in 1873, Henry Scadding, D.D., published his book *Toronto of Old*, in which at pp. 105, 106, 107, 296, 486, 487, 488, 489 and 490 he speaks of Willson and his activities. It is doubtful whether all that Scadding says of them was thoroughly verified by him.

In 1885 C. Blackett Robinson published (without author's name), a *History of Toronto and County of York*, in which at p.

¹Note from Miss Sara Mickle: A well-to-do farmer who has lived all his life near Sharon and who, in his youth attended many of the feasts, states that no meat was ever used for the feasts. The fare was bread, butter and cheese with cake of all kinds. There were three varieties which were called “feast cakes,” one being rich fruit cake. But the “feast cake” par excellence, was according to his description a rich sponge cake, in which many eggs were used, and which after many years, he remembered as being delicious.

174 of vol. I, part II, there is a reference to a recent article in the *Rural Canadian* which gives the history of David Willson's family in Ireland. It appears that a Hugh Willson of Carrickfegus in Antrim had two sons, Hugh and John, who came to America in 1770. Here John had a son in 1780 who was called David. He married Phoebe Titus and went to Canada in 1801 (the present writer has not seen the article in the *Rural Canadian*).

In 1896 John Ross Robertson published the Second Series of his *Landmarks of Toronto* in which at pp. 686, 688, 689 and 690 he speaks of Willson and Sharon. In these pages there are slips, as for instance when he speaks of Shirreff as visiting Willson in 1835.

In 1897 Charles Durand published his *Reminiscences*, Toronto, in which at pp. 316-8 he speaks of Willson, probably not without some inaccuracy, although in lively and entertaining vein.

In 1917 Robertson published his valuable volume, *What Art Has Done for Canadian History* (a continuation of his *Landmarks of Canada*) and here he mentions several photographs and sketches of interest which illustrate the life of Willson, now in the great collection of historical pictures to be found in the Public Reference Library, College Street, Toronto. (See in that collection Nos. 3440, 3560-7, and 3600).

Finally, to bring our subject up to date, we must mention the purchase of the Temple and the land on which it stands in 1918 by the York Pioneers, a worthy act due to the inspiration of James L. Hughes. Dr. Hughes has also prepared two instructive brochures: *Sketches of the Sharon Temple and of Its Founder, David Willson*, and *Selections from the Writings and Sermons of David Willson*, both published in 1918.



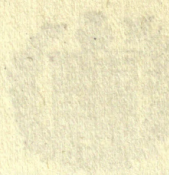
"DEEDS SPEAK"

Women's Canadian Historical Society
OF TORONTO

TRANSACTION No. 21

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3. An Old Account, 1785-1788.
Sara Mickle.



Western Canadian Historical Society
OF TORONTO

TRANSACTIONS No. 21

REVIEWS

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ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE
Women's Canadian Historical Society
 OF TORONTO
 1920-1921

Organized 1895; Incorporated February 14th, 1896.

OFFICERS

Honorary President	MRS. COCKSHUTT, Gov't House. MRS. FORSYTH GRANT.
Past Presidents	*LADY EDGAR. *MRS. S. A. CURZON. *MISS FITZGIBBON.
President	MISS MICKLE, 48 Heath St. E.
Vice-Presidents	MRS. JAMES BAIN. MRS. EDGAR R. JAEVIS.
Corresponding Secretary	MRS. W. T. HALLAM, Wycliffe College.
Recording Secretary	MRS. J. G. SETTLE, 86 Walmer Road.
Treasurer	MRS. A. E. HILLS, 1275 Bathurst Street.

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MRS. HORACE EATON, 141 Lyndhurst Avenue.	MRS. HILLS, 1275 Bathurst Street.
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MRS. NEELANDS.	MRS. W. A. PARKS.
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MISS K. M. LIZARS.	HON. MR. JUSTICE RIDDELL.
DR. LOCKE.	HON. MR. JUSTICE OSLER.
THE VERY REV. DEAN HARRIS.	

*Deceased.

President's Address

After three years of peace, so-called, the poor old shaken world seems at last to be turning the corner, and swinging back to normal. We no longer talk of a new world. Many high hopes have perished. England, perplexed and harassed, has perhaps suffered the most during the re-construction period, and it must have been bitter to her people after saving the world to find the same evil and malicious propaganda assailing her on every side and trying to destroy the Empire. Yet our hearts cannot but swell with pride when we remember that the brave little land "though so little, yet so great," is still holding up the world and bearing more than her share of its burdens. For the debt which weighs her down so heavily was largely incurred, not for herself, but others. As her armies fought in every field, so her money or credit helped everywhere; of the ten billions she owes the United States, three and one-half billions was incurred for Russia—great big Russia—who would not have received the loan if Britain had not guaranteed the payment of it. Yet we can trust that Britain is, in the words of one orator, "All Right." Personally, my hopes for her coming thro' the stress and strain are largely built on the fact that she has in some small measure, for some few articles, adopted protection. May this lead to the casting-off of one-sided trade—miscalled "free."

At present all thoughts are centred upon the Conference for the Limitation of Armaments at Washington. The world, peace-hungry, longs for war to cease, and much impassioned (one might almost use a stronger word) rhetoric is flooding our newspapers and journals, thus fostering extravagant hopes of what the Conference may be able to accomplish. It is better to think a little. The difficulties are great; there are real problems to be faced; we pray that they may not prove insurmountable! There are other considerations which must give us pause,—the first is that Germany, prosperous and defiant, and Russia are not in it—do not bind themselves. Then there is the perhaps human instability in the policy of Governments. Ten years is a long time. Within that period we have

known the peace posturings of the Geneva Convention to be ruthlessly swept aside, without protest, by the very men who framed its laws; and later, we have seen how within a very few months the policy as to the League of Nations by the United States was absolutely reversed. Built up, fostered, and furthered by the Supreme Representative of the people, it was nationally rejected at the next election.

In the present negotiations upon the fleets, we are all vitally interested—the over-burdened British taxpayer will welcome relief from the heavy tolls—but the distance of its component parts from one another, renders the Empire the most vulnerable of nations, and we cannot but remember its existence depends upon the Fleet.

There has been some progress during the year in our own Society, but we ought to do a great deal more. Want of money, and want of a home where interesting historic articles could be safely stored and on view, hampers us. We must work steadily towards securing such a place, be it large or small, by our own effort or in conjunction with others. There is room for a small Museum in Toronto which would deal with the social and domestic life of the town and country. This the great Provincial Museum, of which we are justly proud, cannot do. And yet there is an interest and charm about the intimate possessions of those who have passed away that tells us more than we can learn from books. There is a wealth of historical articles still to be secured. As a Society we must be up and doing to make our work a success.

* * * * *

It is with very great regret that the Committee has received the resignation of Mrs. Corley, for many years Recording, and for the past eight years our Corresponding Secretary. Her heart has been in the work, and besides the duties of her office she has willingly helped in every way possible—always interested—always at hand—always ready to do what she could.

Mrs. Duckworth has also had to resign. She has given us six years of splendid efficient service in the difficult office of Treasurer—a very important post. She has used very good judgment and has been invaluable in Committee work. It is with very great regret that we have had to accept her resignation, but we shall have her with us and know that she will not lose interest in our work.

SARA MICKLE.

Secretary's Report

The regular meetings of the Women's Canadian Historical Society, of Toronto, during the past year have been well attended, also the monthly Executive meetings. They have been held at Sherbourne House, which affords very pleasant and convenient quarters for our meetings. Six papers and addresses have been given, of an historical or literary character.

November—"The Annual Meeting of the Ontario Historical Society at Owen Sound," by Mrs. W. T. Hallam.

December—"The Palestine Campaign Under General Allenby," by Major Norman Macdonnell.

January—"Stephen Jarvis, U. E. L., Adjutant-General and Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod in Upper Canada," by Mrs. Ralph Brydges, his great granddaughter.

February—"The Life and Work of Canon Featherstone Lake Osler and His Wife, Ellen Free Pickton," by Mrs. W. T. Hallam. This paper was taken from Mr. Osler's journals, which have been privately printed, and a copy has been kindly presented to the Society by the Hon. Featherstone Osler, K.C.

March—"Toronto Streets and Houses up to 1832," by Mrs. Ernest Neelands.

April—"Canadian Literature and Writers," by Mrs. John Garvin.

October—"The University Expeditions to Alberta in Search of Fossil Animals," by Prof. W. A. Parks, of the University of Toronto.

Several important resolutions were passed during the year,

(1) That a standing committee with power to add to its number be appointed to further the project of the proposed Queen Victoria Memorial Hall.

(2) That the bequests to the Society from the late Miss Fitzgibbon be placed in the Royal Ontario Museum for safe keeping until the conditions of her will shall be fulfilled.

Mrs. Horace Eaton, who for so long a period was convener of the Red Cross Committee, has not yet ceased her devoted work for the soldiers, and was able to send

to various hospitals in Ontario last Christmas many appropriate gifts for tubercular soldiers, through the kindness of our members, who brought to the December meeting all kinds of games, magazines, books, knitted comforts, slippers, etc., made up into attractive parcels. There are still more than 600 tubercular soldiers in our province.

A very interesting feature of the year's proceedings was the observance of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of this Society. This took the form of a birthday party held in February at Sherbourne House. The committee in charge received congratulations on all sides for the handsomely decorated table, with the huge birthday cake centring it, and for the interesting entertainment of violin and piano music provided during the afternoon by Mrs. Lawson Reade. Dr. Locke, the Chief Librarian of Toronto gave a talk on "History Teaching for Young Children." Several hundred guests were present, and letters of congratulation and good wishes were received by the President from friends of the Society all over Canada. A goodly sum was realized from the birthday money for the Memorial Fund.

We welcome twenty new members to our Society: Mrs. A. F. Rutter, Mrs. Fraser, Miss Lucy Harris, Mrs. Bowie, Mrs. Manson, Mrs. Price, Mrs. Watson, Mrs. Russell Starr, Mrs. Bruce Lawson, Mrs. Blackburn, Mrs. Harding, Miss Riddell, Miss Millichamp, Mrs. Scarth, Mrs. Settle, Mrs. Macdonald, Mrs. Poole, Miss Nelles, Mrs. D. B. Donaldson and Mrs. R. A. Williams.

This Society has for its object not only "the encouragement of a study of Canadian history and literature, the collection and preservation of Canadian records and relics," but also "the building up of Canadian loyalty and patriotism."

Our President, at all the meetings, has brought before us the necessity of making these ideals possible in our every day life. One very material way in which we can do this is to patronize our own manufacturers, insisting that we get from our merchants "Made in Canada" goods. Many articles have been shown at the meetings quite the equal in quality to foreign goods, and just as cheap, so that no sacrifice is involved in doing this "bit" for our country.

LILLIAN HALLAM,
Rec. Secretary.

Notes by the Corresponding Secretary

During the year we joined in the effort to obtain British and Canadian-made films; letters were sent to ten picture houses, and our members were urged to do their utmost to discourage anti-British productions.

Letters were sent to The National Parks Association re the Old Fort in Toronto; the Historic Sites Committee re marking of sites in and near Toronto.

Communications were received from various Government bodies bearing on the need for purchasing Canadian and British-made goods—a policy, the benefits of which were duly impressed on our members.

Many requests for transactions were received from Historical Societies here and in the United States, from Libraries, the Royal Colonial Institute, and from private individuals.

Donations and Exchanges:—Early Newspapers and copies of the Daily Colonist, from Miss Riddell; the Parish Register of Kingston, U.C., 1785-1811, by Prof. A. H. Young; Rev. John Stuart, D.D., U.E.L., by Prof. A. H. Young; Humours of the times of Robert Gourlay, also, "Ignoramus," or the war of the gowns, from Hon. Mr. Justice Riddell.

Transactions:—York Pioneer Society; The Smithsonian Institute; Ontario Historical Society; Thunder Bay Historical Society; Niagara Historical Society.

LUELLE CORLEY,
Cor. Secretary

Treasurer's Report

GENERAL ACCOUNT 1920-21.

RECEIPTS.

Nov. 1920, balance in Bank	\$172 49
Fees	100 00
Donations	2 06
Government Grant	100 00
Bank Interest	3 98
Total	\$ 378 53

EXPENDITURES.

Tea and Service	\$ 28 24
Advertising	14 49
Printing and Postage	186 40
Life Membership transferred to Memorial Fund	50 00
Pianist	5 00
Flowers	8 25
Fee, Sherbourne House	15 00
Local Council	2 00
Total	\$ 309 83
Balance, Nov. 1921	68 70

BUILDING ACCOUNT.

(MEMORIAL FUND).

RECEIPTS.

Nov. 1920, balance in Bank	\$ 400 19
Canadian Perm. Deb. Sold	4,500 00
Life Memberships	50 00
Interest on Government Loans	513 00
Interest on Can. Per.	12 50
Bank Interest	7 20
Sale of Transactions	6 20
Donations	164 67
Monthly Teas	51 80
Total	\$5,705 56

EXPENDITURES.

Government Bonds purchased	\$5,248 45
Balance November 1921	457 11

SECURITIES.

1917 War Loan	\$ 500 00
1918 War Loan	500 00
1919 War Loan	300 00
1920 Victory Loan	5,000 00
Canada Permanent	500 00
1921 Victory Loan	500 00
<hr/>	
Total	\$7,300 00
Balance Cash in Bank	67 11
<hr/>	
Total Cash and Securities	\$7,767 11

HOPE H. DUCKWORTH,
Hon. Treasurer.

Audited and found correct,
 H. E. EATON.

ERRATUM, PAGE 11

Balance Cash in Bank *should read* \$457.11.

Total Cash and Securities *should read*
 \$7,757.11.

TRANSACTION No. 21

No 1. Old Toronto Streets and Landmarks

BY MRS. E. V. NEELANDS, B.A.

Time brings about wondrous changes and in nothing is this truism more strikingly exemplified than in the development and growth of a locality that contains within itself all the essential elements of future greatness. Nature has been kind to Toronto; it is centrally situated; it has an excellent harbour; it is surrounded by a splendid farming country; it possesses unrivalled railway facilities, and it is easy of access from all directions. All these advantages are favouring and important factors in the building up of a large city. Few cities, during the past decade have increased to a greater extent in population, and municipal area, as has Toronto; the older parts of the city are being rebuilt and modernized, while the newer and more recently opened up sections are up to date in point of lay-out, and diversified architectural design, and can compare with, if not excel, any similar evolution that is taking place on this continent.

It is worthy of note that as early as 1686 the locality attracted the attention of Governor de Denonville because of its strategic position at the southern end of the fur trade route from Georgian Bay via Lake Simcoe. A post was recommended "at the pass at Toronto," but it was not actually constructed until 1749. After some years of prosperity, the small garrison was withdrawn to assist in the defence of Niagara against the British, and on their withdrawal they destroyed the fort by fire. The site of these old works is now marked by a monument in the southwestern corner of the Exhibition Grounds.

With the passing of the French regime, activity in this vicinity ceased, but the increasing influx of settlers into Upper Canada soon revived interest, particularly in the harbour. In 1788 it is thus described by John Collins, of Quebec, Deputy Surveyor-General, in a report to Lord Dorchester, on the military posts and harbours of Lake Ontario. "The harbour of Toronto is nearly two miles in length from the entrance on the west to the isthmus on the east. The breadth of the entrance is about

one half mile, but the navigable channel for vessels is only 500 yards. The north or main shore, the whole length of the harbour is a clay bank from 12 to 20 feet high, rising gradually from behind, apparently good land and fit for settlement. The water is rather shallow near the shore and unsafe for the building of wharves, but the harbour is capacious, safe and well sheltered, although the entrance is from the west."

At that time Newark, now Niagara, was the capital of Upper Canada, but its proximity to the frontier had for some time caused anxiety, and in 1792 Toronto was selected as the most suitable site. The work of building the new town appears to have been carried out with great energy, and it was not long before Sir John Simcoe, the Governor, with the officials and a portion of troops from Niagara and Queenston, were established in their new quarters. In honour of the Duke of York, the old name Toronto, was changed to York, the ceremony being formally solemnized by a review of the troops and artillery salutes. The entrance to the harbour was protected by a new fort just west of the foot of the modern Bathurst Street, by a block house on the nearest point of the island and by the western battery, an outlying fortification a few hundred yards west of the fort. Block houses were erected later, one near the mouth of the Don where the office of the Gooderham & Worts Distillery now stands, one at the corner of Bloor and Sherbourne Streets, and one near the corner of College Street and Spadina Avenue, on the site of Broadway Tabernacle. The ravine of Garrison Creek was protected by another block house north-west of the fort, and much later, in 1838, the last of these defensive posts was erected just opposite Belmont Street to control Upper Yonge Street and the adjacent Rosedale ravine.

The town, as laid out by Governor Simcoe was located close to the shore not far west of the Don River; it consisted of 10 blocks, 4 streets running east and west and 6 streets running north and south. The most easterly street was *Berkeley*, then successively *Ontario*, *Princes*, in compliment to the princes of the Royal House, *Caroline*, called after the Princess of Wales, *Frederick*, after the Duke of York, and *George*, in honour of the ruling king, George Third. The *east* and *west* streets were *Palace*, our Front Street, so called from an intention never carried out, of erecting a Government House on this street, *King*

Street, the main highway of the town, *Duke Street* and *Duchess Street*. All these old streets remain to-day as originally planned. The idea of extending the streets at right angles to each other as designed by the founder has always been adhered to.

What did the new settlement look like in 1792-94 when Governor Simcoe, with his staff, troops and followers arrived? We know that the site had been used for trading purposes by the Mississauga Indians, and we are told that there was a clearing all along the waterfront from the Don River to the point of land where Bathurst Street is now. There were very large trees—many creeks and a great deal of marshy ground. On all sides extended the unbroken forest.

From the new capital Governor Simcoe planned *three main roads* which were opened up by his rangers. *The first* led westward to the head of Burlington Bay and thence to Niagara; it was called Dundas Street after Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville, a personal friend of the Simcoes. *The second* was the Kingston Road running eastward to Kingston, and *the third*, leading to Lake Simcoe, was called Yonge Street, after Sir George Yonge. Many different people had a share in the construction of these roads.

About the same time the province was divided into 19 counties, one of which was York. The townships were divided into lots one quarter mile in width, and those along the water front were laid out from Scarborough to the Humber.

One of the first things done was the erection of a saw-mill on the banks of the Humber for the purpose of supplying lumber for the building of the new town. They were very much in the heart of the wilderness, for the nearest settlement was 50 miles or more away.

The River Don at that time had two mouths, the main branch being where it now is, and the other some distance farther east.

The beauty of the Don Valley, with its wooded rolling slopes, must have attracted Governor Simcoe, for he built his summer home on the brow of the hill overlooking it. This log house, 30 x 50 feet, was called *Castle Frank*, after his little son Francis, and all the way from the settlement to the front of the Chateau was a carefully graded but narrow carriage road. Remains of this ancient engineering achievement are still to be traced along the

base of the hill below the Necropolis. One can imagine the Governor with his family and staff wending their way through the bush to this picturesque log home, in the summers of 1794-95-96. After the departure of Gov. Simcoe in 1796 it was occasionally used for a picnic or excursion, and we are told that Pres. Russell and his family had several balls there, but it gradually fell into disuse and was accidentally burned in 1829. The exact location of this memorable home is just north of the St. James' Cemetery fence, and the roadway followed the course of our modern Parliament Street.

There were mills on the Don River as early as 1798. Both a saw and a grist-mill were established by Capt. Skinner. These mills were important, being the only ones near York. The grist-mill had only one run of stones, and was kept running day and night. The people brought their grain from as far as Hamilton and other ports on the lake; it was taken up the Don in barges to Sugar Loaf Hill, and thence up the flats to the mill by ox teams. People living at a distance, and where no roads were available, brought bags of wheat on their backs over the trails.

The Parliament Buildings were built between Palace Street and the Bay, on the site now occupied by the Toronto Gas Works. They were humble but spacious wooden and brick structures. The location was probably selected because the ground was slightly elevated and the forest screened the swampy ground to the north and west. Officials of the Government, merchants and tradesmen began to select sites and put up dwellings in the usual way. Close by at Berkeley Street or Parliament Street, as the southern portion of it was called, the chief thoroughfare of the town King Street, had its starting point. Growing slowly westward it developed in the usual way—its taverns, its boarding houses, its places of worship, its lawyers, its doctors and its stores. East from Berkeley Street, King Street, bending slightly north and then east crossed the Don in a straight line and joined the Kingston Road.

The town grew rapidly towards the *west*, and by 1801 it had reached as far as Peter Street, and was surveyed from the Bay to Lot Street, our modern Queen Street, which is an exact continuation of the Kingston Road. From an interesting contemporary sketch we find that this section was called *Newtown*. It had as its western

boundary Peter Street, named after the Hon. Peter Russell, who owned an estate known as Petersfield, on Queen Street, through which Catherine Street now runs. The streets east of Peter Street were in order, John, Graves, now Simcoe, both called after Gov. Simcoe, York and Bear, so called from a famous bear hunt in that vicinity. Bear Street afterwards became Bay Street.

The east and west streets were Front Street, the pathway along the waterfront, then Market, now Wellington Street, then King Street, with Russell Square embracing the blocks from John to Simcoe Streets. Newgate Street, now Adelaide, so called from the proximity of the courthouse near the eastern end. Hospital Street, now Richmond Street, so called because from this street was the entrance to the hospital on the site of the Arlington Hotel.

North of this was Lot Street, now Queen Street, its western extension being known as Sydenham Street, from which Dundas ran north and then west.

West of Peter Street, what was known as the Military Reserve extended along the water front. In some military notes we read that the land was cleared and enclosed around the fort; it was sowed with grass for the more easy procuring of hay for the King's oxen and horses. These fields afterwards became known as the Garrison Common.

At this time Yonge Street did not extend south of Queen Street.

One of the most important features was *Market Square*, the site of which is partly occupied by the modern market; it was laid out in 1803 and comprised $5\frac{1}{2}$ acres. It extended from Church St. to New St., later called Nelson St., and finally Jarvis St. It has an interesting history, this old square, for besides being the general buying and selling place, it was the rendezvous of all classes, and we are told that the pillory and stocks were from time to time set up and were only done away with in 1834. The first well was dug at the market place in 1817. Opposite the square on the north side of King St. was where the original St. James Church was built in 1803, and the land around the "sacred little place," long remained covered with the original forest. The building faced west and from contemporary sketches seems to have stood a long way back from the roadway. Many stumps are visible in the clearing and heavy bush behind. The church was

enlarged in 1818 under the direction of Dr. John Strachan the Rector.

There was a church school in 1805 in the lot north of the church, which was the popular place for the sons of the more prominent settlers. Dr. O'Kill Stuart was the first teacher, and in 1809 there was a central school started by Mr. Spragge on the southeast corner of the same square.

The first *Post Office* in 1816 was a small unpretentious log house on the east side of Frederick Street. The first postmaster was Mr. Wm. Allan, father of the Hon. G. W. Allan. Mails were very irregular, being by stage and sailing boat and often a letter for England mailed in November did not reach England until the spring.

The first jail was built in 1800, outside the original town of York, at the corner of King Street and Leader Lane, about where Murray-Kay's store now stands. Opposite on the north side of King was the Court House building. In 1824 another jail was put up near the Court House.

The town suffered a serious set-back when it was captured by the Americans in April, 1813. The Parliament Buildings were burned, the fortifications more or less destroyed and the invading troops billeted on the citizens. The enemy soon retired, and we learn that the Assembly met temporarily in Jordan's Hotel during the session of 1814. They met for several years at the residence of Mr. Geo. Markland, on the northeast corner of York and Wellington Sts. In 1818 new buildings were erected on the old site, but they were destroyed by fire in 1824. From 1825 to 1828 the sessions were held in the General Hospital, on the site of the Arlington Hotel. Substantial brick buildings were erected on the southeast corner of Front and Simcoe Streets in 1830-31, which were in use until 1892, when the present Parliament Buildings were opened.

This Jordan's Hotel on King Street, near Princes Street, was a very well known and popular place for travellers from the east. We are told that in 1820, so old was it, that it looked almost antique compared with the Mansion House which was put up beside it. One of the few town pump stations was near by.

Streets were added as needed, and were called after owners of land through whose property they ran, or after officials prominent at the time. The land was gradually

cleared of large timber and heavy underbrush, and although the streets were mostly bush roads with paths, there were many wealthy settlers with most comfortable homes for such a primitive place. There were many creeks which crossed at various angles, and these made a great deal of mud when they overflowed their banks. At times much of the land was marshy and unhealthy. The English gentlemen who settled in York acquired lots, and the U. E. Loyalists who came after the Revolutionary War were given grants of land. As the entire district was surveyed to the 1st Concession, namely, from Queen to Bloor, it was not long before it was all under private ownership. These farms or lots were held by their owners as estates.

Where the Esplanade is now was vastly different in those early days; it has broadened the town to the south and made room for the railway section and all the open space to the waters of the Bay. Front Street in the old days was a raised terrace, and so bare was it that young trees, oaks and elms, were planted for shade.

The early settlers in York recall the names of the Hon. Peter Russell, Dr. Baldwin, Dr. Strachan, John Scadding, Lieut. FitzGibbon, Judge J. O. Jarvis, Hon. H. J. Boulton, Hon. Wm. Allan, Alexander McNab, Hon. W. B. Robinson, Captain Macaulay, John W. Gamble. Rev. Saltern Givens, Lt.-Col. Denison, George Ridout, Henry B. Heward and the Hon. Geo. Cruickshanks.

There is a very interesting oil painting in the John Ross Robertson collection, by Mr. Irving, a Scotch artist who before 1820 was visiting in Toronto as a guest of the Hon. Geo. Cruickshanks. This painting gives an excellent idea of the town at that time, looking across the Bay from the Island. A key to this plan, which gives the names of all the important buildings, was subsequently added. Front St., like Palace, Duke and Duchess Sts., was one of the early residential streets; its houses faced the Bay and had an unobstructed view of the Island and of the lake beyond. Between Peter and John Sts., one of the first houses built in 1800, was the home of the gentleman mentioned above, the Hon. Geo. Cruickshanks. It was built 60 feet back from the path, and was low and wide. In summer we are told that it was covered with vines, and that the white painted clap-boards showed picturesquely beneath. Just east was the home of Mr.

John Beikie, Clerk of the Executive Council in 1832. It was torn down in 1850 to make way for Windsor St.

"The Palace," the home of Dr. Strachan, stood on Front Street about opposite to our Union Station. It was a beautiful old place and stood there until 1900, when it was torn down. Mr. J. Ross Robertson had a chair made from the oak of the threshold, and in 1904 it was presented to Trinity University, which was founded by Dr. Strachan.

On the water front was the "Halfway House" built in 1816, a favourite resort of the soldiers, which for a time bore this famous sign:—

"Within this hive, we're all alive,
Good liquor makes us funny,
If you be dry, step in and try,
The flavour of our honey."

Not far from this was the "Greenland Fishery" tavern—which had a unique painted sign—one side of which was an Arctic scene, the other vessels and boats engaged in capturing a whale.

There were very many taverns, for drinking was universal—the old brewers tell how regularly they furnished even the clergymen of those days with their best beer. Taverns and inns everywhere were patronized by the travellers, not only as halting and watering places for tired horses, but also as places for refreshment for the drivers.

Next on the water's edge was a military storehouse built in 1810. Other interesting buildings were, the Ship Hotel, at the corner of Front and Market-Sq., and the Farmers' storehouse at the corner of Church and Maitland Wharf. On Front St. also were the homes of the Hon. Rob. Hamilton, the Hon. Geo. Martland, Judge Grant Powell, Major Hilier, Andrew Mercer, Judge Macaulay and Mr. Geo. Ridout. *Russell Abbey*, the residence of the Hon. Peter Russell stood at the southwest corner of Front and Princes. Like most of the early homes in York it had only one story with wings to right and left and gabled roof. The Hon. Peter Russell, being Governor and administrator of the colony after the departure of Gov. Simcoe, had facilities for selecting and acquiring such lands as he wished; his valuable possessions he bequeathed at his death to his sister, who in turn bequeathed them to a relation, Dr. Robert Baldwin.

The office of Judge Beverley Robinson was also on Front St., but his home, Beverley House, was on the northeast corner of John and Richmond Sts. It was later the temporary abode of Poulett Thompson, Lord Sydenham, Governor-General of Canada. The oldest part of this house was built in 1812 by D'Arcy Boulton. *Elmsley House*, on the southwest corner of King and Simcoe Sts., had an interesting history; it was built in 1804 by Justice Elmsley. In 1816 it was purchased from him and used as Government House. Later it was destroyed by fire, and the old Government House was erected in its place.

As early as 1802 a New England jeweller, Jordan Post, acquired the land between Bay to Yonge St. The names of himself and his wife are preserved in Jordan and Melinda Sts.

Church St., in 1820, only ran from Front to Queen Sts. The Jarvis property was on the east and the McGill property on the west. Samuel Peters Jarvis lived at the corner of Shuter and Jarvis St. The gates leading into his estate could be seen at the Bay, as there were no large trees at that time directly in front. East of the Jarvis property was the land belonging to the Hon. Wm. Allan, known as Mossfield, or Moss Park.

On the northeast corner of King and Caroline Sts. was the home of Joseph Cawthra. About this time Caroline St. was changed to Sherbourne St. Mr. Ridout had the land east of Moss Park, and he and Mr. Allan extended the street through their properties, and the name Sherbourne was chosen, it being the home town in England of the Ridout family.

A very old property was that of the Hon. C. C. Small on the southwest corner of King and Berkeley Sts. His house, known as Berkeley House, was really on the Government Reserve, near the old Parliament Buildings.

Capt. Sparks, we are told, bought an old house in 1820 on the west side of Broadview Ave., not far from Queen St. Tradition has it that it was built at the same time as Castle Frank, of long, solid pine logs, which were afterwards covered with clap-boards.

Where the modern jail now stands was the home of John Scadding built on the Don River in 1800. There was a little bridge over the river known as Scadding's Bridge. The Scadding property extended along the east bank of the Don from the Bay to Danforth Ave.

Dr. Macaulay had the lands on the north side of Queen St., up to College St, known as Macaulay Town, through which a roadway led to his house, Teraulay Cottage (where Trinity Church now stands), called Teraulay St., after the name of the family residence in Scotland of the head of the Macaulay clan. James, Albert, Alice and Edward Sts., running through the property are Macaulay names.

The land bounded by Yonge, Bay, Queen and Richmond Sts. was the property of Jesse Ketchum, known as the children's friend, a most philanthropic pioneer settler. Through his land ran Temperance St., the name significant of a Temperance Hall built by him. He deeded part of his property to the Presbyterian body known as Knox Church, which was built in 1821 on Queen St. The manse was built in 1825 on the east side of Bay St. to the south of Queen.

The Masonic Hall, a famous old landmark, stood on Market Lane, now Colborne St., in 1818; it was used as a schoolhouse, and in 1823 was the place of worship of the Baptists. It was the first building with a cupola.

Scott St. received its name from Mr. Thomas Scott, whose home was in the vicinity. The first building on the northeast corner of King and Yonge Sts. was that of Mr. John Dennis, built in 1820. Later, in 1827, it was used as the Registry Office by Mr. Samuel Ridout.

Among the homes outside the more settled section was that of Major Givens, built in 1802, on Givens St. He was a lieutenant in the Queen's Rangers, under Gov. Simcoe. In the war of 1812, the wounded men were taken care of by Mrs. Givens. This old house was torn down in 1890.

Capt. Shaw's house, in the midst of the woods north-east of where Trinity College now stands, was built in 1798. In the log cabin to the west of this the Duke of Kent, father of Queen Victoria, was entertained in 1802. Shaw St. commemorates his name.

Mr. Duncan Cameron had the property known as Gore Vale, the southern portion was sold to Trinity College.

In 1813 we find Spadina Ave. laid out by Dr. Baldwin; the name Spadina is from the Mississauga, meaning a sudden rise of ground, and on the elevation, at the head of the street, Dr. Baldwin built his house, Spadina, in 1830. This landmark was burned in 1835. There was a double row of chestnut trees on both sides of the wonder-

ful roadway, which was nearly three miles in length from the foot of the hill to the Bay. Mr. James Austin later bought this property and it is still occupied by the family.

East of Spadina, on the same elevation of land, was the quaint old home of Col. Wells, known as Davenport. Dupont St. records the name of his son, George Dupont Wells. The locality is still known as Wells' Hill.

Bloor St. received its name from Joseph Bloor, who at an early date was the landlord of The Farmers' Arms, a hotel at the market. On retiring from this he started a brewery in the ravine on the north side of the first concession road, midway between Sherbourne St. and Huntley St.; it was still in operation in 1833. Mr. Bloor joined Mr. Jarvis in laying out the village of Yorkville, which might have been called Bloorville. Mr. Sheriff Jarvis lived at Rosedale (his picturesque home), the name aptly describing the beauty of the place. It seems hard to believe that as late as 1850 this beautiful residential section had only a few houses and only one bridge across the ravine, and that a rickety wooden one, which blew down one night while a cabman was crossing it.

West of Yonge St. on Bloor was the Shaw cottage, built in 1818 by Robert Shaw and occupied by his descendants until nearly the end of the century. The land on which it was originally built belonged to Mr. W. D. Baldwin, and was deeded by him to the fund of the Church of the Redeemer. All the land around Bloor St. at that time was forest. The roadbed was a sand bed and excessively muddy in wet seasons. At the northwest corner of Yonge and Bloor was the Potter's Field Burying Ground.

There were many little creeks and swampy places in and about the town in those days. Possibly this has something to do with the place receiving the title of "*Muddy Little York.*" One large creek ran from the northeast across the original town and emptied into the Bay, near the first Parliament Buildings. Where this creek crossed the line of the present Queen and Sherbourne Sts., it was joined by the Moss Park Creek. Part of the original bed of this creek was the Moss Park skating rink. These creeks did not alter their courses, and were there up to 1850. A good sized creek ran through what was early known as Alex.'s Field, later the Normal School Grounds. At certain seasons this stream contained sufficient water to allow of boys bathing in it. The same creek crossed Church St. at Gould St., and running

east flowed down through that part of the Jarvis Farm, which lay east of Church St.

On the west side of Spadina Ave. there was an erratic and active creek, which in the spring was responsible for a rupture in the roadway between College and Queen Sts. Another creek ran through the grounds of the old Government House on the southwest corner of King and Simcoe Sts., where the C. P. R. freight sheds now are. After crossing Wellington St. this creek ran through the grounds of the Parliament Buildings, and found its way to the Bay.

The low grounds in Queen's Park, too, were, at certain seasons, flooded, and were always swampy, and the happy home of numberless muskrats. More surplus waters formed a creek which crossed College St. near Beverley St., and ran through the grounds of the Hon. J. Beverley Robinson at Sleepy Hollow, where neat miniature bridges were used as crossings.

A good-sized creek also ran through the grounds of the Hon. James McCutcheon, who resided in a pretty little cottage called McGill Cottage, which was situated in the centre of the grounds now occupied by the Methodist Metropolitan Church. This property was called McGill Sq. The house, built in 1804, was the shelter for the ladies of York when the town was taken in 1813. Mr. McCutcheon was a brother of the Hon. Peter McGill, of Montreal, the founder of McGill University. McGill St. is called after this family. Gerrard and Shuter Sts. were named after personal friends of Mr. McCutcheon.

Dr. Scadding says that Peter McGill inherited the bulk of the McGill property by changing his name from McCutcheon by Act of Parliament.

The Garrison Creek, just east of the Old Fort, was another famous creek.

In the course of time these superfluous surface waters disappeared, thanks to the introduction of an excellent drainage system, but the mud formed a constant subject of conversation. There is a story in Taylor's "Toronto Called Back" of a gentleman walking on King St. who espied a good-looking hat in the middle of the road. "Curious to see and pick up the hat, he managed to reach it, and on removing it discovered to his surprise the head of a living man underneath. This individual at once appealed for help and deliverance, urging as his special plea, that if prompt assistance was not rendered his horse,

which was underneath, would certainly perish." The usual method of extrication by the use of shovels and oxen was soon applied, and the man and horse saved.

We must not overlook the old home of the Denison family, known as Bellevue House, built in 1815, on spacious grounds on the north side of Queen Street. The present Bellevue Avenue was named after it, and Denison Avenue was the driveway. Later Rusholme became the homestead of the family; it was built in 1839 at the corner of Rusholme Road and Dundas Street. Esther St. and Augusta Ave. are Denison names, and Dovercourt the name of the English home of the family. Lippincott Street was named after a Richard Lippincott, the Loyalist, whose daughter Esther married a Denison.

Queen's Avenue—then changed to College Avenue—was the original name of our University Avenue. It extended from Queen Street to the land reserved for the College—our Queen's Park and University Grounds. McCaul St., opened up later, received its name from Dr. McCaul, the first president of the University.

On the west side of Queen's Ave. from Queen to College was the land belonging to Wm. Dummer Powell. His house built in 1810 and occupied by him until 1820 was called Caer Howell (Castle Howell), after the Old Country name of the family. This old homestead formed a part of the old Caer Howell Hotel. William St. (formerly Dummer St.), and Murray St., in the property, commemorate his name.

South of College St. and west of University Avenue, about where the Conservatory of Music now stands, was the home of Hon. Beverley Robinson, on the old Powell estate.

South of this was the property of Mr. Darcy Boulton. The house known as The Grange was built by him in 1820. After his death his son, Mr. Henry Boulton, lived there and subsequently the widow of the latter married Prof. Goldwin Smith. The property has been remodelled and is now the Art Museum.

Mr. Thomas Ridout, Manager of the Bank of Upper Canada, built what was perhaps the first pretentious house in the lonely vicinity of upper Sherbourne St. It stood unfinished for many years, but was eventually purchased by Senator Geo. A. Cox, who lived there until his death. It is now owned by the Robert Simpson Co., and is called Sherbourne House.

The property of the Hon. G. W. Allan extended as far north as Bloor St. The portion now known as the Allar Gardens was presented by him to the city. The northern section, thickly studded with trees and heavy underbrush was for many years the rendezvous of disreputable characters.

There were only three wharves up to 1830. *One* at the east, at the foot of Frederick St., known as Merchant's Wharf, and owned by Wm. Allan. City Wharf now stands there. *Second*, at the foot of Church Street, known as Farmers' Wharf, in 1816, and later as Maitland's Wharf, now Sylvester's. *Third*, at the foot of Peter Street, known as Ordnance Wharf. It was there when the Esplanade was begun in 1853. *Later, in 1832*, the wharf at the foot of Yonge Street, known as Freeland's Wharf, was built beside the soap and candle factory belonging to Mr. Freeland.

The town lost the name of York in 1832, when it was incorporated as a city with the old name, Toronto. At that time the population was about 9,000. A few of the more important streets might be mentioned:

Simcoe St. above Queen was originally William St.—then Dummer St.—now Simcoe.

Pearl St. was originally Boulton St.

Lombard was originally March, then Stanley, then Lombard.

Lower Spadina was originally Brock after Gen. Brock. (Mrs. Jameson resided at the foot of this street in 1836. Also the old Northern Station stood there.)

Streets with historic names are:—

Maitland, after Sir Peregrine Maitland.

Bathurst St., after the Earl of Bathurst, Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Portland St., after the Duke of Portland, Colonial Secretary.

Adelaide St., after Queen Adelaide, wife of William IV.

Argyle St., after Duke of Argyle.

Arthur St., after Prince Arthur.

Essex St., after Earl of Essex.

Bond St., after Sir Francis Bond Head.

Other streets of interest are:—

Wilcox, Baldwin, Russell and St. George bear the names of members of the Baldwin family.

Alexander and Wood Sts., from their location on the old estate of Alexander Wood.

Beverley St., after Hon. Beverley Robinson.

D'Arcy St., after Mr. D'Arcy Boulton.

From the date of its incorporation as *Toronto* in 1832 the city has grown from a little town of less than 10,000 to the large city of 600,000 that we all know. It is difficult to realize the changes that have occurred within the span of a single life. While it is proper that we should contemplate with pride this wonderful growth and that we should to-day enjoy the sentiment of the Apostle, that we are citizens "of no mean city," it is also fitting that we should strive to keep green the memory of the little military outpost in the wilderness in which our forefathers "well and truly laid" the foundations of the great city of the future. The greatness of a city, said the ancient sage, is not in bricks and mortar, but in the spirit of the citizens, and in this respect also the pioneers of Toronto were worthy of her.

Books consulted in preparing this paper:—

Robertson's "Landmarks of Toronto."

Dr. Scadding's "Toronto of Old."

Mr. Pearson's "Recollections and Records of Toronto."

Mulvaney's "Toronto, Past and Present."

Taylor's "Toronto Called Back."

And notes from my father, Mr. R. F. Easson.

No. 2.

Notes on the Life of Canon Featherstone Lake Osler, and his wife, Ellen Free Pickton

BY MRS. W. T. HALLAM, B.A.

Featherstone Lake Osler was the son of Edward Osler, a merchant and shipowner, living at Falmouth, England. He was born December 14th, 1805, and when very young went off to sea, in opposition to the wishes of his family and friends. He speaks thus of his youth: "I was always reckless and daring." What with encountering shipwrecks, yellow fever and other catastrophes, he had many marvellous escapes from an untimely end.

On his return from a voyage to Rio Janeiro he received a flattering offer to go to the East Indies, which, if he had

accepted, would have most probably resulted in attaining for him "a very high rank in the Royal Navy." His parents were quite aged, and he declined this offer. He had often thought of taking Holy Orders, and now, when he found that the only means at hand for advancement in the navy meant six years away from England, he determined to give his life for the Church, with the prospect of settling down in England in a quiet parish. He entered St. Catharines Hall, Cambridge, in 1833, and took his degree in 1836, at the age of thirty-one.

His godfather, Mr. Lake, was an intimate friend of the Earl of Galloway, who was a nephew of Bishop Mountain of Quebec. The Bishop got these two interested in Church life in Canada, and they formed a society in England, called the "Upper Canada Clergy Society."

From this Society Mr. Osler received a letter when he was at home in Falmouth on vacation, which read: "You have been abroad a great deal, therefore it would not be so much for you to go as for others. There is a great scarcity of clergy in Canada. Is it not your duty to go out?" He put the letter into his mother's hands, who said: "If it is God's will, go, and God bless you."

He could not refuse this appeal and consented to go for five years, for, as he said: "*If I were in the navy and were ordered east, west, north or south in the service of my King, I could not refuse to go, and shall I be less obedient to go abroad in the service of my Heavenly King?*"

On February 6, 1837, he was married to Ellen Pickton, of Falmouth, described by her old friends as pretty, clever, witty, faithful in her friendships, and of strong religious principles. She was born near London in 1806, daughter of Thomas Pickton, one of a company of wholesale merchants. While young she went to live with her uncle in Falmouth, Captain Britton.

Some of her reminiscences are most interesting. When at boarding school in 1817, the Princess Charlotte died, and "mourning was universal. Every boarder at school had black things sent to her. At church the whole congregation was in mourning, the men wore black bands on their sleeves and hats, and the poorest beggars on the streets tried to have a wisp of crape."

She remembered the great peace rejoicings at Waterloo. She wore a white sash with "Peace and Plenty" in gold letters upon it. Every house was illuminated, and cheering processions filled the streets. She remembers

“seeing the bodies of criminals hung in chains near the scene of their crimes according to the barbarous fashions of the time.” She used to see the “Sailor King William IV. when he was Prince William, with his ship at Falmouth.” “Naval officers were always welcome guests at her uncle’s, and she had many friends among them, and not a few admirers.”

To one of them she gave her heart, and when he decided to go to Canada, she hesitated not to go with him as his wife. In March Mr. Osler was ordained at Lambeth Palace Chapel by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and in April they started for Canada, having as a fellow passenger, Mr. Henry Scadding, who had been attending Cambridge University, studying for Holy Orders.

“With the idea that Canada was a fearfully cold country, Mrs. Osler’s dresses were lined with heavy flannel, and she took a large fur cape which was a great comfort to her for many years on long cold drives.”

After an ocean voyage of seven and a half weeks they arrived at Quebec, when Mr. Osler was ordained priest and Mr. Scadding deacon, by Bishop Mountain. The Bishop told Mr. Osler that Archdeacon Strachan had a residence for them in their new field of work, which was in the township of Tecumseth, some distance north of Toronto. Ten days’ journey by water and land brought them to Toronto, and in a few days they started north.

Mr. Scadding was appointed tutor to Sir John Colborne’s son, and later became a Master at Upper Canada College. He was appointed first Rector of Holy Trinity Church, Toronto, on October 27th, 1847.

The residence waiting for Mr. and Mrs. Osler was a rough house in the woods, which had been used for the animals. “With the exception of wolves no living creatures were within a third of a mile.” But Mrs. Osler had received her first shock in Quebec, looking out from her bedroom window at an unkept yard, untidy buildings, and seeing within few comforts and general roughness. Brought up in a home of good taste and comfort, the contrast was great. But she told her niece, Miss Jeanette Osler, many years after: “I had my cry out there and then, the first and the last, my dear, and was glad to be well over it by the time your uncle came back.”

They suffered all kinds of discomforts during that first Canadian winter. “I believe we both feel heartily sick of our present abode, having only a kitchen and two bed-

rooms, and in consequence of a number of cattle about the door, it is scarcely possible to move a step without our shoes being covered with dirt. My poor horse, too, in what is termed the stable, is dripping wet from the snow which falls through the roof on him. Fatigue I do not mind, but to be all together in one room, no place to write or study in, surrounded by filth, I find difficulty in being reconciled to."

Later in the winter, Mrs. Osler went to Newmarket to stay until a proper house was found, as no servant would or could live in their wretched quarters.

"Early in the spring I called a public meeting, and told the people that unless they would provide a house in which we could live we would be obliged to leave the parish. Three hundred and sixty-eight dollars were subscribed on the spot—a large sum according to their means—and an acre of ground was given by James Armstrong as a site for a parsonage. By July 15, 1838, the kitchen and two small bedrooms were plastered, and to these rooms we moved, living there while the workmen were engaged on the other part of the house. The people had also undertaken to furnish materials for the house, and to find these devolved on me. I often rode ten or twelve miles over almost impassable roads, to procure a little dry lumber, or some bricks, and then as much farther to get a team to haul them to the parsonage grounds, and when I thought all was arranged, on going to the buildings a few days after would find the workmen idle for want of material which I had thought had been sent to the spot." However, by autumn, they were comfortably settled in their new parsonage at Bond Head.

As the news spread that a Church of England clergyman had arrived, deputations kept coming from many different townships, asking him to please visit them, as they had not seen a clergyman for years, and he says: "My own charge extended over two hundred and forty miles, south as far as Thornhill, while north and west there was no other clergyman. Station after station was opened up, until I held services in twenty townships, extending over two thousand square miles, taking in Coldwater, Penetang, Caledon, Gore of Toronto with Georgina and intermediate places."

Mr. Osler would be away from Tuesday until Friday, holding services five or six times through the week. "In the evenings the whole family where I stayed, would

gather around the fireplace, one holding a candle in his hand that I might catechize them or give instruction for the Sunday School." He suffered much from the vermin, which seemed very numerous, and his body was sometimes covered with sores. His journeys on horseback lay through rough woods and swamps, over trails and corduroy roads; over the wetter part of the swamps where there was no footing; bridges sometimes two miles long were made of floating logs fastened together, and Mr. Osler always dismounted and led his horse over, for the logs dipped and shifted. Wolves often went along his trail, but never attacked him.

During the first winter of Mr. Osler's life in this district the rebellion broke out, and he worked night and day to raise men and arms, and to try and quiet the women who were in a panic. He said: "The only way was to turn out and meet them boldly, but things wore a very miserable aspect, and the few valuables or rather specie I had, I buried, that in case the rebels take everything else—as there was little doubt they would should they gain the upper hand—we might not, if our lives were spared, be quite destitute."

"December 10, 1837, started for Newmarket, overtook a body of Loyalists on horseback on the way to Bradford. We collected about 500 men and as much ammunition and arms as possible. Reached Captain Hill's house late in the evening. Between eleven and twelve Mr. Carthew called me to say there was every reason to believe that a party of rebels intended to attack the house that night. The ladies, Mrs. Hill, Mrs. Carthew and my E., with the children, had retired. We kept guard with four loaded guns. At every sound we heard we ran out with our guns, but the Lord protected us, and saved us from an attack." On Sunday, December 17, the following entry in his journal shows the natural fear which civil war must always engender: "Preached from Psalm cxii. Truly we have cause to call upon our soul and all that is within us to bless His Holy Name, for He has delivered us out of the hands of His enemies, and through His mercy not one man was wounded in this township. A more bloody conspiracy was scarcely ever conceived, it having been discovered that the rebels had bound themselves by solemn oath to spare neither man, woman or child. They had even gone so far as to portion out the Loyalists' lands amongst themselves, making sure of success. But

the Lord was on our side and fought for us. To Him be the glory!"

Mr. Osler had much annoyance from certain members of his church expecting him to get them appointments in the militia. One family, which had helped with the singing, would sing no longer. He found that much blame was being attached to him for unsatisfactory appointments, just because he was a friend of Colonel Hill. "The truth is," he says, "*nearly every one expected to be made an officer!*"

On January 6, 1838, he writes: "Preached at Newmarket in the morning to 200, in the p.m. to 100. Left on Tuesday with Mrs. Osler for Toronto; arrived at night after a wearisome journey; the sleighing being very bad. Was distressed to find Toronto Church burned down." He had purchased a sleigh and harness, as the horseback riding was beginning to tell on his health. He makes many references in his journals to his visits at the home of Mr. Gamble on the way back and forth to Toronto.

In spite of troubles caused among his people by such rumours as that tithes were going to be forced upon them, etc., the Church of England became popular, and Mr. Osler was more and more sought after as a visitor and preacher.

Whether he preached in a church, school house, stable or dwelling, there were always large congregations to greet him. His manner of preaching evidently appealed to his hearers, and his message bore fruit.

"The style of preaching which I have adopted here, is what is commonly called, though not in reality, *extempore*. I study my sermons well beforehand, and then commit myself unto the Lord, striving with His aid to bring plain, forcible truths home to the conscience of each, not leaving the application for the last, but applying as I proceed, and, when I can, illustrate what I am saying by some striking occurrence or anecdote. This arrests their attention. God grant that it may reach their hearts."

Mr. and Mrs. Osler established twenty-eight Sunday Schools, scattered over 2,000 square miles, which provided instruction for 1,200 children. They also began the first Sunday School picnics in Canada.

"The idea struck us that if the children attending schools within reasonable distance were gathered together, a tea given them, and afterwards addresses made

and prizes given to the most deserving, a good effect would be produced." Nearly 600 children, teachers and friends assembled on the lawn of the rectory. Three barrels of flour were baked into bread and cakes at the parsonage, and the young men, who were studying under Mr. Osler for the ministry, and living with them, decorated the booths with evergreens and flags, and a most enjoyable and profitable afternoon was spent.

Mrs. Osler's part in this pioneer work was a most important one. She conducted Bible classes for the young people, and also sewing and cooking classes for the young women in her home. They would arrive in the morning several hours before they were expected, and spend the day under her valuable instruction. The young men would fasten their Testaments to their ploughs, studying as they worked, and the girls studied as they spun, so eager were they for instruction from their beloved teacher. Mr. Osler in his journal says: "That school did more towards elevating the tone of the people than anything else, and mothers and grandmothers of Tecumseth speak of it as one of the greatest blessings of their lives."

Mr. Osler was a constant visitor among his people, and he lived among them his religion of love. Whether the rain was coming in torrents, whether the snowstorm was so blinding that he could scarcely see, or whether it was the middle of the night, he never refused to go on his ministry of love; nor did he scarcely ever fail in his preaching appointments, even though his health at times was indifferent. They sent for him to extract teeth, to bleed, and to administer medicines. He also was a general will-drawer, as he saw the evil of the law of primogeniture, then in force.

His practical and generous nature helped out many settlers, by his setting apart a sum of money, to be let out in small loans without interest. For sometimes a small sum would help the farmers to hold their land, and he says, "Every farthing was paid back."

In Mr. Osler's journals are found many appreciative references to the clergy who worked with him or near him during his years here; Mr. Sanson, Mr. O'Meara, Mr. Scadding, Mr. Darling, Mr. Hill and his brother Henry. These names are well known to Church people.

After twenty years' service in this parish, Mr. and Mrs. Osler removed to Dundas, only that their children might have better advantages for education. Six churches and

two rectories had been built, and 160 acres of valuable glebe at Tecumseth cleared.

When they left they were presented with a handsome service of plate, a pair of solid silver candle-sticks and warm-hearted addresses, as tokens of love and affection from their people.

Mr. Osler lived to be ninety years of age, and his wife one hundred and one years, so that their years of hard work and simple living did not shorten their days, and they gave to the world a family of whom Canada may well be proud.

Their daughter, the late Mrs. Williamson, will never be forgotten, from her wonderful service and devotion in W. A. work. Their son, the late Sir William Osler, of Oxford, has left the impress of his great intellect and benevolent nature, not only in our Empire but in the neighbouring Republic. Toronto claims their two surviving sons, Mr. Justice Osler and Sir Edmund Osler, Bart.

No. 3.

An Old Account, 1785-1788

BY SARA MICKLE.

Accounts are generally dry, irksome and uninteresting especially when it comes to paying them; but this account will not prove dull for it tells us something of very early times at Niagara, and gives some indication of the manner of life among the U. E. Loyalist settlers there.

The Account begins in 1785, two years after the Peace of Paris 1783 had concluded the Revolutionary War, and one year after "Butler's Rangers," by whom the Niagara district was mainly settled, had been disbanded. Even before these dates the infant settlement had taken to agriculture; in 1780, Haldimand moved by consideration of the "vast expense, uncertainty and difficulties" of provisioning the upper posts, had arranged that land should be allotted and distributed to the Loyalists on the following terms,—land to remain the sole property of the Crown,—the settlers on it "are not to consider they have the smallest right to any part thereof, the produce alone

being their property." If they removed, they could dispose of their crops, cattle, etc., and a reasonable allowance would be made for their improvements. No rent was required. Seed, mills, ploughs, etc., were to be furnished them. The settlers were told that the produce over and above their own consumption was not to be removed from the post, but sold to the Commanding Officer for the use of the troops. These terms soon proved irksome.

By December, 1781, four or five families were settled and had built themselves houses; in December 1782, the number had increased to 16 families, and Butler reported that they had maintained themselves "since September last," and had only received half rations from the first.

In 1783 were heard murmurs of discontent at the uncertain tenure on which they held their land, being "liable to be turned off our places when the Commanding Officer pleases." A Farmers' petition was therefore sent in to Butler complaining that all the terms promised by Government, had not been fulfilled; pointing out that they were obliged to sell to the Commandant at such prices as he thought proper, and begging leave to sell to merchants and others "at the price we can agree, as we are obliged to pay merchants their own prices for anything we want."

By this time though peace they knew would soon be declared, none of them thought of returning to their former homes in the United States, or of reclaiming their estates in courts of law; to repurchase them they were not able.

When Butler's Rangers were disbanded, 258 officers and men agreed to settle—making Niagara quite an important centre.

We can picture the little settlement of these men and women, who had given up their all and come to make new homes in this far land. Many had arrived at the Post, penniless, ragged and ill, from the effect of the hardships they had endured; refugees from the ill-treatment given by their former neighbors. Most of them came from the Mohawk Valley in New York State. In this state nearly all the principal people were Loyalists; the wealthier merchants, the great proprietors, and wealthy families were Loyalists; the Johnsons, Bradts, Freys, Hares, Herkimers, Thompsons, Youngs, Nelles, John Butler, John Deare, Lottridges, Peter Ten Broeck, Alexander White, were all owners of handsome estates, which were con-

fiscated. When Butler raised his force it was drawn from the flower of the population. Now in the wilderness they had to begin again. The hardships of the first years were very great. The meagre food, the incessant struggle to conquer nature, the deprivations, no school, no clergyman, the lack of comforts for the sick and the aged, tried men's souls, as the fighting had not done. This was the day of the log-cabin and homespun; but poor and rude as the first homes must necessarily have been, let us not make the mistake of thinking of the owners as homespun in manner; very soon the log cabin was superseded by homes which reflected something of the dignity and style of architecture of the houses they had left behind them. In Queenston, the Hamilton house, still a considerable mansion, was standing when Simcoe arrived as Governor; in Grimsby, the Nelles houses were built in very early times; as was also the Servos house at Niagara.

The account is between Adam Kryslor, and Street & Butler. Adam Kryslor was of Dutch descent and came from Schoharie; he had been Lieut. in the force, and an active ranger, having been commissioned several times to head expeditions to the Valley. He received a grant of land at 14-mile creek. Street was a U. E. Loyalist; and Butler of the Rangers, was one of the most wealthy and powerful men in the community.

Mr. Adam Kryslor to Street & Butler.

Lieut. A. Kryslor Dr. to Street & Butler, Niagara, 1785.

		£	s.	d.
Aug. 4—	To 1 pair stuff shoes, self		12	
	“ 5½ yds. sheeting, self, 4/6	1	4	9
	“ 10 lbs. of loaf sugar, self, 2/6	1	5	
	“ 1 lb. pepper, self		6	
	“ 2 Iron Potts, 35½ lbs., self, 1/4	2	7	4
	“ 7½ lbs. shott, self 1/		5	6
	“ 1 bb. powder, self		5	
Aug. 6—	“ 1 quire paper, son		2	
	“ 1 pair Channel pumps, son		18	
	“ 1 pair Channel pumps, son		18	
20—	“ 1 gallon rum, son	1	12	
25—	“ 4½ bb. ropes, son, 2/6		11	3
	“ 1 lb. Bohea Tea, son		8	
27—	“ 1 pair shoes, self		10	
	“ cash, self		8	
	“ 1 pair Channel pumps, self		18	

The Street & Butler firm dealt in all sorts of commodities. Tea, green or bohea, for the years 1785-88 seems always to have been 8/ a pound; candles were 2s. 6d. a pound; handkerchiefs are bought at 5/ each, while £1 8s.

were given for two black ones. Loaf sugar was 2/6d a lb; where 41½ pounds were bought a discount of 2/4d. was allowed. Brown sugar was 2/ a pound, while one entry of double refined sugar gives its price as three shillings a pound. "Russia sheeting," a fabric of which we know nothing, was four and sixpence to five shillings a yard, presumably according to quality. Brown cloth was 28/ per yard, which was also the price of "second cloth." "Calicoe" is charged at 6/ to 10 shillings per yard, and chintz at 16s., while "Shalloon," whatever that may have been, blue, green or white, appears to have been 5/ per yard. The iron potts appear to have been sold by weight.

The six long pages of entries extending over three years contain many interesting items. Not only were dry goods, rum and wine, groceries, spectacles and hardware, etc., supplied to their customers, but in a way the firm seems to have acted as a bank, for such items as these appear: "Cash, £2;" "cash paid F. Rowe, £2;" "paid Coon & Wisney, £2 17s. 10d.;" "cash to self, £1 19s.," and cash to self £1 1s. 8d.;" "Cash to Mrs. Shower's¹ order, 6s"; and then in January, 1788, as if they were getting rather tired of honouring the demands, comes in the item, "cash in hard money,² £19 13s."

Not only was cash, hard or otherwise, supplied, but we come on the following items: "1786, May 30th, 1 ticket at Raffling, for Captain Frey's² home, £1 17s. 4d.," and in 1787, "Sept. 4th, 2 chances at Raffle, £3 14s. 8d.," and two days later a further plunge is recorded, "Sept. 6th, 6 chances at Raffle for sundries, horses, at 37s. 14d., totaling £11 4s., and on the same date "½ chance at Raffle, 18s. 8d.

Most of the items are noted as bought by "self," some are debited to the son's order, a few to "daughter," and only three items appear to have been purchased by Mrs. Kryslor, and are debited to "wife."

But the strangest entry of all we come upon thus—

1786—

	£	s.	d.
Dec. 15th—To 4 yards S. cloth, son, 48/	9	12	
" 3 yards shag, son, 20/	3		
" 4½ yards shalloon, son, 5/	1	2	6
" 4 doz. buttons, son, 6/	1	4	
" 6 lb. sugar, son, 2/	1	12	
" ½ yd. white Molton, son, 6/6		3	3
" 2 gallons rum, son, 14/	1	8	
" 1 bottle of mustard, 7th, son.....			2
" 1 Negro Wench	40		

The credit side of this account shows us how the Loyalists held together during the trying times when their claims for losses having been sent in they were awaiting the payment promised by the British Government. Adam Kryslers claim for lands, mills, houses, stock and furniture left behind him in Schoharie, amounted to several thousand pounds. His memorial, giving details, was sent in in 1785, but it was three years after that, in 1788, that the first payment was received from the London agents who were looking after his interests—and charging heavily for the same. In the meantime Kryslers bill to Street & Butler steadily mounted up to the handsome sum of £410 15s. To the credit side appear only two small items. In “Dec., 1785, 30 cabbages at 1/ each, £1 10s.,” and on “Sept. 18, 1786, 1 pair of worsted hose returned 6/,” but in December, 1788, when payments for his losses were at last received, the bill was virtually wiped out.

To return to that interesting item of the sale of a negro girl; it was too important a purchase to be handed over the counter as the other articles in the account, and among the papers the following agreement or bill of sale is found:

“Know all men by these presents that we, Street & Butler, for and in consideration of forty pounds, New York curr’y, to us in hand paid, the receipt of which we hereby acknowledge, have bargained and sold and by these presents do bargain, sell and confirm to Adam Kryslers, his heirs and assigns, a negro wench named Sarah, about nine years old, to have and to hold against our heirs and assigns and against all person or persons, we do hereby warrant and defend forever. In witness whereof we have set our hand and seal at Niagara this sixth day of November, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six, in the presence of

WM. CHALMERS, Witness.

(Signed), STREET & BUTLER.

Seal.

This deed indicates that the negro wench was real estate and not personal property, as the conveyance is to Kryslers, his *heirs* and assigns, and not his executors and administrators.

This sale took place in 1786. Three years earlier we have the record of another purchase: “Know all men by these presents that we, Adam Vrooman⁴ & John Mattice,

of Niagara, are held and firmly bound in the penal sum of one hundred pounds U. S. cur'cy to be paid to Lieut. Adam Krysler, of the same place, or to his heirs, executors or administrators.

"And that the condition of this obligation is such that if we, the above-named Adam Vrooman & John Mattice do secure and indemnify the said Lieut. Adam Krysler, his heirs, executors or administrators against all claims and demands whatever on account of a negro boy named Tom, the property of the late Isaac Vrooman, of the County of Albany, then this obligation to be void; otherwise to remain in full force and virtue.

"Given under our hands at Niagara, 27 July, 1783."

(Sgd.), ADAM VROOMAN.

his

JOHN (J. M.) MATTICE.
mark

Witnesses Present.

JOHN DOCKSTADER^s.

GILBT TICE^s.

Again, in 1790, there is the following copy of what might be called a search warrant^r. It would indicate that his master had no further desire for the services of the runaway, sheltered and well-known slave:

"The bearer hereof has my permission to search through the settlements for Sam to purchase him.

"To whom it may concern:

(Sgd.), ADAM KRYSLER,
Dutch Creek, 12th Dec., 1790."

The last document in the Krysler papers concerning slavery is as follows:

"Know all men by these presents that I, Adam Vrooman, of the District of Nassau, in consideration of the sum of ninety pounds, N. Y. c'y., to me in hand paid by Adam Krysler, of the same place, at or before the sealing and delivery of these presents, the receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge, have bargained, sold, released and granted and confirmed, and by these presents do bargain, sell, release, grant and confirm unto the said Adam Krysler, a negro man named Tom, aged about thirty years, to have and to hold all and singular the said negro by these presents bargained, sold, released, granted and confirmed, unto the said Adam Krysler, his heirs, execu-

tors, administrators and assigns forever, without any contradiction or claim of any person whatever; and I, the said Adam Vrooman, for myself, my heirs, executors, administrators and assigns, all and singular, the above-named negro unto the said Adam Kryslar, his heirs, executors, administrators or assigns against me, the said Adam Vrooman, my heirs, executors, administrators or assigns, and against all and every other person or persons whatever shall and will forever warrant and defend by these presents; and I, the said Adam Vrooman, have put the said Adam Kryslar in full possession by delivering the above-mentioned negro at the sealing and delivery hereof. In witness whereof I have hereunto put my hand and seal this 25th day of August in the year of our Lord 1792.

(Sgd.), ADAM VROOMAN.

AARON STEVENS,
JAMES CLEMENT,
Witnesses.

This transaction took place within a month of the first meeting of the Parliament of Upper Canada, which, among its earliest enactments prohibited the bringing into the province of more slaves. This beneficent act met with opposition. Many slaves had been obtained during the war by purchase from Indians, who had captured them in forays. Owing to the arduous work of clearing the forests, making roads, and other pioneer tasks, labourers being few, the value of the negroes was great. Many who knew the proposed measure to be right and just, wished action postponed for two years to allow those who had none to procure slaves. But Governor Simcoe's influence, with that of a few far-sighted Loyalists, carried it through; to his eternal honour and that of the young country over which he presided.

NOTES.—¹Mrs. Snower. Probably the widow of Col. Shower, whose daughter married into the Ball family.

²HARD MONEY—Specie was very scarce in olden times, and the merchants were accustomed to issue "bons," which were good for so much merchandise in their shops. The difficulty of getting these "bons" cashed was one of the scandals of early Upper Canada, and was one of the means whereby the opposition in the Legislative Council in 1794 to the creation of the Court of King's Bench was broken down; those in the Legislative Council who most strongly opposed the abolition of the old courts of Common Pleas and the

creation of a Court of King's Bench were, some of them at least, judges in the Courts of Common Pleas and merchants who had issued "bons." Certain decisions in the Courts of Common Pleas on these "bons" had outraged public opinion, so that these courts were abolished by unanimous vote of the House of Assembly and the majority vote in the Legislative Council.

In addition to these "bons," there was scrip issued by the Paymaster of the forces, and sometimes also certificates by the Commandant of the forces. All these papers were "soft" money, "hard" money was coin.

The shilling and pound in the account are the York shilling and pound, which were twelve and a half cents, and two dollars and fifty cents, respectively. They were the currency of the old colony of New York and had vogue in the Niagara district until quite recently. In my own boyhood, near Cobourg, the York shilling, eight to the dollar, was a very familiar way of quoting prices, and the York shilling was more natural to my mother to the last day of her life than any other standard of value. There was no coin for the York shilling, but the English sixpence passed, in my boyhood, for a York shilling or "Yorker," as it was called.

³LIEUT. FREY—Lieut. Barent Frey was brother to Col. Hendrick Frey, who was one of the Representatives from Tryon County, N. Y., to the last Provincial Assembly, who owned handsome estates which were confiscated. Lieut. Frey was among the first to take up arms in 1775, under Johnson; later with Brant he was sent on the dangerous work of bringing away the Mohawks from their villages. This was successfully executed—and later with Brant, having 80 men under his command, he was detailed to harass the Schoharie and Cherry Valley. In 1779 he and Brant commanded the expedition against Minnesink on the Delaware. In 1812 he again took up arms and was killed in action.

⁴VROOMAN—A sergeant in the Rangers, settled near Queenston. The site of Vrooman's Battery, a factor in the battle of Queenston Heights, is still pointed out.

⁵JOHN DOCKSTADER—Son of Lieut. John Dockstader, one of Butler's Rangers, who gave notable service during the war and died in 1782 or 1783.

⁶GILBERT TICE, CAPTAIN—Conducted the large inn which Sir William Johnston built at Johnstown before the war. Joined Johnston when he took up arms for the Loyalist party in 1775. He commanded the small party which sent to St. John's ambushed and repelled a large body of American troops advancing to besiege it.

⁷The document cannot be called a search warrant. A search warrant is issued by some judicial authority, usually a magistrate. The document is a mere permission, which may or may not be of any validity; at all events it is not issued by a magistrate.

Am greatly indebted to Hon. Mr. Justice Riddell for the above notes 2 and 7, and for overlooking the paper.



“ DEEDS SPEAK ”

Women's Canadian Historical Society
OF TORONTO

TRANSACTION No. 22

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Read before the Society, December, 1922
 2. Some Account of a Military Settler in Canada in 1833
Matthew Sheffield Cassan.
Given by his Granddaughter, Miss Bonnycastle
Read January, 1923, by Miss Alice Lea
-

1921-1922

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

Women's Canadian Historical Society

OF TORONTO

1921-1922

Organized 1895; Incorporated February 14th, 1896.

OFFICERS

Honorary President	MRS. COCKSHUTT, Gov't. House.
Past Presidents	MRS. FORSYTH GRANT. *LADY EDGAR. *MRS. S. A. CURZON. *MISS FITZGIBBON.
President	MISS MICKLE, 48 Heath St. E.
Vice-Presidents	MRS. JAMES BAIN. MRS. EDGAR R. JARVIS. MRS. DUCKWORTH.
Corresponding Secretary	MRS. BALMER NEILLY, 39 Woodlawn Ave. E.
Recording Secretary	MRS. J. G. SETTLE, B.A. 86 Walmer Road.
Treasurer	MRS. A. E. HILLS, 22 Chicora Ave.
Curator	MRS. SEYMOUR CORLEY, 46 Dunvegan Road

CONVENORS OF MEMORIAL COMMITTEE

MRS. HORACE EATON, 141 Lyndhurst Avenue.	MRS. HILLS, 22 Chicora Avenue
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EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

LADY STUPART.	MRS. D. M. FARMER.
MRS. E. V. NEELANDS, B.A.	MRS. HAROLD MACDONALD.
MRS. SINCLAIR.	MRS. LEADBETTER.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

COL. G. T. DENISON.	J. A. MACDONNELL,
MISS CARNOCHAN.	W. D. LIGHTHALL, F.R.S.C.,
JAMES HANNAY.	F.R.S.L.
SIR GILBERT PARKER.	BENJAMIN SULTE, F.R.S.C.
CHARLES MAIR, F.R.S.C.	REV. JOHN MACLEAN, PH.D.
MISS MACHAR.	EDWARD M. THOMSON, F.R.S.C.,
BLISS CARMEN.	F.R.S.L.
JOHN D. KELLY.	CHARLES G. D. ROBERTS.
PROF. PELHAM EDGAR.	MRS. J. W. F. HARRISON.
PROF. G. M. WRONG.	PROF. H. T. F. DUCKWORTH.
MISS K. M. LIZARS.	PROF. JOHN SQUAIR.
DR. LOCKE.	PROF. A. H. YOUNG.
THE VERY REV. DEAN HARRIS.	HON. MR. JUSTICE RIDDELL.
	HON. MR. JUSTICE OSLER.

*Deceased.

Recording Secretary's Report

November 16, 1922

There have been seven regular and eight executive meetings of the Women's Canadian Historical Society during the past year. All have been well attended and held at the Sherbourne House Club. Eight interesting papers or addresses were given:—

November—"Report of the meeting of the Royal Society at Ottawa," by Mrs. W. T. Hallam, B.A.

December—"Perils of the Deep in Olden Times," by Hon. Mr. Justice Riddell.

January—"The Burning of the Parliament Buildings in Montreal, 1849," by Mr. J. J. Bell, Ottawa.

February—"A Visit to Canada in 1853." Extracts from the diary of Anne Everett, read by Miss Mickle, the President.

March—"Local Historical Research," by Col. Alexander Fraser, Archivist for Ontario.

April—1, "The U. E. Loyalists in New Brunswick," by Mrs. Gordon Mackenzie. 2, "Samuel Merrill, Jr.," by Mrs. Egerton—(Helen Merrill).

October—"Canadian Poets," by Prof. W. H. Greaves, Victoria College.

Besides these regular meetings an open evening meeting was held February 28th at the "Grange." Mr. E. R. Greig, the curator, gave a most interesting paper on the early history of the "Grange."

An historical picnic was held at the Wentworth Society's Club House on June 6th, the anniversary of Stoney Creek. Interesting addresses were given upon the battle.

The usual annual Christmas shower for tubercular soldiers was held at the December meeting. Mrs. Horace Eaton was able to send gifts to many soldiers still in hospital. Dressing-slippers, Afghans, books, magazines, jams, socks, etc., carried best wishes and cheer. For additional comforts \$31.00 was contributed. During the year the Society also sent eighteen sleeveless sweaters and twenty-four pairs of socks to the Soldiers' Comforts.

Three very successful bridges were held at members' houses to help augment the Society's funds.

As one of the Society's objects is "the preservation of Canadian records and relics," a delegation met by request the cemetery board and with other societies interviewed the Harbor Commissioners and received assurance the old military cemetery would receive due care and remain intact and we are glad to note the cemetery has been put in temporary order and a Commemoration Service was held Armistice Day.

A resolution was passed and was sent the City Council asking the name Teraulay Street be retained on account of its historic connections.

Notice of motion was given at the last meeting the constitution be amended and the clause reading two vice-presidents be changed to three vice-presidents.

Mrs. Corley, who has a fund of information relative to the Society's work and has in her keeping many of the treasures accumulated, was appointed historian or curator of the Society at the last executive.

There are now four life members:—Miss Mickle and Mrs. James Bain, made members by the Society; Mrs. W. H. P. Jarvis by Mrs. Hoskin, and Mrs. Murray Clark who conferred life membership upon herself.

It was with regret the committee accepted the resignation of Mrs. W. T. Hallam, for some time recording secretary and later corresponding secretary. Always a valued and faithful member may every success attend her in her new sphere in Saskatoon!

Our thanks are due the convenor of the tea committee and the tea hostesses who made the social side of our meetings so attractive.

We regret the loss of several members:—Mr. Robert Stark; Miss Scott; Mrs. H. H. Robertson, a former vice-president; Mrs. Jeffers Graham, author of "Three years among the Ojibways, 1857-1860," see Transaction XVI.; and one honorary member, Sir George Parkin.

Sixteen new members were welcomed during the year:—Mrs. W. G. Robinson, Mrs. John Satterly, Miss Allen, Mrs. Bain, Mrs. F. E. Fisher, Miss Wallis, Miss Dorothy Hobden, Mrs. Clarence Bullock, Mrs. Everett, Mrs. R. F. Massie, Mrs. W. S. Morden, Mrs. T. A. Doherty, Mrs. C. I. F. Whitney, Mrs. E. A. Johnson, Mrs. Harvey Gray and Mrs. George H. Ross.

Respectfully submitted.

HESTER SETTLE,
Recording-Secretary.

Notes by the Corresponding Secretary

During the year the Society entered into affiliation with the Canadian Landmarks Association, whose headquarters are in Ottawa.

Correspondence was exchanged with the committee in charge of the restoration of the old Military Cemetery on Strachan Avenue; with the Historic Sites and Battlefields Association in Ottawa regarding the preservation and restoration of the Old Fort at Toronto; and with a representative of the Brock family, in regard to the Isaac Brock Memorial Chapel in Guernsey.

We were glad to be in a position to furnish authentic information to a lady, preparing a paper on the U. E. Loyalists, for presentation before a large women's convention in the United States. In this way we had an opportunity of presenting the Loyalist's position during the Revolution.

An appeal reached us from the women of Thrace, issued officially by their Union, to which was attached an appeal on behalf of the Committee of Defence of Greeks in Asia Minor, to the National Council of Women at Athens.

A request for copies of our transactions was received from Mr. Ganong.

Inquiries regarding Transactions re Hanna Ingram and Sir John Franklin were received from Northampton, Mass.

Copies of the Transactions were sent to the Provincial Government.

Publications were received from the following, and our acknowledgments are herewith recorded:

Document No. 33 of the Niagara Historical Society—edited by Col. Cruickshank.

The 1921 Report of the Librarian of Congress.

Papers of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance, 1851.

Club News of Canada.

Canadian National Parks and Historic Sites Association pamphlets; Fort Anne; Fort Chambly and The Lake Erie Cross.

The Toronto Home and School Council Year Book.

Canadian National Parks Association publication.

Transactions of the Wentworth Historical Society.

Transactions of the Washington Historical Society.

Transaction 19 of the Ontario Historical Society.

The following donations are gratefully recorded:

A valuable old map of Canada, made after the Treaty of Paris, 1763—donated by Mr. Bligh.

“The Loyalists of Mass.”, by Jas. H. Stark—donated by Miss Mickle.

A signed picture of Wild Flowers, by Mrs. Susanna Moody, authoress of “Roughing it in the Bush”—donated by Mrs. Chas. Hunter.

Three colored contemporary lithographs of the Riel North West Rebellion, 1885—donated by Mr. J. J. Bell, of Ottawa.

A map of North America in 1803—donated by Mr. Bligh. The Stony Mountains (Rockies), are shown running between Lat. 52 and 64.

A register in use at the former Women’s Welcome Hostel—donated by Miss Arnold.



Treasurer's Report

GENERAL ACCOUNT 1921-1922.

RECEIPTS.

Balance in Bank November, 1921	\$68 70
Members' fees	90 00
Donations	14 50
Government Grant	200 00
Transfer from Mem. Fund acct.	8 28
Proceeds from Bridge Parties	103 50
Bank Interest	4 10
<hr/>	
Total	\$487 08

EXPENDITURE.

Cheque Books	1 00
Announcements	14 64
Sherbourne House Club (teas)	15 00
Sherbourne House Club (fees)	35 00
Flowers	16 50
Stationary, Postage, Service	8 88
Printing, Cards, etc.	32 10
Fees, Local Council of Women	5 00
Fees Historic Landmarks Asso.	5 00
Printing Transactions	124 75
<hr/>	
Total	\$257 87
<hr/>	
Balance, November, 1922	\$231 21

MEMORIAL FUND ACCOUNT, 1921-1922.

RECEIPTS.

Nov., 1921, balance in Bank	\$457 11
Monthly Teas	43 75
Life Membership	50 00

Proceeds from Bazaar	375 92
Sale of Transactions	8 45
Interest on Bank Account	8 23
Donations	15 70
Interest on Bonds	437 75
Total	\$1,396 91

EXPENDITURE.

Cheque Book	\$ 50
Life Membership Cards	26 78
Rent of Rooms for Bazaar	15 00
Advertising and Expenses	19 56
Rent of Safety Deposit Box	3 00
War Loan purchased and int. etc.....	505 53
War Loan purchased and int. etc.....	501 22
Total	\$1,071 59
Nov., 1922, bal. cash in Bank..	\$325 32

SECURITIES.

War Loan and Victory Bonds at 5½%	\$7,300 00
War Loan and Victory Bonds at 5%	500 00
Canada Permanent at 5%	500 00
Total	\$8,300 00
Balance cash in Bank	325 32
Total Cash and Securities	\$8,625 32

A. E. HILL, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct,
J. H. YOUNG, *Chartered Accountant.*

TRANSACTION No. 22

No. 1

Toronto in the Parliaments of Upper Canada 1792-1841

BY

THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL, LL.D.,
F.R.S.C., ETC., JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT
OF ONTARIO.

The purpose of this paper is to describe the Constituencies in the old Province of Upper Canada, which contained the situs of the present City of Toronto; and also to give some account of the Members for these Constituencies in the Legislature Assembly of the thirteen Parliaments of the Province, 1792-1841, before the Union.

There have been many erroneous statements made even in historical papers on these matters; I have in all cases where it was possible, consulted original and contemporary records, and hope that I have in this paper reduced inaccuracy to a minimum.

By the Definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendship, generally called the Treaty of Paris 1763, concluded at Paris, February 10, 1763, "His Most Christian Majesty," Louis XV. of France, ceded to "His Britannick Majesty," King George III., "Canada with all its dependencies," thus making *de jure*, the *de facto* possession by Britain under the Articles of Capitulation of Quebec, September 18, 1759, and of Montreal, September 8, 1760¹.

The Home Administration determined to give to Canada a civil administration in lieu of the Régime Militaire which had prevailed since the Conquest; and, October 7, 1763, was issued a Royal Proclamation², amongst other things, creating a Province of Quebec, and providing for civil government in the near future. This Province extended as far west only as a line drawn from "the South end of the Lake Nipissim (Nipissing), to where the line of 45 Degrees of North Latitude crosses the St. Law-

rence (near the present Cornwall, Ont.)—consequently Toronto did not fall within the Province, and was not affected by the provision in the Proclamation looking to an elective Assembly.

When the limits of the Province of Quebec were altered so as to include Toronto by the Quebec Act of 1774³, which extended the Province to the Ohio on the South and the Mississippi on the West, the same statute put an end to the project of an elective Assembly altogether for a time.

Toronto was then but a trading post, frequently mentioned in the papers of Sir William Johnson⁴, and seems to have been a favourite place for the meetings of fur-traders with the Indians. It is known that the territory west of the Lake Nipissing line was purposely left out of the territory intended for settlement in order that it might serve for hunting grounds for the fur trade.

During the American Revolutionary War, and at its close, especially after the Definitive Treaty of Peace, 1783⁵, loyal inhabitants of the American Colonies came into this western land. It was determined to make two Provinces, each with its own Parliament; an Order-in-Council was passed at the Court of St. James's, August 24, 1791, forming two Provinces, Upper Canada and Lower Canada, with the dividing line at the present dividing line between Ontario and Quebec. Upper Canada then included *de facto* the Detroit country and several posts, which *de jure* belonged to the United States⁶.

An Act was passed, the Canada or Constitutional Act of 1791, for the government of the two new Provinces⁷—the Order-in-Council already referred to of August 24, 1791, authorized Henry Dundas, Secretary of State, to direct the Governor or Administrator of the Government at Quebec to bring the Act into force not later than December 31, 1791. Lord Dorchester being in England, General Alured Clarke, Administrator of the Government, issued a proclamation, November 18, 1791, bringing the Act into force on December 26, 1791⁸.

The Constitutional Act by Secs. 2, 13, provided for a Legislative Assembly—by sec. 14, for the Lieutenant-Governor to issue a Proclamation dividing the Province into constituencies and by sec. 16, that the number of Members of the Legislature Assembly in Upper Canada should be not less than sixteen.

Colonel John Graves Simcoe was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, 1791; he met his Executive Council at Kingston, in July, 1792; and, July 16, 1792, he issued a Proclamation dividing the Province into nineteen counties and fifteen constituencies, one constituency, Kent, to send two representatives⁹.

The constituency containing Toronto was composed of Durham, York and the First Riding of Lincoln, stretching from the western boundary of Northumberland, the present "Town-line" just east of Port Hope, to the "grand river to be called the Ouse" (now the Grand River), down this river to "the Indian Road leading to the Forks of the Chippewa Creek (which creek is now to be called the Welland)," then down this creek, &c. The constituency stretched from Lake Ontario back to the tract "belonging to the Messisague Indians."

The Member elected was Nathaniel Pettit; he was of United Empire stock, a farmer in Grimsby, the owner of the land upon which the Town of Grimsby now stands. He was of such prominence that he was recommended by Lord Dorchester as a Legislative Councillor, and was a Member of the Nassau Land Board. He was appointed by Lord Dorchester, October 22, 1788, one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas for the District of Nassau. His ability is indicated by the fact that he was, September 24, 1792, made a member of the important Ways and Means Committee of the House¹⁰.

The First Parliament had five Sessions, 1792 to 1796, inclusive, and then it was dissolved.

The Second Parliament, 1797-1800, had the same constituencies—for this constituency was elected Richard Beasley¹¹.

For the Third Parliament, 1801-1804, the constituencies were altered by the Statute of 1798. By this time Toronto had become "York," Simcoe having given it that name in 1793 in honour of the Duke of York, second son of King George III., now commemorated by the Duke of York's Column, London.

The Statute of 1798 made a new Riding, "the East Riding of the County of York," composed of "the Townships of Whitby, Pickering, Scarborough, York, including its peninsula, Etobicoke, Markham, Vaughan, King, Whitchurch, Uxbridge, Gwillimbury, and the tract of land

hereinafter to be laid out in Townships lying between the County of Durham and Lake Simcoe."

The same Act created a new County, Simcoe; composed of Matchedash, Gloucester or Pentanguishene, together with Prince William Henry's Island and all the land between the Midland District and a line due north from a certain fixed boundary about 55 miles north-west of the outlet of Burlington Bay, to the northern limits of the Province¹². Two years afterwards, in 1800, Parliament passed an Act whereby Durham, Simcoe and the East Riding of York were together entitled to one Member³¹.

For this constituency, Mr. Justice Allcock was elected, but being unseated, he was succeeded by Angus McDonelly—Richard Beasley was elected for a constituency composed of West York, Haldimand and the First Riding of Lincoln, about half his former constituency. Beasley became Speaker during the 3rd and 4th Session, during the absence of Hon. (afterwards Sir) David William Smith. Beasley did not have a seat in the Fourth Parliament, 1805-1808; but he represented (till he was unseated, 1809), the West Riding of York in the Fifth Parliament (1808-1812)—he then disappears from Parliament¹⁴.

Mr. Justice Henry Allcock was an English Barrister of Lincoln's Inn, who came to Upper Canada in 1798, as puisné Judge of the Court of King's Bench. He was a favourite adviser of our second Lieutenant-Governor, General Peter Hunter, whom he assisted to make considerable money out of his office, in ways perfectly legal but not wholly creditable.

At the General Election of August 15, 1800, he offered himself for this constituency, and was elected; he seconded the nomination of David William Smith as Speaker. He was petitioned against and unseated, June 11, 1801; and did not offer himself as a candidate again. When Chief Justice John Elmsley went to Lower Canada (1802), Allcock succeeded him as Chief Justice of Upper Canada; afterwards (1806), he succeeded Elmsley as Chief Justice in Lower Canada¹⁵.

Angus McDonelly¹⁶ was of the well-known Highland family of that name; he was Clerk in the House for the First and Second Parliaments; dismissed in June, 1801, he received the thanks of the House and offered himself for the seat vacated by Allcock. He was elected and became a very prominent and active Member—we should

remember him for he was the first to urge that the former name Toronto should replace York.

He defeated Williams Weekes for this constituency at the General Election for the Fourth Parliament, 1804-1808.

He was a lawyer in large practice; in October, 1804, having undertaken the defence of the Indian Ogetonicut, charged with the murder of John Sharpe at Lake Scugog, he took passage to Newcastle (now Presqu'isle, near Brighton) on the Government schooner *Speedy*, and was drowned along with Mr. Justice Cochrane, Solicitor-General Gray, the prisoner, witnesses, constable, captain and crew, thirty-nine persons in all.

William Weekes was then elected for this Fourth Parliament; he was a disloyal, factious Irishman, a former student of Aaron Burr, the first student called to the Bar by the Law Society of Upper Canada, 1799, a noisy, active and fairly successful lawyer. He joined himself to the disloyal faction in the House, and was generally troublesome.

Before the end of this Parliament, Weekes was killed in a duel by William Dickson, a brother lawyer, upon whom he had forced the duel—this occurred at Fort Niagara on the American side, October 10, 1806.

Then Mr. Justice Robert Thorpe, of the Court of King's Bench, was elected; he was an Irishman, a henchman of Castlereagh, who had made him Chief Justice of Prince Edward Island. There he fell out with the Governor, Fanning, and was appointed puisné Judge in Upper Canada, where he arrived in 1805. He did not get his own way, and when Scott was appointed Chief Justice, he openly joined the factious party.

When Francis Gore replaced the Administrator, Alexander Grant (whom Thorpe characterized as "an enfeebled old, ignorant Methodist preacher"), matters soon came to a head. Thorpe left the Province to complain to the Home Government, *i.e.*, to Castlereagh; and Gore promptly removed him.

He then was appointed Chief Justice of Sierra Leone; there, after a short time, he fell foul of the African Association and its predecessor the Sierra Leone Company, organized for the benefit of free blacks on the West Coast of Africa. The Company had the Duke of Gloucester (the son of the King) as President, six Lords as Vice-Presi-

dents, and prominent Members of Parliament on its Board. Thorpe was like the earthen pot floating down the stream with brazen pots, or like Don Quixote tilting at the windmills; though most, if not indeed all, of his charges were true, he failed, he lost his position and returned to England to spend the rest of his life in obscurity, neglect and poverty—too often the fate of a man always “agin’ the Gover’ment”¹⁷.

Before the next, the Fifth, Parliament, 1809-1812, an Act was passed, 1808, altering the constituencies¹⁸ and increasing the number of Members to twenty-five—this provided that the East Riding of York and the County of Simcoe should be a constituency returning one member.

At the General Election, Thomas Barnes Gough was elected.

Gough, who lived in York, had opposed Thorpe when the latter was elected in 1807, receiving 159 votes to Thorpe’s 268; he had petitioned against Thorpe’s return on the ground that being a Judge he could not be a member; the petition failed, and rightly failed, there was nothing at that time preventing a Judge being a Member of the Assembly any more than there is now anything to prevent a British Judge from being a Member of the House of Lords¹⁶.

He sat only for this Parliament; for the Sixth Parliament, 1812-1816, Thomas Ridout represented the same constituency. He had been an officer of the Assembly and proved a useful Member. Before leaving Parliament he was, in 1815, one of the Commissioners appointed to provide for the accommodation of the Provincial Legislature after the Parliament Buildings at the foot of Berkeley Street, had been burned by the American invader.

Before the next General Election, no change was made in the constituency, and at the General Election for the Seventh Parliament, 1817-1820, Peter Robinson was elected.

He was the brother of John Beverley Robinson, an active immigration agent, the founder of Peterborough, which was named after him. He lived for a time at Newmarket, and was returned also for the next, the Eighth Parliament, 1821-1824, but for a smaller constituency. The Legislature in 1820 gave every town in which the Quarter Sessions were or might lawfully be held if of at

least 1,000 souls one member in the Assembly²¹; and accordingly the Town of York received a member—John Beverley Robinson was elected for the Town of York. At that time, however, York did not extend north beyond Lot (now Queen) Street; and consequently, we must still take account of Peter Robinson who represented all York County and Simcoe, the Act of 1820 giving every County now formed or to be formed, one member if of 1,000 souls, two if of 4,000 souls. York and Simcoe had 4,000, and, therefore, elected two members. Peter Robinson and William Warren Baldwin, of Spadina.

As Peter Robinson was one of the official class, generally known as the Family Compact, he has received his share of abuse from Radical writers; and no doubt he was a pluralist with a good living from a poor country—but he was a loyal and useful citizen. The oldest child of Christopher Robinson (one of our earliest lawyers and Assemblymen), he was born in 1785; during the War of 1812, he raised a Rifle Company and marched to Sandwich to meet the American invader; he took part in the capture of Detroit by General Brock and is mentioned in Brock's General Orders of August 16, 1812. In 1813 he took an active part in the defence of Michillimackinac, and succeeded in making his way out through the American blockading fleet in August, 1814. He took a deep interest in immigration and was instrumental in bringing a large number of valuable immigrants into the Province—as has been said, Peterborough is named after him.

After having been Member of the Assembly for two terms, he became a Member of both the Executive and the Legislative Council; he was also Commissioner of Crown Lands, Surveyor-General of Woods, Clergy Reserve Commissioner, &c., with an emolument of £1,300 per annum. He was one of the three Members of the Executive Council²² when Francis Bond Head arrived, and he resigned (1836) with the rest—*i.e.* his two former and three new colleagues—when Sir Francis stated that he was bound to consult them only when he felt the need of their advice, and that he, the Lieutenant-Governor, was the only responsible Minister. Robinson died at Toronto, 1838, never having married.

Dr. William Warren Baldwin, the son of an Irish gentleman of Cork, was educated in Medicine at Edinburgh, came with his father to this Province in 1798 and

settled in the Township of Clarke on Baldwin's (now Wilmot's) Creek; he later came to Toronto and opened a school; called to the Bar under an Act of 1803, he soon attained the head of his new profession—he was for many years Treasurer of the Law Society and practically directed its affairs. A more ardent Reformer than his more celebrated son, Robert, he was a close associate of William Lyon Mackenzie, but declined to join in the Rebellion.

The life of John Beverley Robinson has been written by his son, and it is unnecessary to say more of him than that he was the first Member for York, he was re-elected for the Ninth Parliament, 1825-1828, and the Tenth, 1829-1830, and became Chief Justice, 1829.

The Members for York County and Simcoe for the Ninth Parliament, 1825-1828, were William Thompson and Eli Playter. The Act of 1820 had directed that when a County was formed, if it had less than 1,000 souls, it should be attached for representation purposes to the next adjoining County, with the smallest number of souls. Simcoe was formed into a separate District under the provisions of an Act of 1821, but it had not yet 1,000 souls and therefore remained attached to York²³.

But before the General Election of 1828 for the Tenth Parliament, 1829-1830, Simcoe had its quota of 1,000 souls and elected its own Member, John Cawthra; while York still had two—Jesse Ketchum and William Lyon Mackenzie²⁴, and Dr. Baldwin was returned for Norfolk.

When John Beverley Robinson went on the Bench in 1829, Robert Baldwin was elected for York Town; a petition succeeding against his election on the ground of irregularity in the Writ—the Lieutenant-Governor having issued it instead of the Speaker—he was re-elected.

At the General Election, 1830, for the Eleventh Parliament, 1831-1834, the Sheriff William Botsford Jarvis who had been defeated in the by-election by Robert Baldwin, had his revenge, as he now defeated Baldwin; he was the last Member for York Town.

For the County were elected Jesse Ketchum and William Lyon Mackenzie. Mackenzie was expelled from the House, December 13, 1831, and re-elected January 3, 1832; again expelled, he was re-elected, December 16, 1833; again expelled, he took the oaths again February 10, 1834, but was prevented from taking his seat.

Before the General Election of 1834 for the Twelfth Parliament, changes were made in the constituencies by Acts of Parliament in 1833 and 1834.

By the Act of 1833²⁵, the County of York was divided into four Ridings of which the First was composed of the Townships of York including its Peninsula, Etobicoke, Vaughan and King; each Riding was to return one Member to the House of Assembly.

The Act of 1834²⁶ extended the limits of the Town of York 400 yards north of Lot (now Queen) Street and westerly to the line between Part Lots 18 and 19 of the Township of York, so that it was bounded on the east by the Don, on the south by the harbour, on the west by the centre line of Crookshank Lane (now Dundas Street) and on the north by the southern line of Crookshank Street (now Dundas Street East). This was given the name of the City of Toronto; and it was enacted that wherever "York" was mentioned the Acts of Parliament, &c., as meaning the Town of York, the City of Toronto should be understood. This gave the City of Toronto a Member in the House, and James Edward Small was elected; he was a very prominent lawyer and had been Counsel for Mackenzie in his action against the young men who threw his type into the Bay. When a young man he had been the second of young John Ridout in the duel in which Ridout was killed by Samuel Peters Jarvis, at the north-west corner of Yonge and College Streets in 1817—he was indicted as an accessory to murder but acquitted when Jarvis was acquitted of murder. We have seen that he suffered defeat for the County along with Robert Baldwin in 1828 and by Baldwin for York Town in 1829. He was a Reformer but less extreme than Mackenzie; his moderation did not save him from dismissal from his office as Commissioner of the Court of Requests (what we should now call Judge of the Division Court) by Francis Bond Head in 1836.

For the First Riding of York, David Gibson was elected, a Land Surveyor²⁷ living near the present Willowdale; he was an active and ardent Reformer and like Mackenzie, a Scotsman; he took a prominent part in the Rebellion, escaped to the United States, but abandoned Mackenzie after a time—he was pardoned in 1843 and returned to the Province, settled again on his farm on

Yonge Street, was appointed to a Government position and died at Quebec in 1864.

For the Thirteenth Parliament, 1836-1841, the City of Toronto returned William Henry Draper, afterwards Chief Justice, and the First Riding of York, David Gibson; Gibson was expelled on account of his joining in the Rebellion and in 1838 at a by-election, John William Gamble was returned.

This was the last Parliament of the Province of Upper Canada—the First Parliament of the Province of Canada which was composed of the former Provinces of Upper Canada and Lower Canada sat “in the building prepared for the accommodation of the Provincial Legislature in the township of Kingston” on Monday, June 14, 1841²⁸.

Osgoode Hall, Toronto,
December, 1922.

NOTES.

[MEMO.—While I have not broken the continuity of the narrative by minutiae and citation, I think it well to give references in certain cases; one venturing on a historical work should not only be as nearly accurate as possible, but should furnish means for readers to test the accuracy.

I have not given a sketch of the life, &c., of those whose lives have been written *in extenso* such as Sir John Beverley Robinson and William Lyon Mackenzie.]

The following contractions are used in these Notes:—

“S. & D.”—Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791—Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, Ottawa, 1918.

“D. & McA.”—Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1791-1818.—Arthur G. Doughty and Duncan A. McArthur, Ottawa, 1914.

“Treaties”—Treaties and Conventions since July 4, 1776, Washington, 1889.

4 Ont. Arch.—Fourth Report of the Bureau of Archives for Ontario.

Can. Arch, Q. 62, 227—Canadian Archives at Ottawa, Series Q., Vol. 62, page 227.

(U-C.)—Upper Canada legislation.

(Imp)—Imperial legislation at Westminster.]

¹Treaty of Paris, S. & D., 97, 113, at p. 115; Articles of Capitulation of Quebec, do., 1, 5; of Montreal, do. 7, 25.

²S. & D., 163; 4 Ont. Arch., 2.

³(1774) 14 Geo. 3, C. 85, (Imp.); S. & D., 570.

⁴Long preserved at Albany, New York, but seriously injured recently by fire. I am so fortunate as to possess transcripts of the more important of them for the present purpose.

"Toronto," "traders at Toronto," "licenses to trade at Toronto" are expressions used time and again.

⁵Treaties, 375.

⁶Order in Council, August 24, 1791. D. & McA., 3, 4 Ont. Arch., 158. By the Definitive Treaty, 1783, Article IV., it had been "agreed that creditors on either side shall meet no lawful impediment to recovery of the full value in sterling money on all *bona fide* debts heretofore contracted." Treaties, 377, Certain of the States by their laws prevented the payment of debts in full to English creditors and the United States could do nothing. Britain, therefore, held on to the border ports, Michillimackinac, Detroit, Niagara, Oswegatchie, Oswego, Point au Fer, Dutchman's Point, until in 1794 by "Jay's Treaty," Treaties, 379, the United States agreed to pay these debts—all the border posts were given up by August, 1796, but until that time Detroit was part of Upper Canada *de facto*—indeed during that time crimes in Detroit were tried in Canadian Courts and at least one burglar, a colored man, was hanged.

⁷(1791) 31 Geo. 3, C. 31, (Imp.); S. & D., 1031;

⁸D. & McA., 55—I do not know why this very important Proclamation is omitted in 4 Ont. Arch.

⁹The reason of this was that Kent had a considerable French population, and it was hoped that one of the representatives would be French—a hope that was fulfilled, as Francis Baby was returned along with William Macomb for the First Parliament.

¹⁰Can. Arch., Q. 44, pt. 1, 134; Dorchester's letter to Grenville, March 15, 1790; 6 Ont. Arch., 5; the other Judges of this Court of Common Pleas were Col. John Butler, Hon. William Hamilton, Benjamin Pawling, and Peter Tenbrook (or Tenbroeck).

¹¹Spelled "Beasley" in the Return of Members, May 28, 1801; 6 Ont. Arch., 175; and in Simcoe's letter to Gen. Alured Clarke from Navy Hall, July 29, 1793, Can. Arch., Q. 62, 227.

¹²This Act (1798) 38 Geo. 3, C. 5, (U.C.), was passed in 1798 but reserved by Peter Russell the Administrator with three others, "for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon," July 5, 1798, 6 Ont. Arch., 92; the Royal Assent was promulgated by Proclamation, January 1, 1800, and the Act became law.

¹³(1800) 40 Geo. 3, c. 3, (U.C.) increasing the number of Members to 19.

¹⁴6 Ont. Arch. 175, 324; 8 Ont. Arch. 139, 318, 362; Ont. Arch. 353, 439.

¹⁵Allcock's name is almost invariably spelled "Alcock"; he spelled it "Allcock"—the relations of Allcock with Hunter are disclosed in Powell MSS., copies of which are in my possession; his appointments are matters of public record; his adventures in the House will be found, 6 Ont. Arch., 174-6, 183, 192-4. He was made Speaker of the Legislative Council on becoming Chief Justice, a position filled by his predecessors, Osgoode and Elmsley and his successors Scott, Powell, Campbell and Robinson—so too by Robert Sympson Jameson, our first Vice-Chancellor and by Jonas Jones one of the *puisné* Judges of the Queen's Bench.

¹⁶I spell the name as he wrote it on the Roll of Advocates and Attorneys in the King's Bench 1794; the family generally then and I think always now spell it "Macdonell." Angus was a near relation of the young Attorney-General Macdonell who died a hero's death from wounds received at Queenston Heights, October 13, 1812.

¹⁷For the Life of Angus McDonell see my "Legal Profession in Upper Canada", 157; for the Life of Thorpe see my "Upper Canada Sketches", 57, where authorities are cited. The Canadian Archives Report for 1892, Note D, 32, contains many important documents concerning this time in Upper Canada.

¹⁸(1808 48 Geo. 3, c. 11, (U.C.).

¹⁹See 8 Ont. Arch., 128, 154, 284, Common Law Judges could not in England be members of the House of Commons by reason of their constitutional position as advisers of the House of Lords—a position never occupied by Judges in the Colony; they were not advisers to either House. Until forbidden by Statute, the Master of the Rolls, an Equity Judge, was often Member of the House of Commons at Westminster.

²⁰The Act is (1815) 55 Geo. 3, c. 112, (U.C.)

The vandalism of the Americans in burning the Parliament Buildings, Library, &c. (1813) also Fort George, is never heard of, although American historians do not fail to speak in severe terms of the burning of the Capitol at Washington in reprisal.

The next session in 1814 was held in Jordan's Hotel, King St. E.; and the next three or four in a house at the N.W. corner of Market (now Wellington) and York Streets, the property of William Firth a former Attorney General. The Commission agreed to buy it for £1100 (currency), but found difficulty in the title, 9 Ont. Arch., 455, 456.

Dr. Baldwin, Firth's Trustee was willing to guarantee the title personally, but this was not accepted, the sale went off and Parliament went elsewhere.

²¹(1820), 60 Geo. 3, c. 2, (U.C.), passed March 7, 1820, in the Fifth and last Session of the Seventh Parliament.

²²The others were George Herchmer Markland, Inspector-General, and Joseph Wells, Bursar of King's College—Robinson was Commissioner of Crown Lands. Robert Baldwin, John Henry Dunn and Dr. John Rolph were added by Head, February 20, 1836; they all resigned on receiving his message stating his view of them and his position—which was of course a denial of Responsible Government, and brought on the Rebellion of 1837.

²³(1820) 60 Geo. 3, c. 2, S. 7, (U.C.); (1821) 2 Geo. 4, c. 3, S. 7, (U.C.)

²⁴It is interesting to know that Robert Baldwin along with James Edward Small ran against Mackenzie and Ketchum, Baldwin at the by-election of 1829, for York Town, defeated his former colleague Small; and when unseated he defeated the Sheriff William Botsford Jarvis.

²⁵(1833) 3 Wm. 4, c. 16, (U.C.)

²⁶(1834) 4 Wm. 4, c. 23, (U.C.)

²⁷The profession seems to run in the family.

²⁸The language quoted is from the official Proceedings.

The Province of Canada was formed by the Act generally known as the Union Act, *i.e.* the Act (1840) 3, 4, Vict., c. 35, (Imp.)

Some Account of the Life of a Military Settler in Canada, 1834

The writer, Matthew Sheffield Cassan, son of Rev. Joseph Cassan, of Stradbally, Queen's Co., Ireland, was born in 1803. He entered the army at the age of sixteen, married in 1823, and left the army in 1827. He migrated to Canada with his wife¹ and six children in 1834, and died 11th of June, 1892, at Westfield Cottage, 3rd Concession Seymour Tp. Of his family of eleven children one daughter survives, Mrs. R. H. Bonnycastle, of Campbellford, Ont.

THE JOURNAL.

Before leaving Dublin, I received a kind letter from Lord Roden, of Tollymore Park, advising me not to leave England without seeing Mr. Hagerman², Crown Solicitor for Upper Canada, then in London; so leaving my family in Dublin I went to Liverpool, taking all my baggage, and made arrangements for my passage to New York, with a shipping agent, Mr. Perrin, of Liverpool, to whom I had a letter from my agent in Dublin. I then started to London by stage-coach, and called upon Mr. Hagerman, whom I found at home preparing to leave that week for Upper Canada, and who asked me to go out on the same vessel with him. On learning I had taken my passage, he advised me to hasten to Toronto³, that he would do all in his power for me with Sir John Colborne, as soon as he arrived.

Having met my family in Liverpool we took passage on the "Perdonetta," taking the round house or cabin on deck all to ourselves, which afforded ample room and more berths than we required. I found all our provisions, and having a week to spare before going on board, we occupied the time laying in a supply likely to be needed in case of a protracted voyage. We had six children to provide for. By arrangement with the captain we were to have the services of the cook and steward for the voyage. I paid £66 sterling for the cabin on deck, and about £20 for our sea stock of provisions. I spent the evenings casting bullets for my rifle and double-barrel gun to be

fully prepared to enjoy the sport so highly spoken of in Radcliffe's book on Canada, which was illustrated by a young man asleep in a log house, with his legs out of the window and wild turkeys roosting on them!

I brought out 5 bags of shot, besides the necessary amount of powder and caps, also a goodly supply of fishing rods, tackle and artificial flies, which I used to good account on the Trent River, providing my table with an abundance of wild duck, partridge and fish, etc.

We spent the last Sunday with Mr. Perrin's family. Mr. Perrin had two sons in business in Toronto, and gave me a letter of introduction to the eldest.

All things being ready we took possession of the round-house on the quarter-deck, and left on the 5th of June, 1834. Strange to say, we had sailed from Gibraltar on exactly that date in 1827, and like our voyage to Belfast, this was to prove equally slow and tedious, and frequently becalmed.

As we neared the banks of Newfoundland we were in frequent proximity to immense icebergs, and were becalmed for nearly a week. The captain caught a fine codfish and I put a bullet into a porpoise, and could see the blood coming from him, but do not know if I killed him.

At length we came in sight of Sandy Hook, a pilot came on board, it was not long before the coast came into view, and as we advanced toward Staten Island and the harbour of New York, the scene from the deck of the "Perdonette" was magnificent.

Staten Island was the place for all strange vessels to anchor at the quarantine ground. A boat came alongside before we cast anchor, and some merchants, newspaper men, hotel agents—runners, as they are called—and others came on board; also a doctor to examine the passengers' state of health, which he found so satisfactory that he did not place the vessel under quarantine; but all the passengers' soiled clothing had to be sent to Staten Island to be washed and paid for at so much a dozen. Here all my baggage had to be examined by the Custom House officials. All my chests were marked "Military Settler for Upper Canada," which was sufficient guarantee that I was no smuggler. I had no trouble from the customs; but we had to wait some days before we could get our clothes from the wash-house at Staten Island.

Our next move was up the Hudson River by steamer to Albany, and then by the Erie Canal to Oswego, and from there to Toronto. The heat in New York was intense and oppressive, and I was glad to get out of the city. A gentleman I met on landing offered me a situation if I would stay there, but I refused—the Union Jack was flying in my brain just then. He said I would regret it, and I did.

My wife took ill with cholera at Albany, and we had to stay there over a week. The doctor told me that she was the only case that recovered out of seven seized with Asiatic Cholera that week. Our next move was to an Erie Canal boat drawn by worn-out horses. This journey was as tedious as that from Liverpool to New York, which took nine weeks. I used to take my gun and go into the woods to shoot squirrels and hawks, and easily overtake the boat at one or other of the locks. At Oswego we took a steamer for Toronto. The captain, whose name was Richardson⁴ told us cholera was prevalent there, that we had better remain on board till he inquired when he went on shore where the safest place would be for us to go to. On his return he advised us to go to the British Coffee House, and to this hotel we went, glad to get rest after our long journey.

Having my luggage conveyed from the steamer and lodged in a place of safety, I went the following day to Government House⁵ to announce my arrival to His Excellency Sir John Colborne, Mr. Hagerman having promised in London that he would speak to Sir John on my behalf, gave me grounds to hope that I would not go to the backwoods; that His Excellency would get me some employment.

Sir John Colborne received me very kindly, had a perfect recollection of my being with him in Guernsey in 1825-26, but was sorry it was not in his power to get me a situation—that his son was ill in the house with cholera which was prevalent in Toronto. He sent for the Commissioner of Crown Lands, the Hon. Peter Robinson, who informed me of the names of different townships then opened for military and naval officers to settle in, naming several, as Lobo, Carradoc, London and Seymour. His Excellency said he would give me choice of any township named, but strongly recommended Seymour, observing I might spend a deal of money travelling to other settlements

and not find so good a locality. His Excellency took down the map to point out the Township of Seymour, and told me a canal would soon be built from the mouth of the River Trent to Lake Huron—advised me to leave Toronto as soon as possible on account of the cholera and go to Cobourg. His Excellency got me a letter of introduction from the Hon. Peter Robinson to Mr. G. L. Boulton, of Cobourg, and a letter to Major Campbell, the Government Agent at Seymour, and also advised me to settle as near the River Trent as possible, and I fully carried out all his advice. Upon taking leave of Sir John I accompanied the Comr. of Crown Lands to his office, where I fulfilled the requirements of the Government, binding myself in the matter of my allegiance to it.

I found on my arrival in Toronto that Mr. Hagerman was absent on circuit with the judges. I called at Mr. Perrins, but found that the eldest brother to whom I had a letter from his father had died of cholera a few days before our arrival. Mr. Perrin offered me the free use of his house in the city, but I had made up my mind to start at once for Cobourg—leave my family there, and push on to Seymour and become a settler in the bush. The sooner I got there the better it would be, for my pocket at any rate, for a costly journey would be at an end, and the severity of a Canadian winter had to be met and provided for.

I did not linger many days at the British Coffee House. I may state that at this hotel I became introduced to a small Lion that used to frequent this house, and many visitors used to come to admire and caress this little loquacious man till all hours of the night. Our bedroom was directly off the parlor, and a wink of sleep we could not get. Little did I imagine then that this same Lion in three years after should have grown so powerful as to be able to disturb the rest and peace of the whole country^e. This was the leader of the Rebellion of 1837-38, the Canadian Agitator Mackenzie of those troublesome times whom I met at the dinner table of the British Coffee House in August, 1834.

Leaving Toronto by steamboat, we reached Cobourg the same evening. I called on Mr. G. L. Boulton and handed him the letter given me by Hon. Peter Robinson. Mr. Boulton received me very courteously and instructed me how to reach Seymour and Major Campbell's resi-

dence, and spoke very flatteringly of the township, said he owned a great deal of land there besides the Gore upon the Trent River.

I arranged to leave my family in Cobourg and started by stage to Colborne, where I hired a conveyance to Seymour, to the home of Mr. Beatty at Percy Landing⁷, a great part of the way being through a dense forest. I walked from Mr. Beatty's to the ferry opposite Major Campbell's; this journey was also through the forest, save for a small clearing at Meyersburg and a smaller still at Ranny's Falls.

At the hotel in Colborne I met Lieut. Hayter, R.N., who had selected land in Seymour, on the west side of the river, and was returning to Cobourg. There was a small tavern, chiefly for raftsmen, at the crossing where the ferry-boat or canoe was kept. On my arrival at the Major's I met another naval officer, Lieut. Cleugh, who had come to select lands to settle on. Mr. Cleugh had engaged a man named Norton who knew the township, and the lumber roads and lines that marked out the lots for settlement that belonged to the Government, so I engaged Norton to accompany me next day to the lots, of which Major Campbell had given me a list.

I accompanied Mr. Cleugh and Norton to the lots the former had chosen, and found Capt. McDonald had selected his lots in the vicinity of Mr. Cleugh. I posted on to Mr. Thos. Allan's who kindly invited me to stop with him that night and have an early start in the morning: so I arranged to have Norton, my pilot of the backwoods, to call for me.

I found that a Mr. Kay had taken up his land alongside of Mr. Allan's; both these men belonged to the navy. Mr. Allan wished me to settle near him on lot 22 in the first Concession, but when I came to view the place I found one-half of the land was on an island on the other side of what is termed the Black Channel, not suitable for a farm; so we moved up into the 3rd Concession. We brought no eatables, but I carried a flask of good brandy, and when we came to a creek we were glad of a chance to "wet our whistles." One can imagine how toilsome a walk is thro' a dense forest, in August, to say nothing of mosquitoes and black flies; thro' cedar swamps and over ridges, not a clearing or a hut to be seen, all woods, woods.

Coming on evening we came to two lots I had upon my list, in the 3rd Concession, namely, 11 and 12; finding the soil gave full proof of its good quality by its fine crop of maple, beach, oak, pine and elm. I decided to seek no further.

We then pushed on, moving north in hopes of reaching the tavern near Major Campbell's before dark; but we got lost in the woods and had to sit down and rest. After a little we started forward again and at length came on a small clearance where a settler named Scott had commenced to make a home for himself.

It was just dark when we reached the shanty, Scott was absent, but his sister kindly made us welcome and prepared a much-needed supper for us. Miss Scott kept us all night, and being much fatigued I was glad to remain. Next morning we started for the tavern, leaving what was left in the flask for her brother on his return. I gave Major Campbell the numbers of the lots I had selected and then, with my guide Norton and a man named Thrasher, who built log houses and cleared an acre of land, went back to my land to choose a site for a log house. Thrasher asked me £26, I offered him £24, but he refused. I then went down to Couche's place on the banks of the river. At this time (1834), it was a Government reserve for a town, and here a comfortable frame house with a large log building for a store had been put up by the Government for an agent to receive new settlers as they might arrive. A Mr. and Mrs. Hudspeth, settlers from Scotland, had got permission to occupy the frame house while their own log house was being built. The Couches had moved away, and after making the small log house they had lived in comfortable, I brought my family down from Cobourg; at the same time buying a small farm on the river from Mr. Boulton. He charged the exorbitant price of six dollars an acre, while the Government was asking 12/ 6d. per acre.

I purchased a stock of provisions to last six months and set out for Mr. Beatty's, at Percy Landing, with my family, bag and baggage, finally arriving at Couche's place August 29th, 1834. It was fortunate for us that Mr. and Mrs. Hudspeth lived near us. Getting settled as best we could, I commenced the battle with the forest. I had purchased at Albany two first-rate axes, and from "Old Payne" a good heavy brush-hook. I hired a man for \$10

a month and his board, to help me clear a few acres to put in fall wheat for our next year's bread. I underbrushed and John Power chopped down the trees, and within the month of September and up to the 4th of October I had three acres cleared, logged, burnt off and seeded down with fall wheat.

NOTES

¹Mrs. Cassan was a daughter of Capt. Yellon, who served on the staff of Lord William Bentinck at Palermo, Sicily, where her childhood was spent. She was an educated and accomplished woman playing both the harp and the piano and possessing a fine voice, fully cultivated. Mrs. Cassan educated her children; and fifteen years after their arrival in Canada when it was found that a school in the district was to be granted, and that if a teacher could be secured for six months that locality would get it, but if not it would be built some miles away, Mrs. Cassan undertook the work and secured it for her home district. She received her certificate in Seymour on March 30th, 1849 from Capt. Boucher, Justice of the Peace and District Councillor, opened the school on April 1st, 1849, and kept it for six months to oblige the settlers and to prevent the school being lost to the locality. Her diary says: "It was a great sacrifice to me to give up my time, for the sum they offered; but I did it for a good end, and it has prospered. Now the teacher has £100 a year." Her diary also gives the amount of School rates received in kind by Mrs. Cassan for the six months she acted as teacher.

	£	s.	d.
Thos. Grills paid for his sister-in-law 7/6 for her first quarter up to 2nd June, 1849	7	6	
Mrs. Diamond paid in butter 3/0 balance due 2nd June, 9d.	3	9	
John Martin paid in full for six months scholarship at 3/9 per quarter by 46 lbs. of flour and 2 bushels of potatoes, flour 5/0, potatoes 3/0 = 8s.	8		
(Due by Mrs. Cassan 6d. balance)			
Lewis Dunk paid 4/0 in onions	4		
Peter Stephens paid in potatoes at 2/0 per bushel 7/6 six months	7	6	
Ben Hopps paid 2/6 in work	2	6	
Robert White paid 23 and 28½ in 2 bags included of flour.			
Wm. Varco paid ½ lb. tea 1/9 1 quarter due for the boy 3/9	3	9	
John Smith, due for 3 children	11	3	
George Smith 2	6	3	

²Hagerman, Christopher Alexander, Mr. Justice. After whom Hagerman St. is named. In 1828 he was appointed Judge in the room of the Hon. John Walpole Willis, "amoved;" but this appointment was not ratified by the Home Government. In 1830 he became Solicitor-General, and obtained a seat in Parliament, where, having great power as a public speaker, he at once became a leader. In 1833 he was dismissed from office by Lord Goderich, then Colonial

Secretary. When the despatch reached Canada Hagerman was in London on a mission connected with the Clergy Reserves and at once waited upon Lord Stanley, the new Colonial Secretary, who was prevailed upon to restore him to his position. Later in 1837 Hagerman was made Attorney-General. York House, at the N.E. corner of Simcoe and Wellington Streets, was built by Mr. Hagerman shortly before the Rebellion. It was pulled down in 1906.

Dr. Scadding, speaks of Mr. Justice Hagerman as "adding some of the bluntness of Samuel Johnson to the physique of Charles James Fox, and recalls that Mrs. Jameson, who set a high value on his talents, once playfully and graphically spoke of him as "that great mastiff Hagerman."

³York regained its old name, Toronto, in 1834.

⁴Richardson, Hugh. Captain of the schooner *Canada*, that began making daily trips to Niagara and the head of the Lake in Aug., 1826. This vessel was built by Joseph Dennis, of Weston, Messrs. Ward, of Montreal, supplying the machinery, and was considered a fast boat, Richardson being her master and managing owner. Later he commanded the *Transit*," also on the Toronto-Niagara route. From 1852 to 1870, when he died, aged 86, he was Harbour-Master at Toronto.

⁵The first Government House, on the S.W. corner of King and Simcoe Sts., built in 1828 and burnt in 1862.

⁶During the Rebellion of 1837 the military men of Seymour raised a company, and the men were drilled on the ice near Meyersburg.

⁷The Beatty's lived at Percy Landing, known also as Beatty's Landing, near Meyersburg, where Col. Myers kept a store, at which the settlers did their trading. The Beatty's kept boats; Beatty's Landing was a stopping place.

Later a bridge was built some miles up the river Trent where Campbellford now stands, and the ferry opposite Major Campbell's residence was no longer needed.

Along the river below Beatty's Landing the first settlers were:—Capt. Masson, Capt. Le Vesconte, Capt. Cassan, Col. Raynes, Capt. Shea, Captain McIntosh and others.

⁸"Old Payne," an unpopular bailiff, who continually had the settlers cattle and pigs put in "Pound." Having to pay a fine was considered a hardship, as good fences, in those days were impossible.



“DEEDS SPEAK”

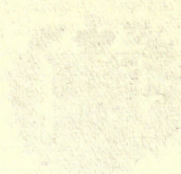
Women's Canadian Historical Society
OF TORONTO

TRANSACTION NO. 23

CONTENTS

1. Sketch of the Life of Mrs. W. Forsyth-Grant
2. Letters from W. Jarvis, Secretary for Upper Canada and Mrs. Jarvis to the Rev. Samuel Peters, D.D., between the years 1792 and 1813 from copies made by the late Mrs. Chamberlin, and with Prefatory Note by Prof. A. H. Young, Trinity College, Toronto

1922-1923



W. H. ...
...

ANNUAL REPORT

of the
Women's Canadian Historical Society
 OF TORONTO
 1922-1923

Organized 1895; Incorporated February, 1896.

OFFICERS

Honorary President	MRS. COCKSHUTT, Gov't House.
Past Presidents	*MRS. S. A. CURSON.
	*LADY EDGAR.
	*MRS. FORSYTH GRANT.
	*MISS FITZGIBBON.
President	MISS MICKLE, 48 Heath St. East.
Vice-Presidents	MRS. JAMES BAIN.
	MRS. EDGAR JARVIS.
	MRS. SEYMOUR CORLEY.
Corresponding Secretary	MRS. BALMER NEILLY,
	39 Woodlawn Ave., East.
Recording Secretary	MRS. J. G. SETTLE, B.A.,
	86 Walmer Rd.
Treasurer	MRS. PARKS,
	69 Albany Ave.
Curator	MRS. SEYMOUR CORLEY,
	46 Dunvegan Road.

CONVENORS OF MEMORIAL COMMITTEE

MRS. HORACE EATON,	MRS. W. H. P. JARVIS,
141 Lyndhurst Ave.	17 Humewood Drive.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

LADY STUPART.	MRS. SINCLAIR.
MRS. E. V. NEELANDS, B.A.	MRS. D. M. FARMER.
MRS. LEADBEATER.	MRS. JOHNSTON.

HONORARY MEMBERS

COL. G. T. DENISON.	HON. MR. JUSTICE RIDDELL.
MISS CARNOCAN.	RT. HON. SIR GILBERT PARKER, Bart.
CHARLES MAIR, F.R.C.S.	MISS MACHAR.
PROF. G. M. WRONG.	BLISS CARMAN.
MISS K. M. LIZARS.	JOHN. D. KELLY.
DR. LOCKE.	PROF. PELHAM EDGAR.
REV. JOHN McLEAN, Ph.D.	W. D. LIGHTFALL, F.R.S.C., F.R.S.L.
EDWARD M. THOMSON, F.R.S.C.	BENJAMIN SULTE, F.R.S.C.
F.R.S.L.	MRS. J. W. F. HARRISON.
CHARLES G. D. ROBERTS.	PROF. H. T. F. DUCKWORTH.
PROF. A. H. YOUNG.	PROF. JOHN SQUAIR.
*Deceased.	

President's Address

Owing to the press of matter this is omitted except the following. "During the year your President received a questionnaire from the Government, making close enquiries as to the record of the Society during the preceding four years, from 1918-1922.

Question three was:—What money has the Society raised or received not including balance from former year, or grant from the Government?

To this the answer was:—In 1918-19 we raised for the General Fund \$137.25; for the Memorial Fund \$308.14; for Soldiers' Comforts \$351.62, making a total of \$799.01. In 1919-20, for the General Fund \$140.51; Memorial Fund \$412.25; for Soldiers' Comforts \$262.60, making our total \$815.36. In 1920-21, General Fund receipts \$106.04; Memorial Fund \$745.87; the Soldiers' Comforts Committee disbanded, but Christmas Shower included \$39.00, making total for year \$890.91. In 1921-22, for the General Fund \$220.38; for the Memorial Fund \$931.57; the Christmas Shower for soldiers included \$31.00, making a total of \$1,182.95.

Another question related to the printing accomplished during the same period. With our reports 5 Transactions, Nos. 18-22, containing 10 papers were printed; also two Occasional Papers, reprints of original papers by one of our members, Mrs. Hallam.

Recording Secretary's Report

The Women's Canadian Historical Society during 1922-23 held seven regular meetings which have been well attended, and eight executive meetings. There were also two meetings of the Memorial Fund Committee. Seven papers and addresses were given of an historical or literary character.

November—An interesting sketch of a recent visit to England, by Miss Mickle.

December—"The Constituencies which included Toronto, and the Members thereof, in Parliament, 1792-1841". Mr. Justice Riddell.

January—A paper by Miss Bonnycastle, "Memoirs of her

grandfather," read by Miss Alice Lea. Recitation, "The Stone," Peter McArthur, by Miss Stockton.

February—"The Rebellion of 1837—The incident of the Caroline"—Rev. Canon Macnab.

March—"Trinity College—its past and future." The Provost, Rev. Dr. Saegar.

April—"The Yukon." Mr. Justice Craig.

October—"A new world singer of old world songs." Norah Holland's poetry, by Miss N. Spence.

An interesting feature of the year's proceedings was the open meeting on an evening in February, at the Royal Ontario Museum. Dr. Currelly gave a most interesting and instructive lecture on the early North American Indian.

In March the Society met at Trinity College. After Dr. Saegar's address the members were privileged to visit the delightful old chapel and the library. This historic building soon becomes city property but will, we hope, be a landmark for many years and retain its many traditions.

The annual summer outing was by the courtesy of the present owner, held at "The Anchorage," Clarkson, the quaint and beautiful cottage which was bought by Capt. Skenner, one of Nelson's officers in 1835 and completed by him, his daughter, the late Mrs. F. W. Jarvis, being one of our charter members.

In December, the usual Christmas shower for tubercular soldiers was held. Mrs. Eaton, still a devoted worker for the soldiers, was able to send gifts—games, magazines, books, knitted comforters, etc.; also \$31.00 for special needs.

New members welcomed during the year were:—Mrs. S. L. Maguire, Mrs. F. H. Brewen, Mrs. L. V. Rorke, Mrs. A. Macpherson, Mrs. A. A. Stockton, Miss Stockton, and Mrs. M. H. Murphy.

Thanks are due to Mrs. Leadbeater, as convenor and to the tea hostess.

The Society's object is "the encouragement of a study of Canadian history and literature, the collection and preservation of Canadian records and relics." With this object in view and to provide for next year's programme members are now procuring data on:—The Durham Races, The Old Fort, The French Emigrant in Canada, The Dunkers, Old Houses of Toronto, and will speak on them in the near future.

Respectfully submitted,

November 22, 1923.

HESTER SETTLE.

Corresponding Secretary's Report, 1923

The Society has continued its affiliation with the Canadian Landmarks Association under its new name, The Canadian Historical Society. Headquarters at Ottawa.

Copies of our Transactions to complete the series for the Minnesota Historical Society Library were forwarded.

Transactions were also sent to members of the Provincial Government and to our list of exchanges.

The Society deeply regrets the loss of a much beloved former President, Mrs. Forsyth Grant, who after some years of illness, passed away in November, 1923.

In the death of Mrs. Clarke-Steele, a charter member and ever an interested and willing worker, we have sustained a great loss.

The Society regrets the loss of a distinguished honorary member, the late, Very Rev. Dean Harris, who through his writings, did much for Canadian History.

List of publications received during the year:

From the United States—

1922 Report of the Librarian of Congress.

Washington Historical Quarterly.

Report of the Sixteenth Annual Conference of Historical Societies at Washington.

From the Ontario Historical Society—

1921 Report.

1922 Report and Transactions.

Papers and Records, Vol. XX.

Appendix to the Report of the Ontario Bureau of Industry.

1922 Report of the Canadian Historical Society.

The Journal of Negro History, October, 1919, presented by Hon. Mr. Justice Riddell.

An annotated and autographed copy of Spun yarn and Spindrift, by Norah Holland. Presented by Miss Nellie Spence.

A series of fourteen pamphlets issued by the Parks Commission.

ETHEL S. NEILLY.

Corresponding Secretary.

Treasurer's Report

MEMORIAL FUND 1922-1923

RECEIPTS

Balance, Nov., 1922.....	\$325 32
Tea Money (Monthly	39 30
Transactions Sold	4 66
Interest on Bonds.....	454 00
Bank Interest	5 69
Donations	140 00
Donations (Miss Mickle).....	4 46

\$973 43

EXPENDITURE

Safety Box	\$ 3 00
Can. Perm. Bond.....	600 00
Stamp for Above.....	24
V. L. Refunding Issue.....	98 25
Charge on American Cheque.....	10

\$701 59

Balance, Nov., 1923..... \$271 84

GENERAL ACCOUNT 1922-1923

RECEIPTS

Balance, Nov., 1922.....	\$231 21
Fees of Members.....	81 00
Donations	2 00
Proceeds from Picnic	15 53
Rebate (Lecture)	50
Bank Interest	4 43
Government Grant	200 00

\$534 67

EXPENDITURE

Printing, Stamps, etc.....	\$ 67 35
Flowers	10 00
Can. Hist. Ass'n.	5 00
Sherbourne House (Club and Teas).....	45 00
Tea Equipment	5 28
Lecture (Prof. Currelly)	8 00
Printing (Constitution)	10 90
Printing Transaction	97 80
	<hr/>
	\$249 33
Balance, Nov., 1923.....	<hr/>
	\$285 34

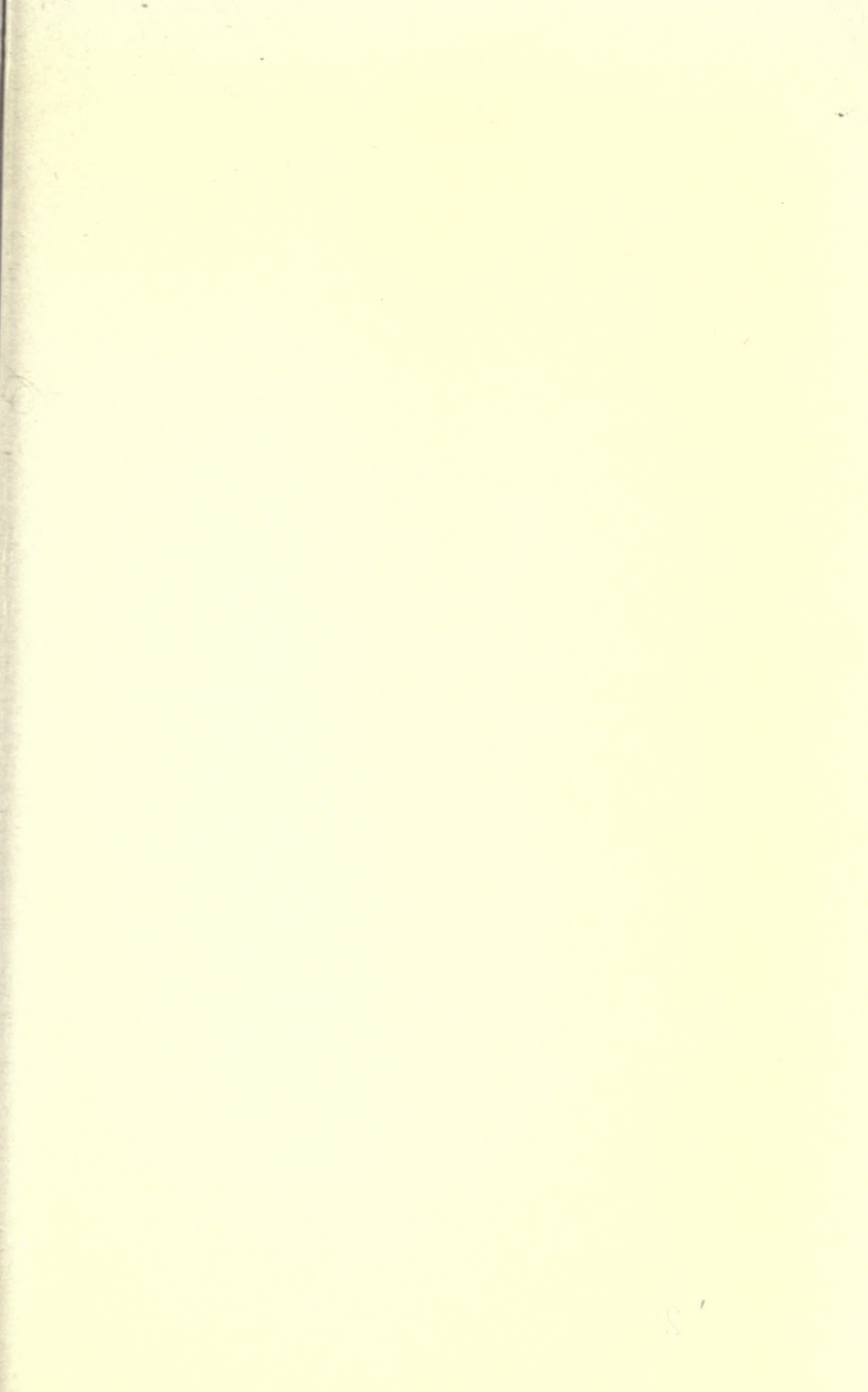
SECURITIES

Canada Permanent, War Loan, Victory Bonds	\$9,000 00
	<hr/>
	\$9,000 00

A. E. HILLS, *Hon. Treasurer*

Audited and found correct.

A. G. SMITH, *Accountant*.





MRS. FORSYTH GRANT

Transaction No. 23

Sketch of the life of Mrs. W. Forsyth Grant, President and Charter Member of the Women's Canadian Historical Society.

Mrs. Forsyth Grant was born in Toronto, being the eldest daughter of the late Honorable John Beverley Robinson, Lieut.-Governor of Ontario in the eighties, and grand-daughter of Sir John Beverley Robinson, Baronet, with whom so much of the early history of Toronto is associated.

Coming from this distinguished family of U. E. Loyalists who at all times under varied circumstances had proved themselves leaders, Mrs. Forsyth Grant, from her early youth, took a keen intelligent interest in the stirring life of the growing town, throwing much energy into educational and charitable affairs.

Many were the little illuminating talks she gave at our meetings drawn from the childish memories of inspiring events. Such as the elections, which in those early days were matters of much more personal interest and excitement than in the present time. In describing one election scene, Mrs. Grant told us how she was driven to the polls all over the town by her mother who was canvassing for her husband; who after being many times Mayor, was returned as member for Toronto in 1858 and again in 1878. How on one occasion the feeling ran so high that the family were thrown into a panic by a messenger arriving in a high state of tension, having been sent to find out where her father was, as threats of serious personal violence had been made and enemies were supposed to be lurking in Queen St. or College Ave., at that time almost a dense wood in spots, and extremely lonely.

Brought up in the charming old home, "Sleepy Hollow," a property then of unusual beauty, comprising as it did in those days vistas of hill and stream extending to McCaul St. and south to Caer-Howell, Mrs. Grant was a prominent member of Toronto Society in the early days and in odd numbers of the Canadian Magazine she has left us some charming pictures of the social life of those days when one's friends were known and seen and the motor car was not—nor Sunday trams.

In 1882, during her father's regime at Government House, then on the south-west corner of King and Simcoe Streets, she was married to Captain William Forsyth Grant, of H.M. 82nd Regiment, travelling all the way to Honolulu with her brother (now Sir John Beverley Robinson), for her happy wedding, which proved a union of almost unusual happiness to the end.

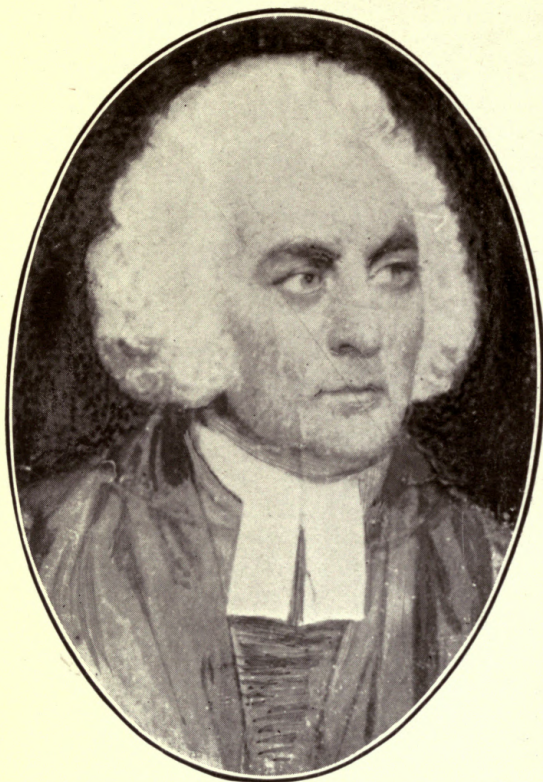
Her book on "Life in the Sandwich Islands" is a bright, most readable account of their life there during the monarchy, described with her usual piquancy and humour.

On her return after several years to Toronto Mrs. Grant became a leader in philanthropic channels. She took up work in the Relief Society of which she became President, holding that position for more than two decades, until the Society was superseded by the Social Service Commission. She was also a member of the Board of the Hospital for Incurables, and Home of Industry. She worked in the Associated Charities and held office in the Anglican W. A., being a life member, and in the United Empire Loyalist Association.

Intensely interested always in the history of her country, she was a charter member of this Society and for fourteen years its beloved President, continuously from 1908 to 1914, when she resigned. Her wonderful memory of events in Toronto's early history, her ability of presenting them with vividness and humour, made her, as ever, a capable leader.

The last time she presided at any of our meetings was in November, 1917, soon after which she found it impossible to attend to any public work and after a long tedious illness of much suffering and darkened latterly by the sudden death of her devoted husband, she entered into the fuller life on Nov. 2, 1923, greatly beloved and regretted by innumerable friends.

It is always difficult to sum up that mysterious gift of personality, to be able to point out just why anyone is so much loved and admired. One of our members perhaps expressed it when she said, "I think Mrs. Grant was the most charming woman I have ever known.



REV. SAMUEL PETERS, D.D.

Letters from the Secretary of Upper Canada and Mrs. Jarvis, to her father, the Rev. Samuel Peters, D.D.

Prefatory Note

By

PROFESSOR A. H. YOUNG,

Trinity College, Toronto.

William Jarvis, the first Grand Master of Free Masons and the first Secretary and "Register" of the Province of Upper Canada, owed this latter appointment, as other former officers of the Queen's Rangers subsequently owed theirs, to the good offices of the late Commanding Officer, Colonel John Graves Simcoe, upon his becoming the first Lieutenant-Governor of the new Province. Just when the Secretary-to-be had gone to England, after the hopelessness of the struggle of the Loyalists against the American rebels had become evident, does not appear. It is certain, however, that he and his wife, Hannah Peters, whom he married in England, arrived in Quebec, after a stormy, perillous voyage, in 1792, about the date of the formal constitution of the Government of Upper Canada, at Kingston, July 8th.

The letters printed in this volume were addressed to Mrs. Jarvis' father, the Rev. Samuel Peters, D.D., a native of the Province of Connecticut and a graduate of Yale College, who, from 1759 to 1774, had been Rector of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Hebron. He was the fourth candidate for ordination in twenty years sent over by the parish to receive orders in England at the hands of the Bishop of London, who then and till 1787 had the sole Episcopal oversight of the Colonies throughout the British Empire. The young ordinand bore a letter of recommendation from the Rev. Matthew Graves of New London, whose brother John Graves was likewise a "servant" of the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and whose own mission, apparently, had, down to 1759, included Hebron.

During Mr. Peters' sojourn in London he was so unfortunate as to contract small-pox, which moved the Society to make him a grant of £20 in order to help him meet the extraordinary expense to which he was thus put. Having been priested subsequently to May 5, 1759, he returned to Hebron as the Society's missionary, with a salary of £20, which was, in 1763, increased to £30 because of his parishioners' neglect to subscribe liberally to his support. They thought, mistakenly, that this small salary, his patrimony, and the glebe, which they had provided, ought to afford him a sufficient living.

A favourable report of the young missionary was sent home by his sponsor, Mr. Graves, in December, 1760. In 1762 the Society voted him two gratuities of £10 each for visiting voluntarily Taunton, Sharon, Norwich, Middletown, Simsbury, Glassenbury, Wallingford, and other places. At later dates Millington, Hartford, Coventry, Mansfield, Bolton, Hartland, Litchfield, Middle Haddan, and Killingsworth are mentioned as places to which he ministered.

In 1770 he tells of preaching before the Convention of the Clergy at Litchford and of sacrilege that had been committed against the Church at Hartford by "dissenters." In obedience to the suggestion, if not the command, of the Convention, he appears to have taken services more or less regularly at Hartford thereafter, making, also in 1770, a long, arduous missionary journey of nearly seven weeks, with his clerk, up the Connecticut River, over the Green Mountains, to Fort Miller, 50 miles south of Albany.

In the spring of 1767 he had referred in his letter to the Society to "the many storms and tumults in this part of America," adding, however, that his people "are so conspicuously loyal, charitable, and just, that 12 heads of families have joined the church." Yet in 1770-1771 he asked for leave to remove to Portsmouth because of their continued disregard of their financial obligations toward him.

Apparently he was one of the first Loyalist clergymen, if not the very first, to incur the displeasure of the "Sons of Liberty," by his brave, stout resistance to their rebellious proceedings. He was forced to flee in 1774, taking refuge first in Boston, Mass., and eventually in England. In England, his resources naturally becoming exhausted, he was, in 1775, voted by the Society, as a recognition of his missionary zeal and his staunch loyalty, a gratuity of 20 Guineas, "in consideration of his distressed case." In April of the same year the Society, by formal resolution, prevailed upon the willing Archbishop of Canterbury to bring the refugee's petition regarding his losses to the attention of my Lord North.

These potent influences, however, did not procure succour for him betimes or prevent him from enduring a sojourn in the Fleet as a prisoner for debt. From this unpleasant situation, the result of his steadfast adherence to the Unity of the British Empire, he was rescued by the filial piety of Mr. and Mrs. Jarvis, who, as the letters show, had financial difficulties of their own. He in turn used his utmost endeavour to forward Mr. Jarvis' petitions for redress in the matter of what the latter deemed unjust alterations of the scale of fees of office, to which, as Secretary of the Province, he had been at first entitled.

Albeit Dr. Peters was never a resident of Upper Canada, his name appeared at one time upon its list of United Empire Loyalists. He had been, in 1790-1791, recommended by Colonel Simcoe, without avail, for appointment as Bishop of Upper Canada, after having, as it was believed, been disappointed of the bishopric of Nova Scotia, in 1787. Though elected afterwards Bishop of Vermont, which, before its acceptance of the Constitution of the United States, he had tried, being misled by the Allen brothers, to bring back to the British allegiance, he failed to obtain consecration in England and in the United States.

After enjoying a pension in Great Britain, of which it is said, he was deprived through the displeasure of Pitt, he returned in 1805, to his native country to live. Being then 70 years of age, he did not resume the exercise of his clerical functions. He petitioned the Congress, unsuccessfully, for the recognition of his claim to several millions of land in the neighbourhood of St. Anthony's Falls, on the Mississippi, which he stated that he had bought from Jonathan Carver, who had derived his right from the Indians. His History of Connecticut is somewhat famous.

His death accured in New York, at the age of 91 years, on the 19th of April, 1826. He had only two children who grew to maturity, Mrs. Jarvis, the surviving offspring of his first wife, Hannah Owen, and William Birdseye, whose mother, Mary Birdseye, died some three weeks after her son's birth. Between these two wives there was a second, Abigail Gilbert, whose death took place about a fortnight after her marriage.

Mrs. Jarvis survived both her father and her husband and spent the latter part of her life at Queenston, Upper Canada (Ontario), with her daughter, Mrs. John Hamilton, a daughter-in-law of the Honourable Robert Hamilton, one of the first members of the Legislative Council of the Province. William Birdseye Peters, who was born in the year of his father's withdrawal to England, lived in Hebron with his maternal grandfather till he was fourteen or more. Then he joined his father in the Old Country and went up to the University of Oxford, subsequently studying law in London. After acting as deputy to Mr. Jarvis at Toronto, holding a commission in the regular army, in Canada, and becoming a member of the Bar of Upper Canada, he returned to the United States and ultimately settled in New Orleans or Mobile, dying in 1817, nine years before his father.

Collateral descendants of Dr. Peters are found in the Buell family and in families allied to it by marriage, Mercy Peters, his sister, having married William Buell, U.E.L., one of the founders of Brockville, Ontario.

The name Samuel Peters keeps on being handed down from generation to generation in the Jarvis family, thus keeping alive the memory of this "Suffering Loyalist" ancestor. Jarvis Street, Toronto, which, exclusive of the portion below Queen Street, runs from south to north throughout the whole length of what used to be the Secretary's "park lot," granted to him by the Crown, perpetuates this pioneer official's name. So too do many descendants of his own name, who by their naval and military service in the recent war, have lived up to the family tradition of Loyalty to the Unity of the British Empire.

Letters from William Jarvis, Secretary of Upper Canada, and Mrs. Jarvis, to the Rev. Samuel Peters, D.D.

From Wm. Jarvis to Samuel Peters, dated Montreal, June 19th, 1792.

"It gives me great pleasure to inform you that yesterday I landed all the family, they are all in good health except your daughter, whose fatigue from the excessive bad weather during the voyage has left her very weak and low, but she mends very fast indeed. They are at Mr. Doty's¹ hospitable mansion where I left them this morning to *overtake* Simcoe and the other civilians of Upper Canada before they left the town, which I affected.

We all met and dined at Mr. Gray's² (Davidson's friend). Tomorrow morning at 4 o'clock I leave them to bring my family to this place. Mr. Gray insists on bringing my family to his house to remain until we embark for Upper Canada.

"I expect to leave the greatest part of my baggage to pay freight from London, and £14 is paid for each batteau by each officer of the civil line to Kingston.

"Simcoe blames me for not bringing a screw press to apply the great seal. He says he told me but by Gad he did not. I rejoice very much at your prospect of coming out—he seems very cordial and gracious. Mr. Toosey³ was supplicating a recommendation from the clergy of Lower Canada to secure their recommendation to be consecrated but Doty opposed him and refused anything of the kind going forward and he was obliged to go to England without it. I wish you to send me one *screw press* as soon as possible, with the following articles: 3 dozen Bayler's patent shoe blacking at 6s. per doz.; *Burn's Justicia*, *Private Wrongs*, *Blackstone's Commentaries*, a pair of spurs, strong plated.

"You must pardon my not writing long as I must be up at four in the morning to travel 45 miles to join my family, and on Friday morning we leave Mr. Doty's to come to Montreal. Farewell. Your dear lambs are all well. God knows they have had many narrow

escapes for their lives. Poor Sam has not a hair on his head and all his front teeth are knocked out by the unlucky unexpected falls he met with on the ship. Dear Maria talks of you half the time and expects to meet you the moment she arrives in Canada as she calls it. My sweet Augusta has suffered much but she is far stronger and stouter than when she left England.

"We shall all be much disappointed if you do not come out this fall."

June 21, 1792—Wm. Jarvis to Samuel Peters. Sorel, L.C.:—

"Wrote you a few lines in great haste on 19th inst. at Montreal. This is the first moment my mind has been sufficiently at ease to attempt a letter since we parted with you at Gravesend.

"During the voyage I was not only very sick, at all times when the wind blew, but I with the assistance of Richard was nurse to a very sick and dangerous family to trust from our sight for a single moment; from the continual reaching and fainting, my dear Hannah and the incapability of my dear lambs to protect themselves. Miss Adlem was sick a great part of the voyage. She did her utmost to assist, but the continual gales rendered it impossible for her to stir about much. Richard has hitherto behaved as a good and faithful servant. Fanny has been from the first and still is a "perfect Devil incarnate," she was far worse than no servant during the voyage, she insisted on being treated as a young lady, and "then she would treat her mistress as such," etc., etc. I will not preface any longer but give you the occurrences that happened on the voyage.

April 13th—Dropped down to the Downs.

14th—At sea, with a fair wind; as we passed Dover wind headed us which obliged us to drop anchor, which in letting go killed one of our goats.

15th—At sea with a good offing. 18th, a gale of wind ahead which obliged us to lash the helm and drove us back to the Scilly lights; the gale suddenly abated or God only knows the fate we were shortly to experience. The wind was very light, sometimes fair, at others foul until the 30th, when we were overtaken by a most dreadful gale at N.E. We could not even brave it, tho' fair, it was so violent that but one small sail could be set. The gale lasted till the 4th of May. The mate, a very worthy man, was taken ill the day the gale began, his berth was in the passage leading from the cabin to the deck. No fire could be kept lighted to warm him or any sustenance, and on the evening of the 4th his eyes closed with the day and his exit announced by his groans ceasing; this was a time to apply the old proverb, "Every man for himself and God for us all."

9th—Another gale of wind which required the helm to be lashed and put away before it.

13th—This was an uncommon day, it was the first day we could hold our plates on the table with one hand and were at liberty to eat with the other. The weather was fair from this till the 18th, which put us in great spirits, but alas before the evening of the 18th we found ourselves near the Grand Banks and surrounded with islands of ice from Hudson Bay and the deck covered with ice and snow. In fact I never suffered with cold so much in my life. The ice was in pieces from the size of our long boat to islands of 5 or 6 leagues in circumference. Before the day closed it blew a most severe gale and at the setting of the sun we found our position to be a perilous one and knew not which way to steer to extricate ourselves, as the islands appeared on every side. All hands were placed on deck and about 20 soldiers to assist the seamen in case she struck, which we momentarily expected and there was little prospect of salvation in case she had struck from the violence of the wind. Therefore I went as quickly as I could to bed, and concealed our danger from the rest of my family.

19th—The wind abated but we still found ourselves with frigid mountains, and the sea running high. The wind gradually abated until the morning of the 22nd when the most violent gale the Atlantic ever experienced arose from the N.W. It drove us to the southward of the ice in quick time, and the ship half the day dipping her yard arms in the sea. We shipped many heavy seas which made her stagger and about five in the evening the ship began to yield to the sea and the waves fell frequently and heavily on her decks. At six the *skylight on the quarter deck was stove in by the sea* and water fell in the cabin through the skylight; at 8 p.m., we received a still more powerful sea which forced open the gun port opposite the state-room where I had just placed in your daughter's small berth her three children and Miss Adhem to pass a wretched night! The ship was knocked upon her beam ends; I was sitting like a sentinel (which was strictly my case the whole voyage) at your daughter's door, when the first knowledge I had of the catastrophe, I found my head through the panel on the opposite side of the cabin and lying upon half a dozen gents and servants, where we had all been thrown. The ship gradually righted and I hastened to my post and found my dear prisoners nearly drowned with at least a ton of water they had received in their bed and not a dry thread on one of my family or their bed and blankets. I got assistance and placed a dry blanket under and another over them, but they were obliged to pass the night in their wet clothes, but from this moment the storm abated and about 12 midnight, Capt.

Shanks, little Sam any myself threw some wet blankets on the cabin floor, where we finished an awful night.

All this your daughter supported with uncommon fortitude, seemed perfectly sensible of our danger and made me the bold proposal "*That we should all go together and not attempt a boat.*" Her lips trembled and her voice faltered when she spoke it, but her courage was invincible. My feelings can better be conceived than described. Next morning when I went on deck I found the quarter deck had been swept of all the coops, with Juno and her six puppies, the pigs gone and in fact a perfect wreck on deck. We are in some measure compensated for the loss of our stock, by the quantities of fine cod that we took in abundance on the Banks.

Till the 30th the wind was rather calm and sometimes fair. The same day we spoke the "Harmony," which had been out a week longer than ourselves. The day following we made the Island of St. Pauls and the same day approached Cape Ray. The next night we met with a thunder gust which obliged us to put to sea again. About four days after got into the Gulph of St. Lawrence in a thick fog. The pilot by mistake ran into Bonaventure Bay; when the fog cleared away he saw a fishing boat standing toward us, who informed us that they had picked up 12 men, being part of an unfortunate ship's crew, that struck upon one of the islands of ice the same day that we found ourselves in that perilous situation on the Grand Bank. The next day we put to sea again feasting ourselves upon the fish we had taken in Bonaventure Bay; we nearly covered our decks in a couple of hours.

9th—We found ourselves off Beak and were here joined by the "Harmony" again, the country from Beak gradually mends till you reach the Island of Orleans near Quebec, which is beautiful and seems as regularly laid out as a garden in England..

On the 11th we were at anchor off Quebec, the wind being strong and fair. We had time only to hasten ashore and report ourselves and get on board again. Shanks, Littlehales⁴ and myself first waited upon the Lieut.-Gov. who received us most hospitably and wished it had been convenient for us to have dined with him, but he frankly told us that the wind we now had had better be taken advantage of as the season was advancing. From the Governor's we waited on the Prince (Duke of Kent) who received us most graciously and asked us a lot of questions and seemed to know us all as well as if he had been most intimately acquainted with us. I then went to the Secretary's office to receive some instructions from Mr. Pownal⁵ but found he had gone to Montreal. Before I could reach the wharf I was sent for and stopped by so many people that the ship was under weigh

before I could get on board. Major Holland, the Surveyor General, sent for me and received me most affectionately and pressed me to bring my family and stay a few days at his house; he enquired very affectionately after "his old friend Peters," etc. Mr. Purdy sent for me also but I could not accept his invitation from this time till the 18th.

We moved slowly toward Montreal. I landed a league and a half below the town of Sorel and walked up to see Mr. Doty's family whom I found in perfect health and comfortably settled. Mr. and Mrs. Doty insisted upon the family all coming ashore and after dinner provided calashes and fetched them all out to the ship. Their little hearts rejoiced at the approach of land and when they found themselves safe landed they were perfectly mad. Little Maria took hold of my hand and said, "Now Papa I would be glad if you would show me my grandpapa and my uncle, I want to see them very much." Poor little soul, the affection that her countenance betrayed was too much to withstand. Sam ran off into the meadows instantly and had twenty tumbles in the grass which was nearly up to his chin, before we could catch him. Augusta's joy was by no means the least of the family.

We stayed at Mr. Doty's until the 22nd when we embarked on a batteau for Montreal which Mr. Gray had the goodness to send over for us. 24th we arrived at Montreal where we were most cordially received by Mr. John Gray, the particular friend of Mr. Davidson; his generosity and hospitality exceeds anything I have ever met with; his whole house at our disposal and flowing with milk and cream and strawberries for my lambs.

Dear Maria often stuffs herself till her "shoes pinch her under her stays" and Mr. Gray's table for the rest of us is fit for a Prince to partake of. When you arrive I request you will pay your respects to him as soon as possible, for I assure you his friendship deserves far greater acknowledgment than I am capable of giving. They have long had a report that you are consecrated Bishop of Canada. Doty is much your friend and says he continued writing to you 2 years after you dropped his correspondence. He seems much hurt at your neglect. They supplied us with everything to eat and drink on our way in the batteau to Montreal.

28th—We embarked at Lachine for Kingston * * * Col. Simcoe has ordered a regiment to proceed with all despatch to Niagara, himself with the civil establishment are to stop for some time in Kingston; Osgoode informed me he was to open *his first court*. Mrs. Simcoe is to spend the winter in Kingston, which I expect will be the case with my family, from the accounts I have heard from Kingston, I would wish to go no further up the country. Thompson Peters says that

many people will emigrate from Connecticut if *you come out to Canada* but not otherwise; that they have an idea you will make them all priests and deacons in the wilderness.

There is no peace established between the Americans and the Indians, a treaty seems on foot and our Montreal *friend* I believe to be the mediator. *Sir John Johnston*^b is selling off all his furniture in this country and going to England in a very few days, in a very *great pet with the Minister*. Mr. Gray has sent up to inform us that our letters must be instantly sealed. Maria says, I "*must tell grandpapa what a good child I am and that he must come and see me*"; and truly she is a good child.* * * My love to Bird and you shall hear from me again soon. * * *

Kingston, July 15th, 1792—My time is so occupied that I have but time to say a few words. Your daughter is writing and will give you all our affairs. I must beg you to send me out this autumn 50 skins of parchment, also 50 weight of beeswax for the great seal; there is no more to be had here or in Lower Canada. I have been very busy since my arrival here writing Proclamations. It has been my ill luck to be obliged to copy so many in manuscript; the one at this moment in hand contains 11 sheets of foolscap. To-morrow they go to Montreal for the press, yet I have had to prepare 8 copies in manuscript. I shall direct my worthy friend John Gray to send you one of each by the first ship. The worst cheese is 15d. per lb. Can you send me some? If you could send us a small cask of tongues and hams it would be very acceptable, but let them be good. If you come to us as no doubt you will in the course of next winter you must send forward your cheese as it was principally your living when we were with you.

We are anxious to hear from you, not one word since we left Gravesend from any of you. My lambs often fetch tears from me when they talk of old times. Maria, in particular, dear rogue, often when she finds we have a moment's leisure, jumps on my knee and throws her arms about my neck and says, "Come papa do let us go home," and then enumerates all her dearest friends. Sam is like a young "Mohawk," very tall and straight and saucy; he compares his head to a hair brush, which since his hair has been cut off is of the same length. Little Augusta, sweet soul, is all life and spirits and rude health and as great a talker as any of them.

In October we look for an addition to our family before which I hope to be comfortably settled in Niagara where we go in about 10 days. No house in Niagara. I understand the Rev. Mr. Addison passed through Kingston for his mission but a week before we arrived, till when he had been at Quebec. For God's sake try and bring

out a servant or two with you, the whole country cannot produce one fit to put in "Hell's Kitchen." All kinds of provisions and vegetables are very dear; beef, mutton, etc., 5d. per pound; chickens 2s. 6d. per couple. All kinds of corn look more luxuriantly here than I ever saw them before. Wheat, the 8th and 9th crop on the same ground without manure, is a man's height and not less than 40 bushels to the acre. * * *

Hannah Jarvis to her Father, dated Kingston, Aug. 25th, 1792:—

I am this moment at a loss why I have not received a word from you since I left London. Not a word from anyone but Mr. Davidson who mentions your having wrote, do not trust your letters to private hands, their inattention to delivery is intolerable. Direct all letters to the care of Mr. John Gray, Montreal, who will send them to us. If you come to Montreal you will find him an obliging friendly young man. Mr. Jarvis wishes you to direct such things as you send to us or to the Governor through us, to his care. He returned from Niagara yesterday at which place he has been obliged to purchase a log hut and half an acre of land at the price of £140 York currency, and bought the logs to enlarge it for his family, which he expects will be finished in about three weeks; we shall then have five rooms and two garrets, including the kitchen. He says there are plenty of frogs and streaked snakes and some rattlesnakes. We leave this place on the 28th or 29th for Niagara where Mr. Jarvis is obliged to be by the 11th of September when the Assembly meets. Mr. White the Attorney-General is chosen Assemblyman from this county. Capt. Russell⁷ has purchased a house at Niagara of two rooms for £60.

Sam was disappointed a day or two since. I told him his uncle was come; he asked "If grandpapa was come too", I answered "No." He came home from school in great haste and when he entered the room he looked at his Uncle Seymour and colored as red as fire and said, "you told me Uncle Bird was come"; but I mentioned Uncle only. Mr. Jarvis cannot write but desires his love, is obliged to get the things aboard ship this day. You shall hear from us again when we arrive at Niagara.

Hannah and Wm. Jarvis, dated Kingston, Aug. 30th, 1792. By Seymour Jarvis who is going to New York I send the July receipts from Mr. Jarvis and self. (Note—This alludes to a certificate from Governor Simcoe stating that William and Hannah Jarvis are alive; so as to enable Dr. Peters to draw a pension or an allowance of £50 which it seems they had assigned to him. Many of these certificates still exist.) We are waiting for a fair wind to sail for Niagara, the Governor was ill on Sunday evening the 26th, at which time the Prince

(the Duke of Kent) left that place. I have just heard that the Line Packet has arrived at Quebec, by Capt. Russell, who received a letter by her. We have not received one line from you since we left the Downs. Many things have come out by the Scipio such as ploughs, shares, cart-hubs, etc., and almost everything by her damaged, the Governor's coach rotten and sold; sold for the benefit of the underwriters. We anxiously await for letters. Miss Adlem wishes much to know her fate.

Undated Letter. I was in hopes before this time to have given you more satisfactory accounts of our new city. We are still a roving tribe of Israelites, or whatever you please to call us. Col. Simcoe has fixed on Niagara as his Headquarters for two years to come. I have been there and was ten days in search of a *hut* to place my poor wife and lambs in without success; at length I was obliged to pay £140 for a log hut with 3 rooms (two of which are very indifferent) with half an acre of ground. I have purchased logs to make an addition to my hut, which will add a decent room to the first purchase. Col. Simcoe is at present very unwell at Niagara and if he has a good shake with the ague I think it will be but justice for his manners in dragging us from this comfortable place to a spot on the globe that appears to me as if it had been deserted in consequence of a plague. Neither age nor youth are exempt from fever and ague in Niagara. How will it go with my poor souls?

Osgoode I expect will refuse wintering at Niagara; also the Attorney-General. Our Assembly are to meet on the 12th of next month, and a motley crew they are. After the Assembly is prorogued, the Col. and his suite are to go to Toronto, a city-hunting. I hope they will be successful for I am sick unto death of roving, it really seems as if we were never to stop again.* * * Lake Ontario is very boisterous navigation. I was very near being lost on the 15th inst going to Niagara, and I really believed I had been preserved on the Atlantic to be buried on this lake.

We are distressed and astounded at not having letters from England at this late period. * * * It is impossible that everything should be right or we should have heard from some of our friends in England. I hope the next news to hear that your business is settled to your wishes. People here only live from hand to mouth as if they were to be gone to-morrow.

We have no printer yet, I am still a slave; we have no table of fees established yet, therefore I can make no charge, only book them to be exacted in future. I am very uneasy for fear you have more on your hands of my affairs than you can well manage with convenience to yourself.

Sept., 1792. The Governor seems more intent on city hunting than the organization of the Province. The Prince left us this morning for Quebec, to the joy of all parties. The town was most liberally illuminated last evening in honour of His Royal Highness. Candles are so scarce a commodity that I did not follow the example of my neighbours. I have been obliged to draw upon John Gray of Montreal for my half year's salary to cover our heads this winter, it is not using you well but what could I do? there is not even a shed to hire. I fear the Loyalists are all lost and would give the world for a few lines from you; hard times by "Heaven"; we will hope for a change for the better. Your daughter has good health and better spirits; my dear babes are in rude health and grown quite out of your knowledge.

When you come to this country make a bonfire of your baggage; and you will do a prudent thing and save money.

Since we wrote last Fanny married to a Sergeant Bausneap of the Queen's Rangers (about one month since). The day before yesterday she provoked him to shoot himself through the heart with a soldier's musket at Niagara.

(A great sorrow befell the Jarvis' in the death of their son Samuel, who was taken suddenly ill on Oct. 10th when out with his father and died on the 19th of October, aged five years, seven months and 26 days. The letters giving an account of this are perhaps too poignant to be printed, but in their deep and overwhelming sorrow the thoughts of the bereaved parents turned to the kind father so far away.)

Niagara, Oct. 25th, 1792, *William Jarvis writes*: "I think I have answered your letter fully respecting my amounts left unpaid in London, for God's sake do manage them and come to us in the Spring. * * * If you have any regard for your children you will come to us early in Spring. I wish not to live in this country without you and life would be insupportable for your daughter without you; we have plenty to live on without the mitre; therefore I conjure you to come and be happy with us.

Oct. 25th and 26th, *the daughter writes*: Uncle Bernslee a welcome guest delivered your thrice welcome letter of May 8th to me on the 13th (Oct.). This is the first information we have had of or from you—for my part I never expected to hear from you again on earth. My thoughts were with you day and night, you seemed to me living, dead, sick, well, in short I saw you every way. I blamed myself for leaving you. * * * For God's sake and your children's sake come from a place of war and tumult and live and be a comfort to your children who cannot find comfort without your presence and consolation. * * * Then follows a long, heart-broken account of the death of their dear

child who was attended by Dr. McCauley and a Dr. Burnes and at whose funeral the Rev. Mr. Stuart of Kingston officiated, "Mr. Addison attending." She continues: "It has been a sickly season out here and a deadly one to children, so much so that there is scarcely a child left in the fort the other side of the river and numbers have died here. Maria is ill but Augusta is well and a lovely babe, come and partake of her pretty prattle, she will amuse you much—all mischief, all good nature. Come then, dear, dear Father, solace your afflicted children by your presence. Poor Bill cannot write you more than on business, his heart is almost broken. * * * Without you come to comfort us it will be out of the power of me, or any person to reconcile him to this country. Pray come, do not let us be refused, we shall be happy on bread and water with your company, without it miserable. * * * Bernslee says you intend to see us in the Spring; the information I feel and trust and hope shall keep up my spirit until you arrive. Do not disappoint me, as you love your children, come to them that they may nurse you and you comfort them with your company and advice. We can live here without the "Mitre," being placed more pleasingly than we were, but only let us live together; leave a place where discord has begun her reign, once surely is sufficient for man to feel the weight of her hand; then let us retire with Harmony into the wilderness and live and love each other.

After some business directions concerning the house they had left in England, she writes: "Fanny has left me and gone to the dogs. Crossed the lake with one of the sergeants of the Rangers, and prevailed on him to marry her; then provoked him to shoot himself before her face. She now lives at a Mr. Hamilton's, a servant, how long it will last I cannot say. I shall take the liberty not to deliver to her or to Richard the prayer-books, as she has left me and he has turned out a drunkard and so very insolent that I think Mr. Jarvis must, in his own defence, part with him, or keep no servant in the house, from Richard's treatment of them, and he has one already, but rum dear rum is his idol. Miss Adlem returns her thanks for your attention in this as well as former things.

I left with you an exact account of all my bills due, that come under my care, with the last weekly bill of each tradesman, and my correction upon them in figures; I mentioned the bladders which I supposed you had forgot; they were for tying down my pickles and jellies for the voyage to prevent the air from spoiling them; they came to the amount demanded, etc. As to the window-glass you took the number of panes cracked and broken on our entering the house, owing to Mr. Hartley's insolence on the same subject.

In answer to your caution about living with economy, I can assure you that we have determined and do practice as much as in our power (frugality). We dress not, see no company and go nowhere. I have not been out of the house since I arrived in this place, but once, that was for a walk of one hundred yards, to call on Mr. Addison; at Kingston drank tea out three times only and had no company except the Governor and lady who came in one evening when we were at tea. Mr. Jarvis was obliged to buy a house (as the Governor would not quit Niagara) and pay £140 for it, to which he has added three rooms of logs, that we shall be able to get into in the course of a fortnight or three weeks. He could not hire but at the expense of £40 per year for three rooms and a cock-loft for which reason he thought it more advisable to do what he has done. The £40 house was in the edge of the wood, two miles from any house and of course from any market and without any conveniences belonging to it, as I mentioned in former letters.

Concerning white oak stairs Mr. Jarvis has not had time to make any enquiries about them but is of opinion that the expense of having them made and taken down the communication will far exceed their value, labour being so immensely dear, a dollar and a half per day is the usual price for a man, or if you have him by the month eight dollars and find them with victuals. A woman servant the lowest is 2½ dollars per month from that to 12 dollars; I have two girls to whom I give 7 dollars a month. They are willing, good-natured girls but not acquainted with doing their work as I have been used to; I am under the necessity of following them constantly, yet I complain not, because they do as well as they know how.

As to your advice to live in harmony with *all* men, I hope we have practiced it tho' with no little mortification in many instances. I realize the friendship of the two S—as no way essential to our future happiness, the malice of the one may be his own downfall in the end.

Mr. Jarvis is so much respected here that he can get anything which others find difficulty in procuring sufficient to support their families; he can borrow when others cannot buy which makes them very angry.

Addison is not far from us and seems out of humour with himself and all the world; he seems to think he is still in London, where tradesmen are reckoned nil, but here they are the first people. I fear he will not find this out until too late for his own comfort.

You are to act as you think best for Mr. Jarvis with the Society. I well remember to have heard Mr. Jarvis say on coming home one day that he had paid Mr. Smith for Governor Simcoe's things and what you mention of Bird's being with him and sent for bill of

parcels, also I remember; as to anything further on that subject I know not.

I could wish you to send me a saddle for a horse of fourteen hands high. The harness you mention to have sent Uncle Bernslee says he is sure it is not sent; when we receive the things I will give the particulars of them.

Bernslee leaves to-morrow for Kingston, from whence he expects to go to Toronto, to settle the Loyalists. He has met with much trouble in getting up the communication about his goods, several parcels being left in Montreal—two of crockery, and his potash kettle. I fear I may forget to inform you that there is a post established once a fortnight through the Geneva country from hence to New York, therefore I request you to write by every opportunity. T. P. left Kingston the same time as we did in great anger that he had not got a place of three hundred a year and as bitter towards you vowing vengeance to take care of himself at your expense. I think him an ungrateful young man and a rebel as strong as his Uncle John; he is not fit for any place in my opinion, still had he had patience he would have had a place—a clerk of the House of Assembly. However I am not sorry he is gone for he was an eternal plague to Mr. Jarvis and his clerks, causing him to have leaves cut out of the book after being wrote upon, prying into everything, private or public. I will never forgive him for his flings at you; had he said anything against me I should not have cared but he touched me as well as Mr. Jarvis on a fine thread when he fell at you. My own blood cannot forget such things.

Bernslee wishes me to inform you that he is fearful he cannot write to you at this time, and that if he does not you must not expect to hear till he is settled at Toronto or some other place, also to let you know that Mr. Clark, Commissioner of Montreal, would not suffer his things to come on unless he paid £45 Halifax cr. for the Batteaux and had he not met with Mr. John Gray, who was so civil to us, he could not have got anything forwarded. Others who had more baggage were suffered to proceed with all theirs free. Mr. Jarvis by mere accident saw the list, and thinking he would want a friend sent a letter to Capt. Lethbridge^s who knew you and me in London and now commanding officer at Kingston, to assist him as much as possible, without which he says he knows not what he should have done, his things must have lain out of doors. He asks if his things were not marked to go at the King's expense until they arrived at their destined haven.

Mr. Jarvis has appointed John Peters his deputy at Prince Edward which I hope will be something in his pocket. He bears an excellent character in all respects—he is a favorite in the family.

Should you come by way of Montreal fail not I pray you to go to Mr. John Gray and request that he would get some gentleman to accompany you up the communication; if you do not you will be obliged to stop where the Canadians please, which shall be always in the woods, where there is nothing to be had; otherwise you will sleep every night in the best houses the country affords, and be comfortable. * * * John Peters spoke to Mr. Jarvis about the team, but the expense would be great to get it from the Bay of Quinte as you may judge by freight being 50s. per ton from Kingston to this. The table of fees brought by Mr. Jarvis were not from the Treasury but from Mr. Stokes, consequently no authority for this country. A screw press is greatly wanted for the great seal, ought to have come by us. * * *

I know not what you mean by the smoothing glasses “creating repentance,” their meaning is nothing more or less than to serve instead of a mangle, when silk stockings and gowns are washed. * * * We needed not your words to convince us of your will toward us in point of assistance; but the greatest you can afford us, is in giving us your company. * * *

We had a letter from Mr. Emerson yesterday wherein he makes mention of the news having arrived by way of New York of your consecration; I pray it may be true. Mr. Jarvis has a fourth of a township called Hope. He has spoken for a township for you and Bird and received for answer he shall have the first that shall be granted on the lake or Toronto, but wishes you could come and fix on the spot yourself. The ship and Bernslee are going.

Adieu, in hopes of a speedy meeting.

Your faithful daughter, etc.

Niagara, October 26, 1792.—*Hannah Jarvis to Birdseye Peters.* I am much pleased at your improvement, continue to do the same, be dutiful to your father, love him, please him, amuse him, keep up his spirits. Play cards and backgammon with him, amuse him, keep up his nurse him with the attention of a dutiful and fond child, you know not his value nor ever will till you lose him, which God spare his life to us. I have been miserable about him ever since we parted, on account of his health and on account of Mr. Jarvis' affairs, we have fretted for fear of delay of bills and that he might meet with trouble on that account. I was distressed for the bite you got, am happy it was no worse.

Indeed there is ample scope for new ideas, but at present I possess none. I am not in spirits for drawing funny pictures or giving descriptions of any thing, my heart is almost broken and Mr. Jarvis frets himself almost to death. * * * Unless my father comes and that soon he will not stay here. Oh how I long to see him and you. * * *

I am grieved to find such disturbance reigns in England; God preserve my dear father and you my dear boy from any evil or from falling into the hands of mobs, come from there as soon as possible and let us not experience a second rebellion.²² Take care of yourself and my dear father. The ship and Uncle Bernslee are off.

Newark, Nov. 18, 1792. Mr. Jarvis to his father-in-law. On the 15th inst. your daughter was put to bed of a fine and promising child, it is a son; both mother and child are unusually well. Mrs. Jarvis has not the least fever and a pretty good appetite, tho' too cautious to take anything except a cup of tea or gruel. Dr. McCauley attends her. * * * She is very comfortably placed in a large room in the new part of my house which with unremitting perseverance I got ready for her reception. * * * She is in the green bed that you used to lay in, and the large Turkey carpet under her; the bed stands in the middle of the room to prevent the possibility if there should be any damp in the walls from leaving any effect; I have been thus particular to relieve your natural anxiety. * * *

Mrs. Simcoe does not keep the plates, she called the day before your daughter went to bed. The trunk of Simcoe's I have received much damaged, etc. The harness you mentioned sending I cannot learn of. * * * Send me some chain traces for 4 horses; harness also for the same number. I have also received my darling boy's * * * The distress of my mind cannot be conceived; in the death of my son I have lost the pride and ambition of my heart. You must come to us in the spring, come by way of New York. A fig for the mitre! You want it not, you have a sufficiency—I intend the infant shall bear up the name of his brother—I have the pleasure to inform you the Governor has perfectly recovered from his late alarming illness, and looks like himself once more, he called yesterday to say I must live with him until your daughter got up again.

The spot for our Capital is yet undetermined on—Toronto I expect will be the place.

The Governor has told me you shall have a township but he wishes you to choose for yourself.

I wish you would bring me out a servant man with you. Richard has turned out a perfect sot, always drunk when he can get rum; and insolent beyond anything I have ever seen; he thinks nothing of kicking

the servant maids; with a number of things equally distressing if not worse.

Your daughter sends her duty and my little lambs both a kiss for Grandpapa and Uncle Birdseye. Augusta is fatter and more rosy than her sister. My love to Bird. Adieu.

Mr. Jarvis. Niagara, Nov. 25, 1792. Your favor of the 5th July we received yesterday. I am particularly happy in informing you that your daughter and child are both uncommonly stout for the time since the increase of my family. The boy is very large and in good health, this is the ninth day of his admission, I have not the same feeling for him that I had for his brother. * * *

All the books sent out by the Society were rotten before they reached the Governor—I saw them yesterday—the whole of which are not worth a penny. The Scipio (the ship on which they came out) had the hatches drove open in a storm and almost all the cargo ruined. * * * For God's sake come to us in the Spring, as early as possible, you must come, or we will be totally miserable, on your account. We want for nothing else that this world affords, we should all be together once more, and I hope never to part. * * *

I have made out commissions to the following gents, who have been appointed by the Governor, and recommended for confirmation to the Treasury. Mr. David William Smith is reg. to act as Surveyor-General; Captain R. England to be naval officer in Upper Canada; Edward Baker Littlehales (Brigade Major) Clerk of the Council. All of whom have been superceded by the Treasury (viz.) Smith by a son of Major Holland, Surveyor-General, Lower Canada; Littlehales by Small who resides at Kingston this winter; England by De Castro, a Spaniard, who arrived here this day. * * *

Mrs. Jarvis. Newark, Jan. 15, 1793. By favor of Mr. Wilcox who is going to Ireland by way of New York, I write this to inform you we are in good health. My dear little girls and boy are well, he grows very fast, begins to take notice.

Still we wish for your company; our spirits cannot recover their gaiety; we are grown so grave that Birdseye would say we were old married folk. I have no wish for any amusement; I have been to two of the Assemblies and am to attend on the 18th at the Governor's Ball, the Queen's birth-night. The first I went to was to endeavor to alleviate Mr. Jarvis' grief and my own, the latter I was obliged to attend politically. * * * we shall have no drawing room until the King's birthday.

Our printer has got his press up and commenced printing but nothing public as yet; a paper^o is expected to be weekly printed and is most likely to begin after the 18th.

The 27th of December the Grand Master* (free Masons) was installed in great form, a procession of all the Fraternity called with music playing, etc. Mr. Addison, Grand Chaplain, a young brother made that morning, read prayers and preached a sermon after which there was a dinner.

There has been a Council of the Six Nations held here for a week past. This morning they met to determine about some lands they wanted, Joseph Brant at their head; but the Governor and they could not agree; the grant was made out, the great seal affixed, but the Indians rejected it; they were not to dispose of any part of the land therein specified, but among themselves; this they do not like. Now they have agreed to have a grand council in the Spring; of *every individual who has a voice*—before the Spring communication is opened with England and the Six Nations, the result of which will be sent to the King for his approbation, or his disapprobation.

Captain Brant dined with us on 13th, the first time I ever spoke to him. I saw him at the Assembly, the Thursday before, for the first time.

Our Winter is not yet begun, we have had no snow to lay more than a day or two. We have been out in the sledge two days running, once or twice we ventured out and returned on dry or rather on muddy ground. We went on the 13th to the lodge or Assembly on a sly where no snow had been for a week and the clay is so soft a state as to receive a wheel of a chaise half way to the axle tree. The weather is so very mild at this time that we might be without a fire was it not for fear of taking cold. I have not had any chilblains this winter, I have not clothed any other way than I have been in London, What little I have seen of the place, was it well cleared, would make some of the most beautiful spots in the world. The river Niagara for seven miles which I have seen, affords a delightful prospect. A place called four mile creek, on the side of the lake was it in England would be a place worthy the king's notice; it meanders in a manner superior to any stream I ever saw; there is a grist mill upon it and the family that it belongs to are Dutch. We have received more attention than could be expected from them. As soon as Mrs. Servos understood that I was an American (i.e., Loyalist) she sent me lard and sausages, pumpkins, Indian meal, squashes, potatoes, carrots, etc., etc. I have been to see them and they seem highly pleased and say we shall come to see you because you are not particular. I had them here to dinner on the 27th. Captain McKay lives in their house and seems much pleased with his situation. You cannot think how much it seems to please them when we "condescend" as they say to go and

* William Jarvis.

see them. I soon found that their eyes were fixed on me as an American to know whether I was proud or not. Mrs. McCauley and I have gained the character of being the plainest dressed women in Newark. Mr. Jarvis begs his duty to you, will send a remittance of one hundred and fifty pounds, his half year's salary; is much concerned that he cannot send you more, fearing that you may think him neglectful of you.

He has done business to the amount of £100 but the want of a regular established table of fees, has received none; they stand charged on his books until such table be forthcoming. He has been at a good deal of expense with his house. *He does not draw rations* as we expected for himself and family, consequently is obliged to furnish everything for his family. He has purchased two ponies, one a Frenchman and the other a Spaniard, who draw water, wood, hay and straw, and has got a harness very smart, part of ropes, the rest of leather; (also) a cow and an old sow with seven pigs, the latter sell here for a dollar each. He has a thousand things to say to you but cannot write. * * * We long much to hear from you and know if your business is concluded upon. I have not heard from you since the 1st of August, better than five months, every moment seems an age. Anxiety is my constant companion. Mr. Jarvis says he will take up the money you laid out for Mrs. Simcoe here if agreeable to you and send you bills, by which means he will be enabled to pay those that he deals with here.

I hope you have not experienced any difficulty by us not sending sooner to you. I hope the money sent by Marson was not too late, that it was in time not to drive you to any fresh difficulties. Mrs. Simcoe has returned so I stand indebted for it. The seat of Government is still unfixed, the Governor has been up to the head of the lake—likes the country much, is going very soon to Detroit and I fear expects Mr. Jarvis to go with him having told him some time since, that he must go with him; but Bill understood not till Spring and now he finds his mistake. My dear Maria will soon commence to work, then I must petition you for thimbles of the white bath metal and a pound or two of pins, etc., etc.

How is Miss Savage, my love to her. Tell her there is more profession of dress in an Assembly than I ever saw in London. We Londoners think they must suffer greatly under the load of finery that stands piled upon them, for it literally stands; feathers, not an inch of them lost in fixing them in or on their caps. * * * The flowers grow very well, are placed in the best room in punch glasses on one of our card tables. * * *

My dear Father let me see you soon. I think there is not any that would tempt me to cross the Atlantic again, but the happiness of seeing you and two or three more. Come to us, let me have the satisfaction of nursing you, perhaps you now stand in need of a fond daughter's assistance, excuse me, I cannot quit the subject. I dare not think. Come sweet hope and take thy place between me and grief and keep off despair. Methinks I hear you say I will come to you be of good cheer my children; with this comfortable thought I will bid you good-night. May the blessing of Heaven attend you. Adieu.

Herewith you will receive the first of exchange drawn by Mr. Jarvis in your favor, with the Governor's certificate also for him and me for pension. The enclosed letter Mr. Jarvis begs you to seal and deliver yourself or Bird. Mr. Jarvis desires me to say that he finds everything very easy in his office. Mr. Osgoode is very kind in sending his assistants. I have enclosed you two locks of hair, the darkest is what I last cut; if you would let it be put in the back of your miniature it would be adding to my obligations, in what device you may think proper or in any other way. Adieu. Love and duty attend you all!

Wm. Jarvis, Jan. 22, 1793. Mr. Joshua Pell has just called on his way to New York and has given me a moment to write, and enclose a second exchange on Mr. Goddard the Provincial Agent, the first was forwarded a few days since by Mr. Wilcox for £150 sterling. We are all well, the little ones daily talking of you and their uncle. We shall expect you in the Spring, fail not I pray you, I have scarce any other wish in the world. I have nothing more to lose nor have strength or spirit left scarcely to support nature. My best respects attend all my old friends, farewell.

Wm. Jarvis, Niagara. I am very sorry I am not able at present to give you a longer letter. I am compelled even to write this by your brother Bernslee. * * * (Letter deals with a dispute over transportation in which proceeding had been threatened against Mr. Jarvis.) "I believe I must be under the necessity of giving him a bill for one of the batteaux on you." The sickness and distress of my family have driven me to a very great and unexpected expense. First my blessed little Sammy was seized with a fever * * * what with distress of mind and watching him day and night, I was seized with the fever and ague. My boy was in the arms of death, I was advised by McCauley and called in all the medical people in consultation and in consultation they saved him. Maria was then seized with the same fever, just as the darling boy was able to be carried about the room. Maria's symptoms grew very alarming * * * (but) God heard my prayer and saved

my child who was scarcely able to walk across the room when I was put to bed of the same fever which lasted me three weeks. * * * It is but three days since I could walk without the assistance of your daughter. I have been once on horseback and my appetite has returned ten-fold keener than ever, but my legs are like walking sticks, and the rest in proportion; thus my dear and best friend you see how I am distressed in mind, body and estate. * * *

As to politics I'll write none, you know my sentiments, why would you break our hearts to take your leave of us. I feel for your treatment poignantly; yet can you tear yourself from the most affectionate of daughters in the world, the best wife and the best mother that the sun ever shone upon. How can you resist flying to dear Maria, who never lays her head on her pillow without mentioning her dear Grand-papa. And little Pickel joins in the conversation though she remembers little of what she lost in him, and little Sonny (for so he is called) is a lovely boy to be sure. Maria I fear was not born to live among mortals, etc. I must lay down my pen for I am ready to drop from my chair, this is my first effort.

(The Right Rev. Joseph Mountain was consecrated July 7th, 1793, as First Bishop of Quebec and the next two letters deal with a journey to New England undertaken by Mr. Jarvis with the double purpose of trying to settle some of Dr. Peter's financial affairs and to secure support for his election to the proposed Bishopric of Vermont.)

Nov. 22nd. I again resume my pen. * * * I correspond with the Society of the Province of Vermont. Lewis Allen¹⁰ is as d—d blackleg as ever lived. I will (if Birdseye arrives, for we have written to him to spend the Winter with us) take a trip and see if I can hunt him up (L. Allen) and do my endeavor to accomplish the business that he undertook. I'll suffer martyrdom before the key keeper shall be thus buffeted; it is my intention to spend five hundred guineas provided the business shall be done effectually, it will take me the most of the winter. I shall leave my family well provided for, I have a yoke of fatted oxen to come down, 12 small shoats to put into a barrel occasionally which I expect will weigh from 40 to 60 lbs., about 60 head of dung-hill fowl, 16 fine turkeys, and a doz. ducks, 2 breeding sows, a milch cow which had a calf in August, which of course will be able to afford her mistress a good supply of milk through the winter. In the root house I have 400 good head of cabbage, and about 60 bushels of potatoes and a sufficiency of excellent turnips.

My cellar is stored with 3 barrels of wine, 2 of cider, 2 of apples (for my darling), and a good stock of butter. My cock-loft contains some of the finest maple sugar I ever beheld, 10,000 lbs. was made in an Indian village near Michellemackinac. We have 150 lb. of it. It

was my intention to send you a small keg of it, but I was taken ill. Also plenty of good flour, cheese, coffee, loaf sugar, etc. In my stable I shall have the ponies and a good slay; the snugest and warmest cottage in the province. Thus you see I shall have the best of companions abundantly supplied with every comfort in the wilderness, where few have an idea only of lonely existing. In fact I am early provided with every requisite for a long and severe winter which is close on our heels. Your daughter never had so good health or spirits; even, in our deepest calamity she was cheerful, yet the most dreadful agony had possession of her heart; such a share of fortitude I believe never woman possessed before. I am really so tired that I can hardly sit in my chair, every bone in me aches but I will try to write on for a few minutes longer when the bearer of this to New York will call.

The Governor is to winter in Toronto (now York) in his canvas house and two log huts. The regiment have not above two or three huts finished and they require 30 to accommodate them.

The late arrival of the Cork Fleet has rendered the want of provisions for the army very alarming. There is now arrived at Kingston 4000 barrels of pork which are for, and ought to have been at this post and Detroit before this time. God knows the event; however I have provided against all suffering of the kind. I have made out but three grants since my being in office (except two Indian grants). This country was never known to be so sickly as it has been this season. I am very happy that you sent not the articles that Mrs. Jarvis and I wrote for; send us nothing but shoes for Mrs. Jarvis and my babe. I have this day paid a dollar for a pair of inferior red morocco for my daughter Augusta, she was quite bare-footed. * * * My old coats that I threw off in London serve me to make a decent appearance and will for a year or two to come I expect.

I am in great hopes I shall succeed in this grim country. * * * Mr. Doty has accepted the living at Brooklin (sic) opposite New York. This is a past fact, I have it in a letter from Schafflein dated Sept. 29th, who says Doty and his wife have just returned from New York and D— affirmed it to Schafflein. The bearer of this has just called and I must conclude. God bless you. Farewell.

From Wm. Jarvis, March 28th, 1794. Niagara. It was with great pleasure that I heard of you being elected Bishop of Vermont which we hope will speedily be the cause of a happy meeting with you at our little cottage in Upper Canada. Your residence in Vermont will not be required, I trust, more than six months in the year. The other six months I hope you will devote to your children's comfort. On the

20th December last I left this place to visit my friends in New England and on the 8th of March I returned after leaving my friends all well. During my absence I wrote you several letters on particular business all of which I trust you have safely received.

This is the last letter I shall write till I hear whether you have accepted your election or not. I pray you may accept it as it will give you an opportunity of visiting your children in this country, as well as to settle your affairs which are in a very deranged state and will remain so till you arrive. I hope you will land in New York and proceed to Stamford with my brother Samuel who will be very happy to come and fetch you in his carriage.

If the Americans dare fight us, I think we are sure of a war with them. We have lately received orders here to supply the Indians with every kind of warlike stores.

The warriors it seems by Lord Dorchester's speech to the Indians are to determine the line* between the States and us. Great preparations are making with us in case of a commencement of hostilities.

I am told by the Governor that in case of a rupture the civil establishment are all to go immediately down to New Johnston,¹¹ if so we shall be within a day or two's ride of Montreal.

During my absence to the States I went into Vermont to look up that blackleg Levy Allen to try to secure the £150 he owes me, also the £100 you sent him, but found the bird flown and all his property conveyed to others. I saw Governor Chittenden and many others who enquired after you.

Official business in this Province goes on but very slowly, only 52 deeds have been made out. Birdseye is with us, he writes you a long letter by this conveyance. I am quite at a loss whether to send him to England or not before you arrive in the country.

*Note—The passage in Lord Dorchester's Reply to the Indians of the seven villages of Lower Canada to which this refers is as follows: "From the manner in which the people of the States push on, and act, and talk on this side, and from what I learn of their conduct towards the sea, I shall not be surprised if we are at war with them in the course of the present year; and if so, a line must then be drawn by the warriors." This was written at Quebec on Feb. 10, 1794, and through the medium of a spy was printed in full in the New York Daily Gazette of March 25, and in the Gazette of the United States (Philadelphia), March 26. This speech or letter (Correspondence of J. G. Simcoe, II, 149-150), although expressing no more than what any person might say under similar circumstances, produced a commotion, but in the long run probably did good, for on April 6 President Washington forwarded the name of John Jay to the U.S. Senate for his appointment as Envoy Extraordinary to the British Court to settle matters in dispute between the two countries, and what was known as the Jay Treaty was the result.

Miss A is to be married in a few days to a young Scotchman, a good match for her, it will be a great relief to us. She has grown such an unmerciful fine lady that she does not spend a day in the week at home, and she really needs an interpreter, she has grown so affected.

We are much disturbed at not having a letter from you since Birdseye's arrival, the letter must have miscarried or something happened to you.

The Governor and Indians have gone to Detroit again across the country by way of River de France. They set out about a week since.

Your little grand children all send love and kisses to Grand-papa. Simeon Baxter says he wishes to write to you another long letter, but dare not as politics stand, he is an old Tory.

This I trust will meet you on this side of the Atlantic, where your many friends have ever wished you to be. Altho' it has not been the pleasure of the British Administration to provide for you in Canada,¹² yet I trust the affection you have to your children and my Master, the best of Sovereigns, you will exert your utmost to prevent any misunderstanding between the State of Vermont and Canada. Your influence will be great no doubt with the Governor and Council in this affair, it is needless for me to say more on this subject.

Your dated 3rd April reached us on the 16th, it is in fact the first we have received since Birdseye came to America, the pleasure it gave us is more easily imagined than described. Now my dear Sir we have one boon to ask, you must not refuse it (viz.) to spend the winter at Newark with us, it is very easy after you have made the necessary arrangements with your churches in Vermont to cross over into Montreal and then come up the communication to Kingston and then cross the lake on one of our ships, that are going back and forward every wind. If you are in Montreal by the 25th of October you will have time to be with us about the 14th of November, ships navigated Lake Ontario till nearly the middle of December last year. You must count 8 or 9 days from Montreal to Kingston and about 2 or 3 days shipboard from Kingston to Niagara; you must also make some allowance to be wind-bound at Kingston; or should you prefer crossing the country you will not find it an unpleasant tour early in the autumn, it is the way I would recommend a single man to visit the country, you can make your journey easy and very comfortable, you need not sleep one night out provided you will be content to sleep in the village which is the half-way stage between river and this place. Don't attempt to come this route in the winter, if you do you will repent it. Birdseye can furnish you with a list of the stages and their distance from each other. My family have been

very sickly this summer, myself and Mrs. Jarvis and the little boy have been much troubled with the fever and ague, and a slow fever which she has now upon her. Augusta's spirits have never failed tho' her appetite has for the most part of the summer, she has little left but skin and bone as well as her mother. You must expect to see a most lovely boy, very large for his age, auburn hair, very fair and blue eyes, and an uncommon share of vitality, in fact he is all we could wish him to be at his tender age.

The Bishop of Quebec has made his visitation to this place, his stay was very short, he preached but once and had but one confirmation, in fact he took his departure before the people of the country knew of his being here. His Lordship notified the Governor that he should be with him on the 25th of the month, instead of which he arrived on the 10th and took his departure on the 15th; a vast number were disappointed of their confirmation by his premature arrival and unexpected departure.

He is a man of most winning deportment, extremely affable and a most charming preacher. An old man observed that his visitation was more in the style of a thief in the night than that of a bishop, for he left the Province 10 days before the time that he had named he should arrive. I would rather not touch upon politics but I am sure you would not be pleased should I totally neglect mentioning anything concerning the western country.

Hitherto the Indians are faithful allies, have kept Wayne pretty closely besieged; however he has very lately by some unexpected manoeuvre made some advance, which has been rather alarming to us here which has caused part of our army to move towards the country and have no doubt but there will be a good account given of Wayne and his army before this day fortnight; few I trust will go to bed after that with their night-caps on.

The Indians seem as invulnerable and as enthusiastic as the "Sans Culottes." I would not be in Wayne's shoes for 30 days from this day, to be King of England for life after.

We have a well-appointed militia in this Province, almost to a man have been soldiers during the last war either in British or Provincial Regiments. I look upon them better even than British troops for the service they will be wanted.

Should you come to us by Montreal. I would recommend you to John Gray who will give you every information and furnish you with every other requisite to make your ascent into the second story of the earth agreeable. You will meet with many of my particular friends and your old acquaintances on the communication between Montreal and Kingston. At Kingston you will find the Rev. Mr. Stuart, the

Bishop's Commissary, the Hon. Richard Cartwright, Christopher Robinson who married the daughter of the Rev. John Sayer of Fairfield, etc., who will take you by the hand.

Aug. 22nd. Gov. Simcoe puts his hand on Wayne *in person* in a very few days. Adieu and shall write you soon again.

Wm. Jarvis, from Niagara, Sept. 3rd, 1794. I have just a few moments' time to write you a few lines to say we are all better in health than when I wrote last; your daughter is the only one of the family that has not cause to complain for want of health.

War has within these few days appeared more doubtful, yet every preparation is making with us for the reception of our neighbors. A part of the militia are now at this place embodied, and a fine body of men they are, almost to a man soldiers that served in the last war. By a late "Ordinance" the militia of this Province are now on the same footing and have the same rank with respect to marching regiments as the militia of England.

We have Lieutenants and deputy-Lieutenants of Counties the same as in England. I am one of the deputy-Lieutenants and appointed to command the militia of the County of York, with the rank of full Colonel. Consequently I command all Lieut.-Colonels of the line within my county or province in case of hostilities.

Mr. Wayne has handled the Indians pretty roughly a few weeks since,* but the Indians recovered themselves and returned again to the battle, the last account we had Wayne was retreating and the Indians pursuing hard on his rear.

In this action one of my deputies was slain in whom I have met with a great loss. His name was Charles Smith, a young man of most accomplished abilities, and an adopted chief among the Shawnees; he received a shot through his knees, was then quartered alive, tho'

*Note: The Battle of the Fallen Timber, August 20, 1794, between Gen. Wayne's forces and the Western Indians, was within sight of the new fort built by the British and only finished at this time. This fort was said to be the best built fort of its time in the west. Its earthworks still exist at the village of Maumee, Ohio, a few miles southwest of the city of Toledo. (Correspondence of J. G. Simcoe, II, 278 note). An illustration of the ramparts as they appeared in 1910 may be seen in "Diary of Mrs. Simcoe" (p. 218) from the J. Ross Robertson Collection. Major Campbell, who was in command of the Miami Fort at this time, learned from a deserter from the U.S. army, that "It was supposed to be Gen. Wayne's intention to attack this fort and that he was prevented by finding it was defended by heavy cannon." (Correspondence of J. G. Simcoe, II, 419). At any rate, within three days after the Battle of the Fallen Timber, and after an exchange of letters—brusque enough on the part of Wayne—with Major Campbell, who remained cool and prepared, Wayne retreated with his army and made no further advance toward Lake Erie.

shocking to relate nevertheless true. One of Wayne's officers was shortly afterwards taken who the Indians with their scalping knives cut into pound pieces. The Indians lost about 40 warriors, 10 of whom were chiefs.

Joseph Brant has gone from the Grand River with 300 young warriors to join the "Western brothers" from whence we may conclude a very serious event is, not far distant. I think friend¹³ Anthony is in the centre of a d—d hobble, he had behaved in a most insolent manner to our posts, as well as barbarous to prisoners, which would chill the blood in one's veins to relate.

I wrote you some time since to request you would spend the winter with us, in which I hope you will readily acquiesce; should your diocese be loth to part with you, you must frame an excuse for that purpose; come you must via Montreal as your best route. Call on John Gray who will receive you and furnish you with every requisite.

Adieu. The little flock all send kisses.

W. Jarvis, dated Dec. 10th, 1794. We have written you so lately that I have little left to say. We hope you have everything settled in respect to your ecclesiastical calling at any rate. I earnestly entreat you not to wait in London upon any demur (should there be any in Vermont.)

With respect to the Provincial seal, Gov. Chittenden is a politician and entirely kept in office by the Church of Vermont, he will be entirely in your power when you arrive there. The table of fees is at length settled in the land granting business; in the Province they have so wrapt up the matter that the Attorney-General is to make out the deeds; strange, strange, but must, tho' ashamed to tell, my fees stand thus at which I am not dissatisfied. I intend to apply for leave to go to Quebec in June or July next if the Governor does not insist on my going to the River de France with him in the Spring as there is to be a Grand Council of all the chiefs and warriors of all the western tribes even down to West Florida. He has notified me or rather invited me to attend him should I not go to Le Manche.

I shall hope to be blessed with a meeting and to accompany you to this place. As soon as you arrive write me by way of Montreal under cover to John Gray, and I will also notify him by the same conveyance. You will be much pleased with our situation and the country in general. What a consolation it would be to have the great ones come to their reason, and you sent to us, a boon too great for us. Heaven has no such blessing in store for us; yet sometimes I have dared to hope it.

Your daughter and the little ones are well. Poor *Maria* often talks of you and so does little *Augusta*, but it is merely aping the elder sister. The little darling innocent that bears your name is becoming a great prattler, a prodigious stout child, full as large as *Augusta*, we have him in Indian dress and fur cap, or chapeau, Indian leggings and mocassins, and a fine fellow he is.

The bearer is waiting for this letter and I have only to present you with all our loves. Most affectionately, etc., etc.

Mr. Jarvis. Niagara, Jan. 14th, 1795. In April last year your last letter to us was dated that has come to hand. Wherefore is your silence? I was in sure hope that the lawn sleeves would have reached Vermont ere this. A little patience, the Spring will come, says the philosopher.

We have at length come to business, the ensuing Summer will be a harvest for me beyond *all doubt*. The war, the press, that you were so good as to send me was a letter press instead of a press for affixing the great seal, it is much too weak a purchase for the seal of Upper Canada; Government has paid me for it. I have broken it; I must therefore request your further attention and send me a proper one, cost what it will and do let it come by the first Spring vessel, there should be a potent (lever) to it, I never saw only heard of them. Governor Simcoe told me when I was in England that as Secretary of the Province of Upper Canada I was allowed either £20 or £25 per annum for stationery. As the matter has not been fully confirmed (from Mr. Charles Goddard, Agent for Upper Canada, not answering my letters to him on the subject), of course I never have to this hour received any stationery, or allowance in lieu thereof since my being in office. I wish therefore that you would wait on Mr. Goddard as my agent and arrange this matter; I expect to be allowed the same as Secretary and the same as Registrar, as is allowed Mr. Pownal of Lower Canada.

This goes by the Hon. Robert Hamilton, who goes to Scotland with his three sons for their education; by the same conveyance I send you two portraits of my beloved *Nek-Keek*. *Nek-Keek* is by adoption a *Mississauga*. The largest of the two is thought the best likeness. What you will readily trace is his resemblance to the lamb that fell a sacrifice to this inhospitable climate, and I wish one of them might be sent in a small cheap frame to Mrs. Monkhouse. He is an astonishingly large boy and otherwise a fine boy. I wish you could get *Earl* to make a copy of the largest and send it to *Vickery* from me. *Earl* would do it in an hour or two.

Our good Governor spends his winter in the lower part of the Province, from Kingston to Point au Rodil. The rest of the Govern-

ment are of course separated from him at least six months of the year. Israelites indeed, or Arabs, either is applicable, their Government being as well as ours.

I am going to build a house in the Spring in this town, my present log hut being quite too small for the purpose of house and office too; my present mansion will then be converted into an office solely.

Should Mr. Hamilton arrive in London before you leave, pray be attentive to him, he is the son of our most intimate friend. You have never yet hinted to me who you mean to leave our agent. How is Mr. Eyer? Present our (compliments) to him and his wife. Your daughter is well and writes you by this conveyance. The little girls never pass a day without talking of the Grandfather, the little boy joins in and pronounces Grandpapa as well as either. I long to throw him in your arms.

From Wm. Jarvis. Niagara, July 14th, 1795. What can have happened to you or what has become of you that your silence should have continued since April, 1794; is it possible you can forget your own flesh and blood? No! Nor could they forget you, your little girls are daily talking of Grandpapa and the little boy joins in the conversation as familiarly as if he had been always acquainted with Grandpapa; he is a remarkably fine boy of his age and begins to spell in his ab; the little girls are quite grown out of your knowledge.

Your daughter frets much on account of your absence, and has her health very sparingly, etc.

His Excellency the Lieut.-Governor is much better in point of health than he has been. Mrs. Simcoe is far from well, she looks like a walking skeleton, in fact few have their health in this place. I understand that all the public offices are to be ordered over to York (alias Toronto) this Autumn, if so the Lord have mercy on those who have families to cover from the unfailing frost. My offices may go and so may I, but my family are housed and comfortable, and their removal is optional with me.

What a pity there is not among us a chaplain or two of the ancient Israelites, and Moses with his rod and some other good fellow that could provide quails and manna, then we need not fear of sojourning in the wilderness, but in the present instance, the Irish pork barrels do not smile upon us, unless we savor of the military, thus ended the Book of Chronicles.

I have this day (from convenience, not from necessity) drawn on you for fifty pounds in favor of Albert Ryckman, merchant, New York, which I beg you will duly honor. You have now enclosed certificate for the January, April and July quarters from your daughter and

myself. I shall forward the duplicates by another conveyance, then use No. 1.

I wrote you long since for some stationery, another screw press (the one I have being broken) and a few clothes which I hope you have forwarded before this.

God forbid you should banish the idea of coming out to Vermont. I think it will have a good ending. Have you ever heard anything of that worthless fellow Levi Allen.

Hannah Jarvis, dated July 14th, 1795. I heard a few days since of your being alive in March, 1795, the person saw you in London; the news gave me much pleasure and comfort, not having heard from you since the 6th of April, 1794. * * * It is so long since I have heard that I am almost afraid to hear; I frankly confess my spirits never failed me so much as they do now.

I have forwarded the certificates for '94 enclosed to Bird long since, with discretion to send them forward or return them as he should hear from you. I hope you will have received my letter mentioning some articles I wanted from England before you left that place and that you have been kind enough to purchase them.

Wm. Jarvis. August 12th, 1795. Speaks of the birth of another son, Wm. Munson Jarvis.

Wm. Jarvis. Nov. 10th, 1795. Your favor of July 7th and August 1st were handed to me yesterday by the arrival of the Hon. Robert Hamilton who gave us a pleasing account of his dining with you and friends. I note your appointment of Mr. Isaac Scott as agent and about 5 or 6 of our letters have gone to France instead of going to you, but the enclosed packet I hope in God will have better luck, or I shall be but badly off. I hope Birdseye's love will not induce him to hate his book. I know not what gave him offence in Upper Canada, he complained not while he was here, but was restless and wishing to get back to my brother's in Stamford.

The letter press you sent me was not what I wanted, it being too slight for my purpose of course has failed and I am in much distress for want of a better one. Our Province seal is about the size of a bottle stand, or $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and half as thick. You cannot make the seal either thinner or thicker as the seal must be filled before it will receive the impression, the Lord Mayor's seal is made of wafers and our seal takes half a pound of beeswax.

I am by no means pleased with our friends in New York, i.e., for keeping the portrait of our sweet boy, truly the finest-looking. He surpasses his sisters.

What is the difference between being consecrated by the Devil, or tempted by Beelzebub and their host? Decamp is my advice, hap hazard and leave Satan to cure the souls of sinners. *I cannot think they will meddle with your allowance until you are absolutely consecrated, surely they will not refuse you leave of absence;* and when you are better off say like an honest fellow, "take your pelf and be dam—d." I shall be glad to see Graham now. Burlington Beach is a beautiful place, I would wish your parish there. Hamilton says the Bishops are d—d ill-natured with respect to your business and that he would come to America without loss of time.

Your daughter has told you what I offered Birdseye. I could not offer him more as things go; I expect to press the seal to 50 grants per week, during the course of the Winter. I have lately drawn on you for £50 sterling in favor of Albert Ryckman. I only lament that it is too late to stop the bill as I fear it will be inconvenient for you to help him (Birdseye) to some money, till I am better able. God forgive me if I distress you, the boy would have been of service to me and himself, etc., etc.

4 o'clock. Your daughter and myself have just returned from dinner into the office where we left the little flock playing tricks with their chestnuts. Little John (for so he is called) has at this moment forced himself into the office under fair promise of good behavior. Dear fellow, his head is like Absaloms and I think he would be liable to the same accident if he should attempt his flight through a thicket from the amazing quantity of hair he has which almost buries his whole person.

The Governor sails to-morrow morning for York, where he spends the Winter, his health is much impaired and his eyes and skin are as yellow as saffron, and (he is) peevish beyond description.

I wrote you a few lines from Lachine at the bottom of your daughter's letter, that I met them on my way from Montreal. I left this place on the 17th April last with the intention of going to Quebec but was taken very ill at Montreal, where I was confined three weeks, which prevented my proceeding on my journey. It was my intention to have seen Mr. Pownall, Secretary of Lower Canada, but was disappointed by so sudden an indisposition, as well as a violent (portion of letter lost).

With respect to the libel I was sent for, suffice to say that I was absolutely prosecuted in March last for the supposed author of a libel as it was called (tho' a good part of it true no doubt, and the rest most infamously dirty and blackguard). At the time I was prosecuted I was not in town but on a commission of laying out a new road leading

from the town into the country; this prosecution had been two days standing before I knew it and you may easily judge my feelings upon so infamous an accusation. My first object was to challenge the whole of the party, but my letters were evidently suppressed, having been written under the idea that I was under the prosecution, and exactly what they wanted for they would then have it in their power not to treat me like a gentleman. I took advice and waited until the prosecution was over which they discontinued by sending my lawyer (that I had just said to him, "You will make the necessary returns but have not a word to say in court") [a message] that they had discontinued the suit. Now was my time. I dashed at the whole phalanx. Young Ticknell (who is very lately dead) had the courage to fight me like a man. The high-Sheriff by name Alex. McDonald¹⁴ and a half-pay lieutenant came forward and read my letter in public and apologized sentence by sentence, which were my conditions of pardon. John Small, the Clerk of the Council, fled to the Receiver-General, who was our Chief Magistrate and one of the puisne judges at the time, for protection (with others). Such a scene of confusion as Newark was in, an instance never before seen in so small a town.

The old Receiver-General came walking through the mud to solicit peace, he kept me nearly an hour of a cold Sunday morning in the office and at length I told him his arguments did not weigh the balance of a feather with me.

The next day came Judge Powell to me praying for peace but to no effect. The consequence was that they arrested me to make me give sureties to keep the peace. This they could not effect because I was obstinate, at the same time submitted to their wrong but it was not convenient for me to enter into any Recognizance that I had been insulted and expected satisfaction. The Sheriff was ashamed to commit me and at length was obliged to *sneak off and leave me to myself* to my immortal credit and their shame. (Remainder of letter missing).

Hannah Jarvis. Niagara, Nov. 10th, 1795. Yours bearing date 21st of May and 4th June, 1795, were received on the 4th October following and answered 4th, 5th and 6th of same month. Letter bearing date 7th July and 1st August delivered yesterday by Mr. Hamilton, who arrived on the 6th late in the afternoon in good spirits and health. I cannot suppose he was shy of you, I rather think it to be his disposition, he never was intimate with us, until a little while before he went to England, he is quite the gentleman in his own house as well as abroad, but I believe rather shy until fully acquainted with characters.

Mrs. Jarvis—undated. The Secretary wrote to Bird to come to Upper Canada; that he would give him £50 Yk. Cy. per year, board,

washing and lodging, to which if he had complied he meant to have added the fee belonging to a Justice of the Peace which the Secretary is and at present takes none; and that of licensed attorney would in all probability been annexed. The £50 would have given him clothes and so much saved in the family without his appearing to be a clerk; the second would have afforded him pocket money, the third ushered him into the world would have given him confidence as well as profit, and it was supposed eased you of some considerable expense at this time; but he politely refused the offer alleging that the premium is too small, the extra expense occasioned by a long journey and the loss of his time which is very precious in his law studies (you will please to observe that no mention was made to him of the last two appendages), and the hourly expectation of his Father's (arrival) must certainly detain him in New York.

We hope you will accept the offer of the convention and by all means take the steps that Aaron did in days of yore and be President of the new University. Come to the world of Simcoe your friend, he conjures you not to fail; delays have already been too long. Col. Graham has not yet made his appearance. He must use expedition to be with you on Christmas. On the 12th of December if we have health we mean to have a few friends to drink your health and success—"Why build?" Because your town lot in the best situation in the place was given, the condition to have a house on each within twelve months; one was to be built to serve all, in the middle; it was and I believe is still very doubtful where the city will be * * * * * the mansion now occupied is small for its inhabitants, the intended one must be something large, and for sale in case of removal. The dimensions 40 x 24 with two wings 36 x 12 which would admit us to have a bedroom for the children and ourselves, the kitchen and office, two sitting-rooms, and a room for a friend occasionally. It never was meant to be finished only as much as necessity required until the seat of Government should be known. The frames, windows, doors, etc., are ready to go up, and have been all summer, but the rumours of York has delayed its use, as in that case it would have been ready to transport to Young (sic.) Street, York, and made (of) rapid use, while others not having their family's interest at heart equal to their pocket would have composed themselves under a house of cloth or clay. I feel very uneasy at this time about Bird, the yellow fever rages in New York, that the greater part that can leave the city fly to the country for protection. All Mr. Jarvis' friends have gone. *4th Sept.* I received a letter from him, he expresses great surprise at not having any account from you, it being nearly a twelve-month since he received a line, he appears in all his letters to be very anxious about

you and your arrival in this country. I am extremely anxious for your arrival, No letters having arrived from you in New York is I imagine the reason of your not receiving the young Nek-Keek— (portrait in Indian dress of their child) and letters from Bird.

Enclosed you will receive a certificate from my brother, quarter '95, the rest have all been sent as regularly as could be forwarded according to order.

The children are well and always asking when Grandpapa will come. Compliments to all enquiring friends. Adieu.

From William and Hannah Jarvis, March 5th, 1796. Your favor of 26th and 27th September last has this moment reached us, and I have prevailed upon a person just setting off for Albany to stop till I can write two or three lines to you. I shall have an opportunity of writing more fully in a few days. We are all well, your daughter never had better health; the two little girls and their two little brothers look like as many full-blown roses. Little William Munson is certainly the finest boy ever born.

The Governor has removed to York and taken the Council office with him; in the course of the summer we all expect to go; we have commenced business pretty rapidly, I have now about 500 patents that will be issued between this and May. I shall take care of the needful and am greatly distressed for want of the screw press. For God's sake send me one immediately, I am obliged to make use of a common screw jack, put in a frame, which is tedious and very laborious. In the course of the summer I expect to pass more than a thousand grants, etc. I have written this day to Bird to come to us, I think I could do something for him worth his attention after a while. Our country increases rapidly, though [there is] a great scarcity of flour, etc. In fact, a panic is dreaded here as well as abroad. Our love attend you. (Hannah Jarvis adds): I have received great pleasure in perusing yours of the 26th and 27th of September. You I hope have received the answer to those as they much regarded Mr. Jarvis with respect to his office. There are strange arbitrary proceedings going on here (entre nous) it is widespread that our head is not right, grants made out by our Attorney-General, everything done out of form, etc.

We have received in the name of Bird 200 acres on the street called Young (sic.) Street, York. Orders have been sent to erect a hut to secure it.

I cannot say by the description that I wish to settle there; however I go without a word if necessary. Some parts of your letter astonish

me. The children are well and ask when Grandpapa is coming. Mr. Birdseye died in September last, as Bird informs me.

From Mrs. Jarvis, Newark, April 15th, 1796. Your favor bearing date 25th of November, 1795, was received April 3rd, 1796 and that of the 26th and 27th September, '95 was received March 5th, '96. You say that for a native of America you have enough—be it so—but I can very justly inform you that we are thought to have too much, so much so that one-half of the office is adjudged to be necessary for the support of our little Attorney-General who by Council (viz.) Captain Russel, otherwise known as the Receiver-General, Major Æneas Shaw of the Rangers, and our worthy Governor, has orders to make out all grants of land, for which civil action the Secretary is to allow him half the emoluments of said office; and for fear there may be too much remaining to the said Secretary, the same said party have appointed a Registrar in all the different districts, even in the *town of Newark*, who are to register everything except grants of land. Thus you will see we have too much, if they are suffered to stand in *statu quo*. I hope your have received before this, a packet from the Secretary of the plan, wherein you will see his wish to you and the statement in full of the above. Business suffers through these irregularities. The King thought proper to intrust to the Secretary the office with full power to nominate his deputy,^{14A} but the Governor who is a greater person, supercedes the authority. This has passed Council, but upon a little resistance on *our* part and some sharp words, they have rescinded it so far as not to have it appear on the books, but still continue to have the grants made out by the *little Attorney General*, who is wonderfully assiduous in performing his part. The Secretary is as positive as they and will not sign one only as Registrar and no one attests them, the people refuse them. It is now circulating that the Secretary is an American and the King has given him all the *monies*, which is the reason that the grants are spread and all the stones at headquarters are turned upside down to rout him out of office.

I doubt it not, and am thankful that “to put out his eyes, will put out both of theirs”; for had business gone on as it ought the Governor would have been richer by some thousands than he is at this moment; in short, he is a military Governor and of course arbitrary. What he says, the Council say, they are but two who do business, and they are seeking to serve themselves at the cost of others.

The grants are ordered to be printed in part, the record book broken up by the same authority, and printed in sheets like unto the grants and filed like newspapers. Thus much for Upper Canada busi-

ness. The Attorney General even alters grants after they have received the Governor's signature, the great seal, and registered and delivered, which has been proved at court not long since by the Secretary, but it was hushed up and a new one ordered to be made out; how this would stand in law I would not undertake to determine. This said Attorney with others have been over to York and (.....words missing) two soldiers to swear to the handwriting of the Secretary on a libel suit heretofore mentioned which was dropped and now is to be renewed on the evidence of two soldiers who wrote in said office three years since.

Poor suit when all is done—it seems that it contained nothing but truth except as regards two people—as says the world.

I fear the petition of Eyer and another will lay on the table like many others—however, it is but trying—there is supposed to be some tight rules concerning passports for rum, etc., contrary to law via. Oswego, from below. Also some thoughts of forgery in the like case after signature, this is naught to me.

It is true land has been granted in large tracts, to people as you mention, but Council have ordered that it be done no more, and I am not sure if they will stand good for this reason they have shown before they had their grant in hand. Bird has 200 acres in York, and a log hut up on it 15 x 20 feet which cost him \$30.00 thro' his brother who has four more in the same street with the like improvements and expenses, confirmed of course by conforming to the rules; also a town lot of one acre; and means if possible to have one for Bird adjoining with background of 100 acres, also W. J. has 1200 more on Young (sic.) St. where the other five are all in a row, except two which are one the opposite side of the street, worth at this moment \$ per acre as offered this day—but I say no, no, no!

We have sent for Bird on these conditions; to have board, etc., with us, £60 pocket (money), justice fees, licenced attorney to be procured and assistant Secretary will be tried for which, if obtained, will put him on a footing with anyone here. I hope this will meet your approbation. Silence on this head until you hear it confirmed for fear of accidents and anything else that can or may turn up of service to him. This will net him about £100 Y.C. per year; besides board, etc., with his allowance will be something comfortable, and a relief to you as well in mind as purse.

I am happy to see letters from you, I have one and I had thought I was forgotten by my Father.

I know not what to do, I have been very uneasy, a year and not to hear only by way of others. Why not write me as well as strangers? I have written and written and no answers, thus you see we are all in

(doubt). I wrote and sent forward certificates, up to the 5th January, '96, and would send that of April if the Governor was here. * * * What can be the matter with Carrington and his wife? Is Mary Whitehead married to the Grey that was with Gov. Simcoe, or is it a brother of his?

We are all loyal here. I was much hurt at the King met with. The poor cry out in England, what must they do here? Flour at \$5 and \$6 an hundred and wheat at two dollars and a half per bushel, etc., etc.

At six o'clock on the morning of St. Johns, 27th December, we had the shock of an earthquake, it terrified me very much but not so much as the white fish which left the river and returned not till Good Friday so that from getting 24 for a dollar we have have only 16.

As to the Bishopric of Vermont; I hear no more of it but from yourself. I have been told that Dr. Beach is no friend of yours, was once supposed to be a loyalist, but he has forgotten it now, and wishes no good to those that have been and remain steady to their King.

Mr. Jarvis has orders to remove his office to York by the first of June; at any rate if he does, his family will remain here until such time as he has a house to remove them into. Should you see Capt. Law, you can inform him that his son has left Mr. Dickson; and is in treaty to come and live with Mr. Jarvis. I expect it will be finished to-day.

Mr. Hamilton is well, and says he has it from under your hand that Bishop or not you will come out and see your children this Summer '96. Surely you will not forfeit your word will you? Four finer children you never saw. Maria labours under the misfortune of weak eyes, which keeps her from getting on in her sewing, Augusta has a great ear for music and reads anything, is now in the grammar. John (otherwise P. I.) is a chit of great quickness, sings, spells, in and out of book, in words like cap, act, box, etc., is prone to mischief, wonderfully active, his tongue is the pen of a ready writer. They are learning to write. William is as lovely a boy as you ever saw, 8 months old.

* * * Mr. Addison has bought a farm about four miles from town, where he lives, he is a good man, but not a good sermon-maker; I believe he is much () by his family affairs in London. * * *

Mr. Emerson I heard was not contented here and meant to return to England.

I have not heard of my saddle yet; if you could make it convenient to send me the iron work of a good mangle, with a plate in print to have it made by I should be glad as we have no one here that understands them. Danby is here, has been sick for a long time

owing to the too frequent use of rum it is thought. There is one Wilson and his wife a *traitor* who say they knew you.

Wm. Jarvis. Niagara, April 17th, 1796. Your daughter has left me little to say on any subject in this county, however I cannot omit writing a few lines by so favorable an opportunity. Great things are to be done in a week or two, when the Governor is to make his appearance and the Legislature is to be convened. There has been an Executive Council at York, their doings as yet a profound secret, a few castles in the air have been built no doubt; how can it possibly be otherwise when Capt. Shaw of the Queen's Rangers, Capt. Russel, as well known as Mordicai among the Jews, etc. Alas! Alas! every soul is dissatisfied that inhabits this upper region of the earth except two or three * * * who had the elephant to battle, by a ring in the nose, and a castle on his back, in which they fight under cover.

His Excellency the Lieut.-Governor still persists in his going to England this Fall, I must confess I would like a few hours consultation with him then, as I am much in the habit of speaking my mind which common prudence prevents here. * * *

I have written to Birdseye to come to me and I hope he will comply; he can be of service to me and I to him, and serve himself independently at the same time.

Are you never coming out; if not say so. Don't send mangle irons yet but send a plate of the mangle.

Bernslee sold me his irons for a mangle but would not give me the plate. Our little girls are almost grown up. I sent you a very long letter last Fall with a few blank sheets with my signature only that you might add a memorial if necessary. I wish you would endeavor to obtain the same allowance for stationery, etc., Mr. Pownall has which is £100 for stationery per annum and doing the King's business, for which at present I charge, but it does not net me £30 per annum. The King's business in Commissions, Oyer and Terminer, etc. I have sent you the Stackpole certificate.

Wm. Jarvis. Niagara, March 23rd, 1798. How could you have fallen on so unkind a project to conceal your situation as to forbid us writing to you, because you were about to take your passage to America.

How pleasing were our prospects of once more meeting you, the subject of morning, noon and nights, when with our little flock we were assembled, who all have a perfect knowledge of Grandpapa, from the frequent conversations about him. You must have known that were it possible for the reports that prevail here about your being confined, to be true, we must have heard it sooner or later, and the later period it came to our ears, the deeper it would wound.

Your daughter writes you by this conveyance; will you have the goodness to let me know from yourself, the exact state of your affairs and situation for whom security and for what amount, etc., etc.

Your daughter's grief is incessant, from the idea of your confinement and her disappointment at not seeing you.

I have written to Mr. Scott by this conveyance and requested him to pay Mr. Perberry £34 18s 0d. from an order from him and your daughter's Treasury allowance with the proviso that reports of your being confined in the King's Bench be without foundation, you are not in need of assistance, but should these unaccountable reports be founded (on facts) then to pay the whole into your hands, with the addition of £50 sterling per annum from me upon your order during your confinement, which I will gratefully and cheerfully pay to the last shirt on my back. I wish much to hear from yourself. For God's sake come to us and be a help and guide to me, and a blessing to your posterity. I want not for enemies, powerful interest and exertions have been adopted to unseat me, but as yet without effect; to die game, I am determined, at all events.

How happy is Mrs. Elmsley with her father, old Mr. Hallowell, the old gentleman amuses himself with superintending all domestic affairs; which enables the Chief Justice to devote himself to official matters. I often think of him born under the same planet or star Agneau. Then why not my beloved Father spend the remnant that is left of your existence in the nursery of your affectionate daughter.

We have plenty of milk and honey, we want but one thing to make us comparatively happy; yet that only one, you deny us. It is both cruel and unkind of you, not to let your children be perpetually happy when the power is in your own hands.

William Jarvis. York, Jan. 31st, 1799. This goes by Col. Shank of the Queen's Rangers, who is on the King's leave, he has promised faithfully to see you and deliver our letters; we were transported with joy 3 weeks since, in having a transcript of your letter to us, through Ryckman of New York, by Mrs. Jarvis my brother Samuel's wife, in which you did not answer my letter so fully as I could wish. Thank God the reports we had heard of you were not true.

Was Carmen and Tustead, the stationers, satisfied? Why did not Mr. Scott answer my letters? I am afraid you are not altogether to be depended upon, in regard to your own health and situation; come to us I conjure you. Here I think you would find amusement in almost every scene of domestic felicity. I stand in need of your counsel in many points and your society would be a blessing inestimable.

We have five lovely boys and girls. Maria is a stout girl almost grown up, and Augusta treads close upon her heels, Samuel Peters is a sprightly, lovely boy; Wm. Munson his equal in every point but stouter of his age; Hannah Owen Dunn is a sweet babe just beginning to prattle and run about. We have a tolerable house in town and I have a 100-acre lot adjoining the town on which I am making a small farm, but experience has taught me that I need your advice in managing it. I have two negro men and two negro women their wives; the men are good, one of the women is tolerable and the other a devil was brought up in the family of old Mrs. Harrison in Boston. Good God, how pleasant it would be once more to see you embrace your child and her lovely offspring; rest assured this country produces nothing like them, you may well be vain but I can support the assertion.

What can you see in London that will bear a comparison with the comfort your presence would be to yourself and children. Come to us for God's sake, we have house-room in abundance, your counsel would be a relief to me, I have enemies in all quarters, the open ones I soon bring to their senses, but sometimes I suffer by (word missing). Ben Hallowell yesterday fell from his horse, and much bruised himself, tho' he thinks lightly of it. Your daughter envies his daughter her happiness; I fear¹⁵ the old gentleman is not to last long.

I do a great deal of business in my office but to very little account. I am in reality a man of property without being able to command scarcely a most trifling sum. I have completed in three years past here, 4,000 grants, but such as are liable to pay full fees, are left in the office. Here are grants liable to pay full fees, at this moment lying in the Secretary's office to the amount of \$4,000 Halifax dollars at 5/. The expenses of which are a serious drawback on me.

I have never less than three and most of the time four persons employed in my office. Had I you with me, I could place my head on the pillow in peace, but I assure you it is not the case at present; your residing with us would enable you to be very much at your ease; not one farthing's difference would it be to us, but on the contrary I am persuaded it would save some hundred pounds in the year.

As the position of Secretary of the Government is still vacant why not try and get it? I suppose it would not be less than two or three hundred a year salary. I think it would be a situation more independent than the Mountain of Quebec. All things considered, for God's sake, do accept something of the kind and come to us next Spring. I understand there is shortly to be a University built here at the

expense of the Government, perhaps an appointment of some sort might be acceptable to you in that way. Should you come out it will be necessary for you to get the King's order (through the Duke of Portland) to receive your lands under the old regulations to prevent your paying a fee for survey of 6d. an acre, besides the usual fee. As all Loyalists by the last order from the King are excluded the benefit of the old regulation. General Arnold¹⁶ and his family were excluded by the Executive Council of the Province, from being non-resident, but a late order from the King's Minister has entitled them all to the land, free from any expense whatever to themselves, which has not gone down very well with some among us.

Lately arrived here among us Count de Puisy, a lieutenant under the late King of France, with a suite of his officers. There are a considerable number of them in Kingston who arrived so late that they could not reach here, on account of the navigation of the lake having closed for the season.

The Count informed me one day at dinner with us, that there were about 20,000 in like situation with himself who wished to emigrate to Upper Canada. The Count with other nobles of France, with about 20 French soldiers are now residing about 15 miles back of York on Yonge St., that leads over to Lake Huron.

There is to be a French settlement upon Lake Simcoe (formerly Lake de Clay (Claes) of which place the Count is Chaplain of the French emigrants is on his route. He is the man who commanded the French Loyalists in Vendee or Quiberon Bay. I like him very much, he is I think much like General Simcoe in point of size and deportment and without exception the finest looking man I ever saw. Every encouragement in their location is given by the Council; the King's stores of all kinds are open to them.

You will see by the enclosed that the Wilkins of Birmingham have made a demand of a balance of £150 7s. 9d.; never was anything more regular than the entries of the debt being paid them stands on my books; from the waste book to the Ledger of Day, date for what goods, etc., which appear the identical goods. They have made a demand to be paid for what never can have the smallest pretext; I think after this. Do write us very particularly about all our old friends. Now for the last time let me entreat you, my honoured and dear Sir, to come to us; what joy, what comfort, what earthly blessing could equal it, or have a comparison with an interview in this country. Come, oh! come, I conjure you in the name of Heaven. Adieu.

Samuel Jarvis, Stamford, Conn., July 26th, 1800. Your favor of March 10th came safe to hand, with that of Dr. Smith's which I

delivered and he was much pleased and told me he would answer it soon, but it would take some time to write to a man of a literary character and believe me, my dear brother, that is always what embarrasses me when I am writing to such a person, but your known goodness readily tells me, that you will overlook any little inaccuracies that may drop from my pen. I should have answered your letter long before this; had I not expected Birdseye here, but the reason you will be informed by the enclosed from my daughter, and your daughter who left this morning unexpectedly.

She set out for Canada on the 24th day of July and we conclude she has arrived by this time. Mr. and Mrs. Ryckman and my daughter Harriet all accompanied her as far as Schenectady, where she took the stage. She was very fortunate in her company, a Mr. Keyler and Ramsay her neighbors, who I trust will pay every attention to her. She has as fine a child as ever was born, it was hard parting with the little angel.

You say you are more and more inclined to see your native land. I pray God you may put these good intentions into prosecution and leave that part of the globe that seems to be cursed with wars, pestilence and shedding one another's blood, as tho' we were born to be our own executioners.

Am very sorry you did not give me a hint of your willingness of becoming the successor of Dr. Dibble¹⁷ a little sooner, as nothing would have given us more pleasure and satisfaction than such an event had it taken place. Some time before I had your letter we had settled the Rev. Mr. White in our church; he is a native of Middletown in this state; he is a likely, promising man. There is a number of vacant churches in this state. Norwalk at present is vacant. Dr. Smith will remove from there this Autumn on account of some difficulty that has taken place between him and the people which we all lament, as he is a person of real abilities and a great supporter of the church and the doctrines we hold to. You know the Scotch blood is full of mercury. There are two vacancies in New York, the young gentleman who was employed in St. Mark's, a new church built in the Bowery, was by accident killed by a horse running away with him in a carriage at Charleston, South Carolina. His name was Calahon, belonging to that place, was educated in this place and ordained by Bishop Jarvis. The other vacancy in the churches in the city; Rev. Mr. Baptist being discharged on account of his drinking too freely, was allowed to be the best preacher in New York, and in every other respect a pious good man. He is a single person, has no family and of course his children will not cry for bread, on that account.

And one more favor I am going to ask you to do and that is to inform me if Dr. Dibble has for late years received his salary from the Society or donation that will amount to the same thing.

My aged Mother desires to be remembered to you with my youngest brother Seymour who lives with her, they are both well.

Bishop Jarvis was here with us a few days past, he is very infirm and out of health. The clergy all remain pretty much as they did when I wrote you last. No deaths have taken place since.

I was at Watertown in June last as a lay delegate to the Convention of Churches. The clergy were generally there. The Bishop preached his convention sermon, and the son of our late Bishop Seabury read service. But why do I trouble you with such trifling things—not long since I was at Stratford, old Mr. Birdseye was then well and expressed a great desire of once more seeing you. Religion seems declining in that part of the world, tho' our church here is increasing.

* * *

There is now a great contest here for a new President. The Northern statesmen for Adams, and the Southern for Jefferson, and some for Pinckney. Who will be the man God only knows. Pray write me soon as you conveniently can and let me know when we may be made all happy in the arrival of an old friend and brother this side of the Atlantic; pray leave a country that seems cursed with wars and spilling one another's blood, etc.

This year is crowned with the greatest crops ever known of all kinds of produce; we are able to give bread to almost the whole world, the great demand in foreign markets keeps ours high; wheat is now two dollars per bushel, corn one; but we expect they will fall soon. We join in love and prayers for your safe arrival. My daughter Ryckman is with us and sends her best respects. God bless you.

Hannah Jarvis, York, Oct. 23rd, 1800. Your much esteemed favor by Capt. Smith was received in August; they informed me that you had given over all thought of visiting this country. Alas! why so sudden a change, I am quite at a loss to find a reason. How has your petition been answered; if favorable what is to retard your expedition. We have said in former letters as far as our abilities would let us we would satisfy Mr. Scott; but it seems as if some evil Starr sat hovering around us, and new difficulties succeed like clouds of smoke from a fire, to make you think that we wish to delay. The very idea that you should have a thought of this kind racks my whole frame. With new heads we have new everything; with do it and think hereafter. A Head we indeed have, but we are told it might as well be a sheep's for any good resulting therefrom. A tongue it possesses which works like Echo in a cave. Its master lives in an outbuilding.

It can say and unsay, as an American Scot directs, whose exalted station has turned his brain into contempt of mankind and calloused his *heart against his own countrymen* or any other animal that dares an opinion of its own.

This tongue you would imagine had had a scholastic education in the deepest recesses of Billingsgate with all its ornaments, improvements, embellishments and improvements of a well-bred *Tar*. Judge now for yourself, I dare not say more, but be not too hasty in your opinion or regard for your children; their will is good and I hope to convince you that what has been asserted is no chimera before it be long. My father has often said, "Let me never be dependent on the mercy of my children". I have repeated and considered them often. If your answer is as I hope from the Lord, why not make over all to Mr. Scott taking what will be necessary to defray your expenses to us, and with my allowance and Bird's surely it will soon extricate you.

Besides what otherwise may be remitted I herewith transmit you a copy of a letter written me by Sylvester Gilbert¹⁸ its contents are by no means satisfactory to me. I desired Bird to write again; no answer yet. What makes me more solicitous is that you would never (had it not been my letter to Gilbert) received a farthing from Bates. I am sure by their statement you will be able to see if he has paid the interest justly. Gilbert's letter wants explanation.

Young Bernslee Peters who left a few days since and was here to take up such grants as were remaining for his late Father, informed me that Andrew Mann¹⁹ had divided off such part of my Grandfather's²⁰ estate as was thought to be (word missing) with yours adjoining, had sold it and paid his brother Nathaniel's debts to you with your own money. This he gave as the general opinion of the people of Hebron. He lives at Ballstown. The property sold for 50/ an acre. Andrew is thought to be an arrant swindler and has nearly ruined his father. It is thought that he will be obliged to refund if you make your appearance. I hope you will see through Gilbert's letter. Statistical account for moveables personal is not stated nor do I understand what is meant if you never had a statement from him. I fear it is gone as he is dead. Bernslee is going to Hebron when he returns and find out all particulars in his power and write me the whole. Perhaps he will have a grateful heart and let me into a secret long hidden, by which means truth may once more assume his right; I shall not fail to give you notice of all; if I do not hear of your leaving England ere I gain such intelligence.

On the 18th February the letter is continued giving some family details. Augusta who had been poorly had been taken to Kingston

“to find what the water and change of air would do” but there “took the ague”, etc. The letter continues: We were in hopes of having Bird made Clerk of the Assembly, but I fear we will not succeed, altho’ the members are nearly all for him; *John* the half *Scot* is of opinion that they have no right to nominate, of course he has the re-nomination under the rose as it falls into the paws of the Head, who is well known to bark when directed. No redress! No one in the Cabinet is sure of favors, for one voice is enough; one of the late members said he thought the house had but one thing to do, that is to vote a set of silk caps for themselves, which were to be pulled over their eyes when a question arose that required their sanction. Another thought there was no necessity for their attendance, as one man could as well do all they had to do, as well when they were absent as present.

Aunt Powell is very desirous to see you as are your children and grand-children. We have the son of Parson Stuart as * * *

(Note: Remainder of letter missing).

William Jarvis. York, Nov. 6th, 1801, to Isaac Scott. Your favor of June 17th, 1801, was received by me on the 25th ulto. The contents have given me much distress of mind; altho’ it refers to promises of assistance in my former letters to our beloved parent, yet I assure you these promises have never been for one moment out of our minds and every effort on my part as far as economy and industry could reach to accomplish so desirable an end have been strictly practised by me, and every member of my family. But a change in the person administering this Government has thrown me into an unexpected and unavoidable expense and laid upon me with so strong an arm that self-preservation became my only object, in patience, perseverance and silence was, as the event has shown, my strength. I should have often written but dare not put pen to paper. For further particulars I must refer you to letters that accompany this. For years past at the end of every year I was sure that I would have sufficient to spare to relieve Dr. Peters but by some unforeseen circumstances I have uniformly been disappointed; I still beg to assure you that I will not only give half but every farthing I possess on earth in accomplishing so much desired an end as to satisfy you and relieve Dr. Peters from his embarrassed situation. Self-preservation has been the great struggle with me for more than two years last past, but the struggle seems at length to be at an end; and I further beg to assure you that I do not think the period far distant when I shall be enabled to do something satisfactory with you and Dr. Peters.

Same letter. Hannah Jarvis. York, Nov. 6th, 1801. My beloved Father's letter bearing date June 18th, 1801, was handed me yesterday enclosed from Mr. Addison, the only one since 3rd March, 1800, and had I not once or twice heard of you through Patty's letters from her Mother, I believe my heart would have broken long ere this. It is but a few days since she received a letter from her friend, wherein a paragraph from one of yours declaring your intention was never again writing to us, and censuring us cruelly (tho' I must confess appearance was against us) for not having complied with our promises. This not having been done is not our fault. My heart was so full, my mind was so distressed at the repeated disappointments we met with, when I thought I had the money in my hand, that I had not courage to tell you of it. We have the promise of the money which will I hope relieve you and Mr. Scott and bring my beloved, blessed parent to my arms, that he may see I still possess the same disposition as I used to do, and that I may in some degree return to him in his advanced age what he gave me in my youth. I repeat that we (i.e.) Mr. Jarvis and myself, have the promise of \$1,200 by the first of January, 1802, and if no disappointment steps in again to prevent the man coming forward, that sum shall be forwarded by Bill as soon after as possible and Mr. Scott and you may rest assured that the whole shall be paid, if God spares my life and I hope that he (Mr. Scott) will still extend his bounty towards you until we can supply you with the needful. I wish by all means when you do set out for this country that you bring Ann Griffen with you; it will give me great comfort to know you have her with you; as I am certain she will do all in her power to make everything comfortable for you.

We could have sold our land long since over and over but produce was not what we wanted and the money could not be had. There are grants to the amount of £12,000 now laying in the hands of the Secretary, his share will be from £1,200 to £2,000 sterling, and cannot command a penny. Is ordered by the Gov. P. H.¹² to have in readiness as many grants as possible for his signature on his arrival as he winters in Lower Canada, to accomplish which he has ordered the Surveyor-General, the Council Officer and his own Clerk to make out 48 each by the winter during his absence, and three soldiers to write in the Secretary's office. The Secretary has to find fuel for the office, clerks are all at the Secretary's expense also, and for fear that he should gain a sixpence by purchasing stationery at a cheaper rate he has confined him to Lower Canada, where everything is inferior and dearer by one-third than in New York, and next ordered the Receiver-General to furnish the Secretary with parchment, wax, etc., to be stopped out of the profit arising from the grants.

He ordered him to furnish immediately the office with 3,000 sheets of parchment, wax, etc., and to make prompt payment for the same or he would suspend him in the failing thereof within such a time. The Secretary endeavored to remonstrate with him the impossibility of complying with the order, by saying the office was greatly in his debt, to which in a great passion he politely but indirectly, for he did not think proper to do it directly, damned him and told him he did not inquire about the office, that he must do as he was bid, or take the consequences. He lived two miles from the town where the Secretary has been obliged to go, from two to four times a day, in the heat of the most sultry weather we had during the Summer, when a written answer would have answered every purpose. Up from four in the morning to ten at night and frequently called out of his bed for some trifling thing or other. The Secretary has come home crying like a child from the treatment he met with and dare not open his lips, those who saw the manner he was treated advised him to command himself and be silent; as words were what was sought for, that some hold might be had against him.

The Chief is as great a tyrant as the Governor, but not so *great* a *blackguard*, the latter his own countrymen do not hesitate to say had his first instructions at the tail of a fish-cart, and from his known tyrannical disposition has received the appointment in order to disgust the whole Province. It is an old proverb "that two of the same coat cannot agree", wherefore the two chiefs are like two stormy cats in a garret. The language held out by John is "That the Americans are not trustworthy, they are only fit for hewers of timber and drawers of water". In short he thinks no one ought to exist but himself and a *Scotchman*. He seems to forget that he and his wife were born in America. "The Secretary's office is too good for an American," therefore it is the determination to reduce it as much as possible (the income) so as to disgust and discourage the present incumbent and force him to resign; but if I am permitted to have a voice, I will advise never to quit as long as bread and water will support nature. They, with all their art have not been able to find fault with him in regard to his duty and [know] that his office is the most regular in Upper Canada, and gives more real satisfaction.

They have cut him down from his first fees, and are constantly doing something to create expense and injure his pocket. Had you, my dear Father, been here he would have escaped, for of you they are afraid and will do everything to prevent your joining us. Thus you will see that trouble never comes alone. Thus have we been prevented doing what was our full intention to have done long since,

thus it is to have to do with others when no reason will be heard, when no question can be asked, or if asked, only answered with dreadful oaths.

The Secretary knows not my writing this, but I am determined you shall know something of his sufferings, that you may not so severely censure his conduct, since I cannot think that he or any of us deserves it, and our feelings, I will take it upon me to say, have been as acute as could be possible, more than my pen can describe.

I am little less gray than you were when I left you. I am an old woman by fretting for your company and misfortunes; I go nowhere, see no company, have not for two years past, except my brother's family who dine with us every Sunday that the weather will admit them to do. I make or rather I have turned tailoress for my family not even the Secretary excepted.

You have a grandson Peters, born 31st July, and a grand-daughter (Jarvis) 7th of August * * * a perfect beauty; Maria, Augusta, Samuel, William, Hannah and Poppit. As yet all are well and are asking: "When shall we see Grandpapa, Mamma, is he well, what keeps him so long?" * * * oh, how these questions wring my poor heart, already so distressed as to have little comfort, either sleeping or waking. My tortured imagination is seeking new miseries tumbling headlong upon my absent parent. May my God look upon my anxieties and enable me to fulfil such engagements as may render the parent of my affection rest and peace hereafter. Adieu, may dear friend Scott continue his goodness a little longer.

Nov. 8th. The vessel having been detained by contrary winds, I embrace the delay to inform you that your grandchildren were baptized this day by the names of Samuel Jarvis (Peters) and Ann Elizabeth (Jarvis).

Nov. 10th. In some former letter to you and Mr. Scott we mentioned the mortgaging land to Mr. Scott for security of such monies as he had advanced to you—not that we intended to pay him in land, for they were worth double what was required, but to assure Mr. Scott of our just intentions towards him and because that money was so scarce at that time that it was hardly possible to procure a few dollars. People coming from the States with goods take all the loose money that is in circulation, by underselling the merchants of this place. The letters alluded to I imagine have not reached you or certainly you would have said yea or nay to their contents, for if they did not meet with your approbation that was meant, there could have been no harm in stating the objections why they were not satisfactory.

Perhaps Mr. Scott thought our intentions were to pay him in land. I do assure you that they were and are double the value, and raising daily, and of course we should not be willing to part with them, if we could prevent it by any means, but to assure him of our intentions and to expedite your leaving the country; this was our sincere wish however ill it has succeeded. I have been informed by undoubted authority that the expense of the Secretary's office for the last year amounted to upwards of \$2,600 merely for clerks and stationery the great part of which has been paid by the Secretary, and [with that] which lays dormant in said office. Such enormous expenditure will I hope convince you that he must have been pretty hard run and had he not been so cruelly dealt with, you would have had no occasion to have lamented that you were neglected by those whom it was their duty to provide and protect at all times, much more such a trying one as at present. I trust if this reaches you it will put a different aspect upon the business, in defiance of malice and false representations of which I think I can hit the author with one eye shut. However I shall be judge whether to keep a spare bed and room without consulting the convenience of my acquaintances.

Judge for yourself whether reports can be such. We have not for two years kept any company except calls in the morning and these very seldom. The sun rises seldom and finds Mr. Jarvis in bed, but into the fields with his men. At 6 o'clock in the summer and seven in winter he breakfasts and everyone in his employment after. It appears to me that the more a person retires from the world and wishes not to meddle with people's affairs, the more envious, curious and ill-natured are the observations that follow. We do not pry into our neighbours' concerns, still they persecute us on all sides, confining themselves not to truth, which makes the matter more conspicuous when detected. * * * Oh could I see you once more, etc., I should consider myself in a new world. * * * I am pleased with Fields and the [word missing] for remembering my parent in the midst of his misfortunes. Adieu. Once more live oh live my Father to see your truly affectionate child; peace can never rest in her heart should fate ordain it otherwise. Blessing on the benefactor of my beloved parent and his kindness shall be rewarded.

(The last letter of the series is from Mrs. Jarvis and dated years later: York, March 4th, 1813, to Dr. Peters, then living in Ne .. York.)

The length of time which has elapsed since I heard from you appears almost an age. Col. Bushe who is on his way to New York, has been so polite as to say he would take charge of a letter to you,

induces me to accept his offer, to inform you that the family are all well. Mr. Jarvis has been confined with the gout since Xmas till within a week and for four winters has been the same. My second son William has been extremely ill with pleurisy, his life was dispaired of, he is now on the recovery. My daughters, Maria Hamilton and Augusta McCormick, have each a son. Birdseye's family are well and live near me, he lately lost his son Albert, supposed to be bowel complaint. He has a son about five months old named Hugh Albert.

If this should be so fortunate as to find you I hope you will let me hear from you soon.

(The series closes with a quaint and interesting letter from Dr. Peters to William Jarvis, from New York, dated June, 1816. Though he was then 81 years of age the long letter is written in a firm, clear hand, with few erasures. It is addressed to "My beloved children, grand and great grand-children," and affirms "My consolation is highly increased by hearing of your prosperity in the good and honourable fortune of your children, which I impute to the prudent instructions of their parents." After news of various members of the family, he writes, "You and William Birdseye Peters, and your children, are my only children. My request is that you love one another with sincerity and tenderness whilst I live and after my demise—this is my last Will and wish.)

Maria married Hon. George Hamilton, founder of Hamilton, Ont., the 2nd son of Hon. Robert Hamilton, in July 1806.

THE END.

Notes

¹Note: Dr. John Doty, born in New York, 1745, a direct descendant of Edward Doty, a Pilgrim Father of 1620. Educated at Kings (now Columbia College, N.Y.), went to England for ordination. His first charge was Peekskill, N.Y., but he was in Schenectady in 1775 when the revolution broke out. A known loyalist he was harshly treated on several occasions and repeatedly arrested. Finally in 1777 being made a prisoner, he was granted liberty to move to Canada. At Montreal he was made chaplain to H.M. Royal Regiment of New York, the 60th. In 1781 his duty as chaplain was taken by his fellow-loyalist, Mr. John Stuart. In 1783 he was appointed to Sorel, where on Christmas Day, 1785, was opened for service "the first protestant church in old Canada." Dr. Doty was twice asked to return to charges in his native land, and for a short time appears to have been Rector to St. Anne's Church, Brooklyn, N.Y., returning however to Sorel, which he resigned in 1803. Died at Three Rivers, 1841.

²John Gray, 1st President of the Bank of Montreal.

³Rev. Philip Toosey, recommended by Lord Dorchester and Bishop Inglis for the proposed Bishopric of Quebec. He proceeded to England to urge his claims and issued a memorial which says that the Archbishop of Canterbury has promised to state his claims, and refers to Lord Dorchester and Gen. Alured Clarke, Lieut.-Governor of Quebec. After the creation of the See of Quebec, Dr. Mountain appointed Mr. Toosey as his Commissary, his salary being £150. He returned to Quebec in 1794, not sailing with "the Thirteen Mountains" in 1793 as he was busily engaged in forming a colony of agriculturists for settlement on his lands near Quebec. At Stoneham, 16 miles from the city he settled, spending lavishly on clearing land and building a large home with pleasure grounds and gardens in English style. He died in 1797.

⁴Major Littlehales, Military Secretary to Governor Simcoe, wrote the Journal of the Exploring Expedition from Niagara to Detroit in 1793.

⁵Sir George Pownal, Secretary and Registrar of Lower Canada. Salary, £400.

⁶Sir John Johnson had hoped that his great services to the Crown would lead to his being made Lieut.-Governor.

⁷Capt. Peter Russell, 64th Regt., Receiver-General of U.C., 1792-1808. Later Administrator, 1796-1899.

⁸Capt. Lethbridge, 6th Regt., later Colonel and Major-General.

⁹The Upper Canada Gazette, first issue Thursday, April 18th, 1793.

¹⁰Otherwise Levi or Levy Allen, brother of Ethan and Ira Allen, by whom Dr. Peters had been deceived. The Simcoe papers, vol. 1, p. 962 and 128, give a hint of the character borne by the brothers.

¹¹Now Cornwall.

¹²Gen. Simcoe had strongly recommended Dr. Peters appointment as bishop, even offering to give up £500 of his own income towards the stipend, while Toosey was the choice of Lord Dorchester in whose family he had been tutor and of Alured Clarke, the Lieut.-Governor of Quebec. When Governors of Provinces recommend for a vacant office each his own choice, it is likely neither will be appointed. A compromise is inevitable. The See was offered to the Right Reverend Jacob Mountain, who was consecrated on the 7th of July, 1793, first Bishop of Quebec.

¹³"Mad" Anthony Wayne, the American General.

¹⁴Alexander Macdonell formerly in Butter's Rangers.

¹⁵A Letter to Munson Jarvis, p. 284, Scadding's Toronto of old.

¹⁵Mr. Hallowell died March 28, 1799, aged 75 years, an account of his family is given in The Loyalists of Massachusetts.

¹⁶Gen. Benedict Arnold received a grant of 5000 acres in the Tps. of N. and E. Gwillinbury.

¹⁷Ebenezer Dibblee or Dibble, in charge of the mission at Stamford, Conn. and at Greenwich. His work at Sharon led to the building of a church there, and he was largely instrumental in the building of a new church at Danbury. Though a loyalist, he remained at his post, but suffered from the inability of the congregation he served to support him comfortably. He was one of the many clergymen who after peace was declared, sought the help of Dr. Peters—he was apparently offered a mission in Nova Scotia by the S.P.G., but through age and the infirmity of an insane daughter, was unable to accept. He died in 1799.

¹⁸Probably a brother-in-law of Dr. Peters, whose second wife was Abigail Gilbert, daughter of Judge Samuel Gilbert of Hebron.

¹⁹After the peace Dr. Peters appointed his brother-in-law, John Mann (who married Margaret Peters, his sister), and his son, Dr. Nathaniel, his agents or attorneys to settle his property affairs in Hebron, where he had much real estate. Andrew Mann evidently belonged to the same family.

²⁰Cyrus Owen of Hebron was Mrs. Jarvis' grandfather; by an old map the estates adjoin.

²¹Speaking of Governor Peter Hunter Dr. Scadding says, "all functionaries from the judge on the bench to the humblest employe held office in those days very literally during pleasure." Toronto of Old, p. 418.

²²This shows that his daughter had not forgotten the terrors of mob rule.

Though suffering much obloquy and persecution Dr. Peters preached on Sept. 4th, 1774, from the text—"Oh, that my head were waters and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the transgressions of my people." Referring no doubt, to the riots of the preceding week in Cambridge, Mass. On Tuesday 6th, he was mobbed and being again threatened he fled, leaving behind his daughter and infant son.

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"DEEDS SPEAK"

Women's Canadian Historical Society
OF TORONTO

TRANSACTION NO. 24

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1923-1924

ANNUAL REPORT

of the
Women's Canadian Historical Society
OF TORONTO
 1923-1924

Organized November 1895; Incorporated February 1896.

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MISS CARNOCHAN.	RT. HON. SIR GILBERT PARKER, Bart.
CHARLES MAIR, F.R.C.S.	MISS MACHAR.
PROF. G. M. WRONG.	BLISS CARMEN.
MISS K. M. LIZARS.	JOHN D. KELLY.
DR. LOCKE.	PROF. PELHAM EDGAR.
REV. JOHN MCLEAN, Ph.D.	MRS. J. W. F. HARRISON.
CHARLES G. D. ROBERTS.	PROF. H. T. F. DUCKWORTH.
PROF. A. H. YOUNG.	PROF. JOHN SQUAIR.
COLONEL WILLIAM WOOD.	W. D. LIGHTHALL, F.R.S.C., F.R.S.L.
*Deceased.	

President's Address

We have had a very short year owing to the change of date in our Annual Meeting which heretofore has always been held in November; the 16th of that month being originally chosen "in commemoration of Colonel James Fitz Gibbon and the services he rendered to Canada, and especially this city, that date having been his birthday." It has long been felt that an Annual Meeting at this date, broke the continuity of the year's programme, whereas a business meeting which concluded the Winter's work would, in the event of changes in the personel of the executive, leave the incoming officers plenty of time during the Summer to formulate their plans and prepare their programme. Accordingly the change in the constitution was approved by the Executive and duly ratified by the Society; the unwritten proviso being that at the November meeting in each year, a short paper or talk should be given on Col. Fitz Gibbon. Our Annual Meetings will in future be held in connection with the regular April meeting, or as soon after it as possible as the Executive may decide. . . .

It is a matter of sincere sorrow that we have lost one of our oldest and most valued members. On our very first list Miss MacCallum's name appears, and all through the years she has shown a warm interest in the Society, giving to it freely of her time and strength, and never failing when called upon to help, while she could do so. Only a few weeks ago she rang me up for a long talk on possible improvements to the programme. It is strange to realize she is gone, and to the sister left alone our warmest sympathy goes out.

In common with almost every other Society we feel the loss of Sir Edmund Walker. He was not an Honorary Member but he knew something of our endeavor to secure a Memorial Hall, and had said "When you are ready, come to me" and for this and other reasons we feel that he is a great loss to us, as to the whole community.

The great question before the Society in the coming year must be—what can be done to carry out the trust to which we have fallen heir? What is to be done with this Memorial Hall project? In view of the lack of interest shown and in face of the all too evident fact, that to secure our own building, the Society would have to make not only a great effort, but a series of efforts, it seems that it would be wise to see if effectual co-operation could be secured and if in return for

our money a permanent place of meeting to be called The Queen Victoria Memorial Hall could be secured; but you will notice the very suggestion carries two big ifs.

It is understood that the government intends to withdraw all grants to Historical Societies. If true this is greatly to be regretted. Much valuable work has been done by them in the past. In our own case, all the grant has been expended on printing the Annual Report and Transactions which are of permanent and recognized value; all other printing and expenses are taken from fees, etc., and we have only been able to carry on by the liberality of members who do not charge for postage, etc.

S. MICKLE, *Pres.*

Recording Secretary's Report

All the meetings of the Women's Canadian Historical Society have been well-attended and the papers of great interest.

November—"Laura Secord." Personal recollections by her granddaughter, Miss Laura Clarke.

December—"The Queen's Rangers," from the Simcoe Papers by Miss Ray, later published by the Ontario Historical Society.

January—"The French Canadian and Nationalism," by Rev. W. F. Seaman.

February—"Old Toronto" (illustrated), by Mr. T. A. Reed.

March—"The Opportunity for Historical Study in Ontario," by Prof. W. P. M. Kennedy.

April—"The French Royalist Settlement in York County," by Mrs. Balmer Neilly.

There have been six regular and six executive meetings. Notice of motion was given changing the date of annual meeting from November to April or May as being a more convenient date.

As many members were ignorant why the "Memorial Fund" was a "trust fund" a note of explanation was written and a pamphlet sent to each member reviewing the history of this fund. The Society withdrew its affiliation with the local Council of Women.

The usual shower for tubercular soldiers held in December was most generously supported by the members and the Christmas cheer was appreciated by the soldiers at Gravenhurst, Hamilton and other hospitals.

During the year we welcomed as new members:—Miss Eldon, Miss Banting, Mrs. Harry Kennedy, Mrs. A. W. MacNab, Mrs. Harton Walker, Mrs. Sedgewick and Mrs. Cowan.

Respectfully submitted,
HESTER SETTLE,
Recording Secretary.

Corresponding Secretary's Report, 1924

During the year Transaction No. 23 was printed.

This contains the letters of Secretary Jarvis of Upper Canada and those of his wife Hannah Peters Jarvis, to the latter's father the Rev. Samuel Peters in England.

This transaction has been much appreciated, and many requests for copies made.

It also contains a sketch of the life of our former President—Mrs. Forsyth Grant.

Copies of the Transactions were sent to the members of the Provincial Legislature and to our list of exchanges.

We regret to report the death of a highly valued member, during the year—Miss Josephine MacCallum, who for many years was Treasurer of the Society.

Correspondence was exchanged with Mr. F. C. Bissell, Director and Head of the Historical Society of Hartford, Connecticut, and also with the President and Secretary of the Historical Society of Hebron, in regard to our publication of this year. Four applications for assistance in preparing Historical Papers, were received, and the needed information sent. Transaction N. 21, was forwarded to a member of Milton Chapter I.O.D.E., in reply to a request for information regarding the early history of Toronto.

A short history of the city seems to be needed, being frequently asked for.

An inquiry was received from the Canadian National Parks Commission, for information regarding the burying ground in St. John's Square. We were pleased to be able to furnish the information desired, and also sent some pictures of the monuments. The Commissioner also asked that we

furnish the Parks Commission with a complete set of our Transactions, which was done.

Following is a list of publications received:

1. Paper on the life of Rev. Robt. Addison, by Prof. A. H. Young in Ont. Hist. Society.
2. Report of Librarian of Congress at Washington for 1923.
3. The Canadian History Society and its Organization, London, 1924.
4. Annual Report of Ont. Hist. Society, and proceedings of Annual Meeting, 1923.
5. The Canadian Historical Association's Report, 1923.
6. A series of pamphlets issued by the National Park's Com.
7. The Simcoe papers—Vol. 1 was donated by a member.

ETHEL S. NEILLY,
Corresponding Secretary.

Treasurer's Report

GENERAL ACCOUNT 1923-1924

RECEIPTS

Balance in Bank, November, 1923.....	\$285.34	
Members' Fees.....	86.00	
Monthly Teas.....	29.55	
Sale of Transactions.....	3.60	
Donation from Miss Mickle.....	1.60	
		\$406.09

EXPENDITURE

Printing Transactions.....	\$211.00	
Printing, postcards, etc.....	50.48	
Postage.....	9.60	
Wreath.....	5.00	
Sherbourne House Teas.....	8.00	
Women's Art Tea.....	8.00	
Women's Art, Rent.....	12.00	
Fees, Canadian Historical Society.....	5.00	
Transfer.....	1.60	
		\$310.68
Balance in Bank, April, 1924.....	95.41	
		\$406.09

MEMORIAL FUND ACCOUNT 1923-1924

RECEIPTS

Balance in Bank, November, 1923.....	\$271.84	
Interest on Bonds and Loans.....	44.99	
Donations.....	63.10	
		\$379.93

EXPENDITURE

Rent for Safety Box.....	\$3.00	
		\$376.93
Balance, Cash in Bank, April 24, 1924.....	\$376.93	
		\$379.93

SECURITIES

War Loans and Victory Bonds at 5½%.	\$7,300.00	
War Loans and Victory Bonds at 5%....	600.00	
Canada Permanent at 5%.....	1,100.00	
		\$9,000.00
Cash, Balance in Bank as above.....	376.93	
		\$9,376.93

Total Cash and Securities..... \$9,376.93

JEAN PARKS, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct.

L. D. STUPART, *Auditor.*

Transaction No. 24

Notes on the Founding of Christ Church, Campbellford by Miss Hilda Bonnycastle

The Township of Seymour was settled largely by families of English, Irish and Scotch descent. Many of these early settlers were retired officers of the British Army and Navy, who had spent many years in the service and defence of their country, in the old land and in Canada; and to these pioneers of the forest we owe many privileges now enjoyed. Capt. Masson Col. Raynes, Capt. Le Vesconte, Capt. McIntosh, Capt. Shea, Capt. Macdonald (father of the late Judge Macdonald of Guelph and grandfather of Dr. A. A. Macdonald of Toronto) and Capt. Cassan an account of whose coming to Canada in 1834 appeared in Transaction No. 22 of this Society, were some of these remembered names.

Among them many belonged to the Anglican faith, but at first for many years they had no church and no resident clergyman of any denomination among them, only occasional visits from travelling missionaries; and many responsibilities devolved upon the shoulders of these early settlers in the bush; such as the religious instruction of their children, as well as their education for there were no schools either for many years.

In the diary of Capt. M. S. Cassan we read his account of having been called upon to bury the dead, and even of having been called in where the services of a doctor were necessary.¹

In 1835 we have the earliest known account of religious services in Seymour, and the first mention of a proposed Anglican Church in that region. In that year travelling missionaries were sent out by the Bishop (Bishop *J. Jacob Mountain*) to visit the scattered flocks in the unorganized districts.

J. Jacob Mountain
From the Rev. Mr. Harpur's reports published by Rev. J. Pickford of Brighton in the Canadian Churchman of October 23rd, 1924, we read—

"Of his visit to Seymour on the 7th of June, 1835, he says: "On the Sunday following I assisted the Rev. Mr. Cochran in the performance of divine service in the Church at Belleville, and on Monday after having been detained for some hours in endeavouring to procure a horse, my own having got injured on the back by the saddle, I set out about noon, in company with Mr. Birdsall, Government Surveyor, to whom I am much indebted for a great deal of useful information respecting this portion of my mission; and I reached Rawdon Mills early in the evening. The next day I proceeded to the township of Seymour, which township, though not within the limits of the Midland District, I have been directed by the Lord Bishop to visit occasionally. From Major Campbell I met with the most kind and encouraging reception, and learned that the inhabitants of

the township are particularly desirous of having a clergyman resident among them, and to whose maintenance they would willingly contribute. They have also held the building of a church, or rather, I should say, churches in contemplation; but owing to some little disagreement about the proposed site, they have never yet been able to carry their measures into effect." Mr. Harpur again visited Seymour in August, preaching on the 11th of that month, Tuesday, in a barn in the fifth concession of Murray (that would be in or near the Village of Wooler) reaching Seymour the following Sunday. He officiated in the morning in a barn near Major Campbell's, and in the afternoon on the other side of the river "in the upper chamber of a grist mill belonging to Mr. Ramsay."² On this occasion he informs us that a Mr. John Tice kindly acted as clerk both morning and afternoon. On the 23rd Mr. Harpur, who at that time was in deacon's orders, exchanged with Mr. Givens of the Mohawk Reserve for the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. He records that there were twenty-four communicants. Seymour was again visited in September, when he found that they had decided to build two churches, one on either side of the river and that the sum of £30 per annum for three years had been subscribed towards the support of a resident clergyman. These expectations were apparently not fulfilled as Seymour continues on the list of Dr. Bethune's "distant stations" as late as the year 1849."

The optimistic reference to the "churches in contemplation," mentioned by the missionary were not fulfilled for many years. The difficulty of choice between the two sites offered contributing to the delay; and the place did not grow as rapidly as those whose hopes were founded upon an early construction of the canal had anticipated, so later it was found that one church was sufficient for the town.

In the meantime we have some slight knowledge of the conditions of religious life in the settlement which the missionaries continued to visit. Several places are mentioned where, more or less regularly, divine services were held. Many families of the Anglican faith had settled in what was called "The English Line." They brought some old English customs with them, for on Christmas Eve, some of them, the Hurd family and the Grills especially, used to drive to the homes of their neighbors singing Christmas Carols. A settler might be in bed and wakened by the singers, but the kindly custom was to rise and invite them in to have something to eat. By the "Line" the home of Capt. Le Vesconte was used for the purpose of divine service. Children were baptized there and confirmation services held. In the absence of a clergyman Mrs. Le Vesconte read the services herself and a Sunday School was held for the children. When the services were over Mrs. Le Vesconte would attend to the ailments of her congregation from her medicine chest. This medicine chest remained in the family until the breaking up of the home in 1918.³

Day children also went to this home for instruction during the week, before the building of the School House on the English Line in 1849.⁴

An old-timer recalls being taught as a boy by Miss Rose Le Vesconte, who became Mrs. McCauley, wife of the famous divine at Picton. Another Miss Le Vesconte became Mrs. Wills of Belleville, mother of Judge Wills. The old-timer before mentioned also recalls being confirmed by Bishop Strachan, when he went to his confirmation in his bare feet.

On the erection of the Schoolhouse divine services were held there.

A Building known as Tom Hall's School House on the east side of the river was also used for services. This house was on, or near, the farm now owned by the Walkinshaw family.

Services were also held in a log building owned by Mr. Boland, who kept the Post Office at "The Patch", known later as the old cricket grounds, now known as the Bowling Green, near the present site of the Pulp Mills at Ranney's Falls.

A room over John Gibbs' store was sometimes used and also the sitting-room of Mr. Willman's Hotel was on Sundays, chiefly Sunday afternoon, set aside for the purpose of worship. Mrs. Willman was very hospitable, and the children were given a piece of cake^s before returning on their homeward journey—often a distance of several miles. Services were also held at Meyersburg and the surrounding country, where the settlers were almost all English Church families, in earlier days. Before long a Methodist Church was built and many families joined that body.

This gives some idea of the struggles toward higher things of this infant community, out of which slowly emerged the town of Campbellford, so named after Major Campbell, Government land agent, a brother of Col. Campbell; the "ford" or ferry opposite his house was in early days the only means of crossing the river, later a bridge was built across the Trent river connecting Seymour West with Seymour East. This took the place of the ferry, which had long served the purpose. At this time Campbellford is described as being "a few log cabins surrounded by forest and called Seymour Bridge, or "The Bridge" only.

A little later, in 1850, Prof. John Macoun writes "At this time most of the land in Seymour West was bush and the roads little better than paths. One thing was creditable to the settlers, they were all willing to help each other, and "Bees" were the regular way of helping a farmer in distress. These early settlers made Canada! I do not remember an idle man, all worked, and although the pay was poor and the returns very often scarcely anything, I do not remember a dissatisfied man."

During the forties the Rev. Mr. Bowers then living at Cobourg, was visiting Clergyman to the Township of Seymour and held services in the several localities above mentioned. But these religious services, irregularly held, could not take the place of a resident clergyman or a church home. An extract from the Diary of Capt. M. S. Cassan shows this. "On the Atlantic Ocean on board *The Lady Franklin* June 13th, 1852— 'One of the passengers, a Scotch young man in this state-room is reading the Bible alone. To the credit of the Scotch people be it spoken

I have always found them a religious people and well conducted, and their clergy pay great attention to their flocks' instruction in their religious duties. I wish I could say the same of our Protestant clergy, the Missionary ministers now in the wilderness of Canada. Too many of them forget their duty and neglect their calling; too many ill become the holy office they have undertaken, and the neglect of such members seriously injures our protestant established church and many sheep have strayed from the fold, owing to the carelessness of the shepherd . . . to watch over them. This I know to be a fact in my own Township of Seymour, the Methodist Missionaries are gaining ground fast in the Canadian forests and I am not surprised.' "

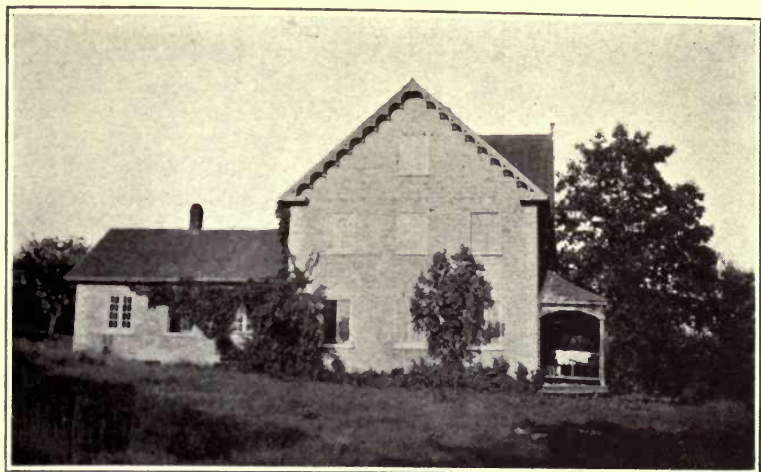
The writer of the diary was the son of Rev. Joseph Cassan of Ireland, and had been brought up by a religious father, and the above only speaks the anxiety that harboured in the breast of many an Anglican early settler who saw the church losing ground, and its members joining other denominations.

Old-timers tell us to-day, that upon the English Line where nearly all the families were originally of Anglican faith, there was no one to hold the people; the Methodists built a church in that locality and most of the families attended and became Methodists. There are eight Methodist churches to-day in the Township of Seymour, and one English Church, namely Christ Church, Campbellford.

The Rev. Mr. Bowers later left Cobourg and moved to Seymour, becoming the first resident Anglican clergyman in the Township. He resided in a log house provided by Mr. and Mrs. Henry Bonnycastle, south of and across the road from their own residence⁶ in Seymour West. It was a very commodious house for those days, being 36×42 feet, containing a hall and four rooms with closets on the ground-floor, and an upstairs. It had a verandah or stoop in front and a large French window at the back. It was surrounded by a grove of acacia trees and was called "The Acacias." It was built as a wedding present for Eleanor Rowed upon her marriage to Capt. Henry Bonnycastle, after the close of the Rebellion of 1837 in which he served under his father, Sir Richard Henry Bonnycastle.⁷

It was sometimes called "Bridal Lodge" on account of its being the first house of so many brides in early days. Besides Mrs. Bonnycastle, Mrs. Bowers came as a bride, and in later years it was the first home of Mr. and Mrs. Cyprian Caddy. Cyprian Caddy was the provincial land-surveyor who surveyed or laid out Campbellford; Frank St. being named from their son who was born in the log house mentioned above to which another Capt. R. H. Bonnycastle brought his bride in 1869, and which was occupied until 1876.

Mr. Bowers went from here to his several places of worship chiefly on horseback, or was sometimes driven to them by the neighbors.



Rowed Homestead built by Henry Rowed, opposite the church and rectory. Henry Rowed and his wife deeded 12 acres to the church. House now used as a hospital.



The Acacias or "Bridal Lodge" from the rear.
Note old well in foreground.

The desire for a church of their own had never ceased, and at last the faithful workers were in a position to attain their object. One of the retired military men who settled in Seymour was a Capt. John Tice, who with his family did a great deal towards starting the church. He took up a grant of several hundred acres from the Government; building the first house on the hill, the present site of the rectory. It was a good frame house which his family occupied for some years.

In 1834 the Rowed family came to Canada, including Mrs. Rowed, widow of a naval officer, two sons and several daughters, and took up land in Seymour west. They seem to have proved the deciding factor in building the church—for we find that while Mr. Bowers was occupying the log house placed at the disposal of the first resident clergyman, other members of the Rowed family were preparing a permanent residence for the clergyman.

Some of the Tice property became the property of members of the Rowed family—one of whom, Mrs. Carlow, built the large stone house on the river road which she occupied for many years—and later sold to Mr. Charles Buller. It was known for long years as the Buller Homestead and was a landmark in the township.

Bishop Strachan wisely desired that the new establishment should be put on a permanent footing, not only was a church to be built but “the congregation have been called upon by the Lord Bishop of the Diocese to provide the Missionary with a residence and to contribute fifty pounds annually to his maintenance”; and as the lesser proposition, the rectory was first provided.

As early as 1835 there was some difficulty as to the choice of a site for the church; Major Campbell had offered land for the purpose on the east side of the river, the site upon which the Roman Catholic Church was afterwards built; but the offer of twelve acres and a house from the Rowed family meant so much more, that it was accepted in preference; thus was settled the long-contemplated problem—the site of Campbellford Church.

In 1851 the land, which was bush, was with much difficulty surveyed for a rectory and glebe.

The lines were run and a brush fence made around three sides, the road allowance making the fourth. Five years later it was properly surveyed and added to the church. It comprised twelve acres, deeded to the Bishop of the Diocese “and to his successors forever” for the use of the church by Henry Rowed and “Kate his wife” who “in further consideration of the sum of five shillings of lawful money of Canada to her by the said Lord Bishop of Toronto in hand paid hath released, remitted and forever relinquished her dower in the premises with him the said John Lord Bishop of Toronto” etc. The house which stood upon the land was a gift to the Church by Henry Rowed's sister Mrs. Carlow.

By the deed one acre and a half out of the twelve, is excepted and reserved "to be held in trust forever as a site for the use of the said Church now erected thereon and for a burial ground in connection therewith according to the rites and customs of said church and for no other use or purpose whatsoever."

The land conveyed was part of Lot No. 10 in the seventh concession of the Township of Seymour. The deed was duly registered in March 1855, and is now in the Registry Office for the east riding of Northumberland Co.

The Rev. John Samuel Clarke, missionary of Seymour and Percy from 1853-1856, was the first clergyman to occupy the "Parsonage". It was during his incumbency the church was built. Before its erection services were held in the school house on the English Line.

That the parson of that day was not "passing rich" on fifty pounds a year we have evidence in the following incident—When Capt. Cassan (an extract from whose diary is given above) was in Ireland in 1852, his uncle, Capt. Elsmere, died, and his aunt gave him a large number of books for children, as well as his uncle's well-supplied wardrobe, which did not prove suitable for the backwoods. Included in the latter was a handsome frock-coat, which Mrs. Cassan decided to give to the Clergyman. She walked a distance of about five miles to the rectory, with her daughter Charlotte (Mrs. R. H. Bonnycastle) who as a little girl carried the bundle, containing the coat. "I have taken the liberty of bringing you this coat, Mr. Clarke, if you are not too proud to wear it," Mrs. Cassan said. "Proud! What have I to be proud of?" he said, raising two arms and showing very worn sleeves. He gratefully accepted the coat and wore it.

This was in 1854 and Mrs. Bonnycastle recalls picking their steps over the rough stones used in building the church, the roof of which was then on.

Church building in pioneer times and among a willing people has much the same history. The new church was to be of stone and it was reckoned would "cost between four and five hundred pounds," about three hundred of which had already been subscribed. Mr. George Ranney, the mill-owner, gave all the lumber used in building the church and Mrs. Carlow gave the timber and contributed fifty pounds towards the erection of the church, thus proving herself a great benefactress. She also gave a private gift of land to Mr. Clarke, the first rector. The settlers sent their teams and hired men, or went themselves and hauled the material needed for building, the stone, sand and lime for plaster, etc. The church was opened for worship in November, 1853.

The united efforts of these and other early settlers resulted in the building of the beautiful little church which has ever since been considered one of the prettiest churches in the Diocese outside the city of Toronto.

Help was also solicited from the Mother Church of Ireland. Miss Emily Cooke, a grand-daughter of Captain John Tice, still preserves a memorandum of monies received through her aunt, Mrs. George Tice, from her friends in Waterford, Ireland, for helping to build Christ Church. This list of subscribers may be incomplete but from it we find that about thirteen pounds sterling was raised the Bishop of Cashel and Waterford who sponsored it, giving three pounds. The collection was made on the certificate of Mr. Clarke, "missionary of Seymour West, Canada West," who writes thus of his congregation:—"Situated in the backwoods of the interior of Canada West, and depending on their agricultural labours (in a comparatively new settlement) for their livelihood, they are far from being competent to fulfil unaided their long cherished object; and therefore having first contributed to the utmost of their ability towards the promotion of their design they now appeal to benevolent friends of our church in Ireland," etc., etc.

The following heads of families were among the first attending Christ Church in 1854:

John Atkinson	Wm. Free
John Acheson	Thomas Free
James Archer	Hugh Gibb*
Gilbert Bedford	Wm. Ivey
Henry Bonnycastle	Thomas Little
Robt. P. Boucher	James Le Vesconte
Mr. Bennett	Frederick Macoun
Major Campbell	John Odell
Robt. Cockburn	Wm. Ogilvie*
Daniel Curling	George W. Ranney
Mrs. Carlow	Henry Rowed
Capt. M. S. Cassan	Thomas Rendle
Dr. Denmark	Edward Tildesly
Alex. Denmark	Mrs. Taylor
Wm. Dunk	Capt. John Tice
Alonzo Dunk	Capt. George Tice
Abraham Free	Wm. Varcoe ⁸

*Mr. Gibb and Mr. Ogilvie belonged to the Scotch Church but their nearest being at Burnbrae, they attended the English Church.

Two items from the day book of Alfred Rendle may be of interest. "Nov. 9th, 1854, Received from Mr. H. Rowed, church-warden, for strapping walls of church and altering door, £20.

"Aug. 16th, 1855, Plastering the church, John Forbes (£13.10s.)."

In 1856 Mr. Clarke left and until Feb. 1858 the parish was without a resident clergyman, during which time occasional visits were paid by visiting clergymen, one of whom was the Rev. Charles Ruttan.

The next incumbent, Rev. F. G. S. Groves, remained for ten years till 1868. In 1861 the church being freed from debt was consecrated by

Bishop Strachan. The gallery was added, and to help to defray the expense of some interior furnishings Mrs. Groves solicited help from her friends in England. Mr. Groves held services at Warkworth in Percy Township and fortnightly in the School-house on the English Line, leaving his horse at the Varcoes and walking to the school.

1868-1875. Rev. Jonas Stamer Baker followed Mr. Groves. The old frame-house was burned down and the present Rectory built in 1871, the rector defraying a good deal of the expense of building. He married Grace, daughter of Henry Rowed, and they were the first to occupy the house.

1875-1883. The Rev. Ralph Hinds succeeded Mr. Baker. During his day the chancel was added to the church. The burial ground of the church, which had been in use for over twenty years, was condemned for that purpose owing to the dampness of the soil, and the new cemetery⁹ on the hill was added to the church in consequence and consecrated.

Rev. Thaddeous Walker was rector from 1885-91. During his pastorate more land was added to the new cemetery, and the school-house on Rear St. was bought by the church with a legacy bequeathed to it by Mr. Robert Cockburn. This was intended to serve as a site for a Parish Hall and had originally been a Bible-Christian place of worship. The rectory was also enlarged and improved. Sunday afternoon services were held by Mr. Walker at Warkworth, and at times these services were taken by Mr. Jupp, who lived at the rectory.

1891-1901. The Rev. W. E. Cooper was rector during this period and many improvements were added to the church, as stained glass memorial windows and furnishings. The services at Warkworth were discontinued. Mr. Cooper endeavoured to re-establish the holding of services on the English Line, and for some time they were held on Sunday afternoons in the School House. But they had been so long discontinued and the Methodist Church was so well established that the trustees objected to the School House being used for the purpose.

Mr. Cooper devoted much time to the instruction of the young people, and for many years after his departure it was a recognized fact that those trained by him were among the best workers in the church.

1901-1911. The Rev. A. J. Reid followed Mr. Cooper and was rector of Christ Church for ten years. He edited the Parish Monthly Magazine, which was full of interesting accounts of improvements to the church, rectory and grounds and of other activities. During his pastorate, the Jubilee of the 50th anniversary of the church was held in 1904, in which year the pipe organ and the organ loft were added to the church's equipment.

The more recent history of the little church is known to all Campbellford and needs not to be recounted.

Notes

¹Extract from Capt. Cassan's Diary—during one of his visits to Ireland—"It did not take me long to settle my affairs, and I think I remained six weeks at my mother's in my native village. I must not forget the happy weeks at Ballykelcavan with Sir Edward Walsh (a relative) and his brother with whom the Revds. McGrath and Mears used frequently to dine. My stories of Canadian bush life, made them roar with laughter, especially when I told them how I acted as accoucheur, made coffins, buried the dead, and read funeral services over my neighbour's children. I had a pleasant time with Sir Edward, and when I went to bid him farewell he handed me a letter of introduction from the Earl of Derby to Lord Metcalfe the then Governor-General of Canada; (Gov.-Gen. from Mch 1843-Nov. 1845) and in shaking hands with him he placed a £20 bank note in my hand. . . . Before my return to Canada the Rev. Mr. Johnson sent me a box of school books, bibles and prayer-books to take out to Mrs. C. for our children. These were duly appreciated and most useful to my wife in her endeavor to educate the "babes in the wood".

²Mr. Ranney owned the mill here mentioned opposite the site of the town power house; in which services were often held in early days. In later years he owned the mills at Ranney's Falls which as well as Ranney St., Campbellford, were named after him. The name Ramsay's Mills is not known in Campbellford.

Note from Capt. Cassan's diary, Feb. 8, 1850, "Sold to Mr. George Ranney grist mill and turning lathe—for a horse, bridle and saddie. £3 17s. 9d. Cash for John Gilcrist and as much sawn lumber as will build a frame barn 30×50, and to be delivered on or before the 15th day of November 1850 at Robert Beatty's farm on the bank."

The grist mill and turning lathe were some of the numerous stock brought to Canada by Capt. Cassan in anticipation of the life in the backwoods.

³Mrs. Le Vesconte not only took the services and gave out medicines from her famous mahogany chest, but kept many of the congregation to dinner.

⁴Transactions No. 22, page 29, gives an account of the securing of this school to the district by Mrs. Cassan.

⁵Miss Bonnycastle writes, "I spent some time recently with the bare-footed candidate now over 80; and an aged lady over 90, who received the cake from Mrs. Millman and attended services in all the places mentioned."

⁶The old house had many occupants after my grand-parents left it sometime in the forties. Relatives and friends lived there, rent was never thought of and my grandfather often did legal business for the neighbours free of charge. Maids could be secured for three or four dollars a month and there was no shortage of help in early days.

⁷Sir Richard Bonnycastle, R.E., served in the war of 1812 and was knighted for services in connection with the defence of Kingston in 1837,

and later held the position of Commanding Royal Engineer in Newfoundland. He lived for some time in Toronto, two of the books he wrote were—"Canada As it was, is, and may be," and "Canada and the Canadians in 1846."

⁸Miss Bonnycastle writes, "An old clipping, 20 years old gave me the names of heads of families attending the church in 1854; but I recalled my father and Mr. Rowed discussing the incorrectness of the list then published in our local newspaper and I am able to send you a revised and more correct list."

Of her work in preparing this paper Miss Bonnycastle writes, "I have gathered it bit by bit, thread by thread from many sources. The pioneer families have many of them moved away, but I have corresponded with their descendants and relatives, and many recent letters confirm the data I sent you directly from those who knew. I have kept notes for years on local things, diaries helped me out. My mother remembered much and an old scrap-book she had made was invaluable".

⁹This new cemetery was also the gift of Henry Rowed.

These munificent gifts entrusted to the church through the sacrifices of former members should lead to its becoming one of the strongest parishes in the diocese.

Canada in 1834

Recollections of Mrs. Rothwell taken down by her daughter Mrs. Edward Leigh

We came out in the *Russell Baldwin*, a fine sailing vessel (there were no steamers in those days), to New York. Our party consisted of your father, your uncle Rothwell Garnett, myself and son, sixteen months old, and the servants, Robin Hanly, Nicky and Johnnie Dunn; the latter was only a boy and used to take care of the child. Bess Armstrong and her family were also on board. New York surprised me. One little incident I can never forget, that of the woman of the hotel taking me into a room to see her *works*, which were patchwork quilts, one for every day in the year—I expected to see books, of course.

We went by boat, first on the river and then canals within fourteen miles of Niagara, when we hired a conveyance which took us to the ferry. There was nothing then in which to cross the Niagara river but a small open boat. "Let us not all be lost together" was my advice, so we first sent over your uncle with the child and money, several hundred pounds, and then we went across. A black man with a light wagon met us, into which he put the few trunks we had with us. (Robin and Nicky were in charge of the heavy luggage.) I got in and sat on top of them, until we came within sight of the Hotel, when my Old Country pride got the better of me and your father helped me out, and we walked the rest of the way—I should not be so foolish now—"not at seventy-seven, Mother"). I remained at the Clifton House while your father went in an "Extra" to Jack Radcliffs, about eight miles away. He told them to send my dinner upstairs. Of course, I could not go to the public table. I waited and waited, but no dinner appeared, so I rang, and after repeated efforts the man came. I asked him to bring me something, but when it came it was in such an uncomfortable way that I sent for the proprietor of the house and told him as we paid for the best I required it; in a short time a sumptuous dinner came up, and with it a waiter, who was so *polite* that he evidently thought it a rudeness to allow me to eat it in silence, for he took a seat on the sofa and talked to me. The Hotel was owned by Gen. Murray¹ and rented to the other person;² it seemed more like home than I expected, when Gen. Murray drove up in his curricule, with his wife and a servant behind, to call upon me. Then your father returned with Jack Radcliff and we formed a good-sized party in the sitting-room. We had wine, too, (your father bought all his stores of wine and other things from Mr. Alma of Niagara to take up the country). Some strangers came in and sat

down, and Gen. Murray got up and said in the most dignified way, "This is a private apartment," whereupon they left.

I went to the Radcliff's and remained for five weeks with them, while your father went up the country with the heavy luggage and the two men, leaving Johnnie Dunn with me to mind the child, which was very ill part of the time. He selected a farm in the County of Oxford close to the village named Ingersoll, after a Col. Ingersoll who had died of cholera two years before. There was a small log house upon it, inhabited by a family named Warrington. Leaving the men and things at the little hotel, with instructions that they were to begin chopping a fallow at once as it was nearly the end of August, he returned back to Toronto, or Little York, to get the deeds and pay for the land: the deeds from Mr. McCutcheon (the Hon. Peter). The quantity was eight hundred acres, for which he paid a pound an acre in ready money.

He joined me at Jack Radcliff's and prepared a comfortable wagon with two spring seats, the front for himself and your uncle, Rothwell Garnett, the other for the child and myself, and Johnnie Dunn sat behind on the trunks. They made an awning over the whole with coarse linen sheets stretched over saplings, and we were very comfortable; getting on to Hamilton that night, and to Ingersoll the next day, finding the road fenced in on either side, and surprisingly good farm houses here and there. The men were in the wood chopping, and as it was not late we left the horses at the hotel, and went to meet them—your uncle carrying the child. We had to cross the river at a very shallow ford, and your father carried me across. I was very small and slight then, with wonderfully high spirits and determined, altho' I had opposed coming to Canada, now that I was in it, to make the best of everything, and not sit down and growl.

We stayed a fortnight at the hotel, until the Warrington's moved out, and then we took possession of our log house; having commenced already getting out timber for the new house, in which you were born; a man named Henderson built it. There were two small houses joined together by a little passage, and not having a stable, the horses and goat had to occupy the smallest, so that when we sat at table we could see them swishing about their tails sometimes, which highly amused me; although it horrified my Mother when she had my account of it in a letter. We had a large fireplace with a crane to hang the pots and kettles on. I had slept on a hair mattress on the floor the first night, and then they put up the mahogany bedstead for me, and one iron one for your uncle, and I got Henderson to make clothes horses upon which I pinned sheets to serve as screens. Your uncle, when we had been there some time and after the stable had been built and the place thoroughly cleaned, planed boards and floored it and put them round the room. I called it my *deal box*, we dined in it first on Christmas day. I then unpacked such things as were necessary to make it comfortable. We had the oval mahogany

table that belonged to your grandfather, Hugh Rothwell, at Trinity College, Dublin, when he was a young man; half a dozen mahogany chairs, which fitted into a case; your father's desk, also of mahogany with drawers below it; I had shelves put up in each recess beside the chimney to form little side tables (those were delightful times when you could bore a hole with an auger and put in a couple of pegs and make a shelf wherever you wanted one), so together with the dark brown curtains of linen and woollen which you remember afterwards at "The Glebe" my *deal box* looked cosy enough. When Bess Armstrong came to see us on her way back to Ireland, she exclaimed at the appearance of comfort, and said she had never taken even the trouble of unpacking her things, she was so disappointed with the country. I was not so, however, it was better on the whole than I expected, and it did no good and gave me a homelike feeling to try and make the room look pretty.

I was for _____ without a female servant and Johnnie was invaluable, the men went out to chop the first thing in the morning, and as the cholera was hardly out of the country, I thought it bad for them to go without eating; so every night I prepared either broth, or rice milk very thick, and left it in the "digester," where it cooked and was ready for them; in the morning I got up and handed it out to them before they started. Then we got up and breakfasted, after which they came in, and we went out, either to ramble about or sit on logs until they had done; when they went out we would find everything washed up and put away and the floor swept as neatly as possible. I could not get a woman to wash, so tried to do some of the child's clothes while your father was away in the woods for fear he should see me. Johnnie was my confidant, and used to put the things out at night to dry and take them in before anyone was up in the morning; then I ironed them by snatches, and the good boy brought down a tray-full of the plain things, which he had ironed all by himself up in the loft on one of the men's chests.

One day before we moved out to the farm, I wanted to go there and your uncle took me up behind him on the horse to ford the river, there was no bridge then. After that they felled a tree across one place. Just as we reached the opposite bank the horse put its hind foot into a hole, and I quickly slipped off over its tail into all the mud; half afraid it might kick and yet so amused that I laughed most heartily. Your father was there, too, so I retreated to the bush, high cranberry bushes, I recollect well, and after taking off my wet clothes, put on his coat, until Rothwell galloped to the Hotel for dry things. I was greatly afraid of being seen, but your father said there was no one there to see me. They always had a laugh against me for my ducking. I who used to be such a rider in the Old Country; however it would not have happened if I had been on a saddle.

I used often to ride over to the village after we moved: one day they brought out a chair. I asked what it was for, and was surprised to

hear it was to *help* me to mount. They had never seen anyone able to spring into the saddle. It made me laugh—indeed I was always laughing at the curious ideas and ways of the country—but it was better than crying.

Lt.-Gen. John Murray was at this date a large property owner at Niagara Falls. He came of a distinguished Scotch family and was at one time Civil and Military Governor of Demerara, British Guiana. Interested in the sugar plantations when all slaves within the British Empire were freed, 1833, he received £100,000 indemnity from the Government. He was at St. Helena when Napoleon died in 1821, and from there brought a slip of the weeping willow trees which surrounded his tomb and planted it on his (now the Summer's) property at Niagara Falls. From this the willows so prominent in that region were propagated.

Murray owned much land near the Falls. He did not own the Clifton House, but was part owner of the Pavilion Hotel, an equally large house, later destroyed by fire, and the property Barnett's Museum stood on belonged to him; his name appearing over 30 times in an old map of "The City of the Falls" in the early eighteen-thirties.

It is not known when he came to Canada. He left in 1837 to educate his family in Europe and died in Paris in 1841, aged 62 years. Later his widow returned to Drummondville where a grand-daughter still lives.

Harmanns Crysler in 1826 built and conducted the original Clifton House; also the Prospect House on Main Street, and at one time ran the Pavilion Hotel. He owned much of the site of the town of Clifton, and his fine stone residence, "Hunter's Lodge," is still in possession of his family. He died in 1884.

I am indebted to Mr. R. W. Geary, President of Lundy's Lane Historical Society, and to Gen. Murray's grand-daughter, Mrs. Wynn, for the above information, very little being known of Gen. Murray.

Some Incidents in Mrs. Rothwell's Life, by her granddaughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Cameron

Prefatory Note

The Rev. John Rothwell married Elizabeth Garnett. He at first studied medicine, but after obtaining his degree, changed to the church, studying at Trinity College, Dublin, where he was ordained. He had a living in Ireland, but gave it up to come out here as a missionary. He took up land near Ingersoll and Woodstock. Here he labored without a stipend and suffered many hardships, provisions being brought in twice a year over 60 miles of corduroy roads.

He died in Kingston in or about 1865 and is buried at Ingersoll. Mrs. Rothwell died December 1891, aged 93 years, and is also buried in Ingersoll.

Mrs. Rothwell had as an heirloom a ring, "the Alicia Elizabeth ring" which descended from mother to daughter, and often lent this to Mr. Rothwell to marry people with. Many brides temporarily received it, until one acquisitive maiden thought it went with the ceremony and was with difficulty persuaded to give it up. After which Mrs. Rothwell decided to lend it no longer. This ring is now in the possession of Mrs. Elizabeth Cameron the sixth owner. It was re-set about 50 years ago which seemed to break the charm, as Mrs. Cameron has no daughter.

While Mrs. Rothwell was still at her first home, near what is now Ingersoll, she allowed a young maid to go and visit her home which was some distance away across part of the forest. The girl wished to take the baby with her as she was very fond of him, so Mrs. Rothwell consented, merely advising her to hurry back, as the leaves had fallen thickly in the woods, obscuring in some places the paths.

However, when the time came for her return, she soon lost her way, and shouting and screaming for aid till her voice was gone, she wandered on until, exhausted and terrified at the thought of the wolves and bears which infested the woods, sank at the foot of a large tree, and taking off her shoe, rapped the heel against the tree to attract the attention of the searchers she knew would be sent out after her.

When darkness fell, and the maid and the precious baby did not return, Mrs. Rothwell became seriously alarmed, so after waiting a short while, Mr. Rothwell, his brother, and every available man set forth on the search. At last after many hours, one man thought he heard a faint tapping, so they went towards the sound, to find the poor worn-out faithful girl, voiceless, and shivering at the foot of the great tree. She had gradually taken off nearly all her own warm clothing in which to wrap the child, to keep him from getting cold, and he was sleeping peacefully, warm and uninjured.

My mother was one of the younger children, and she has often told me of how they used to hear the wolves howling round the place at night, and how her father and his helpers used to get up and go out with guns to shoot them and the bears who were prowling round to get at the stock. They did get them too, sometimes.

My grandmother's stock of furniture was, of necessity, none too plentiful, and upon the approach of some anniversary, she was carefully excluded from my grandfather's room until the eventful day arrived, when she was proudly ushered in and presented with several chairs and a table he and his brother had made in their leisure hours for her. I asked her if she never got sufficiently curious to peep through the keyhole, which idea she indignantly repudiated!

One day, as was not unusual, a tramp applied for assistance. He was given a good meal, and as it was getting late, a blanket and a comfortable place in the hayloft were given him for the night. Next morning one of the men came to tell Mr. Rothwell that the man was still there and appeared to be very ill. Mr. Rothwell who had studied medicine for years before entering the church, went at once to see him and ascertained that the man was suffering from black typhus. He moved him to one of the single men's rooms above a stable while the man went elsewhere, and there he attended him for a long time, giving him the same kind care he would have bestowed on one of his own family. His food, etc., was placed in the yard at certain times, where Mr. Rothwell would go to fetch it, as he would not allow anyone but himself to come in contact with the patient. He changed his clothes and took every precaution before mixing with others, so none of his family took it. Still it was a risk when one considers he had a wife and five small children. The tramp recovered, and went his way, a very grateful man.

My mother as a very little girl was often sent by her mother to carry little delicacies to any sick Indian woman. The Indians were good neighbours, and welcomed the little girl. She was very much taken with the way they strapped the papooses in their birch bark holders and hung them up on the branch of a tree when the mother was tired or busy. About 1846 Mr. Rothwell moved to Amherst Island.

Letters to Mrs. Rothwell from Rev. Philip Harding giving some account of his Mission at Apsley

We have a glimpse of Mrs. Rothwell in her later years, which shows that even in old age her ardent spirit had not failed; with enfeebled strength she was still eager to do things. Her correspondent, the Rev. Philip Harding, writes from Apsley, Ont. He had evidently lately returned from Toronto, where he had pleaded the cause of his mission which Mrs. Rothwell had promised to help, if possible.

His letter, which is dated "Apsley, June 23rd, 1880," is continued thus:

July 2nd—This is the third attempt I have made to complete my letter, very frequently thinking of you and feeling that you will think me unkind and wanting in courtesy in not having sent it sooner. Since I began a couple came to me to be married, walking six miles through the bush, and then taking a wagon for 12 or 14 miles. They are from a place in the diocese of Ontario, are Presbyterians, and seemed to have so poor an idea of the solemnity of Holy Matrimony that they wished me to marry them in a tavern! I could not do that and the church close by.

Another thing has occupied my mind very much and my time considerably; one of those things unfortunately too frequent in the bush—a family burnt out. They are quite respectable people, they lost a child—a nice bright little girl last March, one I baptized about 2 years ago—and the mother has been very sad and dejected ever since. The father was going to work about a week ago and thought the mother had better go with him, as the children would all be at school and stay at a neighbour's till he came back. Their nearest neighbour is more than a mile away. When they returned everything was burnt, all their clothing except what they had on. Their provisions, including about 100 lbs. of maple sugar, their own making, two feather beds, a good assortment of carpenter's tools, stove, clock, furniture, and they had taken care (as they thought) to put the fire quite out before leaving. Poor things, I went to see them. A relation had given them a home. What faith it requires to believe that *all* things work together for good to them that love God, yet it is so. O that we might know the love of Christ which *passeth knowledge* and so realize the almost awful context "be filled with all the fulness of God."

I was glad to find so many in Toronto like-minded with yourself, in a wish to be useful to the church, and thankful all must be who know you that God graciously preserves your intellect clear and gives you many mercies (now in your 85th year).

I have but 4 stated congregations, three of them are small, but almost wholly of church people; the other is larger but with *one* exception (so far as I know) all dissenters. There are three other places I must visit, as soon as possible, but they are too far away for Sunday services and I must try week-days.

The original, must I call it the Parish Church, was built by funds supplied through the late Capt. Hall, R.N. of Clifton sent to his son here, who was in difficulties and misappropriated a large part, so that the church got no further than a mere shell. About the time I was stationed here by the late Bishop (Bethune) as lay reader, it was floored and seated and a pulpit put in; but the walls are not plastered neither is the ceiling, but both are covered with a thick brown paper, which shakes and breaks loose with the wind, and frequently needs repairing.

The wood-work is all uncoloured, the chancel is a place railed off with a huge pulpit on one side, and a sort of sentry box on the other, which serves as a vestry. There is no chancel window, and the chancel so-called, is at the west end. There is no reading desk or font and is the most barn-like building that I ever saw called a church. It would take 60 stg to make it suitable as a house where "His Honor dwelleth," and that is altogether out of the reach of the congregation, so I only think of it as a sort of shadowy hope. A new church I have built 5½ miles from the 1st, with plastered walls, arched roof, a neat chancel, with suitable window and communion table, pulpit, prayer-desk and font, churchy and well arranged; but we want the walls and woodwork stained and covers for the communion table (Mrs. Leigh your daughter gave me what makes two good fair white linen cloths), and we cannot do more at present. It has cost \$733.94 towards which I have collected some \$260.00 in cash, and the congregation and friends have given \$131.00 in work and materials, leaving some \$343.00 due; of which I have advanced about \$260.00 and am willing to give or forego \$200.00 of it. This is the best church congregation I have, nearly all old country people, attentive, devout, well-conducted and very poor. I went to one a few weeks ago taking a little supply, as I heard they had nothing. The wife told me the day before, Sunday, they had no dinner, and thought to go to bed without supper, but a neighbor sent them a loaf. She at once sent her husband (they have four children) to another house 2 miles away, with half the loaf, who, when he came back, said they had had no bread for a week and had lived on their seed potatoes and nettles! I did what I could to relieve them. These are all communicants, and the women are the only two in the congregation who have appreciated the Church's order, of "Thanksgiving of Women" or churching.

It is not uncommon for one family to borrow from another some article of clothing to go to church, so wearing it in turns; families frequently do so among themselves. In this church when the plate was handed round at the usual offertory very recently not a thing was put on it. I saw the distressed look of the churchwardens, I felt the sorrow of the people, I turned to the Holy Table, and held up the plate and besought Our Lord to look upon its emptiness, to pity our poverty and to supply all our need, according to the riches of his mercy. When I turned to the people I saw a look of enquiry and told them what I had done, lest they should think I had implied a reproach against them. They were visibly affected. Thank God, I have no cause to be ashamed of my regular people and am thankful to believe a good work is being done in His Name.

I have a congregation consisting largely of Church people 8 miles away from any church; meeting in a private house which many don't like. They will build a church if they can get \$100.00 to buy boards, nails, windows, etc. Indeed my wants are very large. I told the Bishop I wanted \$5000 for church purposes. One thing the poverty of my

Mission enables me abundantly to do—to give the friends of the Church an opportunity of proving that “it is more blessed to give than to receive”; and many do prove it. I almost begrudge them that blessing.”

Letter ends with fears that to copy his letter and send it to friends (as she had apparently promised to do) may prove too great a tax on her time and strength. With good wishes to his good friends Major and Mrs. Leigh, and is signed

PHILIP HARDING.

Second Letter, 9 Months Later

Apsley, Mch. 30th, 1881.

My dear Mrs. Rothwell, .

It gives me great pleasure to report to you the good effects which have followed the very kind interest you took in my Mission nearly a year ago.

It would seem as if a Merciful God, in requiring you to retire from all active work, even writing and suggesting, should give you proof of the blessing which has followed the efforts you so readily made when able. You will remember giving Mrs. Moody a copy of my letter which I wrote to you in answer to enquiries concerning this place. Mr. Moody on arrival in England, even while “so busy, unsettled, and tied down by large family cares,” at once took a very effective way to carry out your ideas. The letter or part of it was sent to Miss Barber, Crick Road, Oxford, editor of “The Net,” who wrote the kindest letter to me asking further information, which I furnished. I heard nothing more for some time. On 28th Feby I received four letters from England; this was so unusual that instead of going to my study to open them I called together my “Privy Council” to witness. One had a post-office charge of 6 cents for insufficient postage; on opening it I found 5/ in postage stamps for the use of my Mission. The second was from the same M. B. M. Clifton, who had discovered the error in postage and enclosed 1/ for the deficiency. The next was from Miss Claxton, West Pennard Vicarage, Glastonbury, with £10! The fourth from Miss Anderson of, or at Torquay with £15!! We looked at one another. I could not tell what to say; it was like a gasp of thankfulness.

Since then I have received 10/ from Miss Dickenson Ventnor, and \$10.00 from Miss Henderson, through that very good churchman, James Henderson of Toronto, also offers of clothing for my people and altar covers and other furniture for my churches. Then comes a very kind and considerate letter from Mr. Moody enclosing a cheque for \$10.00 and stating that Miss Barber has received “a nice little sum” for me but is not going to remit just yet as she hopes that more may come in. And now Major Leigh tells me he has sent the pamphlet containing my letter (yours really) to friends in England hoping they may help. What must I do? May I ask you to join in thanksgiving to our Gracious God and Saviour for His great blessing on all who are striving to further his work in whatever way in whatever part of the world * * * Thus God has blessed your efforts” and the letter closes.



"DEEDS SPEAK"

Women's Canadian Historical Society
OF TORONTO

TRANSACTION NO. 25

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The Colony of French Emigrés in
York County, 1798.

1924-1925

ANNUAL REPORT

of the

Women's Canadian Historical Society OF TORONTO

1924-1925

Organized, 1895; Incorporated, 1896.

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Past Presidents.....	*MRS. S. A. CURZON.
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	*MRS. FORSYTH GRANT.
	*MISS FITZGIBBON.
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Recording Secretary.....	MISS ROBERTS, 20 Earl Street.
Treasurer.....	MRS. W. A. PARKS, 69 Albany Ave.
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W. D. LIGHTHALL, F.R.S.C., F.R.S.L.	PROF. JOHN SQUAIR.

*Deceased.

President's Address

In the death of Janet Carnochan, of Niagara, we have lost an Honorary member, and the cause of Canadian History an untiring supporter. Her enthusiasm was never-failing and she lived to see a great change in public sentiment. Years ago people doubted whether Canada had a history, now every new development is eagerly welcomed. * * * * *

Throughout its whole existence the late Mrs. Robert Sullivan was a faithful member of this Society. To her, we owe transactions Nos. 6 and 10. In 1914 she read a paper on "Henry Dundas and Sir George Yonge," from whom our streets were named. Gentle and brave she will long be remembered by all who knew her.

The Conveners of Memorial Committee, your Treasurer and President, interviewed the Government as to the permanent home for the Society and were assured that the plan as outlined for the Victoria Memorial Hall would shortly be carried through. In the meantime our fund is steadily growing. . . .

In regard to old Fort York a good deal of research has been done—it was necessary to clear the ground and find out what body was in charge, etc.

The exterior of Howard House, has been renovated and put in thorough order by the Park's Commissioner during the year, thus saving a priceless example of an early Toronto home to the city and country.

For years our members have been urged to build up their country by buying whenever possible goods made in Canada or in the Empire. I am glad to note that other societies and the public are giving attention to this subject.

In conclusion, some of our wants may be stated: Members are asked for good photographs of fine old houses in the country or in different towns as well as from Toronto. As ever war letters are desired. War books are disappearing from our shelves, many of these would prove invaluable in our library, and members are asked to contribute these.

* * * * *

SARA MICKLE.

Recording Secretary's Report

During the past year there have been seven regular and eight executive meetings of the Women's Canadian Historical Society which have been well attended. The historical papers of a very high order.

October—"History in the Making by Our Soldiers," by Mrs. A. Van Koughnet.

November—"Settlement and Resettlement," by Prof. C. N. Fay.

December—"Canada's Gifts to World Progress," by Dr. L. B. Jackes.

January—"Old Toronto Houses," by Dr. F. Grasett.

February—"Notes on Founding Christ Church, Campbellford," by Miss Hilda Bonnycastle.

March—"Berkeley House," by Mrs. Edgar Jarvis.

"Notes on a Visitor's Book at Brock's Monument, 1821," by Miss K. Symons.

April—"Colborne Lodge," by Mrs. A. G. H. White.

"Personal Reminiscences of the Howard Family," by Mrs. John Bruce.

On March 10th an open meeting was held at which Dr. W. A. Parks gave an illustrated lecture, entitled, "With the British Scientists on the Western Excursion."

On May 28th a meeting was held at High Park where the historic treasures bequeathed by the late John G. Howard, donor of High Park, were viewed by the members of your Society. Following the inspection of Colborne Lodge, the afternoon was concluded with "tea" in one of the beautiful open spaces of the park.

At all meetings different members have brought interesting historical records or relics for exhibition; these have added much to our pleasure and to our knowledge of early conditions.

The following new members have been welcomed: Lady Moss, Miss Bond, Miss Janet Price, Mrs. F. Molyneux, Mrs. John Bruce, Mrs. S. J. Radcliffe, Mrs. D. P. Rogers, Mrs. J. W. Daniel, Mrs. Wallace Bruce, Mrs. A. E. Lavell, Mrs. George Russell.

With deep regret your Society records the death of Colonel G. T. Denison. He was among the first of the many dis-

tinguished men who have honoured and encouraged us by becoming honorary members of the Society. An ardent patriot, his love of country stirred the loyalty of others; and his long and honourable service to this city and to this country, to which he gave of his best, should ever be remembered with gratitude.

Respectfully submitted,

CAROLYN ROBERTS,

Recording Secretary.

Corresponding Secretary's Report for Year Ending April, 1925

During the year Transaction No. 24 was printed.

This contains:

1. Notes on the Founding of Christ Church, Campbellford, by Hilda Bonnycastle.
2. "Canada in 1834"—Recollections of Mrs. Rothwell, taken down by her daughter, Mrs. Edward Leigh:
 - (a) Some incidents in Mrs. Rothwell's Life, by her granddaughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Cameron;
 - (b) Letters to Mrs. Rothwell from the Rev. Philip Harding, giving some account of his mission at Apsley, Ont.

Copies of this Transaction were sent to members of the Legislature and to our list of exchanges.

We regret to report the death of Mrs. Ellis, a very valued member of long standing in the Society.

An inquiry regarding the overland journey of some Toronto men, in 1862, to the West, was received from Dr. Wade, of Kamloops, B.C., who is collecting material for a book. The files of the *Toronto Globe*, in the Parliamentary Library, were gone through and the information found in them, was forwarded to Dr. Wade.

Publications received:

Washington Historical Quarterly from Seattle, for April, 1924, also July, 1924.

The Report of the Canadian Historical Association.

ETHEL S. NEILLY,

Corresponding Secretary.

Treasurer's Report

GENERAL ACCOUNT, 1924-25

RECEIPTS

Balance in Bank, April, 1924.....	\$95.41	
Members' Fees.....	60.00	
Treasury Grant.....	200.00	
Sale of Transactions.....	2.00	
Monthly Teas.....	52.15	
Bank Interest.....	6.25	
Loaned to Memorial Account.....	1.00	
		<hr/>
		\$416.81

EXPENDITURE

Printing Transactions.....	\$105.40	
Printing, Post Cards, etc.....	89.59	
Postage and Stationery.....	3.40	
Tea Service at Sherbourne House.....	31.30	
Flowers.....	12.50	
Rent for use of Sherbourne Club, '23-24	25.00	
Rent for use of Sherbourne Club, '24-25	25.00	
Fees Canadian Historical Society.....	5.00	
Expense for Open Meeting, 79 St. George Street.....	9.50	
Loaned to Memorial Account.....	1.00	
		<hr/>
	\$307.69	
Balance in Bank, April 16th, 1925....	109.12	
		<hr/>
		\$416.81

MEMORIAL FUND ACCOUNT, 1924-1925

RECEIPTS

Balance in Bank, April, 1924.....	\$376.93	
Interest on Bond and Loans.....	640.86	
Donations.....	14.50	
Life Membership (Mrs. Harry Hooper)	25.00	
Loaned from General Account.....	1.00	
Sale of Transactions.....	6.00	
		<hr/>
		\$1,064.29

EXPENDITURES

Dominion of Canada Bonds.....	\$617.10	
Interest Brokerage and Postage.....	6.41	
Balance due John Stark & Co. for purchase of \$6,300 Dominion of Canada Bonds	11.00	
Rent for Safety Box.....	3.00	
Return of Loan to General Account...	1.00	
	<hr/>	
	\$638.51	
Balance in Bank, April 15th, 1925....	425.78	
	<hr/>	\$1,064.29

SECURITIES

War Loans and Victory Bonds.....	\$8,700.00	
Canadian Permanent Securities.....	1,100.00	
	<hr/>	
	\$9,800.00	
Cash, Balance in Bank as above.....	425.78	
	<hr/>	
Total Cash and Securities.....		\$10,225.78

JEAN PARKS,
Honorary Treasurer.

Audited and found correct.
L. D. STUPART, *Auditor.*

Report of the Curator

Four photographs, two of the late Quetton St. George; one full length, wearing the Order of St. Louis; two of Glen-lonely, formerly his home at Oak Ridges.

One scrap book: data concerning the Prisoners of War and the Bread Fund, giving a complete history of the movement.

Four etchings—Brock's Monument at Night, 1920.

Old Windmill Point, Lake Erie, 1922.

Old Barracks, Fort George, 1886.

The Cellar, Fort Niagara, N.Y., 1924.

These have been framed by the generosity of a member.

Three small bundles of papers, chiefly military; from Mrs. Edward Leigh's belongings, from her executor, Mrs. Elizabeth Cameron, a former member.

Second volume Simcoe Papers.

Two etchings—Interior Old Fort Niagara.

Gate, Old Fort Niagara. A copy of this etching was shown at Wembley.

Canadian war poems—Marching Men, Helena Coleman.

Songs of an Airman, Hartley Munro Thomas.

LUELLA CORLEY,

Curator.



HENRY QUETTON ST. GEORGE

It is supposed he is wearing the Order of St. Louis granted to his father, Laurent Quetton St. George by Louis XVIII. These much-prized decorations were left to relatives.

The Colony of French Émigrés in York County, Ontario—1798

Read before The Women's Canadian Historical Society of
Toronto, by Mrs. Balmer Neilly, at their
April meeting in 1924.

After the disastrous results of the first French Revolution, the supporters of the Royalist party in France found themselves in dire difficulties. Their homes in many cases were destroyed; they were driven from their estates which were seized by the Revolutionists; many had a price put upon their heads, and were forced to assume new names to conceal their identity in order to make good their escape from their country. Many of them fled across the channel and threw themselves upon the generosity of England, and England was generous.

It has been impossible to ascertain just how many sought a refuge there. In one place the statement is made that 8,000 of the Roman Catholic clergy found sanctuary in England, and were well treated by a Protestant people. Wm. Jarvis writing to Rev. Samuel Peters, in England, from York, under date of August, 1799, says: "The Count (meaning de Puisaye) informed me while at dinner with us, that there were about 20,000 in like situation with himself, who wished to emigrate to Upper Canada." A fair inference would be that the party who sought refuge in England numbered at least 30,000. Upon arriving in England, those who were able to work, made every effort to earn a livelihood, but many, very many there were, who were quite dependent on the charity and liberality of an alien race. From Forneron's and Stephen's History of the Émigrés of the French Revolution, we learn that voluntary subscription, headed by the King, resulted in something over \$200,000 being raised, and at a later date a second sum of nearly \$170,000 was raised by similar means. In 1793 the government levied a special tax for the same purpose, and by this means a generous sum was raised annually. In all, it has been estimated that approximately \$9,000,000 was provided by the generosity of the English people, to assist these unfortunate exiles. But England had English poor, and so this amount could not be provided indefinitely to assist aliens. Besides these émigrés were a proud people, of great spirit, many of them having been officers in the Royalist forces, and therefore of the proud nobility of France. To be forced to rely upon the benevolence of strangers for even bare sustenance, must have been a chafing and almost unendurable position for these spirited people.

Outstanding among the Refugees, was one, Joseph Genevieve, Comte de Puisaye, and because he was the moving spirit in the Expedition in

which we are interested, perhaps a brief sketch of his career would not be out of place here.

Born at Montagne 1754, the youngest son of a noble family, he was intended for the Church, and partially educated for the priesthood. But as was perhaps natural in a youth of his rank, at that period in France, the lure of a military life induced him to enter the army and he joined the regiment of Conti Cavalry at the age of eighteen, as sub-lieutenant. On the death of his father he purchased a commission in the Swiss Guard, which were a part of the king's household. On the Convocation of the States General he was chosen by the nobles of La Perche to represent them. In this capacity he chose the popular side and was one of the few of the nobility who advocated reforms and supported the demands of the common people. In 1791 he was placed at the head of the National Guards in the district of Evreux, and made an effort to raise an army which was to be used to secure the safety of the King. However, the eventful 10th of August, when the palace was stormed, and the Swiss Guard massacred, put an end to that plan. But the army was held together in order to withstand the hated and unjust tyranny of the Convention. De Puisaye was chief of the staff of the army of the department of the Eure, when the Jacobins took possession of Vernon in 1793, and he was ordered by his chief to dislodge them. His soldiers were either disloyal to him, or terrified by the Convention, for, it is said, "They ran away with the most scandalous precipitation, and never after could be persuaded to approach the enemy."

After the execution of the King and upon the death of the leader of the Royalist forces in Brittany, De Puisaye found himself at the head of that part of the army. At that time (1793) he was wandering in Brittany with a price upon his head. Lamartine says: "He remained concealed for a whole year, in a cavern, in the forests of Brittany, where by his manoeuvres and correspondence he managed to kindle the fire of revolt against the Republic." He also adds: "He was at once an orator, a diplomat and a soldier," and ranks him rather as an adventurer, a character eminently adapted for civil war, which produces more adventurers than heroes. He had, it is said, uncommon natural talents which had been carefully cultivated. He was well informed, eloquent, resourceful, self-possessed, having great presence of mind, was dignified of bearing, and of tall and commanding stature. (Those of you who have any curiosity concerning his appearance, may see a very charming picture of himself and his wife in the John Ross Robertson collection in the Library.) In 1794 he went over to England and laid his plan before Pitt who was then the Prime Minister, Henry Dundas, Home Secretary, and William Wyndham Grenville, Auditor of Exchequer, asking their aid. They promised to assist him, and to send over a force of 6,000 émigrés in the pay of Great Britain, a regiment of artillery, and equipment and arms for 80,000 men. They expected 80,000 Royalists from Brittany to join them. Imagine

their surprise and resentment when they were informed that during de Puisaye's absence in England, a truce between the Royalists and the Convention had been formed. He sent an emissary to Brittany to repair the damage, and himself succeeded in reassuring Great Britain.

On the 27th of June, the expedition arrived in Quiberon Bay. Then followed the terrible disaster and massacre of the émigrés by the orders of the Convention. Treachery, disloyalty, a divided command and poor organization all played their part in the disaster, but de Puisaye alone was blamed. Many believed he had betrayed the Royalist cause. However, he had a loyal supporter in Baron Grenville, the Treasurer of the Exchequer, who, in a letter dated Park Street, Westminster, July 30th, 1798, to President Russell, exonerates de Puisaye of any responsibility in the disaster. Thiers, in his History of the French Revolution, says that it is certain at Quiberon de Puisaye did all that he possibly could have done. Other historians disagree with him, and say that he was ambitious for personal glory. Also that he accepted a large sum of money from the British government. This was denied by Dundas, but after coming to Canada de Puisaye had wealth, while the other émigrés had nothing but the most extreme poverty. At any rate de Puisaye resigned his commission as lieutenant-general, left France and went to England.

But this restless, active mind could not long remain inactive and among the Archives of 1888, we find a plan, a most elaborate plan (*a*), which I have appended to this paper, drawn up, but neither dated nor signed. The project is thought to have been formed in the mind of de Puisaye and the plan forwarded to the Government by him.

The proposal was to form a Royalist settlement in Upper Canada. The military plan of settlement was most carefully drawn up, every contingency seemed to have been thought of and every chance of failure seemed to have been guarded against in it, and it was accepted almost in its entirety by the British Government.

There was a threefold reason for the adoption of the plan.

The British Government wished to do something generous for the émigrés. They also wished to colonize Canada and also to rid themselves, as readily as possible, of the terrible burden entailing the support of so many helpless people. In the Dominion Archives there is a letter from the Duke of Portland to President Russell dated Whitehall, July 5th, 1798, in which he informs President Russell, that the Government proposes to grant a settlement in Upper Canada to M. de Puisaye and to about forty of the Royalists, and wishes President Russell to take measures to allot them lands in as suitable situations as possible, in the proportion granted to the American Loyalists, considering M. de Puisaye as a field officer and the other officers according to their rank. He says they will be provided with necessary funds and equipment to settle the land. However, when the expedition started the Government found itself out of funds and the

necessary capital had to be advanced by de Puisaye from his private means, with the promise of reimbursement from the British Government when the expensive war should be over.

Among the Sessional Papers in the Parliamentary Library here, is one called "Regulations for the Colony." It is not necessary to include in this paper the entire record, but sufficient to say that by it the King of England graciously permitted an establishment of Royalists in Upper Canada, and directed that the corps be under the command of the Comte de Puisaye. The colony was to be financed and rationed by the Government, until such time as the settlers were sufficiently self-supporting; and land was to be granted in a suitable position, the amounts according to the military rank of the various settlers. The Royalists were to have free passage, agricultural implements as well, and were to be accorded every assistance possible by the Colonial Government.

There is no record of the matter having been advertised in England, and it is thought that so many were eager to come that no difficulty in securing the required number was encountered.

The party set sail from Portsmouth early in 1798, in the *Betsy*, a government ship.

In letters to their friends, written before leaving London, St. George, Marseuil, and Coster St. Victor give them to understand that only sailors rations had been provided for them by the British Government for the voyage. Sailors' rations in those days must have been quite superior fare, as later on they speak of bouillon, chicken and red wine on board ship.

The journey to Quebec was apparently as uneventful as it was long, taking three months, and outside of the information that de Puisaye and Beaupoil became estranged on the voyage out, we know little. Quite an amusing incident of the trip is told. No doubt wearied terribly by the length of the voyage and the close confinement of the ship, and thinking to create a little diversion, de Puisaye called all the officers, privates and servants on deck and there, ever fond of playing the Prince, with quite a little ceremony, he, by the power vested in him, by him who called himself Louis XVIII, created Marseuil and Laurent Quetton St. George, Chevaliers de Saint-Louis. The privates and servants treated the matter as a joke, and thereafter dubbed the two gentlemen "Chevaliers de la Betsy." The vessel reached Quebec on October 7th, where one of the party died and two were drowned, and several others abandoned the party. Proceeding on their journey, some travelled by boat to Montreal and some overland, and by October 18th all were assembled to start on the next stage of the journey from Lachine to Kingston. The Assistant Commissary General, Mr. I. W. Clarke, had been appointed to look after the comfort and welfare of the strangers. They left Lachine on October 20th in twelve batteaux.

Two contained the travellers, and ten were loaded with their furniture and effects. Mr. Clarke says: "They were as comfortably provided for as possible, and they went off, to all appearance, in good spirits and well satisfied. I understand from the General that the people were tampered with on their way from Quebec, being told that they were going to a sickly, cold country and that they would do better to stay below. Some of them show a reluctance to going on, and had they had any time, there would, I believe, have been difficulties with them." Mr. Clarke hurried them on from Montreal in two days for fear they should elect to remain there indefinitely. Travelling from Montreal to Kingston in batteaux was tedious and slow, especially as the party had to sleep on shore each night. The men had been provided with a blanket, and the women, of whom there were two, each with two blankets. Sleeping in the open in autumn weather with one or even two blankets would seem an almost insupportable hardship. They arrived in Kingston in November, where they were kindly received.

In a letter from President Russell to the Duke of Portland, dated York, Upper Canada, November 3, 1798, he states that he has advised de Puisaye to allow his party to remain at Newark or Kingston, as there was no accommodation for a party of that size in York, advising him to come on alone and discuss plans for settling the party comfortably. This advice was followed by de Puisaye, and in a letter from President Russell to the Duke of Portland, dated York, November 21, 1798, he says that de Puisaye has arrived in York. In fact, he had arrived on November 18th, the journey from Kingston by boat having taken but two days. In the above letter President Russell says that Comte de Puisaye was satisfied with the choice of location made for the settlement, which was between York and Lake Simcoe, where the Surveyor-General (*b*) was instructed to lay off four townships to the north of Markham, Pickering and Whitby. Comte de Puisaye accompanied the Surveyor-General to explore the country. (Perhaps he then formed the unfavourable opinion which so soon led him to purchase land at Niagara.) The townships of Uxbridge, Gwillimbury, and a township in the rear of Whitby and the ungranted part of Whitchurch, was laid out for the new colony. Also there was land on Yonge Street, some twenty-two lots of two hundred acres each, near Bond's Lake, to establish a town, which was to be named Windham.

Many have wondered why the French Royalists, having so much to choose from, should have elected to settle on such unproductive soil. The reasons are numerous and varied, and apparently all quite good reasons. First, these émigrés themselves had asked that they be given land away from the other French settlements, namely, in Quebec and Detroit, as they felt they preferred not to mix with those of their own nationality already here, being of a different station in life from the average emigrant from France. De Puisaye favoured the location because it was

near the seat of Government (he did not favour it for himself, needless to say) because they would more readily receive any needed assistance as well as be more easily controlled, and President Russell adds, in his letter to the Duke of Portland, under date of November 3, 1798, "They may as well fill up an uninhabited space, through which Indians might advance to the destruction of this town (York) before we could receive sufficient warning of their approach." The latter seems rather a sordid reason to put forth, but such was the necessity of the times. In return the Comte de Puisaye gave promise (c) that no émigré, of whose principles they were not sure, would be admitted into the establishment.

Shortly before the New Year, some of those left at Kingston came on to York and from there out to their allotments. At first all lived in a temporary barracks, and by the middle of February they had felled trees enough to clear the land for and erect eighteen houses, finished on the outside but not within. Every assistance was lent the newcomers by the Government, both in rations and aid of every kind. In the spring several more of those wintering at Kingston arrived. Several, fearing the utter uselessness of people of their rank and unsuitability attempting to conquer such a wild, rough country, came no farther than Kingston, and decided (d) to make every effort to return to England as soon as possible.

The names of those who actually did come and settle in this new grant of land are given in a list dated York, Upper Canada, September 3, 1799:

LIST OF THOSE ÉMIGRÉS WHO ACTUALLY CAME TO CANADA AND SETTLED
AT WINDHAM, NEAR BOND'S LAKE.

Monsieur d'Allegre	Colonel.
The Vicomte de Chalus	Colonel.
Monsieur de Marseuil	Lieutenant-Colonel.
Monsieur Quetton de St. George	Major.
(e) Monsieur Boiton	Captain.
Monsieur de Farcy	Captain.
Monsieur de la Richerie	Lieutenant.
Madame Vicomtesse de Chalus.	
Renon	Private.
Fauchard	Private.
(f) Private Sejau or (Segent) now called Saigeon.	
Le Bugle	Private.
Champagne	Private.
Polard	Private.
Furan	Private.
Letourneux dit Langevin	Private.
Fanny	His wife.
Laugel	Private.
Boyer	Private.

AT NIAGARA.

The Count de Puisaye	Lieutenant-General.
Count de Chalus	Major-General.
Marchand	Private.
Mrs. Smithers	Housekeeper to Count de Puisaye.
John Thompson	Servant to Count de Puisaye.
2 lost their passage from England.	
1 died; 2 drowned at Quebec.	
16 abandoned the enterprise.	
Canadian servants—	
Valiere and his family	Blacksmith.
Gareau	(Garrow.)
Mainvelle and his family	Labourer.
Antoine Lafleche	
La Bonhomme.	

Dated at York, Upper Canada, September 3rd, 1799.

While these houses were being built and the land cleared the Government lent every assistance possible, and although their orders from England were to assist these people in every way as they had the United Empire Loyalists, the Government, out of sympathy with them, really went much further, even transporting their supplies from York to Windham.

During the early spring, de Puisaye, thinking to better things, went over to the Niagara. There he bought a farm of 300 acres, paying in the neighbourhood of \$3,000 for it. The house was rebuilt and refurnished. It stood upon a lofty point above the Niagara River, and commanded a beautiful view of the swift-flowing stream below. (A picture of this is to be seen in the John Ross Robertson collection.) The furnishings of the house were from London and of the best, Turkey carpets were on the floors, beautiful engravings on the walls, mirrors also. A fine library containing 1,500 volumes, a chime clock and mahogany furniture, added notes of luxury almost unheard of in this country at that time. The grounds were planted with shrubs sent, some from England and some from the garden of Sir Richard Cartwright in Kingston. (The query is, where did he get the money?)

The improvements and furnishings cost in the neighbourhood of £5,400. But although he had removed to Niagara, he still was head of the establishment in York, coming to Toronto, where he also had a house, at intervals to oversee affairs in the colony.

He took with him to Niagara his housekeeper Mrs. Smithers, and his two servants, Marchand and Thompson, thus again dividing the tiny colony, which was having a hard struggle for existence, and life in Canada at that time was hard, and especially so for these French people of a totally different climate and country. The trees that were to be used for

their homes were giant pines, and the woodsmen were the most inexperienced and the land was cleared slowly and oftentimes, through inexperience, an unnecessary amount of labour and misfortune were entailed. When spring came the roads to York were impassable, and on this account a party of servants, to help with the work, who were expected in March from Montreal, were unable to reach Windham until June. During that time supplies could not be procured and the settlers, brave-hearted as they were, grew discouraged. However, the seed given them was sowed in the little plots of ground that each had cleared, and hope was revived, but the plots were either protected by very primitive fences or by none at all, and oftentimes the cattle and oxen ate up what grain there was. The Government plan provided a cow for every three families, or where there were children the cow supplied only two families. Each family was given a pig as well.

In the autumn of 1799, just a year after the arrival of these people from the Old World, we have some account of the progress of the little colony. In a letter from General Hunter to the Duke of Portland, dated October 11, 1799, from Quebec, he says in part: "When at York, I made particular inquiries into the actual situation of the French emigrants, and from the enclosed statement, furnished by Mr. Angus MacDonnel, their friend and agent at York, your Grace will observe that of the original number sent out from England, only 25 now remain in Upper Canada—five residing at Niagara, and twenty upon their lands at Windham. Those at Windham have cleared between forty and fifty acres of land and if I can credit their own statements, are entirely destitute of funds, on which account they earnestly request that I order some seed, wheat and barley, to be given them, without which they could not have it in their power to sow the lands they had cleared. I granted this request. There are also twenty-one artificers, labourers, etc., at Windham, employed by the French emigrants, to whom Mr. Russell has granted rations.

"Your Grace may rely that rations shall not be granted to the French emigrants longer than absolute necessity may require, and I shall not fail in keeping in view and taking for my guide the allowances that were made to the American Royalists on their first arrival in the Province."

One by one the families settled, each on the portion of land assigned, as a clearing was made and a home built. The plan was that each of the officers should live on the fifty-acre lot in Windham, letting the larger farms out. It finally had been decided, after much discussion between the Home Office, the Colonial Office, the Comte de Puisaye and the Comte de Chalus, who was placed in charge of the colony in the former's absence, that 5,000 acres should be given every Field Officer, Marseuil, Boiton, Comte de Chalus, Viscount de Chalus and Quetton St. George. Farcy was to receive 3,000, as he was a Captain. Le Bugle received 300; Furon also took up 300. But the other privates, being either satisfied that they could not manage the whole 300, which was their share, or not knowing

enough of the language to avail themselves of the opportunity, we do not know, but we do know from the records (contained in the Domesday Books) that Renon took up 157 acres, Sejan 148, Fauchard 95, Letourneux 95, and Marchand 115. Few of the officers ever received their full quota of land, except the Vicomte de Chalus, and that not until fully fifteen years had elapsed. There was also the difficulty of receiving valid titles to their holdings, on account of their alien birth and the fact that they were not British subjects, de Puisaye having been the only one of the émigrés who had taken out his naturalization papers and even he was never able to make good his title. The French called them "papers of denization," and the patents for their lands could be issued to them only after a seven years' residence in the colony. However, after much discussion and after the matter had been brought before the Governor several times, and each time laid aside, the patents to the land were finally issued to them, although they still were aliens.

After seven years' residence on these holdings, seven years of toil privation, hardship and suffering such as these people had not dreamed of enduring for even one year, is it any wonder that they wished to leave them forever. The land was most difficult to clear and cultivate, help was scarce and the soil poor and unproductive. While, for the most part, their life in the country must have been drab and colourless enough, they were sometimes able to avail themselves of the gay festivities in York. In one history we read an account of the Ball given by the Governor of York, at which the jewels of Madame la Comtesse de Chalus created a great sensation, wholly surpassing everything of the kind which had hitherto been seen by the ladies of Upper Canada.

One by one, as the patents were granted, they sold out their holdings as speedily as possible and hurried away, glad indeed to be free to leave such an inhospitable country. Sometimes inside of three months, sometimes inside of one month, and in one instance, in three days, after receiving the patents, the land was converted into coin of the realm. The prices varied from five to twenty shillings an acre, according to the situation. If the prices varied the name of the buyer rarely did. It usually was Laurent Quetton St. George, and at one time he owned in the neighbourhood of 26,000 acres, for he of all the émigrés had truly and greatly prospered.

Very early in his sojourn in the country, with his shrewd intelligence, he had foreseen the possibilities for trade, and also probably foresaw the unlikelihood of any wonderful success attending his efforts at farming in such a rough, strange land. He it was who of all the colonists, even more than the chief of the establishment, had determined to adopt fully and finally this country for his own. He it was alone who, in choosing a new name, for many of them had accepted a "nom de guerre," had chosen an English one, St. George, because he had landed in England on St. George's Day, and thereafter was known always, even after his return to France, as Laurent Quetton St. George.

Reading from Transaction No. 11 of the Women's Canadian Historical Society, we are informed that, upon his arrival, he expended his last ten dollars in buying a peddler's pack, to enable him to trade with the Indians and settlers. At any rate, we are very certain that he did not long delay in starting to trade, because in 1802, when the Comte de Puisaye went to England to solicit further aid for his colony, St. George accompanied the party as far as New York, and with the one hundred and twenty-five pounds advanced by de Puisaye, he made suitable purchases for opening the store at Niagara, which he and Farcy had agreed to do. De Puisaye had left these two in charge there and appears to have left Chalus (Comte) in charge of the colony in Windham.

In the Niagara *Herald* of August 7th, 1802, we meet with the following advertisement:

"New store, at the house of the French General, between
Niagara and Queenston."

"Messrs. Quetton St. George & Co. acquaint the Public that they have lately arrived from New York with a general assortment of Dry Goods and Groceries, which will be sold at the lowest price for ready money, for from the uncertainty of their residing any time in these parts, they cannot open accounts with any person. Will also be found at the same store, an assortment of tools for all mechanics. They likewise have well made trunks and empty barrels." One can imagine the fear and trembling which these young partners sent out the announcement, and can almost behold their joy and pride on seeing the notice in print, and rejoice with them when the venture turned out to be a great success.

With rare foresight, Mr. St. George sought out vantage points where stores might be established successfully. He himself made regular trips up along Lakes Simcoe and Couchiching, to trade with the Mississaugas and established stores at Amherstburg, under Mr. Boucherville's direction, and at Kingston, under the care of Mr. Boiton, and later in the year also at York. In 1805 he dissolved partnership with De Farcy, and himself moved to York. In different issues of *Success* and *Oracle*, issued in 1805-6, he advertised at great length. But on September 20th, 1806, he suddenly announces that he will advertise no more. He now, once and for all, begs the Public to examine his former advertisements where they will find a list of the supply which he brings from New York every Spring, a similar assortment of which he intends always to have on hand, and adds that almost the same assortment may be had in his Kingston and Amherstburg stores. He does not mention his stores at Queenston, Niagara or Lundy's Lane, the inference being that they were much smaller stores with a more limited stock.

(g) The list of goods for sale in these three stores I have appended to this article.

In a postscript to an advertisement appearing in the *Gazette* of December 10th, 1803, Mr. St. George says he is very sorry, on account of his customers, that he has not received his East India goods and groceries. He is sure they are at Oswego, and should they not arrive for this Season, they may be looked for early in the Spring.

Tradition says that he built the first brick building in Toronto on the northwest corner of Princess and Queen Streets. The brick for the building was brought from Kingston. Until 1815 he carried on an active and prosperous trade, and he became one of the wealthiest, as well as one of the most widely known and highly respected merchants in Upper Canada. Some of his goods he bought in Montreal, some in New York, as you have seen from his advertisements, and some from England, and no doubt much of his success was due to the courteous treatment accorded his customers.

However, in 1815, after Louis XVIII had been restored to the throne and was showering favours on those who had remained loyal to the crown, many of the émigrés in Canada decided to return to their native land, and Quetton St. George, with a longing not to be denied, yearned to see his beloved France once more. No doubt they had left behind friends whom, after an absence of fifteen years, they wished to revisit, and no doubt they had the idea that their estates, which had been wrested from them, might be restored. At any rate, we find that at this time the Comte de Chalus, the Vicomte and Vicomtesse de Chalus, and Mr. Quetton St. George returned and shortly after De Farcy followed. Previous to this, Boiton had returned in 1810. In 1805, when St. George and Farcy had dissolved partnership, the latter carried on business for himself in Niagara for a short time, but being a poor business man, which was probably the reason for the dissolution of partnership with St. George, he soon gave up his store. He then removed to his holdings at Windham. The farm evidently was not a financial success either, as he found it necessary to apply for a loan when returning with his family to France in 1816. Marseuil asked that he be given passage back, but this was unfortunately impossible at that time, and we do not know whether he ever was able to return to his native land or not, but he never did return to Windham.

So we see with de Puisaye, St. George, the Comte de Chalus, Boiton, the Vicomte de Chalus, Farcy and Marseuil had all gone from the colony by 1816, leaving behind them only a very few of the privates and servants.

Unlike the others who left, Laurent Quetton St. George had no thought of not returning. He was going to France for a season, but he had adopted Canada as his home. He had taken an English name. He had made a success of the years he had spent in the new land, and because he had left his mark upon it, and it was his own, he loved it. He had made warm English friends here and friendships made and kept through times of hardship and adversity are hard to sever. Among his papers,

carefully treasured for over a hundred years, we find one, perhaps most precious of all, dated York, 1815. It is a testimonial as to the high standing and integrity of Laurent Quetton St. George, and is signed by many of the prominent citizens of York at that time—W. W. Baldwin, who was St. George's close friend, Bishop Strachan, Charles James Scott, D'Arcy Boulton, John Small, Receiver-General McGill, John B. Robinson, Solicitor-General, and others. Some of the other papers which testify to his former standing in France are:

A certificate of honourable service of M. Laurent de Quetton, 1791-94, signed De Conde.

Commission as Lieutenant, 1795.

Commission as Major, 1796.

Certificate of Service, by Count de Bearn.

Certificate of Service, by Comte de Chalus.

Certificate of Service in legion of Mirabeau.

Then his commission as Lieutenant-Colonel, signed by Louis XVIII, 1816, immediately after his return to France.

Also his commission as Chevalier of the Military Order of St. Louis, 1816, which was one of several very fortunate happenings for Mr. Laurent Quetton St. George upon his return to France. A second was the restoration to him of their estates in Montpellier, a third was his marriage to Adele de Barbeyrac de Saint-Maurice, and the birth of their little son, Henri Quetton St. George, which was perhaps the reason for his failure to return to Canada, for he never did return. He had left his affairs in good hands. His dear friend, William Warren Baldwin, he had left in charge of his affairs here, who administered them for thirty years, and many were the letters that passed between them. Before leaving Canada he had formed a business partnership with John Spread Baldwin and Julius Quesnel. The articles of agreement are drawn up, signed and dated York, April 15, 1815, and apparently the two partners left here were carrying on quite a brisk trade, for in a letter under date of December 1st, 1818, John Spread Baldwin writes from York to Quetton St. George, Lieutenant-Colonel and Chevalier de St. Louis, and says: "This year we imported goods to the value of £9,000. Yes, nearer £10,000, and paid cash for almost the whole amount. We got thirty chests of tea from England, for which we paid £450."

No doubt many and wonderful were the tales and adventures told to the wife and little son, of the vast new country and the Indians, and the wonderful lakes and rivers, and of the kind, good friends left here, and it is quite possible that he might have returned, bringing them with him, but for his untimely death. (De Puisaye died in England in 1827, and it is thought St. George died about the same time.) After his death, Wm. Warren Baldwin continued to manage the estate in Canada, which

comprised at that time 26,000 acres, but there was the difficulty of the alien birth of Mr. Laurent Quetton St. George proving a barrier to the heirs being able to claim the estate. In writing to Mrs. St. George, under date of York, October 21, 1829, Mr. W. W. Baldwin explains the difficulty and informs her that a special act of Parliament had been passed to enable him to secure the estate for her son. Even after that time there was still some difficulty about the settlement, but in 1831 Parliament passed an Act which finally concluded the matter. In a letter from John Spread Baldwin, dated York, October 1, 1829, written to Madame St. George at Montpellier, France, he deploras the high cost of the skins which she desires and which had been sent to her—forty marten skins and two black fox. The total cost was £64 or \$320. She also wanted a bear skin, which he says he did not send, partly because she had not said which she preferred, a brown or a black bear skin, and partly because the expense of the other skins had been so great. He goes on to say that the black bear skins were used only for sleigh robes, and while the brown ones made quite handsome wraps, the ladies were not using them for furs at the present time. Man-like, he had told Mr. Quesnell (his partner) "To have two black fox skins sent down to Montreal from the Hudson's Bay post, thinking they would cost \$20 each, and as they are by far the most luxuriant furs found here," he says, "those two fox skins cost £12 each and the marten £1 each." He adds, "The expense of the fox skins surprised Mr. Quesnell," and adds, "If you do not care to wear such an expensive fur, I hope you can dispose of it in Paris, without much loss, but rather hope that you will wear it."

On March 31st, 1831, Mr. Wm. Baldwin writes to Madame St. George in regard to coming out to Canada, and assures her of a very warm welcome, both for herself and her son, and says that should she come, she can be assured of an excellent French teacher for her boy, to whom his own son goes; we presume Mr. de la Haye of U.C.C.

In September, 1830, Mr. Baldwin writes that, in the event of his death, his sons, Robert and William, who are named as his executors, would manage her estate, and sends kindest regards to her and little son.

In 1844, in a letter to Madame St. George, from Robert Baldwin, of York, he advises her of his father's death, and also states that the supervision of her late husband's estate now falls on him, but that on account of his enforced absence from York, he will be unable to look after it personally. However, he assures her that his brother William will do so to the best of his ability.

Some two years later Mr. Henri Quetton St. George, son of Mr. Laurent Quetton St. George, came to Canada. He was a man of most distinguished looks and bearing, possessing courtly manners and a broad culture. He had a love of all things beautiful and had very artistic tastes, being himself no mean artist, as a painting executed by him and hanging in an honoured place in one of Toronto's old mansions will testify.

He loved good horses, was a splendid horseman himself, and had many of them. He was a great admirer of the ladies and a most devoted lover of children. So deep had been the friendship between his father and some of the families here in his time, that even thirty years later, when the son came, the old friends accorded him a warm and sincere reception. We do not know what train of circumstances led him to Canada. Possibly the glowing tales of the far-off land, related to him in childhood by his father, haunted his memory. Possibly the friendly letters which came so regularly and frequently from the friends here, urged him to come and see his estate here. Possibly it was a keen curiosity to see for himself what sort of land, what sort of people had taken such a paramount place in the heart and affections of his father. We do know that the boy had been brought up to love all things English and later on when a man to wish himself looked upon as an Englishman, and his home as an English household.

With him he brought his wife, a very beautiful, fascinating woman, with whom his marriage had been arranged, and whom he saw only a fortnight before their marriage. Neither she nor her mother, who accompanied them to Canada, could speak a word of English when they came. They at that time had one child, Jeanne.

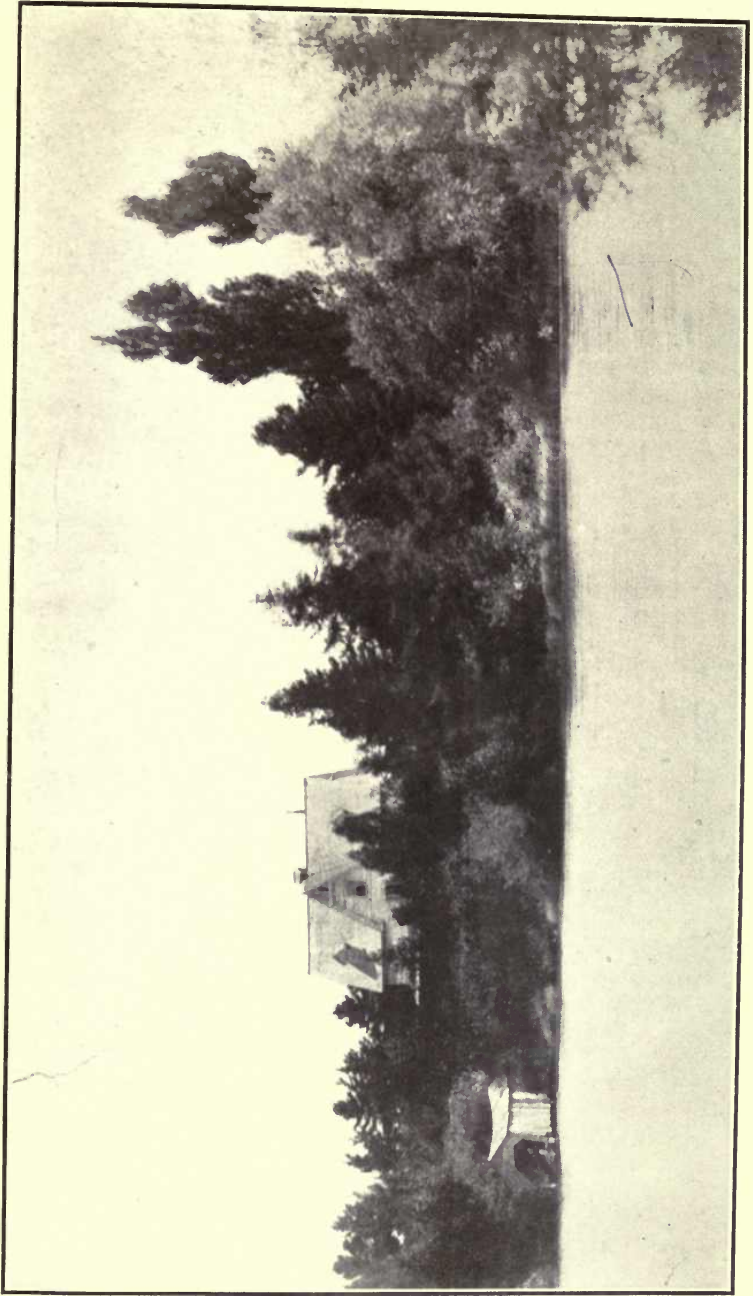
On their arrival they went to live on the farm near Windham. Mr. St. George had a letter of introduction to Captain MacLeod, of Drynoch, but whether it was from some member of the Baldwin family, who were his father's warm friends in York, or whether from some one who had known Captain MacLeod in the old land, we do not know; at any rate the two families, who were neighbours, became fast friends.

Like his father, he soon found himself firmly attached to the new country and its hospitable people and to his home here. In fact, he seems to have come to the country with the definite idea of making it his permanent home.

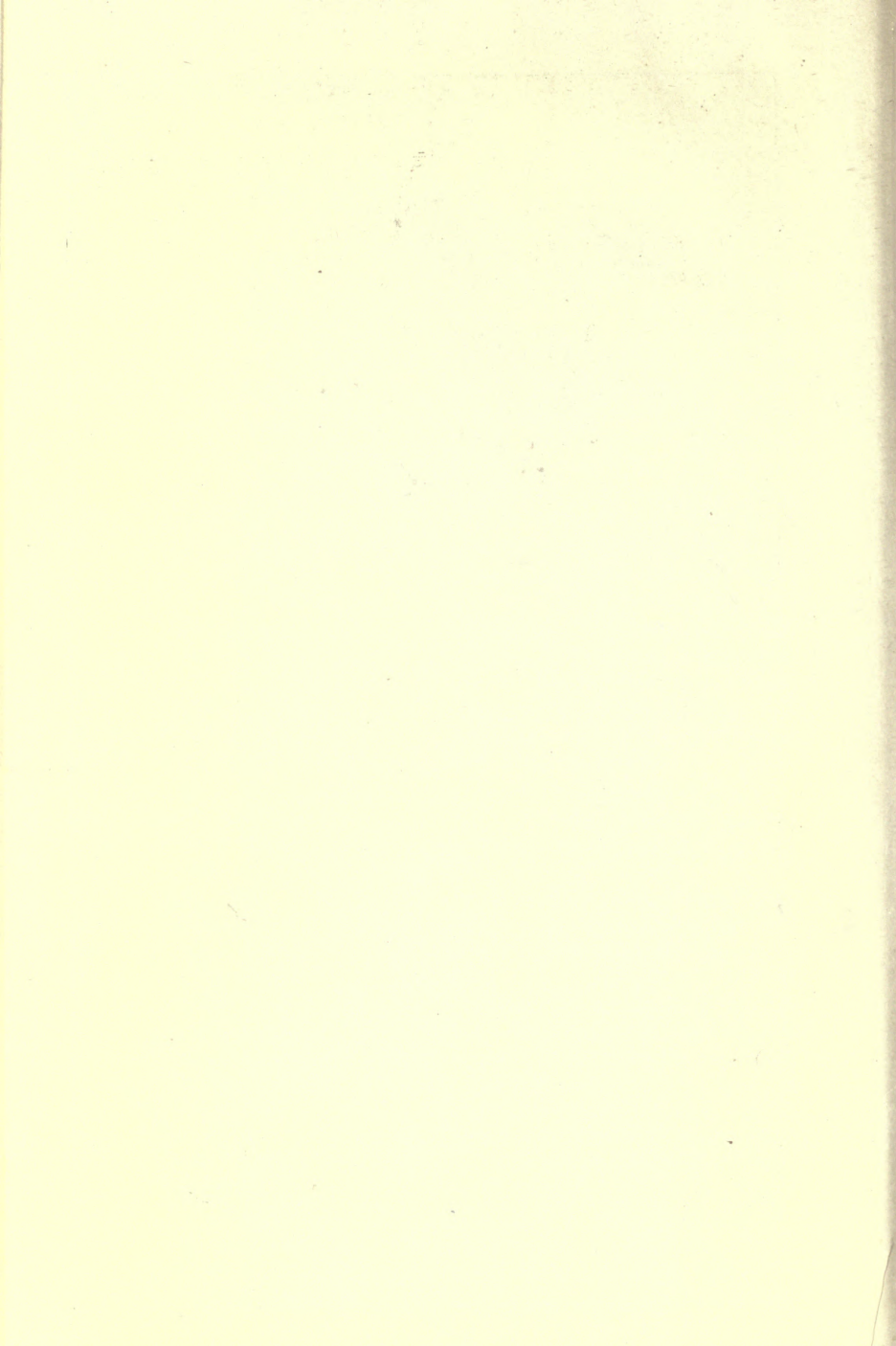
His wife, having always been accustomed to living among very different surroundings and among people who spoke her language and whose tastes and interests were akin to her own, found herself desperately lonely in the new home.

In her extreme desolation she named the place "Glenlonely." After a time her mother returned to France, leaving Mrs. St. George and her child here. As you may well know, there was not a very great deal of gaiety in those days on an estate twenty miles from Toronto, and small wonder that this woman from the sunny south of France found the stillness and quietness oppressive. With a Frenchwoman's innate love of finery and soft, lustrous materials, she delighted in dressing her little daughter Jeanne in very exquisite silks and velvets.

When some of the ladies, intimate enough to do so, remonstrated with her and pointed out the unsuitability of the clothing for this country and climate, she, having learned some little English, excused herself in



"Clonlonely," the home of Quetton St. George, at Oak Ridges, showing lake and boathouse.



the matter by exclaiming "Oh, but I do so love to expense money." It was the death of this child, shortly after, that made the life here intolerable, and Mrs. St. George returned to France, where she lived part of the time on the estate in Montpellier and part of the time in an apartment in Paris. Mr. St. George continued his life in Canada, returning to France to visit quite regularly. Later a second child was born, a daughter, Madeleine, who when a young woman returned with her father to Canada, resolved to make her home here with him.

Previous to this, Mr. St. George had a brewery at Oswego, but that venture had proved a failure; and then a wine shop on King Street was opened, with Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Todd as partners. We read that "He built a solid and enduring house opposite Mr. Wood's on the corner, just opposite Wood & Alexander St." on the west side of Yonge. "It was a structure of brick, when as yet all the surrounding habitations were of wood. It had a tinned roof, a graceful porch, and a careful and neat finish and was at one time one of the lions of York." We have no picture of this house, but we have a picture of the beautiful old house at Glenlonely, which was of wood, had very steep roofs and also a graceful porch.

During the years when Mr. St. George had the wine shop in Toronto, he lived in his house on Yonge Street, driving out to his farm each week to supervise affairs there. He always had a pair of fine horses which he himself drove, and usually made a call, either going or coming, at Mashquoteh, the home of Mr. W. A. Baldwin, just west of Yonge Street, north of St. Clair, almost always remaining for dinner and frequently for overnight. Possibly it was his love of the bright company of the young people, as much as his friendship for those of his own age, that prompted these visits. He was particularly happy to have his own daughter with him and made every effort for her entertainment, as did his friends. She was a most strikingly beautiful girl, as all who have ever seen her testify, and her father had great ambitions for her future. She was as talented as she was beautiful, and we are told was very much admired by all who knew her. She, too, was a clever artist. Two pictures, one of herself and one of her partner, each in fancy dress, worn at a fancy dress ball at the Grange, and painted by her, hang in one of Toronto's old homes. During her stay in York she was a frequent visitor at the Grange. Her proposals of marriage were numerous, and tradition says that she had received one from a prince. Is it any wonder that her father had hopes of a very bright future for her?

It was about 1871 (immediately after the Franco-Prussian War), when at the age of nineteen or twenty, that she lived here. Her heart was broken over the fate of France at that time and perhaps that fact, coupled with the very deep impression made upon her by the eloquent preaching of one of the Redemptionist Fathers, who had come out from France and preached in St. Michael's Cathedral, that induced her to become a sister in a French orphanage. Is it any wonder that her father

was bitterly disappointed, when the wonderful hopes he had entertained of a brilliant marriage for his only child came to naught? Thinking, we believe wrongfully, that undue influence had been brought to bear on her in making the decision, he became embittered against the Church and left the Catholic faith. His daughter Madeleine returned to France and spent her life labouring and serving among the little ones of the poor in a convent at Neuray, just outside of Paris, and left her father a broken, lonely old man, to spend his days in the country of his adoption.

Years after, when some of those young people, who had known her in Canada, travelled to France and went to visit her, they found "One of the most beautiful women I have ever seen, attired in the coarsest of cotton garments, but with the look of a Madonna," and my informant tells me that she asked more questions in ten minutes than she had ever thought possible, so that we know memories of the days spent and the friends left in Canada still persisted. It was her misfortune to see her beloved France torn once again by war before death came to her some four or five years since. Her mother lived in Paris during the last years of her life, and was visited there by some of the friends who had known her here. They found her in a handsome apartment in Paris and, although an old, old lady, exquisite black-haired and beautiful still, and surrounded by the beautiful things which she loved.

And here in Canada lived a lonely old man, in his quaint and beautiful home. Dr. Scadding, writing in 1873, says: "Mr. Henri Quetton St. George, on land inherited directly from his father, the Chevalier de St. George, engages with energy in all the various pursuits of a practical farmer, at the same time dispensing to his friends a refined hospitality. If at Glenlonely, the imposing turrets and pointed roofs of the old French chateau are not to be seen, what is of greater importance, the amenities and gentle life of the old French chateau are to be found. Moreover, by another successful enterprise added to agriculture, the present proprietor of Glenlonely has brought it to pass that the name of St. George is no longer suggestive as in the the first instance it was, of wars across the seas in La Vendee and fighting on the Garonne, but redolent in Canada far and wide, only of vineyards in Languedoc and of pleasant wines from across the Pyrenees."

The pleasant memories of hospitality dispensed by the lonely old master of the quaint house with its deep cupboards and its beautiful interior, are still vivid in the minds of those who visited him as children, who loved him and whom he loved. Recollections of the wonderful adventures, planned for the young people who were invited to his house parties, of the wonderful rides on his excellent horses, of picnics and dances and gay, good times planned for them by their gracious host, are still glowing spots in the memories of many among us to-day. Frequently he entertained whole families—mothers, fathers, children and servants, and even the family cow, were housed and entertained during a two

months' visit. Those who visited him as children were entertained later with their lovers and sweethearts, and they in turn took their children to visit at the loved home, so that he appears to have entertained three generations of his numerous friends. As his wife loved to "expense money," he loved to dispense hospitality in his home, so beautifully situated by the little lake, approached by means of a winding avenue bordered on either side by stately rows of dark pines, planted there by the owner of the land. The house itself was surrounded by lilacs and shrubs which he had planted there, some of them having been brought from France. On his return from one of his trips to the old land, he brought out a young mimosa tree and planted it beside the entrance door. The farm was laid out in fields surrounded by barberry hedges, some of which are still to be found there, in spite of the stringent regulations passed by a government which deemed them injurious to the wheat. One of my informants tells me that there seemed to be miles and miles of these beautiful hedges on the place at one time. But most of these are gone, as is the old house, and the old time, and the old master. Before his death he asked that he be laid to rest beside his dear and trusted friend, Mr. W. A. Baldwin, and so it was done. Nearby is laid another dear old friend, Captain MacLeod of Drynoch. In the little cemetery at St. John's Church at Oak Ridges a plain, grey, granite slab, placed there by loving friends, bears the inscription:

In most
loving memory of
HENRY QUETTON
ST. GEORGE
born at
Lengarren, France,
March 15, 1820,
Died at
Glenlonely
January 5, 1896.

Historians tell us that this colony of French émigrés in York County was not a success; in fact, that as a colony it was a complete failure. But who can measure the worth to a community of one man of Quetton St. George's artistic tastes and fastidious habits? Who can estimate the effect of his influence or qualify the venture as a success or failure which has produced one man whose memory holds such a treasure for each and every one whose privilege it has been to meet and know him?

Notes

(a) See Note "F" Series "Q," Archives, Vol. 286-2, page 478.

(b) Mr. D. W. Smith.

(c) Letter from President Russell to Duke of Portland, dated Upper Canada, November 1st, 1798.

(d) Letter from the Marquis de Beaupoil to General Prescott, dated January 28th, 1799. Dominion Archives.

In spite of these cheerful prospects, the work of dissolution had begun, and on the 28th of the same month the Marquis de Beaupoil, in a letter to General Prescott, signed "Mrs. de Beaupoil St. Aulaire," asks permission to leave and come to Lower Canada. After acknowledging his obligations to Great Britain and the gratitude he felt for the favours bestowed, he says:

"You are fully aware, General, that in this country, the man brought up and inured to the labours of the field, is assured of obtaining his subsistence by his labours; that the rich man who brings capital, may even by paid labour, find means of support in agriculture; but that he who has neither strength nor money, if he borrow to clear the land, certain of never repaying, has no other prospect than that of losing his time, his land, his liberty, his family and his probity.

"When the Count de Puisaye proposed to me to come with him to Canada, he told me that there would be a military corps in which I should command the Gentlemen Emigrants who were to come there; that the Royalists who would arrive to form it, would labour in common for their officers as for themselves, and he required from me only a letter of request to be his authority in applying to the Minister. . . . But the military corps in which I should have found a salary; those peasants of Brittany whose arms were to assist me, are but a chimerical hope, it is only here I have obtained proof of this. This deception places me with my family in the most heartrending situation that we have experienced since we have been emigrants."

He then asks leave to go to Berthier or Riviere du Loup until he could exchange the concession made him for a small piece of cleared land, or until he could receive from the kindness on his arrival in Canada of Mr. George Davison, sufficient means to take him to Europe. A letter from Coster St. Victor, of 12th May, 1799, contained similar statements of the inducements held out to him, and also asked leave to sail for Europe. These letters explain the allusion made by General Hunter to the misunderstanding between M. de Beaupoil and de Puisaye. At the same time, it is only justice to the latter to refer to the plan laid down for the settlement, which appeared to justify the representations made to Beaupoil and St. Victor of the position they were to occupy, and the method of clearing the land and preparing it

(e) Boiton—later Boyton then Boynton. Descendants still living in York County and other parts of Ontario, record of wife and infant child buried in Kingston Cemetery in early 1800's.

(f) Sejan, then Segent, at the present time Saigeon, descendants now living in York County, Ontario.

(g) Some of the goods "Just arrived from New York":—

Ribbons, cotton goods, silk-tassels, cotton binding, wire-trimmings, silk belting, fans, beaded-buttons, block-tin, gloves, ties, cotton bed-line, bed-lace, rollo-bands, ostrich-feathers, silk-lace, black veil-lace, thread lace, laces and edging, fine black veils, fine white veils, fine silk mitts, love-handkerchiefs, Barcelona handkerchiefs, silk handkerchiefs, black crepe, black mode, black Belong, blue, white and yellow Belong, striped silk for gowns, Chambray muslins, printed dimity, split-straw bonnets, leghorn bonnets, imperial chip bonnets, best London ladies' beaver bonnets, cotton wire, Rutland gauze, band boxes, calicoes, cambrics, Irish linens, callimancoes, plain muslins, laced muslins, blue, black and yellow nankeens, jeans, fustians, long silk gloves, velvet ribbons, Russia sheetings, India satins, silk and cotton umbrellas, white cottons, parasols, Bombazetts, black and white silk stockings, damask table cloths, napkins, striped nankeens, bandana handkerchiefs, catgut, Tickenburg, brown holland, Creas a Morlaix, Italian lutestring, beaver caps for children.

Then we have:—

Hyson tea, Hyson Chaulon in small chests, Young Hyson, green Souchong and Bohea, loaf, East India and Muscovado sugars, mustard, essence of mustard, pills of mustard, capers, lemon juice, soap, Windsor soap, indigo, mace nutmegs, cinnamon, cassia, cloves pimiento, pepper, best box raisins, prunes, coffee, Spanish and American "segars," cayenne pepper in bottles, pearl barley, castor oil, British oil and pickled oysters.

Furthermore chinaware is to be had in small boxes and in sets; also Suwarrow boots, bootees and an assortment of men's, women's and children's shoes, jappaned quart mugs, tumblers, tipped flutes, violin bows, brass wire, sickles, iron candlesticks, shoemaker's hammers, knives, pincers, pegging awls, and tacks, awl-blades, shoe brushes, copper tea-kettles, snaffle bits, leather shot belts, horn powder flasks, ivory, horn and crooked combs, mathematical instruments, knives and forks, suspenders, fish-hooks, sleeve links, sportsmen's knives, locketts, gold earings, topaz earings, gold watch-chains, gold seals, gold brooches, cut gold rings, plain gold rings, pearl rings, silver thimbles, silver spoons, shell sleeve buttons, silver watches, beads.

In stationery there was to be had pasteboard, foolscap, letter paper, black and red ink, powder and wafers.

The list of books which were to be had is rather important, as well as imposing:—

Telemachus, Volney's Views, Public Characters, Dr. Whitman's Egypt, Evelina, Cecilia, Lady's Library, Ready Reckoner, Looking Glass, Franklin's Fair Sex, Camilla, Don Raphael, Night Thoughts, Winter Evenings, Voltaire's Life, Joseph Andrews, Walker's Geography, Bonaparte and the French People, Voltaire's Tales, Fisher's Companion, Modern Literature, Eccentric Biography, Naval Biography, Martial Biography, Fun, Criminal Records, Entick's Dictionary, Gordon's America, Thompson's Family Physician, Sheridan's Dictionary, Johnston's Dictionary, Wilson's Egypt, Denon's Travels, Travels of Cyrus, Stephani de Bourbon, Alexis, Pocket Library, Everyman's Physician, Citizen of the World, Taplin's Farriery, Farmer's Boy, Romance of the Forest, Grandison, Campbell's Narrative, Paul and Virginia, Adelaide de Sincere, Emelini, Monk, Abbess, Evening Amusement, Children of the Abbey,

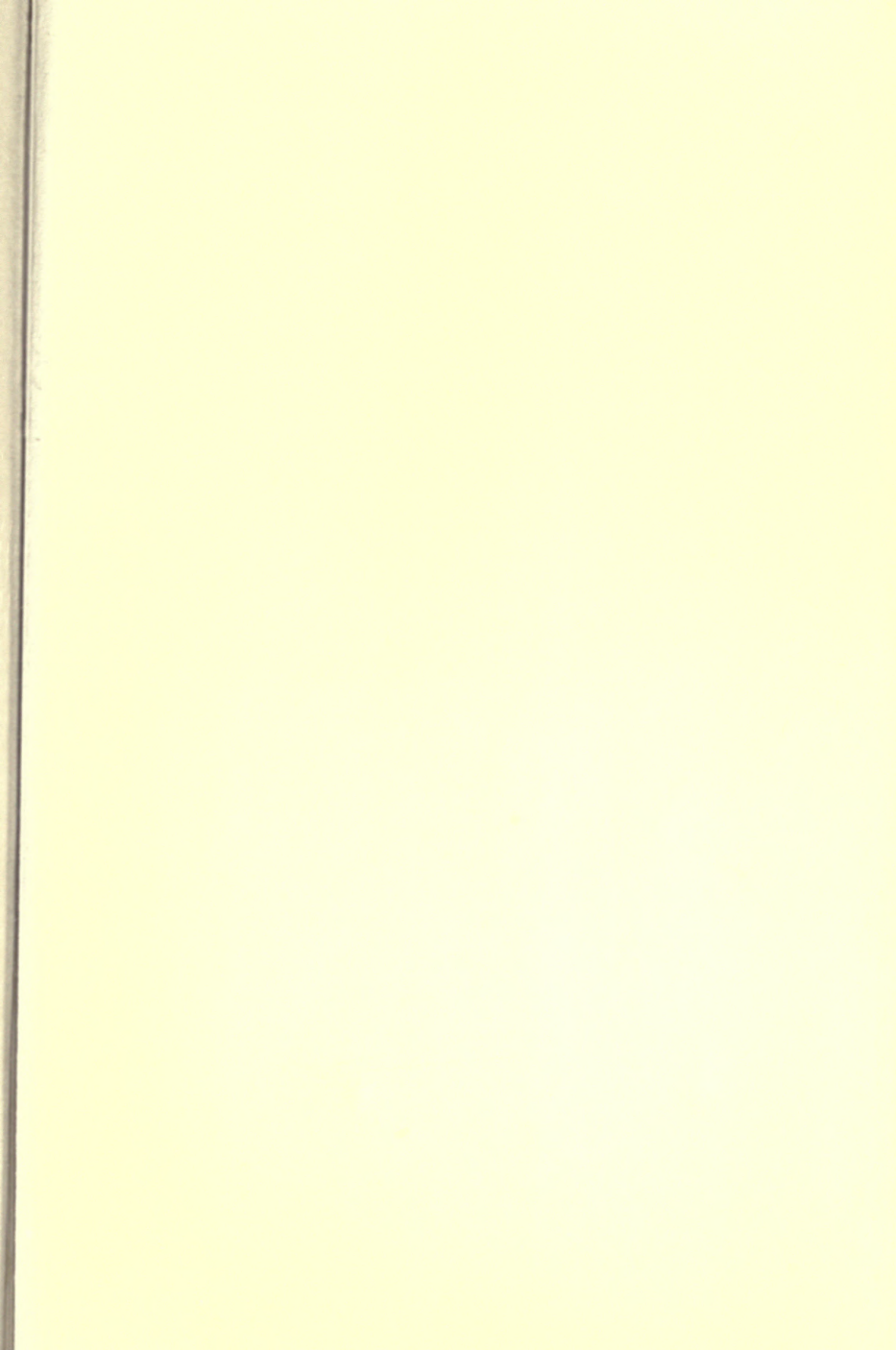
Tom Jones, Vicar of Wakefield, Sterne's Journey, Abelard and Eloise, Ormond, Caroline, Mercutio, Julia and Baron, Minstrel, H. Villars, De Valcourt, J. Smith, Charlotte Temple, Theodore Chypon, What Has Been, Elegant Extracts in Prose and Verse, J. & J. Jessamy, Chinese Tales, New Gazetteer, Smollett's Works, Cabinet of Knowledge, The Devil on Sticks, Arabian Tales, Goldsmith's Essays, Bragg's Cookery, Tooke's Pantheon, Boyle's Voyage, Roderick Random, Jonathan Wild, Louisa Soloman's Guide to Health, Spelling Books, Bibles and Primers.—*Success and Oracle*, Niagara, September 20th, 1806.

(h) The original house was destroyed by fire. Being rebuilt and passing through the hands of several owners, at the time of writing, it belongs to Maj. Schuyler Snively.

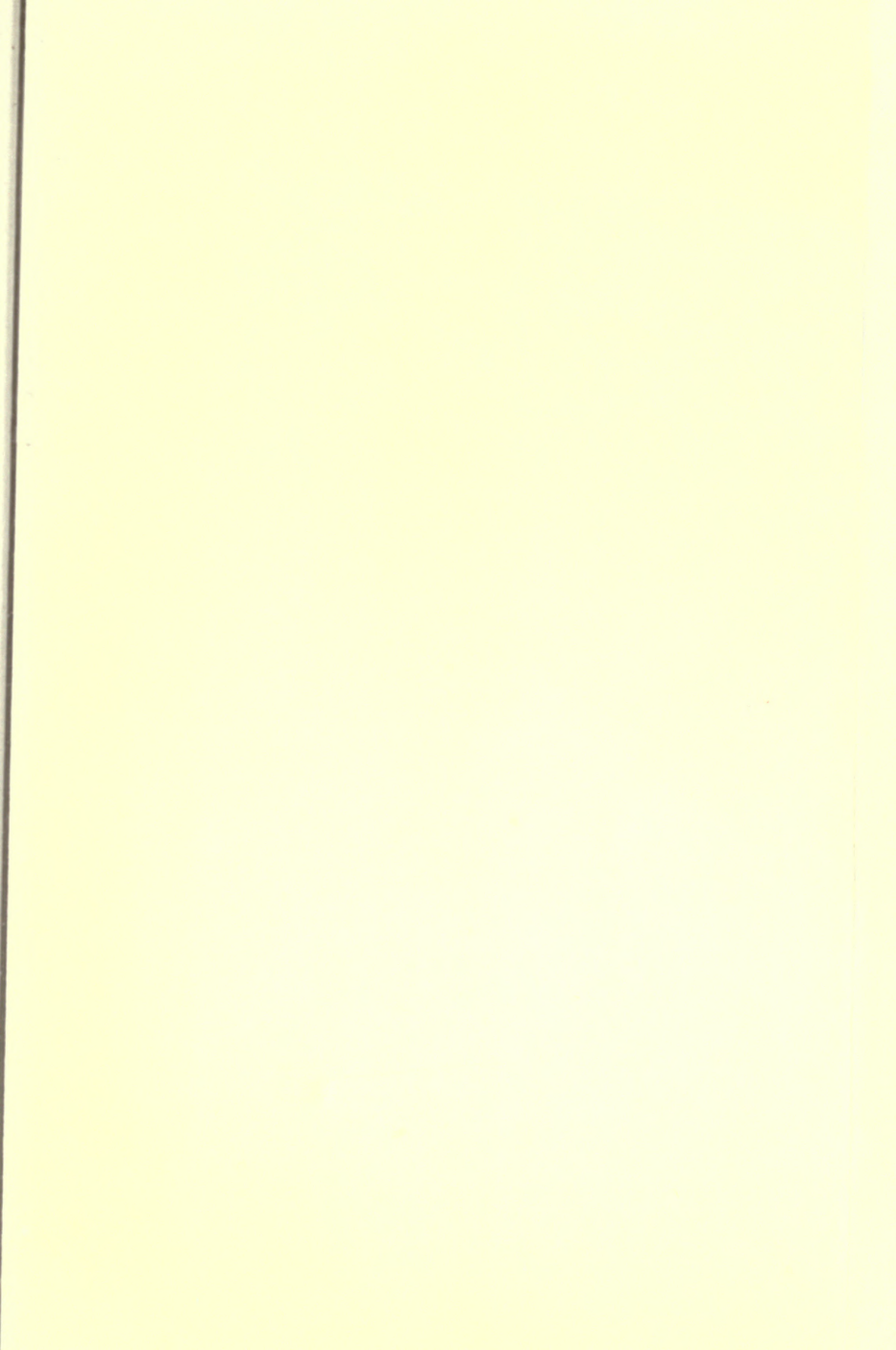
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Miss Boulton and Mr. Christopher Boulton.
Miss Textor's Thesis in Toronto Reference Library.
Transaction 11 and 23, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto.
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The St. George Papers in the Reference Library, Toronto.

Photographs from Miss Boulton, Grange Road, Toronto, Ont.









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