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Niagara Historical Society

No. 9

Campaigns of 1812-14

Contemporary Narratives by Captain W. H. Merritt, Colonel William Claus, Lieut.-Colonel Matthew Elliott and Captain John Norton.

Edited by Lieut.-Colonel E. Cruikshank

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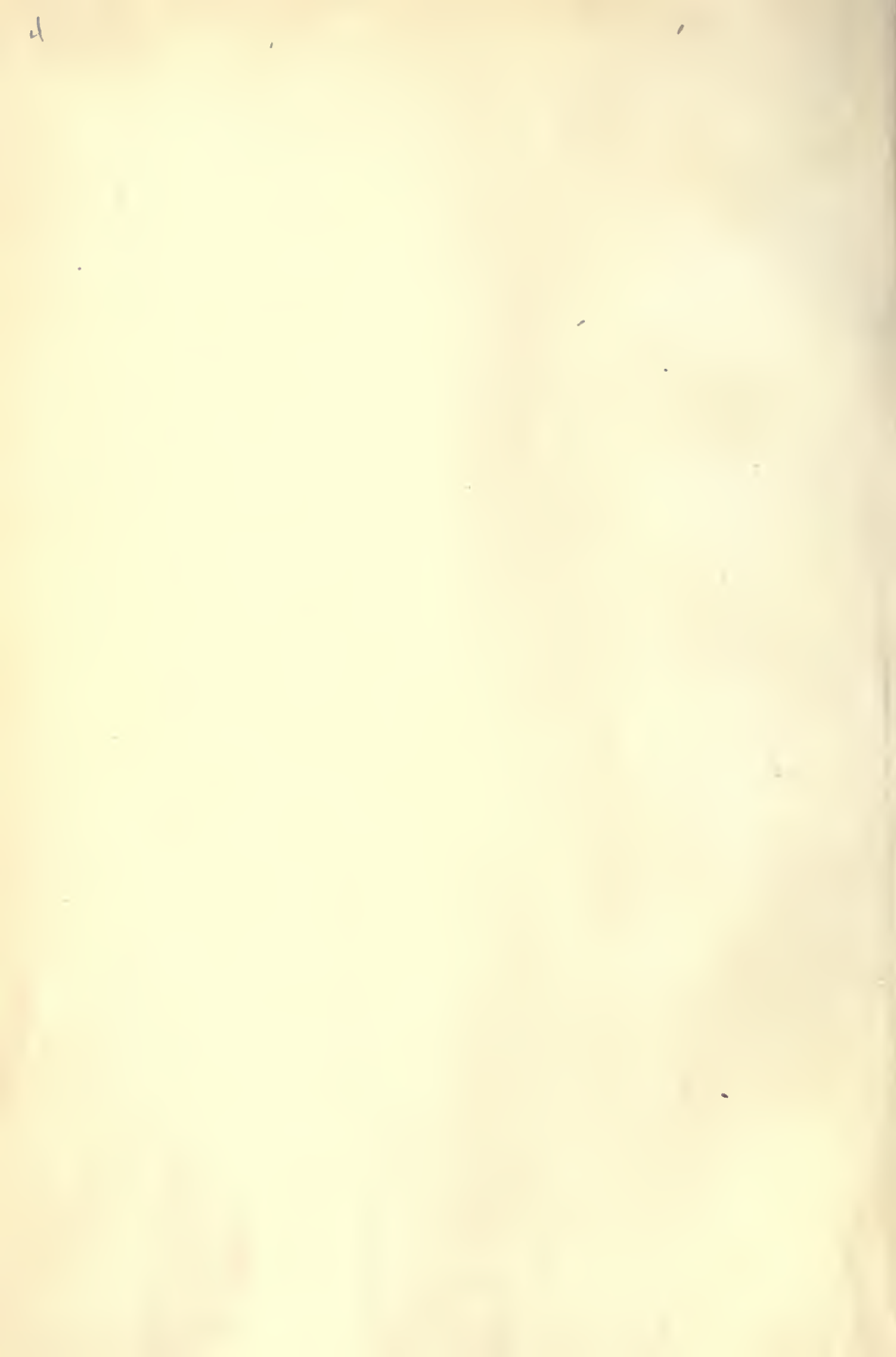
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PREFACE.

WILLIAM HAMILTON MERRITT, the author of the following "Personal Narrative," was born at Bedford in the State of New York, on July 3d, 1793. He became a resident of Upper Canada in 1796, and served through the war of 1812, first as lieutenant and subsequently as captain in the Provincial Dragoons. In 1824 he succeeded in forming a company to construct the Welland Canal, of which he became agent and manager. In 1832 he was elected to represent the County of Haldimand in the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada, for which he continued to sit until the union of the two Provinces, when he was elected for the north riding of the County of Lincoln. In 1848 he became a member of the Baldwin-Lafontaine Administration as President of the Council, and in 1850 was appointed Commissioner of Public Works, but resigned a few months later. He continued to represent the same constituency in the Legislative Assembly until 1860, when he was elected to the Legislative Council for the Niagara District. He died on July 5th, 1862, near Cornwall, while on his way to the sea shore in the hope of restoring his health.

The Personal Narrative, now printed *verbatim* for the first time, was prepared by him while a prisoner of war in the United States. It is written on foolscap paper and the pages were originally numbered from 1 to 25, but pages 17, 18, 19 and 20 have been lost.

E. C.



PERSONAL NARRATIVE.

On the 27th June, 1812, a man arrived at Thos. Clark's, Esqr., with the news of war being proclaimed by the Pres[iden]t of [the] U[nited] S[tates]. The news flew like lightning over the country. The flank companies and other volunteer corps were immediately ordered out. We had one Regt. of regulars, the 41st, in the Upper Province, that is, above Kingston, say, York, Ft. George, Queenston, Chippawa, Fort Erie, Amherstburg, Sandwich and St. Joseph. The country was well aware of the strength and population of the U. S. and turned out with a desire and determination of doing their duty. At the same time they were acting under the impression of being eventually conquered. I heard [at] 12 o'clock P. M. on the night of the 27th of the declaration of war, by Mr. Culp.

(I was then carrying on the farm with several hands, everything [was] in great forwardness.) Not believing it, I mounted my horse in the morning [and] had not rode further than Shipman's when, to my great surprise, I met the capt[ain]s of companies assembling their men as fast as possible. What my feelings were at that time cannot easily be described. I had been appointed Licut. to a m[ilitia] troop of horse a few weeks prior, [and] was confident they would be immediately put on service. I had many powerful and weighty reasons for not entering the ser[vice], tho' not having heard from R.* since their leaving the country, and fearing the worst, I scarcely cared what became of me. In the course of the morning I received an order from my father, who was appointed Maj[or] com[mandin]g the cavalry in the Upper Province, to assemble the men in my vicinity and march down to Ft. George as soon as possible. (The men I had employed all belonged to the different volunteer comp[anie]s which they joined. My mother was left alone on the farm. Seeing so noble a spirit of resistance spreading among all classes, I determined to give up every other pursuit and devote my life and time solely to the service of my country. For many reasons, at that time no person was more ready to risque it than myself.) On receiving the news the men had all assembled by the next morning. Accordingly we moved off and joined the main body at the Court House in Niagara at 2 P. M., 28th inst. [We] kept patroles up and down the river, momentarily expecting an attack, altho' the Americans had not heard of war being proclaimed till notified by us. Expresses having been sent to him, Gen. Brock arrived this even[ing.] All hands were

*Miss Catharine R. Prendergast, afterwards Mrs. Merritt.

busily employed in preparing for our defence. [On the] 29th I had the honor of being presented to him. The troop was under the command of Capt. Alex. Hamilton, my most intimate and particular friend. They were composed of the choicest and best young men in the country. [On] the 30th I received an order to repair to Chippawa with 20 men, and place myself under the command of Col. Clark, 2d Line[oln] Mil[itia]. At this time Capt. Geo. Hamilton was about raising another troop of M[ilitia] Drag[oons] at this place. Wm. Merritt was to have been cornet of the 1st troop, Jno. Second lieutenant, and Pell Major, corn[et] of the 2d do. I had the charge of the volunteers at this post, all amounting to about 40 men. Our time was constantly taken up in drilling, patrolling and parading. As we heard of the enemy's collecting a large force opposite we expected an attack nightly, especially on [the] 4th July. On the 3d I attained my 19th year. I remained between this post and Fort Erie till the 20th, when I was relieved by Capt. Geo. Hamilton; some dispute having arisen between him and Col. Clark in respect to the same, his troop fell through. Most of the men were turned over to ours. Major Merritt appointed John Pell Major cornet vice Wm. Merritt. (I am sorry to say by which means the latter became a ruined man.*) Capt. H[amilton] and myself quartered in my father's house in Niagara. On the 28th July I got leave to visit the 12 M[ile] Creek. [I] had not arrived many hours when I was followed by my father with 6 men, with orders to proceed to Delaware town on River Thames without delay and endeavour to keep up the communication with Amherstburg, as the exterminating Gen. Hull had taken possession of Sandwich [and] sent parties as far as the D[elaware] Town with his proclamations. We were apprehensive Amh[erstburg] would fall. Col. Procter, 41st, had gone up to command. I was well pleased with the excursion, as I wished to see service, since I had commenced—anything new is pleasing. My poor mother was almost distracted at the idea of my going to so dangerous a place, or rather where there was a probability of there being any fighting. I immediately prepared for my departure and set off at 2 A. M., 29th July, with six of the best men in the troop. On the 31st [we] arrived at Oxford. Col. Bostwick was there with the militia, who had just assembled. I heard of Mr. Watson† being at Del[aware] Town with ten or twelve men. I pushed on with a design of surprising him. A few miles before I arrived at the place [I] fell in with Mr. Tiffany, who apprised me of Watson being at Allen's with a number of men well armed, likewise that the country would all join him. I sent

*He joined the enemy in 1813 and fled to the United States.—Ed.

†Simon Z. Watson, a surveyor, who had joined the invaders.—Ed.

back for Col. Bost[wick] to send on a few of his men. I took possession of a house about 6 miles from Allen's. [We] called ourselves Amer[ic]ans. The people discovered their sentiments to us. I got a dozen of them prisoners, [and] detained all but one till morning, when B[ostwick] arrived. We moved on [and] took 2 of the party. [We] surrounded old Allen's house but the traitor (Watson) had made his escape. We took old Allen and the two prisoners with us and returned to Oxford. I left a serg[e]ant and 4 men there. [I] heard of Maj. Chambers's approach [and] met him at Burford. He desired me to return to Ft. George with the prisoners and apply for more cavalry to join him. On my return Gen. Brock had sailed for York. I followed him in a boat and reported myself. He was very well pleased with my proceedings [and] sent me back with the cornet and 28 men. I was too well satisfied with my command to be long joining Maj. Chamb[ers]. He was at Oxford with 40 reg[ulars] and 100 m[ilitia]. I left Chippawa at 1 a. m. Tuesday, July 28, with 1 off[icer] and 18 [men].

On the 8th August I was going with a party to Del[aware] Town. [I] was countermanded and returned to Burford. [On] the 10th Aug. [I] heard of a party of the enemy's horse being at Long Point. [I] followed them with 20 of mine till we arrived at Dover without hearing of them. Next day [we] proceeded nearly to Port Talbot when we discovered they had not been down, [and] returned, not a little chagrined.

Capt. G. Hamilton, Askin, Rolph, &c., were volunteers with M[ajor] Chambers. On the 9th August the gallant and celebrated Brock arrived with the flank companies of the York Militia, and Capt. Hatt's fl[ank] c[ompany] from the Niag[ara] Dist[ri]ct. He addressed all the militia present [and] told them of his determination of proceeding immediately to Amherstburg and driving the enemy out of the country, requesting all willing to defend their country at the risque of their lives to volunteer their services, which they all did to a man. He selected 350 of the best men [and] sent the rest home, as the boats would hold no more. I was sent by land to Del[aware] Town to prevent any party penetrating by that direction. [I] went by way of Port Talbot [and] was placed under Col. Talbot's com[man]d. After remaining three days there [I] sent an express to C[olonel] Tal[bot], requesting permission to proceed on as far as practicable towards Sandwich. Accordingly, on the 15th inst., I received a discretionary order to act as I thought proper, and moved on. Most unfortunately, the day before I reached Sandwich Detroit was captured. I could hardly have met with a more serious disappointment; being the first that was sent on the expedition and having more

fatigue and trouble than any other corps, and being deprived of the glory in sharing in the capture was truly annoying to both the men and myself.

Gen. Brock arrived at Amherstburg on Friday, the 14th Aug. Again addressed the men. [On the] 15th [he] moved up to Sandwich. The enemy retired on his approach. [He] erected a couple of batteries opposite Detroit fort and town, summoned Hull to surrender, which he refused, opened the batteries in the afternoon. [They] had little or no effect. On the 16th, Sunday, with that promptness so very conspicuous in his character, [he] crossed the river with about 700 Indians under the celebrated *Tecumthe*, 350 regulars and about 430 militia. [His] whole force [was] 1480. [The] Indians were sent in[to] the wood. [The] reg[ulars] and militia marched up the plain, or rather road, till within 300 yards of the fort where they filed off to the left in a deep ravine. At the same time our batteries were playing away from the opposite shore with effect. The exterminating General, thinking warm work was about commencing, thought proper to surrender with 2500 men, &c., &c.

I arrived at Sandwich on the 17th. Gen. Brock had left it for the Niagara Frontier. I crossed over and acted under the orders of Col. Procter. [I] was busily engaged in collecting horses, &c., which were concealed about the country. I wrote two letters to R. by Mr. Williams and another. [I] was detained at this place three weeks. On 7th September left it for Fort George, where we arrived on the 15th. We were in momentary expectation of an attack from Gen. Rennselaer, who had collected a large force opposite Queenston and Ft. Erie.

Our duty at this time was very severe. [We were] up all night and slept in the day. Cornet Pell Major was stationed with a party at Ft. Erie. On the 9th October the enemy succeeded in cutting out two schooners near Ft. Erie, the *Caledonia* and *Detroit*. Cornet Major volunteered to bring off the latter with a few men from under the enemy's shore, [but] was mortally wounded and several of his men slightly, some severely. [He] was taken down to Chippawa. I went to see him on the 12th but a few minutes before I arrived he made his exit. I returned to make arrangements for his interment on the following day. Early in the morning Capt. H[amilton] and myself, who slept in the same room, were alarmed by a gun. We had just slipped on our jackets and swords when they were repeated, and a sad scene ensued. Women and children [were] running in all directions and soldiers [were] repairing to their posts. We ran to our barracks and with much difficulty and danger succeeded in getting out our horses, as the stables were in range of the American

guns which were leveled at the court house. We received orders to repair to Queenston as soon as possible, as the enemy had landed. We galloped up as far as Durham's where we met our troops that had been driven from the field and the wounded coming out. Gen. Brock, we heard, was killed a few moments before. In short, for young soldiers we had the most dismal prospects before us that possibly can be conceived. The enemy was magnified to 5000 men and continually crossing without our being able to annoy them. Our few but gallant fellows that had been beaten back and dispersed over the field were now collecting. The wounded [were] meeting us from the field. Col. McDonald, Prov[incial] A. D. C. to the Gen[eral]* was brought three miles by two soldiers, mortally wounded. A circumstance that damped our minds most was the loss of our gallant and much lamented Brock. In him we lost a host. All ranks and descriptions of people placed such implicit reliance on his skill, bravery, and good judgment, that led by him they were confident of success. To revenge his death they were determined to make an effort. (The 49th Regt. had arrived while we were at Detroit.) Gen. Sheiff† arriving from Ft. George at this moment took the command, collected the flank companies of militia, a few of the 41st and the remainder of the 49th companies who had been engaged in the morning. I was sent on the right to prevent their coming down the mountain undiscovered. Capt. Norton with 70 Indians was before me. He crossed the fields, gained the mountain, drove in their flanking parties and attacked their main body. [He] was repulsed with some loss, as he had so few men. G[eneral] Sheiff made an oblique movement to the right, gained the mountain and advanced to Phelps's fields. We remained here an hour [waiting] for a detachment of the 41st from Chippawa. Col. Clark arriving with his men the attack was made. I was previously sent to hurry on Capt. Bullock. They came on *double-quick*, gained the field about five minutes after the action commenced [and] pushed on. The enemy fled in a few minutes in the greatest disorder. We made 900 and odd prisoners. Capt. Holcroft behaved with the greatest coolness [and] kept his 6 pounder exposed to [the] fire of the enemy's long guns during the action. Mr. McKenney's conduct was conspicuous for bravery during the day. It would be impossible to describe the feelings of our young soldiers at this moment, having entered the action with the idea, if successful, of two-thirds being killed or wounded, in 10 minutes to have all the enemy in our possession with a loss of not more than 12 or 13 on our side. It was a most fortunate circumstance for us [and] gave new

*Lieut.-Col. John Macdonnell, Attorney General of Upper Canada.

†Major General Roger Hale Sheaffe.

life to everything. Only the loss of our brave general. On the night before Maj. Merritt and a number of officers were with him. He expected an attack, was round himself giving orders for a strict lookout, was very anxious for it to take place, as he had great confidence in his new raised men. At 4 a. m. a dragoon arrived with the intelligence of an attack having been made at Queenston. He mounted and rode up without an attendant. The morning was breaking as he arrived. Perceiving our shells [were] not reaching the enemy's batteries he rode up [and] ordered more powder. The mortar threw one or two with great effect. At that moment 500 of the enemy appeared within 20 yards of the battery on the mountain in his rear. He ordered the few artillerymen with him to retreat and ran down the mountain exposed to a very heavy fire. Capt. Dennis, 49th, com[manding] the post with 2 flank companies 49th and part of 4 comp[anie]s militia, expecting an attack gave orders for the guard to fire on the first boat that was launched. About $\frac{1}{2}$ after 3 the enemy launched a boat, the guard fired, the men repaired to their posts and drove them back with immense slaughter [and] took 150 prisoners. About 500 had succeeded in landing above under cover of the darkness and bank and gained the brow of the mountain. The guard at that place had left it and joined their comrades under the hill. They were not perceived till they were in the rear of Gen. Brock's battery. He rallied about 30 of the grenadiers [and] was preparing to charge the 500 when he received a random shot through the left breast. He fell in the act of cheering his men. His last words were, *Push on, my brave fellows*. Col. McDonald, who was near them, called on the men about him to revenge his death, which they were well disposed to do. He succeeded with about 75 militia and regulars in gaining the mountain on their left, exposed to a cross fire all the time. They formed and advanced, drove the enemy to the summit of the hill, when Capt. Williams, 49th, was badly wounded in the head, C[olonel] McD[onald] had his horse shot and received a mortal wound through his body. The loss of the two com[manding] officers threw the men in[to] disorder. The enemy took courage [and] advanced. Our men made a precipitate retreat down the mountain and retired to Durham's, where we met them.

Gen. Brock was taken to Niagara and interred with the greatest solemnity. The enemy gave him a salute, which was highly honorable to them. We had drove them out of Ft. Niagara on the 13th, but, as our plan of operations was acting on the defensive, we did not take possession of it. They applied for an unlimited armistice, each to give the other thirty hours' notice when it was to be at an end. This was the most ruinous policy that could be adopted for us. The militia were kept out en masse doing nothing, consequently most of

them went home, as their property was suffering and [there was] no appearance of their being wanted on the frontier. The same precaution was taken by us as before. I was sent up to Turkey Point and established a line of communication from there to Fort George via Lake Erie.

On the 20th Oct. I received the long-looked for letter, which had been in the post office between three and four months. My hopes and spirits were not a little raised on the perusal.

In the latter end [of] Nov[ember] we were notified at Ft. Erie of the armistice being at an end. All was bustle and confusion. The militia [were] ordered out, a general alarm spread immediately. (Not to appear so much alarmed as we really were, knowing the immense force [that] would be opposed [to] us under the proclamation [of] General Smith,*) a general commanding along the whole line, was to commence as soon as the 30 hours expired. It continued the whole day between Fts. George and Niagara, with little effect on either side except damaging a few houses in Niagara. (The Court House had been burned on the 13th Oct.)

I was sent up to Detroit [on] the morn[ing] of the 25th Nov. with dispatches, money, &c., &c., with a guard of four men. I arrived there on the fourth day after leaving Ft. George, crossed the ice on the mouth of the River Thames on the 1st Dec. on my return, the earliest ever known. Mr. A. Williams, having been detained at Detroit, returned me the letter I gave him for R.

[I] arrived at Niagara on the 4th December. On the night of the 28th Nov. the American's effected a landing at Trout's Ferry† under Capt. King with infantry and sailors. [They] surprised our guard, made most of them prisoners and succeeded in capturing our batteries and dismounting all our guns. Early in the morning of the 29th we moved on from Ft. Erie and made prisoners about 39 men, with Capt. King, who had not time to recross. In this rencounter we lost a few men killed [and] 2 or 3 mil[itia] off[icers] wounded. The Norfolk militia behaved exceedingly well. Col. Bisshopp, who commanded the right, arriving from Chippawa formed the few men he had with him at Frenchman's Creek. The enemy made their appearance in about 20 boats [and] advanced within half gun-shot. We opened our fire, they wheeled about and returned with some loss. On the 30th we expected an attack most certainly, as Gen. Smith had sent over a flag desiring Col. Bisshopp to surrender Fort Erie. He was given to understand it would be defended to the last. At 2 a. m. 1st Dec., Gen. Smith embarked his force, amounting to six thousand,

*Brigadier General Alexander Smyth.—Ed.

†Between Fort Erie and Frenchman's Creek.—Ed.

with an intention of attacking. Col. Nichol, who happened to be going the rounds, mistaking the hour, ordered the *revellly** to be sounded. Smith, thinking we were on the alert and prepared to receive him, disembarked his men, making no further attempt during the campaign, altho' the militia of the country were kept out and on duty fully as severe as ever.

[In] the latter of December I was sent with a party to Ft. Erie as we expected an attack by means of the ice, and to prevent desertion, &c., &c., where I remained till the middle of February, during which time I wrote R. by a Mr. Willson. [As there was] no appearance of an attack on either side at this time, the militia [were] all sent home; the flank companies' term of service expiring they were dismissed and the most of Captain Hamilton's dragoons. I was recalled to Niagara.

Seeing nothing [was] likely to be done, I applied for leave and went to Kingston on my private concerns. [I] returned about the 10th February, 1813, [and was] kept on duty till the 25th inst., when the troop was dismissed after a faithful and expensive service of 8 months. They embodied themselves purely out of patriotic motives, found their own horses, clothing, appointments, &c., &c., only receiving their rations and 9d per diem. They were likewise on their first formation the most respectable young men in the country. Many afterwards got commissions in militia corps.

I omitted mentioning a brilliant affair at the right division, and a most shameful and disastrous one on the lake. Hearing of Gen. Winchester's approach towards Detroit, Capt. Muir was sent out with a body of Indians and regulars to make an attack upon Fort Wayne up the Miami in the latter part of December. He approached within a few miles of it when some scouts discovered Gen. Winchester's camp within a few miles of them. The force was too small to attack. He therefore destroyed his ammunition and returned to Amherstburgh in three days which (sic) he was fifteen in advancing. Gen. Winchester, taking courage at his retiring, moved on at the rapids. He was met by a detachment of militia and Indians, who behaved in the most gallant manner. On the 20th Gen. Harrison encamped at the Rapids and Gen. W[inchester] advanced to the River Raisin and stockaded himself on the bank in a good position. Brig'd Gen. Procter advanced quietly with all the force he could collect and attacked them at 3 a. m. on 22d January. They defended themselves gallantly. We succeeded in taking the Gen[eral] and his army prisoners. A great part were killed, 500 at least, about 600 taken [and] sent down to Ft. George, where they were paroled and sent

*Reveille.

home to their own country, as we had invariably sent home all the militia that fell in our hands. In the latter end of November the American navy, under the command of Commodore Chauncey, drove our fleet into the harbor of Kingston, who a few months prior had complete command of the lake, not apprehending an enemy in that quarter. So ends the campaign of 1812, one of the most disastrous ones to the American arms and a most glorious one for the troops and inhabitants in Upper Canada.

On the 25th Feb. I retired from the service, went home to the 12 Mile Creek [and] entered into business, not wishing or thinking of entering it again. My father and Capt. Hamilton both entered proposals for raising a troop of Prov[incial] Dragoons to serve during the war. The former was accepted of. However, he getting tired of the exertion that attended it and private concerns calling him home, declined persevering in it. I received a note from Lt. Col. Harvey requesting I would undertake it, likewise Major Glegg and others. Thinking it probable we would have an active campaign the ensuing season, I commenced recruiting the 11th March under every possible disadvantage, as the men had to find horses for themselves. Lieut. Ingersoll was appointed by my father, consequently I continued him and appointed Mr. McKenney cornet, (this young man joined the militia dragoons as a private. He was with me during the campaign. His zeal and courage was conspicuous on every occasion. He was raised to the rank of quartermaster, no higher post being vacant) who soon raised his quota. On the 25th we were all in orders, fourteen days after I commenced. Our establishment was 42 [rank and] file, which was conceived to be sufficient, as appointments could not be procured for them. They were all fine young men but badly mounted and equipped in every respect. My time was taken up in organizing them in the best manner I could. A line of communication was established to Fort Erie with them.

On the 20th April the campaign for 1813 opened with more vigilance than ever. We were reinforced with some of the Glegg's, Newfoundland and King's. [The] militia were again called out. We were apprehensive of a serious attack from some quarters, as we perceived the enemy were collecting a large force on the Niagara Frontier and had a decided superiority on the lake. It was impossible for the duty to be more severe than at this crisis or the privations greater among all ranks. Both militia and regulars done their duty with alacrity and good will.

On 27th April the enemy landed at York and captured it after a most gallant resistance by the grenadier company of the King's and a few others. The former were nearly all killed or wounded. We

had a ship on the stocks, which was destroyed, and a quantity of stores. The magazine was blown up by us [and] killed a number of their men.

We were uncertain as to the fate of the place until the evening of the 29th, when I was sent to Burlington to bring down all the boats in that quarter, which I accomplished in 16 hours, for which service I received Brigd.-Gen. Vincent's thanks. Since Sir R. Hale Shief's retreat from York he commanded the centre division of the army. On the 2d May the enemy's fleet appeared in sight. Alarm guns were fired and every preparation made to give them a warm reception, as we expected an immediate attack at Ft. George since they [had] abandoned York. They anchored off the 4 Mile Creek [on the] American side where their camp was formed. From this till the 27th May every man was turned out at 2 o'clock [and] remained under arms during the night. Some men were 12 nights running on guard. A most laudable example was shewn them by the Gen[eral] Staff and every officer, who equally shared their fatigues. Our small force were formed in three divisions. Col. Myers com[mande]d the left, composed of the Kings and 2 comp[anies] of militia to defend the coast from Ft. George to 4 Mile Creek. Capt. Fowler act[ed] as A. D. C. Col. Harvey [commanded] the right, consisting of 3 comp[anies] N[ew]f[ound][an]d and 41st, 3 Gleng[arry], 4 [of] 49th and 3 of militia, from Fort George to Queenston. The remainder of the 49th and militia composed the reserve under Gen. Vincent to act as occasion might require in the rear of Ft. George. We had alarms almost every night. Col. H[arvey] and myself rode to within 2 miles of Queenston and back, nearly all night, and slept in the day.

On the 25th, they commenced cannonading Fort George, which for want of ammunition we were unable to return. They burned all the buildings in it. On the 27th at 4 a. m. they were discovered approaching us under a thick heavy fog off the 4 Mile Creek [on the] Amer[ican] side in a number of boats and scows in three brigades covered by their shipping and Ft. Niagara. Our left division were ordered back in a ravine, as the enemy completely enfiladed the plain and shore with shot and shells from the fleet and fort.

I was sent up to order down part of Lt.-Col. Harvey's division on the right. As the fog was so very heavy we could not discover their movements on the opposite side; the Gen[eral] was apprehensive they meditated an attack likewise on our right by which means only the gren[a]dier comp[any] [of the] N[ew]f[ound]land [Regiment] was brought into action of the right division; 3 comp[anies] Glengarry, 2 mil[itia], 1 of N[ew]f[ound]land, was posted in advance to oppose the landing of the whole Amer[ican] army. At 9 they commenced

landing at Crookston. The major part of our advance was killed. They were supported by the King's, who suffered nearly as much, as the enemy had gained the bank on their approach. They were compelled to fall back on the reserve, which were posted in Gordon's ravine. I was sent for the 49th, which were formed in the centre, our whole force not exceeding eight hundred men. We remained marching and countermarching, retreating and advancing till the enemy had advanced nearly within musket shot, when a retreat was ordered. The 24 p[ounde]r battery was left by its officer after firing one shot, by which means we were totally unable to annoy them. We formed again at the barracks near the Council House when I was sent up to order down the L[igh]t Comp[any] of the King's which we understood was at the 8 Mile Creek. I rode through the woods round the Amer[ican] right flank [and] followed up the lake till I arrived at the 20 Mile Creek (was two hours on the road) where I met Com[man]d[er] Barclay with his sailors and the King's. We hurried on to Shipman's where I learned the army had retreated to DeCoo's. I took the party through the woods [and] arrived there at 9 o'clock. Next morning the militia were allowed to remain or follow the army. This was a sad day for many besides myself. I went home, prepared my kit and with a heavy heart bid adieu, as I thought, to the place of my nativity for a long time. I was determined to share the fate of the army, which retreated on to Burlington with very little delay. I was ordered to remain at the Forty till driven in by the enemy. They were slow in approaching. I remained about the 12 till the 29th, when they advanced with most of the army. [On] the 1st June I was driven back from the Forty to Stoney Creek. The enemy advanced on the 6th, after many petty skirmishes in which I lost 7 men, to Stoney Creek, where they encamped to the number of 3000 and about 1500 at Jones's on the lake. We were now driven to our last resources. We had retired from Fort Erie on [the] 28th. Our only position was Burlington, which they would have attacked next day. We had no works. Our troops [were] much fatigued and dispirited. In the evening of the 6th they had drove in our piquets, some distance from Stoney Creek. We were all under arms in the night when the bold and daring design of attacking their camp was carried in[to] execution. The 49th and part of the King's were ordered to march, amounting to 500 men. The light companies of each composed the advance, all under the com[man]d of Brigd.-General Vincent. [When] they arrived within a mile of the enemy's camp [they] halted and had the guns examined; none were allowed to be loaded. They moved on, surprised and made prisoners their pickets. [They] charged the front line of the enemy 500 in number double quick [and] routed them without the loss of a

man on our side. The easy dispersion of these men threw ours in confusion, which gave the main body time to form on our right. They poured in a most destructive fire and commenced firing from their artillery, which were posted on an eminence in our front. Col. Plenderleath assembled about 30 men, made a most vigorous and successful charge upon their guns and succeeded in capturing them and making Genls. Chandler and Winder prisoners, which secured us the victory, as the enemy immediately retreated and left us in possession of the field. We could not get off but two guns and limbers for the want of horses; they were all killed. On appearance of day we drew off all our troops fearing [that] when the enemy seen our numbers they would renew the action. Col. Vincent having been thrown off his horse, lost himself in the wood. I was sent back by Col. Harvey to look for him over the field. He supposed he was either killed or wounded. On my return to near Gage's house I fell upon an American sentry. He allowed me to approach him. With my blue jacket [he] took me for one of his own officers. I made him prisoner and discovered they had possession of the house with fifty men. I moved off with the sentry and another prisoner, who made his appearance, and brought them to the main body. The Americans retreated this day as far as the Forty. We were on the point of retreating when Gen. Vincent made his appearance.

On the 7th our fleet made its appearance. I was sent on [in] the advance [and] arrived at the Forty a few minutes after the Amer[ican] rear guard left it. Major Dennis arrived shortly after. We pursued them and made many prisoners. The militia assembled in all quarters and added much to their annoyance.

On the 10th [we] pushed on our advance under Colonel Bisshopp to the 12 and 10 Mile Creeks. Lieut. Fitzgibbon had the command of a party of 50 men on the advance. His principal post was De-Coo's house, Beaver Dams. Cornet McKenney was attached to him. On the 20th Lt. Barnard, Fitzgibbon, Cummings, McKenney and myself were sent to Tice Hone's, nearly falling in with Col. Chapin's party. On the 24th Col. Barstlaer (Boerstler) was sent out with 600 men, 2 field pieces and Chapin's party to engage Fitzgibbon and destroy the house. They came through St. Davids [by] the mountain road. He got information of it, sent to Col. Deharen (De Haren) who was at Brown's, 10 M[ile] Creek, with a party of regulars and Indians, chiefly Cognawagas from Lower Canada, who came up a few days before. He sent them up by the Doctor's (Prendergast's?) They placed themselves in Hover's (Hoover's) fields [and] waited till the army had nearly passed, when they opened a sharp fire from behind the fence and in the wood. It threw the enemy in confusion

for the moment. They rallied and drove the Indians near a mile. They ran back, got on the enemy's left flank and drove them back in turn with loss. The enemy formed in Miller's fields. Fitzgibbon, at this instant arriving, gained the wood exposed to a heavy fire of grape and canister. He perceived the Indians [were] tired of the

(Pages 17, 18, 19 and 20 of the MS. are here missing.)

took the other for Americans, exchanged several and did not find out the mistake till we arrived at the Forty Mile Creek. On our return we gave the necessary information, expecting the army to advance to meet him. However, nothing transpired till the 4th December. (Gen. McClure advanced as far as the 20 and returned.) On the 5th Col. Murray was allowed to advance as far as the 40, with orders not to proceed farther. On the 8th Capt. Martin and myself was sent on to the 20 to secure some flour. Hearing my father was allowed to return home I persuaded Capt. Martin to advance as far as the 12, which he did, brought away my father [and] returned to the 40 that night. [We] reported our proceedings to Col. Murray. We made $\frac{1}{2}$ doz[en] prisoners and killed one man. He was not well pleased with [our] stretching orders. However, [he] advanced himself to the 20 [and] sent me to the 12 where I fell in with a flag of truce. [I] detained it till I received an order for its release. [I] collected about 40 militia as an advance guard. In the night [I] was sent up to the Beaver Dams. Early in the evening [I] discovered the town on fire. Col. Murray moved on to the 12. In the evening [we] collected all the axes in the neighborhood with a determination of storming F[or]t George. On our arrival they left it. Our troops took up a position on the river. [We] took many prisoners on the line, the movement was so sudden the renegades had not time to make their escape. Gen. Vincent arrived on the 13th with the remainder of the forces. We had been every night up endeavoring to get down boats for crossing the river. Fort Niagara was the great object. I was sent over with a flag to Lewiston to endeavor to ascertain their force. Capt. Kerby was sent up to Burlington to bring down the boats, which he did with the greatest expedition. Gen. Drummond and staff arrived on the 17th. Part of the boats was brought to Wilson's. The troops were assembled there every night for the purpose of crossing. On the 18th I was taken very ill owing to the excessive fatigue we had all undergone for eight nights previous, and was sent home by Gen. Vincent, where I was confined for a fortnight.

On the evening of the 19th the troops were all privately

embarked, surprised the fort and captured it with very little opposition [and] drove them from Lewiston and Schlosser. After delaying till the 1st November (*sic*) our troops crossed at Black Rock. After a sharp engagement with the militia, drove them and took possession of Buffalo. [We] burned every house we came across in retaliation for the town of Niagara. Thus ended the campaign of 1813. In our dash we recovered the whole country excepting Amherstburgh, which was not worth keeping at present, and all owing to the ability of Colonel Murray.

I omitted mentioning a few gallant attempts in the month of July. *Imprimis*, Sir James Yeo formed the bold and daring design of cutting out the enemy's fleet at Sacketts Harbor. Hearing the *Pike* was launched and fitted out, he took about 500 soldiers and sailors [and] arrived near the harbor at 2 a. m. [He] had his boats drawn up in the wood intending attacking the next night. In the day [he] reconnoitred the situation of the fleet [and] came back in high spirits. He was sure of capturing the whole, when he was informed two of his soldiers was missing. He immediately gave up the design, disembarked (*sic*) his men and returned to Kingston.

In the latter end of June Col. Clark crossed at Schlosser with 30 men, took as many prisoners, destroyed a quantity of stores and brought away one or two pieces of cannon,

[In] the beginning of July Col. Bishopp crossed at Black Rock, burned the navy-yard [and] destroyed an immense quantity of public property. He was repeatedly urged to disembark (*sic*) and return, [but] imagining himself too secure [he] remained till the enemy collected a force. He was mortally wounded and lost a number of men before they could disembark and get out of musket shot. His loss was severely felt in the Upper Province. He was a good officer, an excellent man and a real friend to the country.

The troops were all put in winter quarters [and] the greatest activity prevailed in repairing the forts. I was fortunately stationed at Shipman's, 12 Mile Creek, where I remained till the middle of May, 1814, when I was ordered to Fort George. We erected a new fort at Missasaugua Point, by that name, and one on Queenston Heights by the name of Fort Drummond. The fleet had captured Oswego this month, took a quantity of provisions [and] threw in a good supply to Fts. George and Niagara. Capt. Popham with a party of 200 seamen went up Sandy Creek near Sackett's Harbor after some American boats. They were all captured, and almost every boat belonging to the fleet.

Knowing the large force that was collected at Buffalo was about invading this poor unfortunate frontier again, the duty became very

severe. The enemy had landed at Dover, Long Point, under Col. Camel (Campbell), burned every thing they fell in with and disembarked.

On the third of July (my birthday) they made a landing at Ft. Eric, surrounded the place, which only consisted of 130 men, which of course was obliged to surrender. On the 4th [they] pushed on to Chippawa, skirmishing with our rear-guard, a few dragoons under Cornet Horton. Our troops retired to their position at Chippawa. A few Indians and militia arriving, Gen. Riall thought proper to make a dash at them on the 5th.

I was sent down on the 4th to Ft. George. We expected their fleet hourly to make its appearance and threaten the forts, by which means Gen. R[iall] was under the necessity of dividing his small force. However, he marched out, gave them battle and was beaten. Had the enemy done their duty our whole army must have been taken, as they had five times our numbers. I was ordered up in the evening and detained with part of the troop. Cornet McKenney was attached to Col. Scott's district at Burlington. On the 8th the enemy cut a road, erected a battery and launched some boats, unperceived by our pickets or patrols. Had they crossed it would have effectually cut off our retreat. Gen. Riall left his position and retired to the forts, burning Fort Drummond, &c. Capt. Hamilton and myself remained behind watching the movements of the enemy till night. On the 9th I was sent in the country to watch the movements of the enemy with about 20 dragoons, in the neighborhood of 12 Mile Creek and Beaver Dams, where I kept up the communication with Gen. Riall and Burlington. The militia had all retired to Burlington, driving off their cattle, &c. On the 16th I was sent to Burlington to order Col. Scott down with nearly his whole force, 103d, Indians and militia. On my return Gen. Riall moved out, formed a junction with him at 20 Mile Creek, pushed out pickets of militia to the Four Mile Creek [at] St. Davids, by which means we kept the communication open with Ft. George. The Glengarries arrived on the 18th. Our force under Gen. Riall consisted of 200 Royals, 150 Kings, 600 of 103d, 400 Glengarries, 350 incorp[orated] militia, 1000 sedentary militia and Indians. In the three forts [were] about 600 men. On the 21st Gen. Brown moved down and encamped near Ft. George. We proceeded on [and] took possession of Queenston, making a few prisoners. About 30 officers and men had volunteered under Capt. Fitzgibbon to hover round the enemy's camp and obtain information. Of these I was one. We remained in Queenston all night. Three of us went down to their out pickets at Camp's farm [and] kept a good lookout. Nine officers breakfasted at Smith's in the morning. [We] was

surprised by a party of dragoons. Most of us gained the mountain. Four or five were made prisoners. Here we made a stand and kept in check the 150 dragoons until their infantry had completely outflanked us. We fired fifty rounds per man. We returned to St. Davids, where about 20 militia were keeping 150 them [in] check. We ran down to support them. After firing a few rounds, as they did not advance, we retired to the wood, where we received an order to move back to the 10 Mile Creek. Four officers of our party remained in the rear, were surrounded, and after a short but gallant resistance, were made prisoners. [We] remained at the 10 that evening. Next day, 24th, our number being reduced to eleven, [we] took an excursion to Mr. Birch's and Roreback's. [We] fell in with a party of 30 horsemen, gave them a volley, [and] they broke. We rushed on [and] gave [them] another fire, when they disappeared, some up and the others down to Queenston. We returned to Bessey's. Next morning, the 25th, I was under the necessity of returning to headquarters to arrange some matters about the troop. My father was taken very ill. Col. Drummond arrived in the afternoon. [We] heard of the enemy retiring to Chippawa. [I] was ordered to Lundy's Lane in the evening with him. We marched all night [and] arrived there at daylight.

Editor's Note.

Colonel William Claus was the eldest son of Colonel Daniel Claus and grandson of Sir William Johnson. After serving for some time as an officer in the 60th Regiment, or Royal Americans, he entered the Indian Department as a lieutenant during the American Revolution. When Lieut.-Colonel John Butler died in 1796, he was strongly recommended as his successor as superintendent at Niagara. He became the senior deputy superintendent of that department upon McKee's death in 1799. On nominating him for this post, in a despatch to the Duke of Portland, Major-General Prescott wrote :

"With respect to the vacancy occasioned by the death of Mr. McKee, I think it my duty to recommend to your Grace's consideration Captain William Claus, the present senior superintendent. Exclusive of any pretensions which he might be induced to entertain in *his own mind* in consequence of the services of his grandfather, the late Sir Wm. Johnson, of his father, the late Colonel Claus, who served thirty odd years in the Military and Indian Departments, or of his own services of twenty years, the circumstance of the Indians entertaining a very high respect and veneration for the memory of his grandfather and father, together with a great personal regard and attachment to himself, appears to me to be of very considerable weight. His having likewise (in addition to his other qualifications) been born and brought up, as it were, among the Indians, and possessing an activity and disposition peculiarly pleasing to that sort of people will, I have reason to believe, render his succession to the office of the late Mr. McKee more satisfactory to all the Indian Nations and more beneficial to His Majesty's service (especially if the active services of the Indians should become necessary) than that of any other person I could recommend."

He was subsequently appointed Colonel of the Militia of the County of Lincoln and a member of the Legislative Council.

Matthew Elliott was engaged in trading with the Indians beyond the Ohio at the beginning of the American Revolution. He abandoned the whole of his property, which was confiscated, and joined Lieut. Governor Hamilton at Detroit, by whom he was appointed

captain in the Indian Department. He accompanied Captain Bird in his raid into Kentucky in 1780 and subsequently commanded a body of Indians in the actions of Blue Licks and Sandusky in which the frontiersmen of Kentucky and Pennsylvania were defeated with severe loss. In 1790 he was appointed assistant agent for the western Indians and was promoted to be Deputy Superintendent at Amherstburg in 1795. He was hastily dismissed from this office in 1798 in consequence of a quarrel with Captain Maclean, the military commandant, but was reinstated in 1808, when war seemed imminent with the United States, at the urgent request of Lieut. Governor Gore, who declared in his despatch to Sir James Craig on the subject, that "throughout this country (Upper Canada) it is the general sentiment that he is the only man capable of calling forth the energies of the Indians." He was one of the representatives of the County of Essex in the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada for nearly twenty years, and Lieutenant Colonel of the First Regiment of Essex Militia. His death in 1814 was probably hastened by fatigue and exposure during the war.

John Norton was the son of a British officer by his marriage with a Miss Anderson. He was born in Canada and at an early age went to live among the Indians of the Six Nations at the Grand River, by whom he was adopted and made a chief. He appears to have been fairly well educated and is stated to have been able to speak English and French with facility, as well as several Indian dialects.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE OPERATIONS OF THE INDIAN CONTINGENT WITH OUR FORCES ON THE NIAGARA FRONTIER IN 1812-13.

BY COLONEL WILLIAM CLAUS.

YORK, 4th December, 1813.

MY DEAR SIR,— It has been my wish for a length of time to sit down and give you a detailed account of our transactions since the 13th October, 1812, as far as relates to Indian affairs, at which period I consider the war to have commenced in this part of the country, and much of that I must trust to memory but will answer for its correctness.

On the 13th October, 1812, about 6 o'clock a. m. J. B. Rousseaux, interpreter, knocked at my door and reported the enemy crossing at Queenston in force. I immediately got up and on my way down to my front gate I met Major General Sheaffe, who ordered me to the garrison at Fort George, from whence I despatched every Indian I could collect and a number of militia. Captain Norton had proceeded before I saw him. About 8 o'clock a. m. I received orders from the late Major General Brock, through Brigade Major Glegg, not to cease firing until every stone was down in the American garrison. The events of that day are well known to you, and the death of a man, Major General Brock, that will ever be lamented. On this occasion we lost two Cayuga Chiefs, one Onondaga warrior and two Oneidas killed besides several wounded.

From the 13th [October] until the 21st of November nothing was done. By a letter from General Smyth to General Sheaffe the armistice concluded on the 13th October was to cease on the 19th November. On the 20th at night orders were given to open the batteries upon the garrison at Fort Niagara at daylight of the 21st. The orders I received were to station myself with the militia in a ravine near the English church, where we remained until near sunset, when the firing ceased. We had very few Indians at Fort George, most of them being

at Fort Erie under Major Givins and Capts. Norton and Kerr, where, on the 27th November, they assisted in repelling the second attempt at invading the Province; altho' a good deal of firing none of our Indians were hurt. The attack was made immediately on a house where a party of the 49th lay with Lieut. Lamont and my son of that regiment and Lieut. King of the Royal Artillery, under the command of the former. After a warm struggle they were obliged to give way, being overpowered by numbers and Lieut. Lamont severely wounded, Lieut. King mortally, and my son slightly in the face, and a number of men killed, wounded and made prisoners. Reinforcements coming to our assistance the American party were made prisoners with their commandant, Capt. King, but our people had been sent across the river before.

This ended the campaign.

On the 1st May, [1813,] a Militia General Order was issued calling into actual service 1700 of the Militia; the following is an extract:

"1st Lincoln, Colonel Claus, 300 including those embodied. Distribution — 1st Lincoln, Niagara."

On the 8th May, 1813, I received the following letter:

"Fort George, 8th May, 1813.

SIR,— I am directed by Brigadier General Vincent, commanding the troops on the frontier, to desire you will hold yourself in readiness to assume the command of the garrison at Fort George in the event of the 49th, Lieut.-Colonel Plenderleath, being obliged to move out for the purpose of opposing the attack which there is reason to believe the enemy meditates upon this post.

"The Brigadier General feels the most entire confidence in your best exertions for the defence of this most important post with the limited means which he may be enabled to place at your disposal, and which, I am to assure you, will be as great as circumstances will admit.

"You are to use your discretion in the supply of ammunition and arms to such militiamen as may come in unprovided with them. Of the former you are required to be as sparing as possible.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

J. HARVEY, *Lt.-Col.*,

D. A. G.

"Colonel Claus, etc., etc."

I introduce the above extract of an order and letter to show why upon several occasions I was not with the Indians, as represented to Sir George, and which I believe drew forth the order of the 7th

August last. The order to remain in the garrison on the 13th October was verbal and received in the field. After the above order of the 1st of May it became my duty to be in the garrison of Fort George every morning an hour before day with the militia. Nothing occurred until the 24th May at night, when our guns up the river opened upon some boats and scows the enemy were putting into the water at the Five Mile Meadows. This night I was in the garrison with all the militia and about 12 o'clock I detached a part of them up the river to the support of the guns, not knowing what the firing was. The regulars left the fort and went out for the purpose of throwing up some breast-works on the bank. A little before day they returned to their alarm posts and the fire from the enemy opened from all their batteries upon the garrison of Fort George. I had time to fire two rounds from a 24 pounder when I received orders to stop firing, but by the enemy it was kept up till about 2 o'clock p. m., by which time they had set fire to and burnt nearly every building in the fort. At this hour Lieut.-Colonel Williams of the 49th was sent down to relieve me. We had very few Indians at Niagara at this time.

During the remainder of the day we were busily employed in repairing the picketing destroyed by the shells which were thrown in great numbers and admirably served as well as their guns. On the 26th the enemy were observed to be unusually busy. On the 27th, before day, I was on the Cavalier, or Brock's Battery, with Lieut.-Col. Plenderleath. Just as the day broke and reveille beat on both sides, we left it fully persuaded that nothing would be attempted that day. By the time we reached the centre of the square we observed a rocket over our heads, and as it turned every battery opened upon us. The troops, with the exception of one company of the 49th, Captain Ormond, left the garrison. Our force was not 70 men including militia. We were penned up in the fort without being allowed to fire a shot. A little after day the enemy appeared in three divisions of vessels and boats coming from Johnson's Landing. They advanced in very great order and unfortunately for us were allowed to come on shore without being opposed by a 24 pounder which must, if fired, have done immense execution and I am persuaded must have driven the enemy back, but from something unaccountable not a shot was fired from this gun. It was placed near Church's old house. The boats and scows were so close to each other and moved so slow that every shot must have had effect, as they were very little more than half [cannon] shot distance. At 11 o'clock a. m. I received orders to open the mortar battery on the fort, which was done. Shortly after, I saw our troops retiring and a large column of the enemy advancing in rear of my house. I received a second order to turn my guns on the town but had hardly done so when I received the following note :

“ 12 o'clock.

DEAR SIR,— The General desires that you will immediately evacuate the fort and join him on the Queenston Road.

(Signed,) J. B. GLEGG, Lt.-Col.
Brigade Major.

“Col Claus,
Commanding Fort George.”

After seeing all the troops and militia out of the fort and blowing up one or two small magazines, I followed and overtook the General about half way to Queenston on a road near the skirt of the wood. In the action of this day we had very few Indians in the field. Two Mohawks were killed and a number wounded. One of the killed was a boy of mine. The poor fellow was too forward and lost his life by a grape shot in the forehead. We continued our retreat over the mountain and the Indians retired by a different route, under Norton. I was despatched with orders to Colonel Bisshopp and did not get back to the army until 10 o'clock that night. Our first halt was at DeCou's, about 15 miles from Niagara, (to which place my son of the 49th had been sent a few days before the attack with a depot of ammunition.) From thence we moved to the 40 Mile Creek, where we remained some days. Here Mrs. Claus and my family joined me. Why we left this position God knows! It was the best we could take up, but we moved to the Heights of Burlington, to which place the enemy were pursuing us in much superior force. On the 5th June in the afternoon information was brought that the enemy had attacked our advance and that we had drove them. The whole of the troops were ordered under arms. No Indians being with us I offered my services to Brigadier General Vincent, which he was kind enough to accept, and shortly after sent me to Lieut.-Col. Bisshopp. On my way I met some Indians coming from Grand River and hastened them on, but on my return found that they would not move on that night.

When the two regiments, the King's and 49th, moved off at half-past 11 on the night of the 5th of June, I followed and after riding a mile I found that the officer that was riding alongside the general, had rode off. I rode up and took his place. After riding a little way with him, I was again sent off to Lieut.-Col. Bisshopp with orders to attach myself to him. I am perhaps too particular, but I wish to show to you the cruelty of the order of the 7th August, which I attribute to Mr. Norton's report that I was never out with the Indians, on which report I believe that order is founded. The event of that morning's business is known to you and unnecessary for me to repeat it, but I

must remark to you that in the general order Capt. Norton is complimented for the handsome manner in which he followed up the enemy with his warriors when not an Indian advanced until after our troops came in and they only went to the field to plunder. About the 10th June our little army advanced. I was ordered to remain in command of the Heights with a few troops and militia, which I refused but afterwards accepted on condition that if they advanced from the 40 Mile Creek I should be relieved. Shortly after, Major Evans of the King's came up and relieved me and I immediately left the Heights and joined the Indians. On my arrival at the 40 I joined the Canada Indians there, who with ours advanced to the 10 Mile Creek near Niagara and encamped there with the light companies of the King's and 104th. We had not been there a day or two when a report reached us that 150 horse were at De Cou's in our rear, making a tour by 12 Mile Creek as we supposed. The two companies were immediately under arms and a message sent to me requiring about 50 Indians to join each company. I ordered Capt. Kerr with the 104th and went myself with the King's, going different routes in hopes of cutting them off. About sunset a runner was sent to me to say they had turned and taken a different route. Just as we got to our camp we heard that the other party had met the enemy, but not those reported in the morning, and engaged them on the mountain near Mrs. Tice's. After two rounds our people retired, the others being too superior in numbers. Had the number of Indians gone with Capt. Kerr that I wished and expected, it would have been a complete business, but unluckily most of the Indians followed the Kings. Only one of the enemy was killed, none of ours hurt.

From the continual applications for flour for the families at home I was obliged to retire from the 10 Mile Creek for the purpose of making out the necessary returns and requisitions, for while I remained with the body of Indians nothing could be done. (This I mention to show why I was not present on the 24th.) I therefore went to Capt. Kerr at the 20 Mile Creek on the 22d June. On the 24th, a little before daylight, one of the Canada Indians went down to St. David's to look for one of their people that had been missing the day before. On his getting there he saw a large body of the enemy advancing towards De Cou's on the mountain and in our rear. He returned immediately and reported to Capt. Kerr, who collected all the Indians he could, not 400. After having reported the circumstance to Major De Haren, he set out in pursuit of them. The same young man went in advance and crossed the same body and returned to Capt. Kerr and the Indians, who left the road and struck across the country and getting into a wood opened a fire upon the enemy, who soon formed and with two fieldpieces, 6 and 12 pounders, obliged our people to retire, but

only to take up another position, which they did and kept up such a warm fire that they were obliged to retire after offering two flags, but whether the Indians understood them or not is not known but they were fired on each time. This I learned from a man by the name of Miller, to whose house they retired. When all firing had ceased Lieut. FitzGibbon of the 49th made his appearance with about 40 men and a flag was immediately sent. Seeing red coats, &c., the surrender followed of Lieut.-Col. Boerstler and his forces with the two fieldpieces, ammunition, etc., for which every notice was taken of the troops and Lieut. FitzGibbon, and nothing said of the Indians who did everything. Well might the general order say that the whole of the business was accomplished without the loss of a drop of British blood, for not a shot was fired by a British soldier that day. Five or six militia officers and men went out with the Indians, who were the only whites except those of the department, but it was not accomplished without the death of one Delaware chief, one Chippewa chief from La Cloche, two Caughnawaga war chiefs, one Nippissing war chief, one warrior from St. Regis, besides a vast number wounded. As soon as the business was reported to Lt.-Col. Bisshopp, who was stationed at the 20, he advanced but we were too late. It was over before we reached the field.

After this the Indians all retired to the 40. I could not stop them. With much difficulty I persuaded the greater part of the Canada Indians to advance again, and we got to the 12 where they halted, and about the first of July we were joined by about 150 of the western Ottawas and Chippewas. I had tried for several days to get our people to advance to the 10 again. Promise after promise was made but I could not get them to go until I got the Western Indians to move, when they could not avoid following, and we took up our old ground at the 10. We had been there many days when I received the following note :

“HEADQUARTERS, 10 o'clock p. m., July 7th.

“DEAR SIR,—I have Major-General De Rottenburg's directions to direct you will move forward a body of Indians to-morrow morning in the direction of Fort George. They must take post in front of [Chorus's] house, where some medicine belonging to the army was deposited, which it is the object of this movement to secure. Capt. Merritt will be sent from hence early to-morrow morning with wag-gons in which to bring off these medicines. A company of the King's will escort them from hence. It is therefore necessary that the officer who accompanies the Indians should point out the necessity of

remaining in front of the house above named until the waggons have returned.

“I am, dear Sir,

“Your obedient servant.

“(Sgd.) J. HARVEY.

“Col. Claus, D. S. G.”

This note was received about 12 at night, and I immediately went to the camp and altho' it was an unusual hour for Indians I must do them the justice to say that they most readily turned out about 100 men, and I ordered Capt. Norton, with the Interpreters Lyons, Brisbois and Langlade to accompany the Indians. They went off in the morning as desired. I told them if they were desirous to go on after the waggons were safe they might, which they did, and I believe I reported to you in my letter of the 11th July last. In this affair two Indians and one interpreter were wounded. All credit [was] again given to Norton, when Lyons, Brisbois and Langlade, interpreters, were the men who encouraged the Indians. The lavished praise on Norton caused jealousy. I did not mention to you an occurrence which happened on that occasion. The Blackbird, an Ottawa chief, complained that a person had been very troublesome to him, and insisted upon getting his prisoners from him. He had presented them to me. He only wanted to keep them one night, and gave me his word that nothing should happen to them, but he was obliged to give them up. This he mentioned to General De Rottenburg. The General asked him who it was. He pointed to Colonel Young. When my back was turned I was accused of setting the Indians up to this. An officer was sent privately to the camp, privately to try and find out if I had. I complained and demanded an enquiry, as the department had been too often accused of these doings, but I could get no satisfaction. Shortly after Captain Norton stated that I had given orders that no interpreter should interpret for him. All his reports were, to use an Indian expression, underground, and on his complaint it would be enquired into, and that privately. Three interpreters that he named were sent for without acquainting me, and at General De Rottenburg's two were sworn in the presence of Generals De Rottenburg and Vincent, Lieut.-Col. Harvey and Major Glegg, the third being ill and could not attend. After a very narrow investigation [they] could find nothing out. Thus have I been treated through the machinations of this man. I shall have occasion to speak of him again.

Previous to the 5th of July the Tuscaroras on the opposite side of the river by Queenston appeared several days and conversed across the river and expressed a wish to see our people. A day was fixed and the following was the substance of the conversation :

The Onondagas saluted the old Tuscarora chief and nine others with him.

Katwerota, an Onondaga chief, spoke :—

“ We understand that it was your wish to see and speak with us. We have now come to hear what you have to say.”

Te Karchaga, a Mohawk chief, said :—

“ Brothers ! The Onondagas have spoken and told you we were ready to hear what you have to say. The chiefs of 16 Nations are here to listen.”

Osequirison, the Tuscarora chief, spoke :—

“ Brothers ! Our desire to see you is to know whether the same sentiments of friendship exist that you expressed at the Standing Stone (Brownstown) two years ago. Notwithstanding we are separated by the contention between the British and Americans, our sentiments are still the same.”

Katwerota spoke again :—

“ Brothers ! You see, notwithstanding the report that the British are weak, the Great Spirit is with us and we are able to take possession again. As the King has been obliged to give ground at Niagara, we wish to understand from you whether you are induced to take part with the Americans or not ? We wish to know what you had to communicate with us in particular ?”

Osequirison : “ These times have been very hard and we labor under great difficulties, being so near the lines, and we wish to know whether your sentiments are still friendly towards us and if you cross the river whether you will hurt us ?”

Katwerota : “ This will depend on yourselves. If you take no part with the Americans we shall meet you with the same friendship as we ever did, and we look for the day when you shall see our forces on your side of the water. We have no contention with you. It is the King and the Americans, and we have taken part with the King. We will contend for his rights.”

Te Karchaga : “ Brothers ! We take leave of you. The head of our army, and your friend, the head of our department, salute you.”

I am very confident it was fully expected that we were going over and they were convinced there was nothing to prevent it. They had not shown themselves nor given any assistance to the enemy, I believe. During this time, and indeed previously, I felt myself unpleasantly situated.

The Government had an opinion of Norton. Everything was done to bring him forward. Altho' I observed the conduct of officers in power towards me nothing was ever said until the beginning of July. In consequence of a very unnecessary expenditure of provisions and, as I considered, a very improper one, which was, issuing on any-

one's order, I issued an order that no requisitions were to be made but by Major Givins and myself, dividing the Indians, giving Major Givins all the Northern and taking the Grand River and Western Indians myself. This gave offence and after dinner one day with General De Rottenburg he took me on one side and said that Norton had been complaining that he could not give provisions to Indians as I had stopped it. The order I gave was shewn to General De Rottenburg and I told him that he had approved of it but if it was his wish that Capt. Norton should have the power of drawing I would readily give up those I drew for, that my object was the interest of the service and that I felt it my duty to tell His Honour that the Government was deceived in the high opinion it had of that man but that it was my duty to obey the wish or direction of the Government, let the consequence be what it would, and an order was issued that in the future Capt. Norton would victual those Indians, which he did. Both in public and private did the Indians speak of him in a most despicable manner and all this [was] attributed to me. With the army there never was such a man.

After this when we took the advanced position at the Four Mile Creek the Indians were to go to the roads in the Centre. While they were getting their packs tied General De Rottenburg arrived in their camp, about 6 a. m., and changed the plan. To try his strength he (Norton) was to go to the left and Major Givins to the right, and those Indians who chose to go with him would go to the left and those that wished to go with Major Givins would go to the right, and I was desired to let the Indians understand clearly that they were to do as they pleased. Not one Indian went to the left, and I assure you, upon my honor, I did all in my power to get 200 to go with him, but no. This was my doing again. I felt myself so unpleasantly situated that I could not help telling General Vincent, in the presence of Lieut.-Col. Plenderleath and other officers, that it was my misfortune that my family's existence depended upon my situation—was that not the case that I should retire at all hazards; that I never concealed my opinion of Capt. Norton; that it most certainly was not the same that the Government had of him; that I could not think well of him, but that I had and was determined, contrary to my opinion, to endeavour all in my power to support him.

Shortly after, meeting this character at dinner at General De Rottenburg's, the old subject of the intrigues and cabals of the Six Nations was brought and my saying that they hated Norton. This I denied but declared what I had always said, and which I said again, that the Six Nations would not be commanded by him, (for this is one of his great objects), and that I was convinced that it was this that caused jealousy among them. The General proposed calling the

Indians together and to declare to them that no one was to command them. I replied that I thought it very proper, but that his time was so very precious at that moment I thought the best way for Captain Norton to try his influence was to say he required 50 or 100 men to go with him, and then we would see his influence. He declined this, and required the Council. This was in the presence of General De Rottenburg. I told Capt. Norton to warn the Indians that the General would meet them at twelve next day. When he went away the General expressed a wish that the Council should not take much of his time. I told him I feared that most of the day would be taken up, but that I would go up to the X roads early in the morning and see what I could do to make it as short as possible. When I arrived at the camp I found Capt. Norton in deep council with a few and said what I had come for, and as usual his reply was, "*The General did not tell me so.*" After a little while I sent for the Indians, that the General when he arrived need not wait. On Capt. Norton's coming he expressed his surprise that any Indians were called except the Grand River Indians. I told him it was the General's desire that all the Indians should be present, but as I had and was determined to give way to him in everything I would now do what was most uncustomary and send away the other nations, which I did. On the Governor's arrival he opened the Council in the usual manner, by saluting them, and afterwards told them that it appeared to him that there was something which caused uneasiness in their minds; that they conceived they were to be commanded; that he repeatedly desired it to be made known to them that no one was to command them; that they were to be led by their own chiefs, but that to make their minds quite easy he had come down to tell them so from his own mouth. Capt. Norton interrupted the interpreter and said that I had told the General that the Indians hated him. I again contradicted him and appealed to the General, but what I have said I will repeat, that they will not be led by you. The General was obliged to interfere, and order him to allow the interpreter to go on. After this each nation spoke, and said they did not hate him but wished he would let them alone; that they did not want him about them, and mentioned some things that were by no means in his favor, which he endeavored to explain away. After this "the Echo," an Onondaga chief, made a very long speech, neither in his favor nor against him, altho' he was brought forward by him to speak, and the day before he told General De Rottenburg that this man was no chief, but as he could speak he was brought forward, and that he was a worthless fellow, and appealed to me if it was not so, and he was the only man he could get to come forward. The Council broke up, and not much to the satisfaction of Capt. Norton. Not many days after this General De Rottenburg

called a Council of all the nations, and before he had finished this man had the audacity to step forward and address the chiefs. I stepped back and told the General I was determined not to interfere or interrupt Capt. Norton, but that he was now interrupting the Council. The General spoke to him [but] he replied that he had not six words to say and persisted. After the Council was over the Mohawk chief, Te Karchaga, spoke and began by telling when Norton first came among them they were ignorant of the tree he sprung from or any of its branches. That latterly he became a chief and was exposing him a good deal, when Norton got up and addressed the Indians and prevented the chief from proceeding, and turned about to the officers and said that what he had said would be answered in a few words, that he did not come there to hear a long sermon. His conduct, I believe, began to disgust General De Rottenburg and most of his supporters, for most of the officers were present. A few days after this he called at my room and said that I had sent for him. I told him he never was more mistaken; that I should be candid with him, that I had not sent for him, neither did I ever wish to see a man who would underhandedly state falsehoods to prejudice the Commander of the Forces against me. He attempted to explain. I would not allow him, but told him that a day would arrive when I should call on him to make good his representations or suffer, I trusted, for his infamy towards me. He went to General Vincent's tent and, as usual, complained of my treatment of him, and the General's patience, I believe, got exhausted, when he told him he never came to see him but with some grievance or complaint against me and Major Givins; that we often came to see him and sat for hours without even mentioning his name, and that he firmly believed that we never gave ourselves the trouble of thinking about him. He was constantly threatening to leave us and join his friends in the west, and I assure you that one time General De Rottenburg was seriously alarmed about it. Since these people have come down it does not appear that he is known by them, and Elliott confirms the opinion that they do not know him. He had connected himself with the Onondagas, but for what reason I do not know he has left them. He had done the same with the Mohawks, and has two children in that nation. He has now connected himself with a Delaware family, and has married the grand-daughter of an old man or rather the daughter of a deserter from the Queen's Rangers and a common woman. Had the family been of any weight or the least consequence I should not have been surprised, but they are the poorest and least influenced among their people; indeed, they are seldom with their nation, being among the whites making brooms and baskets, and the mother and daughter amusing themselves. This is the connection he has formed. Mr. Addison married them in August

last, since which he has done nothing but ride about the country with madam and a posse of his connections.

The next thing that occurred was a skirmish at Ball's, the farm on which all our little skirmishes or scenes took place last summer. The enemy made their appearance on the 17th of July, and the Indians immediately turned out, and one Cayuga lad was killed by a round shot. I was not with them, as I was stationed at St. Davids, from whence I shortly removed to where the Indians were in the centre at the crossroads.

On the 17th of August the enemy made their appearance, and the troops and Indians were under arms immediately and advanced. Col. Stewart of the Royals desired that Indians should be sent to the right and left that we might not have our flanks turned. I did it with reluctance as I never wished to separate the Indians. This was not enough. When we got to the advanced picquets more parties were required to be sent out, and our number reduced from upwards of 300 to not more than 50. We had not been long here (advanced picquet) when firing commenced on our left in Ball's fields, to which place I went as quick as possible with the few Indians I had remaining, not supported with or by the troops, and met the Senecas, who, after exchanging some shots, led us into a trap, for in the skirts of the wood were laying the riflemen and a number of the troops. We retired to the first field that we engaged them in, and after some firing Capt. Norton observed that it would not do, that we must retire and collect. That was enough. The word was hardly given when all set off from the field, when Major Givins observed to me that we might as well follow. We were then alone in the field on the skirt of the wood. I endeavored to halt them, but all in vain. Our loss was severe this day. I attributed it to dividing us, for our Indians that were detached ran to the spot and met the Senecas whom they took for our own people. Five were killed, three wounded and ten taken prisoners, besides Captain Lorimier and Livingstone, the interpreter who was severely wounded. It was nearly attended with serious consequences. The Western Indians had four of their people killed, and said that the Six Nations were the cause of it. Every Indian moved off from their camp, some eight and ten miles. The next morning the sentries reported that Indians were seen in the skirt of the wood. I collected all the Indians I could and about 50 men of the Glengarry Regiment, under Major De Haren. We advanced in an extended line through a wood to a clearing on the opposite side, (Ball's fields again), when an inhabitant came to me to say that a large column was advancing by Ball's house. I rode to the road and could not see more than 40 or 50 men, but looking to their right I perceived a number of people running towards our left. I immediately went

back to where our people were and we retired into the wood and formed there. We again changed our ground and crossed the road, after which the skirmish began and continued three hours. When we went out Capt. Norton declined to go on such foolish business. After we had been engaged an hour and a half he made his appearance. The troops certainly came to our support this day. We lost one Cayuga chief, killed. The Senecas lost two killed and one taken prisoner. The prisoner was much in liquor. He told me it was the case the day before, that they were made drunk, pushed forward and not supported. After we retired General De Rottenburg met Norton, took him by the hand and complimented him upon his gallant and [meritorious ?] conduct, to the mortification of a number of the officers of the department present, when no notice was taken of them. I had the gratification in that part of the field to show him to an officer of the Royals, who called out to me: "For God's sake! Col. Claus, why will you not send somebody to support Capt. Norton?" "Where is he, Sir?" "There in front with only four or five Indians." This was John Brant. I called to John and asked him where Norton was. "There, Sir," pointing to a fence about 50 yards in rear, and Norton at the same time calling out, "Here I am." "I went to the officer and asked him where Norton was. He made no answer but rode off, but such was the opinion of the man that nothing could be done but by him.

On the 20th of August, I believe, Sir George Prevost arrived. On that day two of our Indians, La Serre and a Delaware, prisoners, were sent with a flag to speak to our Indians. It was to say that if they would retire the Nations with the Americans would do the same. Their reply was that their minds were made up; that they were determined to share the fate of the King.

On the 23d I rode up to St. Davids to pay my respects to Sir George. He was closeted with General De Rottenburg, Lieut.-Col. Harvey and Lieut.-Col. Nichol, Quartermaster General of Militia. General De Rottenburg came over to his house for me and I was honored by being admitted and the intended reconnoissance made known to me, or, as I expected, an attack on Fort George. I was told to have the Indians ready. I applied for the *Voltigeurs*, as I was told they were to be attached to me. They were ordered to join us and the arrangement left to me. I returned immediately to camp and sent for Major Heriot, with whom our plan was arranged. I collected all the Indians, gave them distinguishing marks and supplied them with ammunition, telling them that every man would be required before day. My plan was to advance between picquets Nos. 3 and 4, so as to support either of the parties attacking their picquets. All the enemy's picquets were to be attacked at the same time. We

could either have given them support or cut them off in their retreat. While waiting before day for the order to advance, Lieut.-Col. Harvey rode up and asked me my plan. I told him. He said it might interfere with Lieut.-Col. Battersby and defeat his object. "Then what shall I do?" "You had better remain with the reserve." "That will never do for the Indians, but if you will permit me I will advance near Ball's and remain there." This was agreed to. Some time after the firing commenced at daylight, General Vincent advanced to where we were and ordered us to advance and cover the dragoons that were going into town. We went on and a dragoon came to me from Lieut.-Col. Harvey and said that the whole of the American force was in the wood to my right. I waved my hand to the Indians, who were a good way in my rear, to cross a fence and scour the skirts of the wood, upon which Colonel Harvey came up and asked me what was the matter. He was much vexed at the fellow as he had directed him to send some Indians and see if there were no Indians in the wood upon my right. Upon which a party was immediately sent, and Major Givins with another party further to my right, and the main body with myself covered the 19th Dragoons with Lieut.-Col. Harvey, who galloped into town driving the picquets and everything else before them. On getting into town we met the different parties of our troops who had advanced by the left and in the rear of my house. The Indians all assembled and formed a line, and were advancing into town, from whence we received a few shot. Their advance was done of their own accord without any orders, and I am convinced that in twenty minutes we would have been in the middle of the town and silenced the firing, but the following note reached me as we were advancing:—

"Col. Claus will retire with the cavalry to the camp."

This was from Lieut. Barnard, General Vincent's *aide-de-camp*, upon which I drew off the Indians, and on the road Sir George desired that I would post the Indians in the wood along the road and wait an hour to see if the enemy would come out. We waited till the bugle sounded for our going in. Thus ended the affair of the 24th of August, which we anxiously expected was the day of attack instead of a reconnoissance. On this occasion the Indians were not mentioned, although they did everything that was required of them, but I can only account for it in this way, that Captain Norton was not with them. On the 22d when Sir George left the room we were in I took the opportunity of following him and mentioning the order of the 7th of August, and told him that I felt it as a most severe reflection on me, that I knew Capt. Norton corresponded with headquarters [and] that I had reason to believe he had been making representations against me. Sir George admitted that he had. I told him what I supposed

these representations were; that this was no time for division, but that a day would arrive, I hoped, when I should look for justice, and that I would make it appear under his own handwriting that he had made false representations. I mentioned these instances, when Sir George retired saying, "If what I suspect is true he will dwindle into that insignificance from whence he rose," and I should have said a great deal more had Sir George given me the opportunity, but before he left I gave him my opinion of Captain Norton, and said the same that I did to General De Rottenburg and General Vincent, that I did not think well of him, and not as the Government did, yet it was my duty to support him, although contrary to my opinion. It appears that Sir George spoke to him and very seriously, which, I understood, from an officer at headquarters, was not well received.

A few days after [on] the 6th Sept., a party of our people went to a field of oats belonging to Mr. Ball to cut them. While there they were fired upon. I collected all the Indians immediately and joined our people. Lieut.-Col. Battersby with the Glengarry Regiment went out with us, and after some hours firing we retired. Two Oneidas were killed on the side of the enemy and two wounded. We had two Mohawks wounded and one Cayuga taken. He was drunk and ran into their hands. A Tuscarora chief, who was also very drunk, went forward after we retired and brought on the firing again, by which he lost his life. Seeing the enemy in pursuit of him we returned the fire, and a young Delaware, who was more active than the others, got a shot at the two white men who were taking off his scalp and broke the arm of one. His ammunition was out or he would have killed one of the two men. He received two wounds, one of which lamed him.

On this occasion General De Rottenburg was pleased to issue an order, an extract of which is annexed, although on former occasions no notice of us was taken, particularly on the 18th and 24th of August. I shall say nothing of the 17th August, although it was a severe action and our loss was great, but we ran away, I am sorry to say, shamefully. I have accounted for it in preceding pages of this narrative.

" HEADQUARTERS, FOUR MILE CREEK,
9th September, 1813.

"A report having been made to General De Rottenburg of the gallant and very spirited conduct of a small party of Indians under the direction of Colonel Claus and Captain Kerr, in an affair with the enemy's riflemen near the Cross Roads on Monday last, the Major-General has directed that a communication of his thanks be made to the Indians engaged that day. Their conduct in this affair has

given the Major-General particular satisfaction, inasmuch as it affords proof that their zeal in the cause in which we are engaged is undiminished, as well as their confidence in the support which they are sure always to receive from their white brethren.”

About this time desertions became so prevalent that the General wished me to move to the left and induce some of the Indians to go that way. I moved and took about 60, and although we were not successful in taking any of the deserters, yet in some measure it was put a stop to. The Indians both on the left and the centre went out every night a half mile in advance of our picquets and returned after daylight. This they continued until the General desired that I would take them off, as it was too fatiguing. They never complained, but went out every night most cheerfully. From their inactive life in other respects the Indians became very tired, and frequently wished to know when the attack on Fort George would be made, that their people were always on the road going home, but if they knew they would collect all their force. This I could never answer, for I was as much in the dark with respect to the operations of our little army as they were. You are aware of the necessity of having presents to enable us to keep the Indians in good humor. General De Rottenburg directed me to purchase what I could, but the country was so stripped of everything that what I could get was not enough for fifty men, yet I must do them the justice to say that there was very little discontent on that head except among worthless fellows.

I must again bring Mr. Norton forward. One of his great grievances was not having the power of making presents; that I would not allow him. This was one of his complaints, when the storekeepers' accounts will show that of those few articles he gave away more than I did, and even 24 blankets that I put aside for the Western Indians were given away on his order, and my word to those people forfeited. Such is the villainy of this man, for I can call it nothing else. After the order of the 7th August he sent his notes to me as usual, which I refused, saying that if he made a requisition for any quantity agreeably to the order of the 7th August I would submit it to the General for his approval, and he would then get them and distribute them as he pleased. This was a subject of complaint again, and when the General saw me he told me of it, and that he offered to put goods in his hands, which he declined, as he had no storekeeper. I told the General that he must now see his object—a distinct department—however, he did not succeed. Early in September we got a quantity of calico, some serge, sateen, tobacco and several other articles. Such quantity as was required was issued, and a great quantity of calico remaining, which I left in rear at the Twelve Mile Creek.

On the 26th September I perceived an uncommon stir in our

camp, all tents struck, waggons loaded, etc. I was rather anxious but as no order had been communicated to me I remained quiet. The Indians were uneasy, and many went off from an idea we were going to retreat. About 9 o'clock p. m. I received a note to say that the militiamen for the guard-boat had not gone down that night; on the answer sent I received a note from the Deputy-Adjutant-General, Lieut.-Colonel Harvey, saying he supposed I had not seen the General Order of that day. I ordered my horse and rode down to his quarters and begged a sight of the order. It was for the troops to hold themselves in readiness to move at an instant's notice. He observed that there was a probability of an attack in the morning, and everything was to be in readiness to move to the centre, to concentrate our forces there. I replied that I was very sorry, but that the preparations had caused uneasiness among the Indians and that many had gone off, but that I would warn those in camp and have them with me before day, which I did, but they were much dissatisfied, saying that their eyes were always kept shut which was not the case in former days. I did all I could to quiet them and at this time their numbers had dwindled down to eight only, and at the Cross Roads I believe not more than 50. Whenever I mentioned the necessity and propriety of acquainting the Indians with any movement that was likely to take place I was generally asked: "Why are they to be made acquainted with any plan of operations? No! No!"

Seeing that the heavy baggage was moving to the right, I submitted the necessity of sending what Indian goods we had to the Forty Mile Creek, which the General approved of, and desired that I would have it done. I rode from his house to the 12 and directed the storekeeper, Mr. Price, to send a few articles to the Cross Roads and to send the rest to the 40. A few days after this I was ordered to the Heights to forward some presents, which were supposed to have arrived there for the Western Indians. My object in going was to select those I knew were most wanted and to forward them first. On my arrival at the 12 I found none of the goods had been moved and the storekeeper insisting on it that I had not given any directions about them, when nothing took me up the day before but for the express purpose of sending them back. On my arrival at the Heights I had the mortification to hear of the fate of General Procter's small force, and not an article of presents there for the Western Indians but what had been forwarded before. The enclosed letter from Colonel Elliott will more fully explain to you every transaction since the unfortunate capture of our fleet on Lake Erie. The prior transactions in that part of the country you are in possession of. The day after my arrival at Burlington Heights I never was more surprised than to hear of our people retreating on the Heights, and the following night

Major Givins and the officers of the department joined me at Ancaster, except Mr. Price, storekeeper. On account of his neglect all the goods we had were destroyed at the 12, as well as a quantity of provisions and commissariat stores. The unfortunate defeat of General Procter alarmed the Grand River Indians, and on Colonel Elliott and Capt. McKee advising them to move as soon as possible, as General Harrison was in pursuit of General Procter, they immediately abandoned their homes and came down with the army and are now with the Western Indians encamped at the beach in rear of Mr. Brant's. The enclosed return is of the Western Indians and the other paper that of the Grand River [Indians]. For them we have as yet received but a very small proportion of presents. The vast number of horses and cattle that is with the Indians is injuring the country very much. Parties are kept with the advance at Stoney Creek. Colonel Elliott and his officers are there. I have stated all that my memory allows me. Many circumstances have occurred, I am certain, that I have not mentioned. Should any come to recollection I shall let you know. One thing I have to remark, that jealousy certainly exists in respect to orders, in which the troops always get credit for what is done by the Indians, particularly to the westward. I do not believe that Colonel Elliott's name has ever appeared in general orders, and that man has been out with the Indians upon every occasion, and no man has suffered more than he.

I am, dear Sir, with every sentiment of respect and regard,

Your faithful servant and friend,

W. CLAUS,

Deputy Superintendent Gen.

**A LETTER FROM LIEUT.-COLONEL MATTHEW ELLIOTT TO
COLONEL WM. CLAUS.**

DUNDAS, 24th Oct., 1813.

DEAR SIR,—I have to inform you of the arrival of myself and about 2,000 Indians, (men, women and children,) at this place from the Western District. The causes that led to this event will be best explained by a simple narrative of facts that have occurred since the loss of our fleet on the 10th September.

A few days after that event Major-General Procter gave orders to remove the stores and dismantle the fort preparative to the retreat of the troops. This being done without the Indians being consulted

caused a very great jealousy, from the supposition that their father was about to desert them. This was heightened by the uncertainty they labored under with respect to the fate of the fleet. To obtain an explanation Tecumtha and the other chiefs requested General Procter and myself to meet them in council, which took place on the 17th September, when Tecumtha, in the name of the whole, delivered a speech, the purport of which was to call on the General for information of his intentions, and to urge his making a stand with the Indians and the physical force of the country at Amherstburg before he retreated, stating that until we were beaten it would be inpolitic to give ground. On the 19th the General returned his answer, in which he stated it was not his intention to leave the District but only to fall back to the river Thames at Chatham where he would be out of reach of their shipping. He was determined to make a stand. To this place he invited them to accompany him. Agreeable to the arrangements which took place at the Council the Shawanese, Hurons and other Indians crossed and proceeded to Sandwich. On the 23rd the enemy landed at Amherstburg, and the same day the troops retreated to Levalle's. The Indian goods which had come up I met at Sandwich and sent them back as far as Mrs. McIntosh's, where the next day I distributed part of them to the Indians, with whom I remained, and kept two days march in rear of our troops. On our arrival at the river Thames I had the number of the Indians taken, when it appeared that the Pottewatomies, Miamies, Ottawas, (a part of them,) and Chippewas had remained behind and it was supposed had crossed the river Detroit. This desertion reduced our number to 1000, (the number we should have had, had the stand been made at Amherstburg was 3000.) This number was again lessened on the 2d of October by the desertion of the Hurons and a few of the Shawanese, who, finding from our movements that we did not intend to make a stand at Chatham, as had been agreed at the Council, embraced an opportunity afforded them by a flag borne by the Indians of Sandusky to take the Americans by the hand. The enemy's ships were at this time off the mouth off the River Thames. The inhabitants, who were the bearers of the flag, told the Hurons that General Harrison would, on the 3d at 12 o'clock, make his headquarters at Colonel McKee's farm. This information I communicated to General Procter on the morning of the 3d, shortly after which he proceeded towards the Moravian Town, 28 miles distant, and about an hour after he set off our scouts brought word that the enemy had crossed the forks and were rapidly advancing up the river. An express was immediately sent to apprise the General, (the express overtook him at Shaw's,) and Colonel Warburton made arrangements to meet them at or near McCrae's. A party of Indians attacked and compelled their advance

guard to retire. The Indians, in consequence of the General's absence, drew off across the forks at that time and sent word to Colonel Warburton that they were determined not to fight as the General had deceived them by leaving them. I was enabled to change their minds and they agreed to wait and meet the enemy at Chatham. The troops fell back opposite this place on the morning of the 4th October. The enemy advanced up to Chatham, where a partial skirmish took place between the advance guards. At about 11 o'clock a. m. General Procter arrived and found fault with Colonel Warburton for leaving Dolson's. Yet he very soon after ordered the troops to retreat to Moravian Town. From the manner in which this was conducted the greater part of the provisions and stores fell into the enemy's hands. The Indians kept up a fire across the fork for some time after the troops moved off and then followed, after burning a house in which was a quantity of arms and stores. We halted this evening at Sherman's, five miles from the Moravian Town. The women and most of the baggage had been sent forward a few days previous. Early on the morning of the 5th our scouts brought word that the enemy was advancing on both sides of the river rapidly and in force. The General determined to halt and wait for their arrival, for which purpose the troops were halted about two miles from Jackman's. The troops were posted in two lines on the left, so as to have their flank, covered by the river, supported by a six-pounder which was posted in the road, the Indians in one line on the right. In this position we waited about two hours, when the enemy commenced the attack. Our six-pounder was carried by a few American horse without its being once discharged. The conduct of the troops was shameful in the highest degree; a great part of them never fired one round until they retreated. This threw the Indians in the centre into confusion and they broke. On the right they remained firing and compelled the enemy's left wing to retreat about a mile and a half. I have as yet been unable to ascertain the enemy's loss but judge it must have been considerable. The Indians on their return from the pursuit were much surprised to find that we had not been equally successful on the left, and the unexpectedness threw them into confusion and a retreat ensued, which put the whole of our baggage, both public and private, into the hands of the enemy. At daylight next morning I overtook General Procter at Delaware, and, making every arrangement in my power for the accommodation of the Indians, I proceeded to Burford, from whence Captain Wm. Elliott was by me sent back to Delaware to meet the Indians and to purchase provisions for them on the route. He joined me at Burford on the 22d with the last of the Indians, about 700 in number, when I proceeded with them

to this place. Should there be any more coming in I have made such arrangements as will insure them provisions on the road.

I am, dear Sir, your obedient, humble servant,

The Hon. W. Claus, Esq.

M. ELLIOTT.

(From the Canadian Archives, C. 681.)

LETTER FROM CAPTAIN JOHN NORTON TO HON. HENRY GOULBURN.

LONDON, Jan. 29, 1816.

SIR,—Having presented a memorial petitioning such consideration of rank as might be thought proportionate to the number of warriors I led and services in the field, I now give some instances well known to many officers now in this country.

When the report came to the Niagara frontier that the American General Hull had crossed at Sandwich I proposed to the late Major-General, Sir Isaac Brock, to go with as many warriors as I could collect to endeavour to prevent the enemy from drawing supplies from the River Thames. He acceded to my request, and to strengthen the undertaking he ordered two hundred militia from Long Point to join Major Chambers, with a detachment of the 41st Regiment. The militia refusing to turn out, this officer was recalled with his men to embark at Long Point. We proceeded by the intended route, collecting a body of Ottawa and Chippawa warriors as we advanced.

According to the orders I had received I opened a correspondence with General Procter, and having placed ourselves in advance of the mills, where the enemy had deposited [supplies], as we were constantly gaining additional strength we waited there until I received a letter from the General named to advance and join him at Sandwich. The day after our arrival there Major-General Sir Isaac Brock came with reinforcements.

After summoning General Hull to surrender, without effect, he told me to keep in readiness to cross the river before day, and that he had particularly selected me to precede the troops in marching to the attack of the fort. As we approached the fort a party of the enemy's riflemen retired before us, and soon after we saw the white flag hoisted and a parley commenced which ended in a capitulation.

When General Brock embarked to return to Niagara he urged me to lose no time in taking down my party to that frontier. Every diligence was used and I had soon collected between five and six hundred men. We saw the enemy daily increasing their force on the opposite shore and were constantly employed in watching their motions. After a few weeks the want of supplies and the approach of the season for hunting caused my party to diminish in number.

The attack and capture of some vessels at Fort Erie by the enemy caused us to march to that place in support of the troops stationed there. Perceiving that no further attempts was likely to be made in that quarter we returned to Fort George.

On the morning of the 13th of October we heard firing at Queenston. I saw the General and his staff at a distance riding towards that place. I called upon Major-General Sir R. H. Sheaffe, the second in command. He directed me to get my men in readiness. On my way to the camp Lieut.-Col. Evans of the King's rode up to me and told me that the enemy was in possession of Queenston. We hastened towards that place and when within two miles we heard that General Brock was killed and that the troops and militia stationed there had been compelled to retire.

We saw the enemy on the heights and determined to attack him by inclining to the right to ascend the eminence on the left of his flank. We met several retiring. I told an officer among them that we would assail the enemy in the flank where he least expected it, and that a speedy co-operation of the troops would enable us to give him a speedy overthrow.

We ascended the hill, attacked and drove an advanced party of the enemy into the main body, which we assailed notwithstanding the great odds of numbers. Persevering several hours, when we saw the troops and militia coming by the same route which we had passed, I concentrated my men in a ravine and desisted from assaulting the enemy until the troops could form on our right, at the same time sending notice to Sir R. H. Sheaffe of our position.

He sent Lieut. Kerr to enquire our situation and the strength of the enemy, to whom I fully explained the advantage I expected to derive in assailing them from the quarter we occupied as soon as the troops should advance on the right. The General then sent me a further reinforcement. As soon as all was in readiness and the cannon began we rushed upon them and broke the flank, pursuing them with considerable slaughter till we raised the shout in the rear of the centre, which seemed to throw the whole into confusion, when, in less than half an hour, we had them down the precipice to the river.

General Wadsworth and a great number of officers and upwards of nine hundred men then surrendered to Major-General Sir R. H. Sheaffe. In this last assault His Majesty's troops met with no loss, or at the utmost two or three men. In the morning the 49th flank companies suffered severely in gallantly opposing a very superior force. The enemy acknowledged to have sent twenty-two hundred men across and allege that the militia, who had not yet passed the river, refused to follow the van on seeing the manner in which it was assailed.

The enemy was yet in great force on the opposite shore, which gave us just cause to watch them until after Christmas, when the ice floating in the river prevented the possibility of their crossing. The General acceded to our going home. Soon after, I received instructions to go to Detroit. General Procter, commanding there, being desirous to retain me, obtained the consent of Sir George Prevost, but being necessitated to go home I did not think fit to leave our own frontiers without the assent of Sir R. H. Sheaffe, which he at first declined giving, alleging that he soon expected an attack. Being desirous to overcome General Harrison, that we might concentrate to repel the attack hanging over us, I persisted and he acquiesced. However, it was of no effect, for a few days after, while I was yet collecting my party to go, we heard that the enemy had attacked York.

I then went in that direction with all the men I could raise as far as the Beach of Lake Ontario, when I heard that all was over and that the enemy had re-embarked. At that time, receiving letters from General Vincent and Lieut.-Colonel Myers to repair to Fort George, I went there with all that would follow, for the greater part went home to plant their corn.

On the 27th May at Fort George we did as well as we could and retired among the last, opposing for some time a very superior force. At the Twelve Mile Creek a number joined us from the Grand River.

We stopped there to cover the retreat and attack the enemy if the General should see fit. The army retreated and we followed. At Stoney Creek a few of us risked with His Majesty's troops, and afterwards, by repeatedly attacking every detachment that ventured outside of the fortified encampment at Fort George, we lessened the number of the enemy and so far intimidated them that they became like prisoners at their own expense.

At the battle of Chippawa we were victorious when we fought the volunteer militia, and the aborigines of different tribes aiding the enemy fled before us. We killed many and took some prisoners; among the former was a Lieutenant-Colonel commanding and a Seneca chief, among the latter a major and some other officers. Coming to the enemy's columns we fired on them until we perceived our army to be retreating, overwhelmed by a very superior force. We followed.

At the battle of the Cataract* we risked with our brother warriors, and afterwards following the enemy to Fort Erie we partook of every bloody encounter in this vicinity.

Tired of enumerating scenes, in which my heart was all engaged

* Lundy's Lane.

and its greatest pleasure the defeat of our enemies, I conclude, in confidence, that such a statement will not be taken in any other point of view than having some memorial of the same beloved sovereign that may give satisfaction to my brother warriors.

with the compliments of
the writer

"Ducit Amor Patriae."

Niagara Historical Society

No. 10.

Inscriptions and Graves

in the

Niagara Peninsula

By JANET CARNOCHAN.

PRICE - - 25 CENTS.

THE TIMES, NIAGARA, ONT.

Preface.

IN studying the history of Niagara and vicinity the graveyards have been found a fruitful source of information, and over fifty of these have been personally visited. The original plan was to copy records of early settlers, United Empire Loyalists, Military or Naval Heroes or those who have helped forward the progress of the country, as Clergy, Teachers, Legislators, Agriculturists, etc., besides this any odd or quaint inscriptions. No doubt many interesting and important inscriptions have been omitted, but the limits of our usual publication have already been far exceeded and these remain for another hand to gather. To follow the original lettering was desired but the additional cost would have been beyond our modest means.

Hearty thanks are here returned for help given by Col. Cruikshank, Rev. Canon Bull, Dr. McCollum, Mr. George Shaw, Rev. A. Sherk, Miss Forbes, Miss Shaw and Miss Brown, who all sent inscriptions from their own vicinity. It is hoped that the index of nearly six hundred names will be found of use and that our tenth publication will receive as kind a welcome as have the other pamphlets sent out by our Society.

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Errata.

Notwithstanding great care while passing through the press a few errors have crept in.

For Wauchusta read Wacousta, page 3.

Literateur read Litterateur, page 4.

Albert the Great read Albert the Good, page 7.

Capt. Geo. Deare died 1815 read 1851, page 11.

Jean Jacques Rousseaux read Jean Baptiste Rousseaux page 18.

Wm. Ball read Wm. M. Ball, page 19.

Col. M. McDougall, read Col. D. McDougall, page 21
daus read dans, nons read nous, page 23.

See is gone read She is gone, page 24.

gestd read gest.

GRAVES AND INSCRIPTIONS IN THE NIAGARA PENINSULA.

BY JANET CARNOCHAN.

*"Books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones and good in everything."*

Sermons in stones! yes and far more: history, pathos and humor, morality, religion, patriotism, warning, inspiration, what shall we not find? But of the nameless graves, whether in consecrated ground, or in the plain, the cultivated farm once the scene of bloody warfare, in the ruined fort, or in many a lonely spot we can never or rarely know the story. Many of these form a page of history never to be wholly deciphered, but let us try while we may, imperfectly though it be, to place on record, from moss grown stone defaced by time or perchance ruder touch, the names and what we can piece together of the early pioneers, whether men or women, poet or artisan, soldier or priest, legislator or farmer, teacher or sailor and from these pages of the past, we may learn lessons for the present or the future, lessons of courage, of unselfishness, of generosity, of friendship, of patriotism, of duty, of religion. Then they died, shot down by stealthy Indian, or French or American foe, as now they give up their young lives on Africa's arid veldt, but each inspired by the same adventurous spirit which has made the Briton, be he Celt or Saxon, the pioneer in the world's progress, one of the factors in that "morning drum beat which encircles the globe" and proud that he is one of a nation "on whose dominions the sun never sets."

While most of the graveyards in the Niagara peninsula have been visited and such help used as could be obtained from tablets on the walls of churches, monuments, church registers, tradition, historical records, it has been found that there has been as much change in the fashion as there is in dress or buildings. At one time

the stately periods, or long high sounding phrase, the scripture texts or doggerel rhyme, the severe simplicity of name, date, age, or the fulsome flattery, or words of warning; in some the unlettered muse is much in evidence, "the uncouth rhymes and shapeless sculpture," or again the stately column or curiously carved figures. All materials have been used, the wooden slab, marble, iron, granite, or perhaps a huge boulder with initials, the language mostly English but a few were found in French, German and some in stately Latin. In early days before consecrated ground was set apart many were buried on the farm in a plot generally fenced in, but in many cases the property has changed hands and the stones have been broken or even carted off, the field plowed over and no trace remains, or the plot stands still fenced in, but given over to burdocks and briars.

BUTLER'S FAMILY GRAVEYARD

Is situated about a mile from the town at the west end, originally a part of the land owned by Col. Jno. Butler: here was buried in 1796 the veteran on whose name so much obloquy has been heaped, undiseveredly we think, See Butler's Rangers by Col. Cruikshank who has done so much for the elucidation of many points in Canadian history. An erroneous opinion seems to prevail with regard to this spot—that here are buried Butler's Rangers, that it is a military graveyard, but this is not the case as it was a family burying ground and not that of the members of that famed regiment. The will of Col Butler directs that his body be interred in his family burying ground, and in the rooms of the Niagara Historical Society is a copy of the deed granted in 1832 to Warren Claus, John Claus, Ralph Clench, Jas. Muirhead, Thomas Butler, Hugh Freel, giving the exact measurement from the boundary tree, of the half acre constituting the burial plot. The farm of two hundred acres has since been sold to two persons and the boundary line runs exactly through the centre of the burial plot. Beautiful old trees wave a requiem over the plateau which overlooks the meandering creek. Some years ago most of the inscriptions were copied by the writer, at a later visit the stones were found lying in all directions, broken by the fall of an immense tree which had been cut down, the vault fallen in and open to the inquisitive and irreverent gamin who has been known to carry off bones which should have been safe from such desecration.

Here are some of the inscriptions, the first peculiar in punctuation and orthography:



BUTLER'S FAMILY BURYING GROUND.



ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, STAMFORD, 1825.

From a pencil sketch by P. A. Peterson, 1860.

“Deborah Freel : died 1816 aged 70. My dere : children : Think on God : And His Commandments : An he wil Think on yo : Observ your youth : donz lose no time : Least God should take you in your prime : Serve God above : And on this world : fix not your lov.”

Here is an example of the high sounding, carefully arranged periods of those days. In a country churchyard in Scotland I copied one to a divine in much the same style of carefully proportioned descriptive phrases.

“Here reposes Maria Caroline The generous hearted, high souled, talented and deeply lamented wife of Major Richardson, Knight of the Military order of Saint Ferdinand, of the First-Class, and Superintendent of Police on the Welland Canal during the Administration of Lord Metcalfe. This matchless woman died of Apoplexy and to the exceeding grief of her faithfully attached husband after a few days illness in St. Catharines on the 16th day of Aug. 1845 at the age of 37 years.”

It is remarkable how much the husband tells of himself in the wife's epitaph.

Here also are stones to Butler Muirhead, barrister, and Jas. Muirhead, surgeon, (the former died in 1824), Mary, wife of John Gustavus Stevenson and daughter of James and Jane Butler, also one to Eliza, wife of Charles Richardson, a large flat stone mentions that it is was erected as a family monument by Chas. Richardson, A.D. 1835, and reads thus : “Sacred to the memory of Ralfe Clench, died Jan. 1828, aged 66 years, Eliza Euretta Richardson, youngest daughter of Ralfe Clench and Elizabeth, and wife of Chas. Richardson, died Sept. 1833, aged 25 years, Jane, wife of Robert Rist, late Capt. of 37th Regt., and eldest sister of Chas. Richardson died 1831.”

The Major Richardson referred to was the author of The Two Brothers, The Prophecy Wauchusta and History of the War of 1812. Ralfe Clench was one of the Rangers, afterwards Judge, Member of Parliament, and when advanced in life, fought at Queens'on Heights. A small enclosure has flat stones to two sons of Col. Butler, Thomas Butler and Johnson Butler who died in December 1812, and their wives, also Judge Thos Butler, the son of Thos. Butler.

Another stone chronicles “Samuel Cox who was born on the ocean between Germany and New York 1759, died 1822.” Col. John Butler himself, that doughty veteran, has no stone to mark the spot where he is interred. Some years ago an attempt was

made to locate the grave and bury the remains in St. Mark's, but the design was abandoned,

SERVOS FAMILY BURIAL GROUND.

In the Servos burial place on the farm of Mrs. Mary Servos, there are five generations buried. Here is the grave of the widow of Col. Johnson who was killed at the taking of Fort Niagara, 1759.

"Sacred to the memory of Elizabeth Johnson, who died 8th Nov., 1811, aged 104 years." She had thus survived her husband 52 years, another is to her daughter Elizabeth Servos wife of Daniel Servos who died in 1821 aged 72. Here also is buried Magdalene Servos wife of John Whitmore, the little girl who witnessed the killing of her grandfather in the Revolutionary War and was brought away to Canada several years after by her father, afterwards marrying John Whitmore, himself at one time a prisoner with the Indians, his nose and ears being slit by them; their daughter became the wife of our distinguished literateur William Kirby, F. R. S. C.

"Sacred to the memory of Elizabeth, relict of Colin McNabb, Esq., of ———, near Niagara, who departed this life Sept. 26th, 1812, aged 44 years; also of their son Colin Alexander, Lieut. in H.M. late Nova Scotia Fencibles Regt., who departed this life Nov. 10th, 1820. In St. Mark's register is a pathetic reference to the former as recorded by Mr. Addison: "On the day on which the engagement between Sir Jas. Yeo and Commodore Chauncy took place on the lake, our dear friend Mrs. McNabb was buried in the Servos' burying ground, 29th Sept. 1814."

A large monument is to Col. J. D. Servos who died in 1847, aged 62, and another to Daniel Servos, Esq., who died 26th Mar., 1808, aged 65. In the Anglican Church at Virgil are two tablets on the walls to these, thus.

"In Memoriam Capt. Daniel Servos of Butler's Rangers, United Empire Loyalist, died Mar. 26th, 1808, aged 65."

"Col John D. Servos, born in Niagara, 1784, was Captain of the Lincoln Militia during the war of 1812-15. Commanded the Militia at Chippawa during the Rebellion of 1837-8, died April 24th, 1847."

Other names found here as Tannahill Fuller, Lowe, and several Indians here found sepulture, and one at least who could not have been a U. E. L. as a flat stone commemorates Wm. Lowe

of the parish of Clogheen, County of Tipperary, Ireland, and his wife who died in 1813.

On the farm was the first mill in the country, and part of the house still standing was built in 1784. Old account books of that date show curious items, and commissions signed by different governors, assert the military spirit of the family.

BALL FAMILY BURIAL GROUND.

The Ball graveyard at Locust Grove has also several generations buried in its enclosure. The Jacob Ball who came with his three sons bringing forty men, in 1782 lies here. "In memory of Jacob Ball, born 1733, died 1810" Having fought in Queen's Rangers and Butler's Rangers through the Revolutionary War he was spared the second contest, dying two years before the war of 1812. The sons, Peter, John and George are buried here, while the other son, Jacob, is buried at the Ten Mile Creek. The wife of Jacob Ball the elder, Mary Ball, died in 1814, aged 78, in the midst of war's alarms and shortly after the family residence had been burnt. 1780

How strangely occur references to the distant possessions of this vast empire, as here in this quiet country graveyard is buried a daughter of Major McKie, East India Company's service.

Another, U. E. L. name is found here: Elizabeth Showers, wife of Peter Ball, born 1764, died 1844.

The last interred here was John W. Ball, for fifty years an office bearer in St. Mark's.

FIELD, BROWN, VROOMAN.

Near the residence of Mr. Geo. Field, which is an historic house, having been used as a hospital in the war of 1812, is a graveyard in which are interred members of three families. The house near was built by Gilbert Field, the first brick house on the river road and before the beginning of the century. A tombstone tells us that he died in 1815, aged 50, while his son Daniel Field who fought at Detroit, Queenston and Lundy's Lane, died in 1873, having received for his services a medal gained by the instrumentality of Hon. Wm. H. Merritt, as shown in a letter dated Quebec, 1852.

In another division of the plot is an inscription:

"Sacred to the memory of Solomon S. Vrooman, born Dec. 5th, 1783, died Aug. 21st, 1874," also to his wife Mary Brown. S. S. Vrooman fought at Queenston Heights and his picture ap-

pears in a group of eight veterans taken in 1869 in front of the monument, their united ages being 609. The position of Vrooman's battery is yet pointed out. A thick gray stone double with a perpendicular division with angel's faces carved above, has these words :

"In memory of Joseph Brown, died 1821, aged 65, and his consort. Rebecca Johnson, 9th March, 1808."

"Remember men when thou pass by
As you are now so once was I,
As we are now so you must be,
Remember men that all must die."

Two others of the date 1808 also have angel's faces.

"In memory of Nancy Vrooman, daughter of Solomon and Mary Vrooman, died April 1808, in the 16th year of her age. Erected Mar. 1824,"

Also Phebe Brown, died 1808, showing the early possession of the farm, still in the same name.

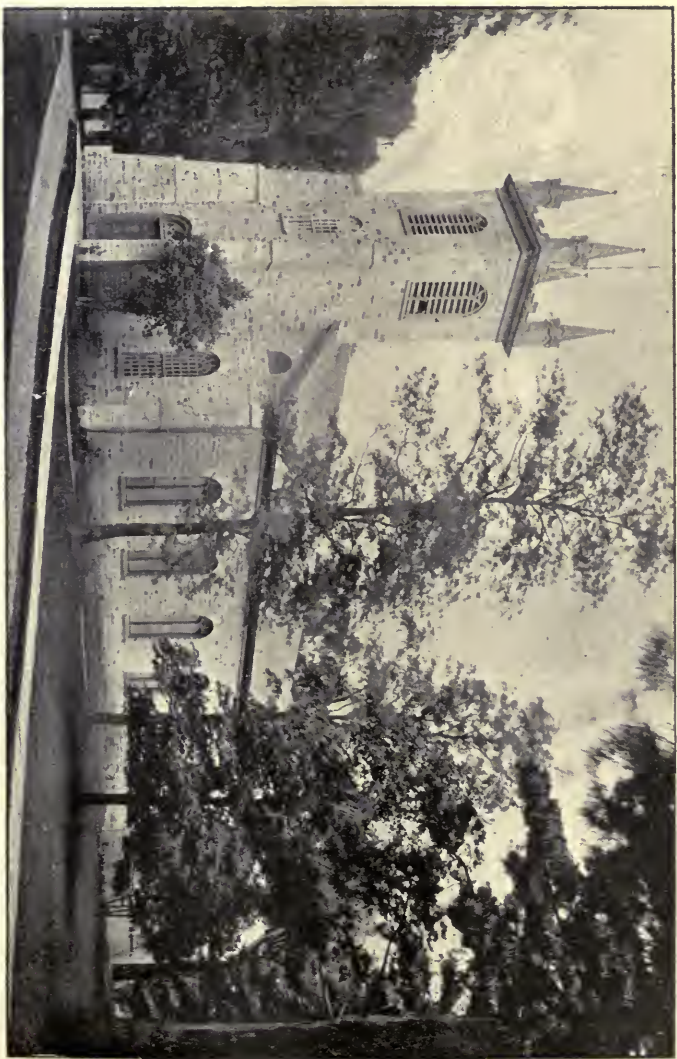
BELLINGER FAMILY BURYING GROUND.

An almost forgotten family burying plot on the Cox farm which having passed through many hands in the century we may readily understand why the stones are broken and almost illegible. This in old times was the Bellinger farm, there have evidently been nearly a score of graves : rough stones still stand, and from the dry bed of the brook we gathered fragments which we pieced together with some degree of success. On a brownish grey stone with the lettering still quite plain on the one half yet standing was a quotation from the Apocrypha, the first found from its pages of all so far examined, and in another respect this stone is unique as fuller particulars are given than elsewhere found ; while others give year, month and day of birth and death these give the hour of both.

"In memory of Phillip Bellinger who was born — 20th, 1725, between 4 and 5 o'clock in the morning, and died Feb. 16th, 1799, between 4 and 5 o'clock in the morning."

"Here rests the body of Nanna Pawling, wife of G. A. Pawling, who was born Aug. 1802, at — o'clock in the morning, and died June —, at — o'clock in the morning. She being made perfect in a short time fulfilled a long time, For her soul pleased the Lord, therefore he hasted to take her away from among the wicked.—Eccles , chap. 4, verses 13 and 14."

I looked in vain in Ecclesiastes for this verse, then in Eccles-



ST. MARK'S CHURCH, NIAGARA.

isticus, finally found it in the Wisdom of Solomon but with the word he instead of she. Since finding this inscription, placed here nearly a century ago, a pathetic interest attaches to it as we find that these are the verses selected by the Princess Alice for her father's tomb, Albert the Great, and they certainly seemed appropriate in his case.

ST. MARK'S CEMETERY

Will require a more lengthened notice, for not only are the inscriptions in the graveyard exceptionally interesting, but the walls of the church both outside and in add their quota of history, romance or poetry, Here rest peacefully together different nationalities and denominations, for as this was the first burial place it was used by all at least forty years before other denominations provided a separate place, and to this day many bring their dead from distant homes to lie here beside kindred dust. The spot is an ideal one, Dean Stanley said, "This is a piece of old England, do not allow it to be touched." Graceful elms and drooping weeping willows lend their beauty, whose branches whisper a requiem to the quiet dead, the remains of rifle pits constructed in the war of 1812 may yet be seen, stones hacked by the soldiery when in the hands of the enemy, all give a fitting setting to the old gray church with its tower and buttresses, The parish dates back to 1792, while the church was built in 1802. The oldest stone may be found on the east corner in the vestibule, having been rescued from the place where it was almost buried. The rude lettering shows an unskilled hand.

LENERD BLANCK,

DESEACED

5 AUG.

1782.

Perhaps the next in date is the following, but clear cut as if done quite lately.

"Sacred to the memory of Elizabeth Kerr, wife of Robert Kerr, who departed this life at Niagara, 24th January, A.D. 1794. Aetat 32 years.

The husband, Dr. Kerr, died at Albany in 1824, and was interred there with Masonic honors, being Grand Master. Mrs. Kerr was a daughter of Molly Brant and Sir William Johnson.

A large flat stone, hacked and marred so as to be almost indecipherable having been used as a butcher's block during the

war while the town was in the hands of the Americans, has this inscription.

“To the memory of Charles Morrison, a native of Scotland, who resided many years at Michilimackinac as a merchant and magistrate, and since the cession of that post to the United States became a British subject by election — for loyalty to his Sovereign and integrity in his dealings he was ever remarkable. He died here on his way to Montreal on the 6th day of Sept., 1802, aged 65 years.”

Another altar tomb near, also defaced in the same way reads;

“In memory of Geo. Forsyth who in his long residence as a merchant and magistrate in the town was beloved for his mild manners and great worth, died Sept. 15th, 1803, aged 52 years.”

In the porch at the north door of the church, (the older part) is a tablet which having fallen down in the graveyard has been placed here, and is the only record we have here of those who fell defending their country from the invader on the memorable 27th May, 1813, when a force of 6,000 landed, the Niagara frontier being defended by a force of 1500 only.

“In memory of Capt. M. McLelland, aged 42 years; Charles Wright and Wm. Cameron, in the 25th year of their age, of the 1st Regiment of Lincoln Militia, who gloriously fell on the 27th May 1813, also Adjutant Lloyd of the 8th King's Regiment of Infantry.

“As lurid lightnings dart their vivid light,
So poured they forth their fire in bloody fight.
They bravely fell and served their country's cause,
They loved their Constitution, King and Laws.”

In the first poem published by Mr. Kirby, called the U. E. is a character called by him Ranger John. Here in the eastern side of the graveyard is a simple inscription to the old U. E. Loyalist from whom the character in the poem was drawn,

“John Clement, Esq., died Feb. 11th, 1845, aged 87.”

The name of Col. John Butler in certain histories is held up to obloquy, but as time rolls on the partizan spirit is dying out, and poet and historian will yet do late justice to the leader of the irregular force called Butlers' Rangers. On a tablet in the church may be read these words :

“Fear God and honour the King. In memory of Col. John Butler, His Majesty’s Commissioner for Indian Affairs, born in New London, Connecticut, 1728. His life was spent honorably in the service of the Crown. In the war with France, for the conquest of Canada, he was distinguished at the battle of Lake George, Sept. 1755, at the siege of Fort Niagara and its capitulation 25th July, 1759. In the war of 1776 he took up arms in defence of the Unity of the Empire and raised and commanded the Royal American Regiment of Butler’s Rangers. A sincere Christian as well as a brave soldier, he was one of the founders and the first patron of this parish. He died at Niagara, May, 1796, and is interred in the family burying ground near this town. Erected 1880.”

Some years ago an attempt was made to remove the remains to St. Mark’s but the grave could not be located.

Outside the eastern wall a brave young sailor who gave his life for his country is commemorated. Another tablet inside also records his name, the one erected by his nephew at the request of brothers and sisters, the other by Capt. Dawes, R.N., at the request of his mother,

“Sacred to the memory of Capt. Copeland Radcliffe, of His Britannic Majesty’s Navy, who fell whilst gallantly leading on his men to board one of the enemy’s schooners at anchor off Fort Erie on the night of the 17th Aug. 1814.”

Near the north corner of the cemetery is a monument to

“Col. Ralph Clench, died Jan. 19th, 1828, aged 66 years, also Elizabeth, his wife, who died Aug. 15th, 1850, aged 78.”

Reference has already been made to the honorable work of Ralph Clench, the body buried first in Butler’s graveyard was removed here. It is recorded in the very rare copy of the proceedings of the Loyal and Patriotic Society formed during the War of 1812, that the house of Mr. Clench was the the only one saved in the town from the conflagration, but it was accidentally burnt shortly after.

Not far from the church are the graves of two worthies yet unmarked, but who well deserve to be remembered. Dominic Henry, an old soldier of the army of Cornwallis, who afterwards took charge of the lighthouse which stood where Fort Mississagua now stands, from 1803 to 1814. His wife who on the 27th May, served out refreshments to our forces had her services acknowledged by the Loyal and Patriotic Society, who presented her with £25, calling her “a heroine not to be frightened,”

Another stone has the inscription .

“Hermanus de Graff, of Schenectady, who departed this life in 1802; aged 28.

Stop traveller and weep,
For here beneath death's shade,
Snatched from his friends,
A lovely youth is laid.
But sleep in hope,
For soon he'll burst this sod,
And rise in air
To meet his Saviour God.

— “In memory of Col. Wm. Kingsmill, son of the late Major Kingsmill, of 1st Royals, died in Toronto, 6th May, 1876, aged 82. Col. Kingsmill served in H. M. 66th Regiment, in the Peninsular War, and afterwards at St. Helena, during Napoleon's captivity. Subsequently in command of 3rd Int. Corps, Batt. of U, Canadian Militia, and was Sheriff of the Niagara District. He was a gallant soldier.”

The Kingsmill's must have been a military family, as in the church are two tablets to the sons of Col. Kingsmill, dying in places far distant, and a grandson is now in the Royal Navy.

— “In memoriam Capt. W. D. Kingsmill, of R. C. Regt., born at St. Helena, 1818. Lieut. C. E. Kingsmill, of Ceylon Rifle Regt., died at Hong Kong,”

Near this is an inscription in Latin to his wife by one who was an old U. Canada College boy :

In Memoriam
Liviniae
Nicol Kingsmill Uxoris
Quae
In hac parochia
Prid . non . Aug.
A.D., M.D.C.C.C.X.C.V.
De Hac Vita Decessit
Annos X.L.V. Nata
Dilectissima,

In an enclosure facing the River is a stone with coat of arms and the motto, Denique Cælum.

“Robert Melville, Capt, H. M. 68th Regt., died 1845.”

Also a stone to a son of Capt. Schonsuar, 1st Dragoon Guards.

Where so many military are buried there seems to have been some plan followed, as grouped near one another are soldiers of R. C. Rifles, again of 76th Regt., and in another spot of King's Dragoon Guards.

"Sacred to the memory of Thomas Easton, late trumpeter H. M. Royal Artillery Drivers, who departed this life Feb. 24th, 1832, aged 56 years.

Here lies within this silent grave,
A Royal soldier, brisk and brave,
Who suddenly was cal ed away,
From off this sodden foot of clay."

"Sacred to the memory of William Jolliffe and John Midgley, aged 20 and 21 respectively, who died July 17th 1825. They belonged to the band of the 76th Regt., and were universally beloved and regretted by their comrades."

Near this lies an old Waterloo veteran who for many years rode round the town decorated with his medals on the anniversary of the battle, 18th June "Thos. Fletcher of the 76th Regt., died in 1847."

"Capt. Jas. Baxter, late 68th Regt., and Royal Canadian Rifle Regt., died Feb. 28th, 1865, aged 67 years."

A romantic story is attached to the name of one born in far Greece, but then, alas, Greece enslaved by the savage Turk.

"In memory of Katherina Haideen, a native of Missolonghi, Greece, wife of Frederick Paffard, born 1823, died at Niagara, 1883."

As a child, a captive with the Turks, she attracted the compassion of an English gentleman, who bought her freedom, and educated her in England as his own. This story recalls the fact that at a school in Niagara a collection was taken up to assist the Greeks in 1827, the year of the battle of Navarino.

In the east corner of the church is a tablet

"Sacred to the memory of Henrietta Eliza Sewell, wife of F. J. Lundy, B. C. L., assistant minister of this parish, and daughter of the Hon. Jonathan Sewell, D. C. L., late Chief Justice of Lower Canada, died 1847, aged 39."

On the outside wall.

"Anne, consort of Capt. Chas. Paynter, daughter of Sir Robert Ruthven, Bart., died 1836, aged 32."

The body lies inside of the new part of this church, east side, parallel with and $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the corner of the old wall."

"Capt. Geo. Deare, R. C. R., eldest son of the late Lieut. Col. Deare, 8th Hussars, who died at Niagara, 1815, aged 32

years. This tablet is erected by his brother officers as a testimony of esteem and regard."

From a tablet in the church we learn that others besides Gen. Brock were buried at Fort George.

"Donald Campbell, Islay, Argyleshire, Fort Major of Fort George, died 1st Dec., 1822. Interred on west side of Garrison Gate, Fort George."

A handsome tablet commemorates another Peninsular War veteran.

"Sacred to the memory of Lieut. Col. Wm. Elliot, K. B. of the R. C. Rifle Regt., Colonel commanding Niagara frontier, who died at Niagara, Dec. 17th, 1845, aged 55 years. 39 years of his life were devoted to his country, he having served in most of the glorious victories of the Peninsular War. This tablet is erected by the officers of the Royal C. Rifle Regt., as a memorial of affection and of sincere regret for his lamented death."

On the outer wall, the sons-in-law of Rev. R. Addison are remembered.

"John Andrew Stevenson, born in Dublin, 1790, died at Oakwood, near Niagara, 1832."

A letter has been lately found written to his father-in-law, Mr. Addison, after the disastrous battle of Chippawa

"George Connolly, born in Dublin 1784, died at Lake Lodge, near Niagara, 1857,

"In memory of Richard Hiscott born in Wiltshire, England, 1790, died at Niagara, Canada, 1874. Deservedly esteemed both as a citizen and a soldier. In early life he served with honour in H. M. 76th Regt., of foot and was in many battles of the Peninsular War and in Canada. He settled in Niagara, where a large family of his decendants and numerous friends lament his death."

Two beautiful mural tablets in the transept read thus :

"In memory of the Hon. Robert Dickson, of Woodlawn, Niagara, member of the Legislative Council of Canada, who died at Leghorn, Italy, 1846, aged 50. This tablet is erected by her who fondly cherishes the recollection of those endearing qualities which were so long the solace of her life and who mourns her loss with a hope full of consolation."

The mourning widow dying like her husband, far from home, is commorated in fewer words.

“In memory of Jane Jones, relict of the Hon. Robt. Dickson, of Woodlawn, Niagara, who died at Montreal, 1854, aged 60 years.”

In the graveyard is a memorial to the father of Hon. Robert Dickson.

“In memory of the Hon. Wm. Dickson, of Woodlawn, Niagara, born in Dumfries, Scotland, 1769, died at Niagara, Jan. 1st, 1846, and of Charlotte Adiem, wife of Hon. Wm. Dickson, born in London, England, 1771, died at Niagara, Jan. 1st 1826.”

This must have been she who lying ill in bed was carried out and lay in the snow watching the destruction of the house with its library worth £600, the day the town was burnt, her husband being a prisoner at Greenbush.

Length of service seems to have been the rule here, for besides the unique fact that in the hundred years of the church history there were only three rectors, the parish clerk had a still longer term of office than the above average. On a small stone ;

“To the memory of John Wray, 50 years parish clerk of St. Mark's, who died at an advanced age Oct. 6th, 1846.”

In the church at the north end is a large tablet let in the wall in memory of the first minister, whose circuit extended to Long Point, York, Grimsby, etc.

“In memory of the Rev. Robt. Addison, first missionary in this district of the Venerable the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Ports. He commenced his labors in 1792, which by the blessing of Divine Providence he was enabled to continue for 37 years. Besides his stated services as minister of St. Mark's in the town he visited and officiated in different parts of this and adjoining districts until other missionaries arrived. He was born in Westmoreland, England. Remember them which have the rule over you.”

Near this is a large tablet to the second Rector.

“In memory of Rev. Thos. Creen, late Rector of Niagara, born in Rathfriland, Ireland, Nov, 20th, 1799, died at Niagara, Jan. 6th, 1864. “How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings that publisheth peace, Isaiah 52, 7.”

Mr. Creen was educated at Glasgow University, was a ripe scholar and for several years taught the Grammar School. The tablet was erected by old pupils, members of a private class.

One of the stained glass windows is in memory of the third Rector Rev. Wm. McMurray, D.D., D.C.L.

Another teacher and preacher is buried here though no stone marks the grave, Rev. Juo. Burns, who was perhaps the first teacher of the Grammar School founded in 1808, was a Presbyterian minister and officiated in St. Andrew's Church and that of Stamford between 1805 and 1817. Indeed a sermon of his is in existence, preached to encourage his people to defend their country in the war of 1812.

Another teacher who also took his place in fighting at Queenston Heights and wrote a history of the war of 1812, printed at Niagara (now very rare,) was a captain in the Royal Scots, David Thomson. An educator in another line as an editor and publisher, Mr. Andrew Heron, lies here, his four wives beside him in an enclosure between the two defaced stones previously mentioned. The Gleaner newspaper published from 1817 to 1833 and many books which he printed are his monument. He was the founder Secretary Treasurer and Librarian of the Niagara Library, numbering 1000 volumes, which existed from 1800 to 1820. He was also the Secretary and Treasurer of St. Andrew's Church for many years.

Many quaint and curious lines may be found on the old stones; as to a child who died Mar. 2nd, 1802, aged 4 years, Ann Graham.

“My time is short; the longer my rest
God called me here because he thought it best
So weep not; drie up your tears
Here must i lie till Christ Apears.”

The exigencies of rhyme, rhythm and syntax are boldly met and conquered, metaphors and similes, appropriate or not abound.

“The fairest flower that nature shews,
Sustains the sharpest doom,
His life was like a morning rose
That withers in its bloom.
Weep not mother for John is at rest
His sins forgot and in Heaven blest.,

“Sacred to the memory of the two infant children of R. U. Turney, chaplain to H. B. Majesty's Forces and Jane his wife.”

Does this mean that he was chaplain to the Forces and Jane his wife?

But verse is not yet exhausted. On the tombstone of two children of Alexander McKee, dying in 1813, the following lines: It is told that the father was a prisoner at Fort Niagara and was allowed to come to the funeral. Losing his property when the town was burnt he taught a classical school assisted by his wife,

and both lie buried here beside their children.

“Ah here they lie as budding roses
Blasted before their bloom
Whose innocence did sweets disclose
Beyond that flower’s perfume.”

“Dear as thou didst in modest worth excell,
More dear than in a daughter’s name farewell,
Farewell dear Maria ; but the hour is nigh
When if I’m worthy we shall meet on high
Then shall I say triumphant from the tomb
Come to thy mother’s arms dear Maria come.”

Another :

Filial affection stronger than the grave
From Time’s obliterating hand to save
Erects this humble monument of stones
Over a father’s and a mother’s bones.”

“He’s gone! No more his infant smiles
The smile of innocence shall dart
His power electric to expand
And warm a tender parent’s heart;
His lips which I kissed are faded and cold
His hands which I clasped are covered with mould
His form which I clasped is crumbled away
And soon by his side his weepers shall lay .

On the tombstone of a child, Mary Rogers, dying in 1812.

“God plants his flowers at any time
And plucks when he thinks proper
Then why should we repine?”

William Grier aged 27, died in 1813, the son of John Grier,
a noted merchant.

Ye mourning friends as you pass by
This monument survey
Learn ere your solemn hour draws nigh
To choose that better way.

Of “Jane Cassady, the wife of John Whitten,” it is told that
when a child she carried her younger brother on her back out to
Butler’s farm for safety the day the town was taken, 27th May,
1813. Who in this degenerate day deserves such praise as that
in the line given below?

“Here lies as much virtue as could live.”

“Man’s life what is it? Tis a flower
Looks fresh and dies within the hour.”

These are all in the first decade of the century and form a contrast with the brief lines on two monuments of late years.

“The memory of a life nobly rendered is immortal.”

“Laid here in faith, hope and love all that is mortal of —.”

A trace of the rude hand of war is here recorded.

“Sacred to the memory of John McFarland, a native of Paisley, Scotland. He was taken prisoner at the capture of Fort George and escaped from Green Bush near the close of the war 1815. He returned to his place, Niagara, and finding his property burnt up and destroyed by the enemy it enervated him so much that he died in a few months after, in the 64th year of his age.”

On a tombstone near the north corner appears Pope's line, and the epitaph is unique as describing a man who had gained all the wealth he desired. We all know the story of the ancient king vainly searching the world for a happy man.

“An honest man's the noblest work of God. In memory of Archibald Cunningham, who was born in Scotland and resided nearly 30 years in Canada. Having during half of that time by Strict Integrity and by persevering Industry in the Paths of Commerce acquired a competency equal to his Wishes he retired to his Farm and there by a life of Frugal Simplicity and disinterested Benevolence he retained the affection of all his friends and procured the respect of all his Neighbours. These sentiments evincing the Esteem of those who accompanied him through Life, Have by them been engraven on this Monument. Erected by a grateful and affectionate Friend, Ob. 21st Aug., 1804.”

A naval hero, a beloved physician and a Methodist class leader are thus commemorated.

“Sacred to the memory of Philip Hopkins Commander of H. M. Cruiser Vandeleur, who departed this life July 11th, 1858, aged 75.”

“In loving memory of Robt. M. Wilson, M. D. who died at Simcoe, May 31st, 1875. Their eyes shall behold the king in his beauty, they shall behold the land that is very far off.”

(This was a favorite verse of the deceased.)

— “Andrew Brady, born at Queenston Heights Aug. 15th, 1789, died 1875.”

Many remember him—familiarily known as Father Brady.

A sad story is told on a cross in an enclosure with seven graves of young men snatched from life suddenly.

"In affectionate remembrance of Robert C. Henderson, J. H. Murray, C. E. Anderson, Weir Anderson, Philips Braddon, C. V., W. Vernon, Vincent H. Taylor, who were lost on 11th July, 1874, by the foundering of the Yacht Foam."

One of the beautiful memorial windows is in memory of a merchant of the town, whose stately form and handsome face gave him the cognomen of "Lord John," a friend of the celebrated Mrs. Jameson and referred to in her life, "John Lees Alma, 1890, by his wife and daughters." A daughter Emily was born at Valparaiso, Chili, and this shows again from what distant lands these inmates of "God's Acre hail as does the next inscription.

"Murray Powell, son of John Powell, Sub-Inspector of Mounted Police, Victoria, Australia."

Near this a noted lawyer of the town is commemorated by a stately ivy covered monument.

"Charles Letham Hall Barrister at Law."

Here lies buried Capt. Alexander Garrett of the Grenadiers, who fought with Brock at Queenston Heights. On an old stone with the name of John Emery 1813 the lines:

"Waken O Lord our drowsy sense
To walk this dangerous road
And if our souls are hurried hence
May they be found with God."

It is remarkable the number of retired clergy who lie buried here as Rev. Henry Cottingham, Rev. Romaine Rolph, Rev. Peter Roe, Rev. Matthew Ker, D.D., Rev. H. N. Philips, Rev. Canon Arnold, Rev. Prof. Beavan.

The third rector is thus kept in memory as well as by the beautiful memorial window.

"To the Glory of God and in memory of William McMurray D.D., D.C.L., Archdeacon of Niagara and Rector of St. Mark's Parish for 37 years. Born Sept. 19th, 1810, died May 19th, 1894. 'Lord I have loved the habitation of Thy house and the place where Thine honor dwelleth' Ps. 28. 8."

Also to his first wife.

"Sacred to the memory of Charlotte Johnston wife of Rev. Wm. McMurray, died 1871, aged 71."

This was a sister of Mrs. Schoolcraft and daughter of Chief Johnston, an Irish gentleman of Sault Ste. Marie, referred to by

Mrs. Jameson in her "Summer Rambles and Winter Studies" as marrying an Indian maiden Ogeneboquah.

On a tablet in the Church to Amelia Baxter, widow of Dr. McMurray, is found this praise

"This woman was full of good works and almsdeeds which she did." Acts 9. 36.

— Another has the name of Elizabeth, wife of Senator Plumb, and daughter of Thomas C. Street.

— Here too was buried Jean Jacques Rousseaux a native of Paris, Interpreter to the Indian Chief, Joseph Brant, the great Thyendanagea.

The eminent virtues of a child of nine are not often spoken of.

"Sacred to the memory of Robert D. Wright son of the late Chas. Wright of Niagara, who departed this life 9th June, 1822, aged 9 years and 7 mos.

Although I walk in Death's dark vale
Yet will I fear no ill
For thou art with me and thy rod
And staff me comfort still.

This stone was erected by David Thompson his stepfather, as a memorial of his eminent virtues."

The father, Charles Wright was one of the four who lie near, killed 27th May 1813, and the stepfather who fought at Queenston Heights and was afterwards a teacher in the town, lies near without any stone to mark his grave.

A brass tablet in the church commemorates the centenary of the church.

"To the glory of God! This tablet is erected by the congregation of St. Mark's Church, in grateful commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the foundation of this parish on the 9th July, 1792. The nave of the church was built about 1807 and burned during the war of 1812, the walls only remaining. It was restored in 1820 and enlarged to the present dimensions in 1843. During the century the living has been held by the following incumbents. The Rev. Robert Addison 1792 to 1829; The Rev. Thomas Creen, 1829 to 1857; The Rev. William McMurray, D. D., D.C.L., Archdeacon of Niagara, to the present time, assisted since 1888 by the Rev. J. C. Garrett as curate in charge."

From the archives of Canada it is pretty conclusively shown that the church was built in 1802.

ST. ANDREW'S CEMETERY.

— In this enclosure where the first church was erected in the town in 1794, none were buried till 1833, the first to be interred he who conducted the first Sunday School in the town is in a few words mentioned.

“Sacred to the memory of John Crooks, died Mar. 31st, 1833, aged 36. A native of Greenock, Scotland.”

He was the postmaster of the town whose benevolent deed to prisoners in the jail confined for debt is mentioned in papers of that period, in sending firewood to them in the depth of winter.

Next this enclosure is one covered with fragrant lilies of the valley. A small tablet in the wall has these words: “The Ministers’ Burying Place” “For me to live is Christ and to die is gain.”

Singular to say, in the century of its history, no minister of this church has been buried here, only a small mound that of an infant of a day may be seen in the plot.

A few military heroes and several U.E. Loyalists found here their last resting place, as :

“Sacred to the memory of Donald McDonald, of the 79th Highlanders, died 1846.”

“Thos. Ferguson, Royal Canadian Rifles Regt., born in the parish of Pithenwin, Fifeshire, Scotland, died 1852.

Of one U.E. Loyalist buried here the story is told that he was when a child, a captive among the Indians for several years.

“In memory of Jas. Cooper, born in Scotland, 1770, emigrated to America in 1774. died 1856 in his 86th year.

Elizabeth Hixon, his wife, born in the province of New Jersey in 1773, emigrated to Canada in 1788, died 1855, aged 82.”

Descendants of Capt. Jacob Ball of Butler’s Rangers are buried here, Wm. Ball and his son Robert N. Ball, both office bearers in St. Andrew’s church.

“John Eglesum, died 1851, aged 93.”

A skilful physician and surgeon, the brother of Prof. Campbell of Edinburgh University, and who dying in Toronto wished to be buried “as near old St. Andrew’s as possible,” is thus commemorated :

“In memory of Duncan Campbell, M.D., of Edinburgh, died Feb. 4th, 1879, aged 68 years.”

A later grave is that of “John Majoribanks Lawder. for many years judge of the County of Lincoln.” One of the fathers of the church, for fifty years was connected with it as an office bearer, and was also an officer in the Lincoln Militia in 1812.

“William Duff Miller. 1786-1859.”

A benefactor of the church who left a legacy of £750 which afterwards purchased the manse is thus remembered.

“Sacred to the memory of Catharine Young, who died 1840, aged 67. This tribute of regard is erected by the relatives of her husband, Jno. Young, who was drowned in Lake Ontario, July 30th, 1840.”

Dr. Whitelaw, a distinguished scholar who taught the Grammar School both in Niagara and Kingston, lies here, dying in 1850.

In the vestibule is a mural tablet :

“Sacred to the memory of John Young, Esq., long a merchant of Niagara. Returning home in pain and infirmity, he was drowned in Lake Ontario where his body rests awaiting the hour when the sea shall give up her dead. In his last illness, concerned for the welfare of coming generations he ordained a bequest for the perpetual maintenance of divine ordinances in this church. He met death July 29th, 1840, aged 73. ‘Pray for the peace of Jerusalem, because of the house of the Lord I will seek thy good.’”

— From him Youngstown received its name.

Many names showing nationality are found here, as McFarland, McPherson, Davidson, Dawson, Logan, Swinton, Currie, Forbes, Carnochan—Lachlan McPherson, who had far passed the limit of the Psalmist, having attained his hundredth year.

The Centennial tablet reads thus :

“1794. 1894.

In grateful commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the organization of this congregation, this tablet is erected by the members of St. Andrew's Church, Niagara. The first building, begun in October 1794 and erected on this spot, was burnt in the war of 1812-14. The congregation met in St. Andrew's school room on the north corner of this block for some years. The present church was built in 1831. The ministers have been Rev. John Dun, Rev. John Young, Rev. Jno. Burns, Rev. Thomas Fraser, Rev. Robt. McGill, D.D., Rev. John Cruickshank, D.D., Rev. J. B. Mowat, M.A., D.D., Rev. Charles Campbell, Rev. Wm. Cleland, Rev. J. W. Bell, M.A., and the present pastor Rev. N. Smith.

ST. VINCENT de PAUL.

The church was built in 1834, previous to this St. Mark's graveyard was used by all denominations. In the church is a tablet with this inscription :

"To the memory of Lieut. Adjut. Reginald McDonnell, Royal Canadian Rifle Regt., who died at Niagara, C. W., on the 20th Dec., 1851, aged 39 years. This tablet is erected by his brother officers as a testimony of regard." In the graveyard is a stone with a similar inscription. In the enclosure of the McDougall family is the grave of Col. M. McDougall, Treasurer of the united counties of Lincoln, Welland and Haldimand for many years. He fought at Lundy's Lane and lay on the field all night being reported as mortally wounded but recovered, carrying in his body a bullet to his grave. In the Historical Room is the original document authorizing Daniel McDougall to enlist men in Glengarry to serve in the war, dated April 1813, E. McDonell, Prescott.

Bishop McDonell who ministered to the Catholic regiment from Glengarry, Scotland, was often entertained at Col. McDougall's in Niagara. The wife and her mother buried here show the Scottish origin, McNabb and McDonell.

Near this enclosure lies buried one of the benevolent ladies of the town, whose kind face and ready smile are not forgotten, Mrs. Stevenson. A letter in an old Niagara Gleaner of 1832, tells of the time when debtors were imprisoned and of the kindness of Mrs. Stevenson in sending comforts to prisoners.

A young and beloved priest Father Lynch lies here, his grave kept covered with flowers by loving hands. In a distant corner is a monument to mark the grave of Patrick Lawless, the fireman of the Steamer Zimmerman, burnt to death on board, the night of Aug. 21st, 1863.

Near this is a mark of filial affection. Father John Kennedy has placed this inscription to the memory of his father.

"In memoriam Bernardi Kennedy, cujus anima ut Requiescat in pace desiderantur fidelium suffragia mortuus est IV Kal Decembris A.D. 1857 Anno Ætatis suæ 53, Grato animo filius ejus Reverendus Joannes P. Kennedy Presbyter. Hoc eregi curavit.

BAPTIST (COLORED) CHURCH.

This church erected in 1829 by the exertions of John Oakley who came to Fort George in 1814 and had charge of the Field

Train Department, was removed some time ago being no longer used. At one time several hundred escaped slaves found shelter under the British flag, and here are buried many of these dusky Africans but one white child was buried here in 1832 that of the above mentioned John Oakley who was a teacher and preacher.

Here too is buried a hero whose name should not be forgotten though it is unrecorded in marble or granite. Herbert Holmes, a teacher and exhorter who organized a band of colored men of several hundreds to surround the jail and prevent the return of Mosely, an escaped slave from Kentucky, who was by law ordered to be given up. The civil and military authorities were called out soldiers, constables, sheriff, the Riot Act read. The prisoner escaped but Holmes and Green were shot and lie buried here, having given their lives to save their brother from slavery. Were not they heroes indeed, and should not their names be commemorated?

METHODIST GRAVEYARD.

This congregation is also a century old.

Here is found a monument to John Boyd who died here in 1885, aged 85. He had been a teacher in the Old Blue (Grammar) School of Toronto and was the father of Sir John Boyd, whose son has given his life in South Africa. Here are buried John Eedson and Salome Crane his wife of U. E. Loyalist birth from Nova Scotia, George Varey who played the bass viol in the church before the days of organs or melodeons.

Two old grey stones show burials here previous to any in St. Andrew's or St. Vincent de Paul.

"Sarah Laurence died 1825, aged 64. Gideon Howell died 1827, aged 22.

Here in the silent tomb beneath this miry sod
Lies one who bore the Cross and trusted in his God
Farewell dear wife and friends and my dear little son
My work is finished and the prize is won."

FORT NIAGARA.

Two graveyards on the opposite side of the river were visited and here were found several inscriptions interesting to us.

In the military graveyard of Fort Niagara, that post which has had such an eventful history, having been in the hands of French, British, Indians, Americans, is found a singular trace of the American occupation of Fort George in 1813. A young

Frenchman, perhaps a son of one of those of that nationality who helped the Thirteen Colonies to gain their independence.

"Ici repose Marie Vincent Boisaubin Lieutenant et adjutant dans le regiment d'artillerie legere des Etats Unis, decede au Fort George le 13 aout 1813 a l'age de 22. ans Ami fidele, fils tendre et sincere comment nons consoler d'une perte si severe."

A monument bears this comprehensive inscription.

"Erected to the memory of unknown soldiers and sailors of the United States, killed in action or dying of wounds in this vicinity during the war of 1812."

Here were buried in the precincts of the fort but so far the spot is unknown and unmarked, two British officers, killed at the taking of the fort, 25th July, 1759. In the diary of Sir William Johnson, given in Stone's life of that distinguished man are these words: "Today buried Gen. Prideaux and Col. Johnson in the chapel with great form, I was the chief mourner." Should not some memorial be erected to these two British officers who died in adding a page to Britain's roll of fame?

John Ross Robertson who has done so much to clear up many pages of Canadian history has lately unearthed in England a map showing the position of the chapel in what is now the parade ground, and Peter A. Porter of Niagara Falls, N.Y., in an article in the Buffalo Express, has reproduced this so that one may almost pace off the distances and fix the spot.

LEWISTON.

Here too in a beautiful well kept graveyard near the Presbyterian church are traces of the contest of a century ago.

"In memory of the high respect and esteem which Major-General Stephen Van Rensselaer bore to Capt. George Nelson of the VI U.S. Regiment of Infantry, who on the 13th Oct., 1812, in the XXXVII year of his age fell in the attack upon Queenston, U.C., this monument is erected, Feb. 22nd, 1813.

"Here sleeps a soldier, here a brave man rests"

The following shows the influence of a wife over a husband:
"Sacred to the memory of Nancy, consort of Fitz James Hotchkis,

Nancy be thou my guide to point the road
That leads far hence to yonder blest abode.
Grant me her faith thou good thou great most high,
Let me like Nancy live like Nancy die."

It is difficult now to know what crime committed by Great

Britain is referred to in the following lines.

"In memory of Alexander Miller who died Oct. 13th, 1828, aged 62, a native of Dundee, Scotland."

Far from his country and his native skies,
Here mouldering in the dust poor Miller lies.
He loved his country, loved that spot of earth
Which gave a Wallace, Bruce and Duncaⁿ birth,
But when that country dead to all but gain,
Bowed her base neck and hugged the oppressed chain,
He viewed the approaching event with many a sigh,
He crossed the wide waves and here untimely died."

Perhaps the Sutherland evictions are meant.
Of Miss Mary Attwater, who died in 1815, it is said.

"She needs no verse her virtues to record,
She lived and died a servant of the Lord."

Another stone has the startling question,

"See is gone, but where?"

Another point in which the history of the two countries touch is found here. A broken tombstone formerly upright, now lying flat, is that of

"Ashbel Sage, born 1777, died 1855. He was the pilot and guide who conducted the American army to Queenston Heights in the battle on the morning of the 13th October, 1813."

There was formerly a daguerreotype of this veteran inserted in the stone, but this has disappeared long since.

Here too, lie Thomas Hustler and his wife Catharine, characters used by the novelist Cooper in the Spy as Sergeant Hollister and Betty Flannigan.

THE HAMILTON GRAVEYARD.

The Hamilton residence in Quesnston is a fine stone building on an eminence having the old colonial pillars and the family burying plot is on the property, surrounded by a low stone wall, enclosing beautiful trees.

The Hon. Robert Hamilton, born in Scotland, and whose name we find so often as entertaining guests in Simcoe's time, died in 1809. aged —, and is buried here. This spot has to us a pathetic interest, since here for a year rested the remains of Gen. Sir Isaac Brock and his brave young adjutant, McDonnell, who were four times buried. First at Fort George where the bodies lay for twelve years, till the first monument was erected at Queen-

ston Then when the shattered shaft was taken down, the bodies were removed to the Hamilton burying plot till the vault of the present monument, was ready in 1853.

One inscription reads :

"Sacred to the memory of Robert Hamilton, born at Fort Niagara, 1787, died 1856. Mary Bigger, his wife, born at Dumfries, Scotland, 1790."

Alexander Hamilton died in 1839, aged 45. This must have been Sheriff Hamilton, whose death it is said was hastened by the shock to his system from having to perform the office of hangman at Niagara jail no hangman was to be found and the Sheriff according to law had himself to perform the revolting duty. In an account of a prisoner confined in Niagara jail for his share in the rebellion, this is confirmed.

A large altar tomb commemorates a member of the well-known Dickson family. He was a merchant in Queenston and carried on an extensive business there.

"Sacred to the memory of Thomas Dickson, born in Dumfries, Scotland, who died in 1825, aged 50, also Eliza his wife, died 1802."

Here again occurs an important name in the early history of our country.

"Hannah, wife of Wm. Jarvis, Secretary of the Province of U. C., died 1845, aged 84.

Shed not for her the bitter tear,
Nor give the heart to vain regret,
'Tis but the casket that lies here,
The gem that filled it sparkles yet."

Another. "Robert Hamilton, lies here. born 1808, died 1868,"

As the Hon. Robert Hamilton was married twice and had a large family of eight sons, the family connection is large and there are many names to be found here from intermarriages, as Tench, Duff, Durand, Mewburn, Gourlay.

Here lies buried Capt. John Humphrey Tench, late of H.M. 87th and 61st Regts. who died Xmas. 1851, also Maria Tench, wife of above, also Margaret Carruthers, widow of Major Carruthers, late H.M. 55th Westmoreland Regt., and Katherine Hamilton, wife of F. B. Tench, and Eliza Hamilton. wife of J. T. Townsend.

The family name has been well preserved, as the city of Hamilton thus derived its name, and the city of St. Catharines was named in 1809 from Catharine, the second wife of Hon. Robert Hamilton. The Hon. John Hamilton's residence, called Glencairn, was about two miles below Queenston, while that of

Dr. Hamilton, another brother, was above the mountain. The Hon. John Hamilton, who has been called the father of Canada's inland marine and was long honorably connected with the shipping of Lake Ontario is buried at Kingston.

BROCK'S MONUMENT.

This noble shaft, says a late writer, is perhaps the finest isolated column, all things considered, in the world, 200 ft high, the height of the figure 17 ft., and the situation unsurpassed, commanding a view of river, lake and plain; at some seasons of the year the varied colors of brown ploughed land, purple vineyards, the tender green of its wheat or brilliant crimson of the "maple forests all aflame," and the somber pine woods give the ennuied tourist at last a new experience,

The first monument was erected in 1824 and shattered with a gunpowder explosion by the miscreant Lett in 1840, the present begun in 1853 was finished in 1856. An immense meeting was held in 1840 on the Heights to devise means to replace the monument destroyed, ten steamers bore representatives from Kingston, Cobourg, Hamilton, Toronto, and ascended the river in procession while cheering crowds on the bank showed their enthusiasm. Eloquent speeches were made by distinguished men, nineteen motions afforded opportunity to twice as many speakers as movers and seconders. The first monument was erected by a grant from the Provincial parliament, the present by voluntary contributions of the militia and Indian warriors of the province. A grant from Parliament was given to lay out the grounds. The armorial bearings of the hero are supported by lions rampant seven feet in height, the motto *Vincit Veritas*. On the north face the inscription reads:

"Upper Canada has dedicated this monument to the memory of the late

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ISAAC BROCK, K. B.,

Provincial Lieut. Governor and Commander of the forces in this Province, whose remains are deposited in the vaults beneath. Opposing the invading enemy he fell near these heights on the 13th October, 1812, in the 43rd year of his age, revered and lamented by the people whom he governed and deplored by the sovereign to whose services his life had been devoted."

On a brass plate within the column is an inscription giving an account of the different burials and on another a notice of

Brock's brave A.D.C.

"In a vault beneath are deposited the mortal remains of Lieut. Col. John McDonnell, P.A. D.C., and Aid-de-Camp to the lamented Major-General Sir Isaac Brock. K.B., who fell mortally wounded in the battle of Queenston, on the 13th October, 1812, and died the following day. His remains were removed and re-interred with due solemnity on 13th Oct., 1853."

ST. DAVIDS.

In the graveyard around the Methodist Church are many old stones with no name, or the stones chipped so as to be undecipherable. The name which appears most frequently is that of Woodruff, but the oldest date is Solomon Quick, who died in 1823, but many were buried here before that date as St. Davids had a mill in 1782, and the village was burnt by the Americans in 1814. Here is the grave of David Secord of whom many stories of daring deeds are told in the Revolutionary War, and from whom the village received its name.

"In memory of Major David Secord, who died 1844, aged 85, also Mary Page his wife."

David Secord was a magistrate in 1796 and member of the Legislative Assembly, U.C., in 1811. His claim for compensation for property burnt in the war was nearly £5000 as he owned many buildings. He was a Sergeant in Butler's Rangers and fought in the Revolutionary War.

Ezekiel Woodruff died in 1837, aged 73, and Samuel Woodruff in 1824. Richard Woodruff, born in 1784, died in 1872, was a member of Parliament. His daughter is thus commemorated, recalling the name of a celebrated railway king.

"In memory of Margaret Ann, wife of Samuel Zimmerman, daughter of Richard Woodruff, died 1851, aged 23."

John Baptist Clement, died in 1833, and Mary Secord, wife of Wm. A. Woodruff, born 1818, died 1895. An old stone has an inscription almost destitute of capital letters.

"Jane wife of John Prest, queenston late a native of sennington yorkshire England died in 1831."

A monument near the church to Ursen Harvey, born in 1800, has also the names of his two wives, Esther and Caroline. Mr. Harvey was the father of Mrs. J. G. Currie, who has given us the life of Laura Ingersoll Secord and so many interesting reminiscences of St. Davids' old settlers.

The names of Wadsworth, Clement, Crysler and Clyde occur frequently. Many of these early settlers lived to a great age as

William Crysler, died 1824, aged 92, Anne Clement Woodruff, born 1788, died 1878, aged 90 years, while Richard Woodruff, her husband, died 1872, aged 88. Major Adam Brown, of Queenston died 1874, aged 76. Col. Joseph Clement, died 1867, aged 76, and his wife aged 80. Maria Dewy, relict of the late Deacon Jacob Beam, died 1881, aged 88 years.

The name Secord is found frequently, as Azubah Hutt, wife of Philip Secord, aged 79. Riall Secord, evidently named from Gen. Riall of Lundy's Lane fame. Many rough unshaped stones without letter or figure tell of those troublous times when the exigencies of war or refugee privations prevented the elaborate epitaphs of another period.

WARNER'S GRAVEYARD.

In the Warner family plot about two miles from St. Davids, are found the names of many U.E. Loyalists. Here again the surface lettering in the old stones is chipped off. There is a small frame church, now unused, which replaced an older one, built in 1801, the first Methodist church in the peninsula. A stone wall had surrounded the enclosure the remains of which may yet be seen. One of the oldest stones is that to Stephen Secord, who died in 1808, aged 49. We find from early records that in the census taken by Col. John Butler at Niagara in 1783, the name Secord occurs more frequently than any other as Peter, John, James, Thomas, Stephen. In Butler's Rangers there were seven Secords and the Stephen Secord buried here was one of these. William E. Secord died in 1881, aged 83. We know from other records that John Secord was living near Niagara in 1782, and that the first white child born there was Daniel Secord. William Van Every died in 1832, aged 67, and Elizabeth, his wife, born Dec. 1764, died in 1857. A pathetic story is told of members of the Van Every family and others in Ryerson's U. E. Loyalists.

Several German names occur as :

"In memory of Dinah, wife of Jacob Hostetter, second daughter of Joseph and Mary Van Every."

And near this a stone to Margaret Clow, wife of Daniel Ostrander, died 1824.

"In memory of Nancy, wife of Malum Swayze, born 1800, died 1828."

The christian names Lois and Charity, Asel and Christian, Peter, Stephen and David, frequently occur.

James Durham dying in 1832 attained the ripe age of 85.

In a square enclosed by a brick and stone wall are three old grey monumental stones, one to Jemima Hill who died in 1817, aged 18, another to "Mary Margaret, Dufelt, relict of the late Joseph Clement, died 1845, aged 80."

Another stone and iron enclosure has an old grey double stone to two children of Robert and Margaret McKinley, who died in 1811 and 1813 respectively.

A monument to Margaret A. Berninger, wife of Robert McKinley, born 1769, died 1860, aged 91.

The name Warner occurs again and again, and here are also besides those mentioned, Cain, Collard, etc. Christian Warner and Joseph Van Every were born here in 1809.

The first Methodist class-meeting in this district met at the house of Christian Warner 1788 and the church was built in 1801.

HOMER OR TEN MILE CREEK.

Two miles from St. Catharines is an old graveyard where were buried many of the U.E. Loyalists. Six stately elms stand in a line at one side while one lies prone near them.

How few of those who fell when Niagara was captured 27th May, 1813, have their names in consecrated ground, but here unexpectedly we find the name of one.

"Erected in memory of George Grass who was killed in the battle of Fort George, May 27th, 1813, aged 24 years."

A tablet in St. Mark's, Niagara, gives the names of four, the stone at Chautauqua marks the burial place of three unknown British soldiers who fell in that battle, and this of George Grass is the only other one we know.

Here are found the names of many of the Second family as—

"In memory of Solomon Secord, late Lieut. in Butler's Corps of Rangers, who departed this life Jan. 22, 1799, aged 43 years."

A large altar tomb has the inscription—

"Capt Jacob Ball, died July 24th, 1820, aged 43 years."

Another beside it—

"Elizabeth, wife of Jacob Ball, born 1790, died 1862."

We find from early records that Jacob Ball, the father, came in 1782 with his three sons, Peter, Jacob and John. A fourth son, George, came in 1784. They received a grant of land of 1,000 acres and there is still in possession of the Ball family in the township, 750 acres.

The names of Stull and Goring, Secord, Ball and Schram occur again and again and the fondness for scripture names of

the Puritans is shewn as Seth and Charity, Solomon, David and Jacob. Very often a verse with halting rhyme, metre or syntax closes the inscription. A double stone is divided perpendicularly for two inscriptions to husband and wife, a young couple aged 24 and 37 respectively. Below the words :—

“As God together did us join,
So He did part us for a time.
But now we both together lies
Till Christ shall call us to arise.”

Very few give the place of birth but those given are far distant as Yorkshire, Nova Scotia, Vermont.

“In memory of George Read, who was born at Brenton, in Yorkshire, England, 1763, and came to New York in 1773, to Canada in 1784, and departed this life Feb. 1834.

1784 was we know the year of the coming of the U. E. Loyalists.

“In memory of Margaret, wife of Col. Peter Hare, and formerly wife of Lieut. Solomon Secord, died 1851, aged 87 years. Erected by Mrs. R. Henery, My mother’s grave.”

ST. GEORGE’S CHURCH, ST. CATHARINES.

This is an old cemetery, we know of one at least buried here in 1812, but many bodies have been removed to the new cemetery, but we still find traces of many of the early settlers. In the life of Hon. Wm. Hamilton Merritt is frequently mentioned Shipman’s Corners, (near St. Catharines) and here is the name of its founder.

“In memory of Paul Shipman, born 1756, died 1825, aged 69 years.”

From him St. Paul’s street was named.

Here is also the record of the father of the projector of the Welland Canal.

“In memory of Thomas Merritt, Esq., Cornet of the Queen’s Rangers under Col. Simcoe during the American Revolution, and Major commanding the cavalry on this frontier in the war of 1812. Appointed Surveyor of Woods and Forests on 20th May, 1800, and Sheriff of the Niagara District, 5th October 1803. Departed this life 12th May, 1842, aged 83.”

The next inscription brings up the thought of the heroine, Laura Ingersoll Secord.

“In memory of Maria, relict of the late Charles Ingersoll, of Ingersoll, second daughter of Thos. and Marry Merritt, died 1850.”

It is sometimes forgotten that the town of Ingersoll was named after Charles Ingersoll.

In the journal of W. H. Merritt the name of his wife's father and mother frequently occur.

"In memory of Penelope, wife of Dr. J. Prendergast, born 1774, in South Kingston, state of Rhode Island, died at the residence of her son-in-law, William Hamilton Merritt."

"To the memory of Jedidiah Prendergast, M. D., who was born in Dutchess County, N. Y., died at his residence in Mayville, 1848."

This name occurs as one of the proprietors of the Niagara Library of 1800—1820. He then lived at Youngstown, N. Y. A large monument has this short inscription:—

"Commodore Job Northrop, a native of Woodbridge, Ct., born 1787; died 1833. He was noble hearted, generous and humane."

The monument was brought all the way from New Haven, Ct. In the memoir of Hon. W. H. Merritt, Northrop, is mentioned as generous and even lavish, driving fast horses, giving good dinners, spending money prodigally. Employed in the Bolivian service, on his return his role seemed to be to spend money. When his horses ran away the vehicle was given to the finder, and to his daughter after playing a tune on the piano, a bank note was often given.

"Sacred to the memory of the late Reverend Lewis Williams, a native of Hallan Carmarthenshire, South Wales, England; who labored a faithful minister and servant of God at this place for several years, departed this life 26th Sept. 1822, in his 63rd year much lamented."

"Here lieth the body of the Rev. Richard Lyons McArthur, M. A., Trinity College, Dublin, and for some months curate of St. George's church in this town, departed this life 1857."

"Caroline; daughter of James and Caroline Gordan, died 1814."

"In memory of Sarah, widow of Wm. Dummer Powell, died 1834, aged 54."

This must have been the wife of W. D. Powell, the lawyer of Queenston and one of the ten who formed the first Law Society in 1797, in U. Canada. From a letter in the possession of the Niagara Historical Society from Queenston, 1801, to Robert Nelles, 40 Mile Creek (now Grimsby) we learn that the couple had eloped and driven all the way to Niagara to be married by Rev. R. Addison, and the letter written to thank Col. and Mrs. Nelles for their help, also speaks of the fatiguing ride to Niagara.

ST. CATHARINES CEMETERY.

To this comparatively modern cemetery many bodies have been brought from private graveyards, or others being destroyed by the march of improvement. On an old grey stone may be read.

“In memory of Mrs. Hannah Frey, widow of the late Capt. Bernard Frey who died 1834, aged 76.”

On another close by, a well-known incident of the war of 1812 is recorded.

“Sacred to the memory of Capt. B. Frey, of his Majesty's late Corps of Butler's Rangers, who was killed by a cannon shot at Niagara, 22nd day of November, 1812, aged 58.”

The story is that he had picked up a cannon ball from the street and was carrying it under his arm when a spent ball from Fort Niagara struck that under his arm and he died in consequence, but without a wound. Part of the Frey family remained in the U.S., while this member preferred to join the U.E.L.'s in Canada.

Some well-known names follow, as

“In memory of Stephen A. Secord, died 1884, aged 83.”

— Samuel Street died at Thorold 1854, aged 62.

— “Sarah Street, beloved wife of John Gustavus Stevenson, died 1861, aged 37.”

— “In memory of Sarah Ingersoll, wife of Henry Mittleberger, born 1807, died 1826.

— “In memory of William Street Servos, born 1787, died 1857, and Catharine Ball his wife, born 1790, died 1875.”

— The bodies of the last two were removed from the Servos burying ground when the farm was sold.

An unpretentious stone records the projector of the Welland canal; that monument to his energy and foresight is quite near.

— “Hon. Wm. Hamilton Merritt, born July 3rd, 1793, died July 7th, 1862.”

— “Catharine Rodman Prendergast, beloved wife of Hon. W. H. Merritt, born 1793, died Jan 10th, 1862.”

It is remarkable that husband and wife were born in the same year and died in the same year.

— Hon. W. H. Merritt was Captain of Dragoons raised in the war of 1812, was taken prisoner at Lundy's Lane and was not released till the close of the war.

Two “beloved physicians” rest here.

— “Theophilus Mack, M.D., died 1881, aged 61. The wise beloved physician, the faithful friend of the poor and suffering, he

met death in conscious serenity, trusting with undoubting faith in the promises of the Redeemer. 'And I heard a voice write blessed are the dead.'"

On the other side "Galea Spes sa lu tis."

"In memory of Chas. Rolls, born at Prines Maston, Warwickshire, England, 1785, died 1867, also Henry Rolls, M.D., 1814-1887."

A monument to the father of Dr. Clark, who preserves the manuscript journal kept by his father Col. Clark from which have been gleaned many interesting particulars of early life in this province.

"In memory of Lieut. Col, John Clark, Canada Militia, born at Kingston, U.C., 1786 died at Walnut dale farm, Grantham, C. W., 1862, also his wife Sarah Adams, born at Queenston, U.C., 1751. died 1864."

A large enclosure is sacred to the families of St. John and Phelps as Lois St. John, wife of Samuel St. John, mother of Abigail Phelps, of Kent, Conn., born 1756, died 1849, aged 93."

"Orton Stone Phelps, 1812-1837, and Oliver Phelps of Conn., born 1779, died 1851."

A large vault has the name of Thos. Burns, the son of Rev. Jno. Burns, minister of Niagara and Stamford. Another has that of Richard Miller, Q C.

TURNEY GRAVEYARD,

About two miles from St. Catharines lie the remains of this family in which there were two famous soldiers, although here their names are not recorded. Particulars of the first are found in a memorial in the Canadian Archives.

'John Turney, Lieutenant in Butler's Rangers, born in Co. Down, Ireland, 1744, enlisted in King's 8th Regt., served as sergeant in Germany and America, and promoted to Butler's Rangers." In his memorial giving his services he says: "They (the Rangers) were Britons and the descendants of Britons and trained to arms, determined to transmit to posterity the rights that are dear to man, or nobly perish in the defence of our King, and God who never forsakes his people brought us through many dangers and trials."

His son, Capt. George Turney, of the 2nd Lincoln Militia, was killed at the battle of Chippawa, 5th July, 1814, that day so disastrous to our forces. The name was originally written Torney.

STAMFORD PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

The Presbyterian Church of Stamford was organized over a century ago, but unfortunately the early records are not complete. One of the oldest graves has this inscription :

“In memory of Leah, consort of John Rowe, who departed this life Sept. 5th, 1793, aged 25 years.”

John Rowe must apparently have soon taken another help-mate who also died young.

In memory of Mary, consort of John Rowe, who departed this life Mar. 4th, 1797, aged 22 years”

Capt. John Rowe, 2nd Lincoln Militia, was killed at Chippawa, 5th July 1814, and was formerly a sergeant in Butler's Rangers.

The following shows not only the early settlement of Stamford township but the strength of the bond between master and servant in those early days as shown by fifty years of service.

“In memory of Samuel Montgomery, who departed this life 28th October, 1838, in the 87th year of his age. He was a native of County Down, Ireland, and emigrated to America in the year 1768, and settled in Stamford, District of Niagara in 1788, in the family of the late Archibald Thomson, where he resided till his death.”

Another tombstone tells of James Thomson, a native of Roxburgh, Scotland, who settled in Stamford in 1785, dying in 1831, aged eighty. The epitaphs of eighty years ago sometimes show an originality in orthography and syntax as

“In memory of Susanna McMicking who departed this life Sept. 11th 1821, aged 30 years.

Epitaf S. U.

Underneath this stone doth ly
As much beauty as could die
Which when alive did vigger give
To as much virtue as could live.”

“In memory of Thomas McMicking, who was born April 11th, 1750, died Feb. 11th, 1830, in the 80th year of his age.

Stop passenger upon the road
Dont overlook this shrine
For if thou art a friend of God
Here lies a friend of thine.”

“In memory of James Middaugh, who departed this life June 1839, aged 79 years.

farewell my wife my
life is past—my love to
you so long did last. but
now no sorrow for me
take, belove my children
for my sake."

Here is another mosaic of History :

"Sacred to the memory of Daniel Keith, who died 28th Aug. 1824, by a fall from General Sir Isaac Brock's monument, aged 25."

The tragedy recorded above must have occurred during the erection of the first monument,

"In memory of Captain Giles Hall who departed this life Nov. 2nd, 1816, aged 67."

No doubt a veteran of the war of 1812, and the next a U. E. Loyalist.

— "In memory of Dorothy, wife of Abraham Vrooman, Senior, who was born in the State of New Jersey, April 16th, 1768. and died Oct. 12th, 1820, aged 52."

— To Andrew Murray who died on the Atlantic.

"In memory of a loved one
Who was both true and kind,
For health upon the ocean
He sought but could not find "

The faithful pastor for almost thirty years is thus commemorated.

— "In memory of the Rev. John Russell, D.D., pastor of the Associate Presbyterian congregation of Stamford, who died Mar. 3rd, 1854, in the 58th year of his age, and 28th of his ministry. 'After he had served this generation by the will of God he fell on sleep'; 'Be thou faithful unto death and I will give thee a crown of life.'

Requiescat in Pace."

— This congregation is believed to be the only one in Canada of the kind and is in connection with churches of the U.S. In the Session book it is called the Associate Presbyterian Society.

ST. JOHN'S ANGLICAN CHURCH.

This church was built in Stamford in 1825 when Sir Peregrine Maitland had his residence in this beautiful spot, an ideal English village, its village green, still sacred to football and other games, — it is said was laid out by the Governor. The records of the church as kept by Rev, Wm. Leeming from 1818 to 1837, are

complete. None of the inscriptions are so old as those of the church nearly opposite, as 1833 was the oldest date found here.

Here is another bit of history of a later date, that of the Fenian Raid of 1866.

“Pro Patria ac Regina

John Herriman Mewburn, Toronto University Rifles, 2nd Battalion, Queen's Own, only son of Harmon Chiltern Mewburn, killed at Limeridge, June 2nd, 1866, fighting in defence of his native land against Fenian invaders, aged 21 years.”

This the son of Dr. Mewburn with other students went from Examination Halls. The University Company lost most heavily, three of the number giving up their young lives, Mewburn, McKenzie, Tempest.

“In memory of the Hon. Jacob Æmelius Irving of Ironshore, Jamaica, a member of the Legislative Council of the Province of Canada, and formerly of the 13th Light Dragoons, was wounded at Waterloo, born 1797, died at Drummondville, 1856.”

His widow died in her 91st year. We are told in a late paper of his fine literary taste, histrionic skill and fine baritone voice. Drove four-in-hand from Bonshaw on Yonge st, He was the son of Paulus Æmelius Irving, who was at the capture of Quebec.

Another military man is buried here.

“In memory of Matthew Ottley who died in 1845, in his 72nd year. His early life was spent in H. M. Service 23 years as Paymaster of the 82nd Regt.. came to Canada in 1827.

“Sacred to the memory of Andrew Ruback, born in New Jersey, Lieut.-Col. of 2nd Lincoln Regt., died at Stamford 1843.”

“In memory of Richard, son of late Rev. Bearmont Dixie, Rector of St. Peter's Derby, brother of the late Baronet of that name, born 1782, died 1834.”

“In memory of Robert H. Dee, who died in 1833.”

There are in the church five memorial windows; principally to the families of Dee and Mewburn.

LUNDY'S LANE.

What memories cluster round this spot! The scene of a battle the most stubbornly contested in the war of 1812, a burial ground before that date and now here stands a stately monument, an obelisk erected at a cost of \$5,000 by the Dominion Government, from the persistent efforts of the Lundy's Lane Historical Society, headed by the Rev. Canon Bull as President, and James Wilson, Secretary. The inscription reads :

“Erected by the Canadian Parliament in honor of the victory gained on 25th July, 1814, by the British and Canadian forces, and in grateful remembrance of the brave men who died on the field of battle fighting for the Unity of the British Empire.”

Close by is a beautiful church, built by the munificent gift of the late Wm. Lowell, the roar of Niagara's torrent lending its voice as an everlasting requiem to those who lie here on Drummond's Hill. Why has the name of the village been changed from Drummondville to Niagara Falls South, making the confusion of names only more confounded? To this neglected graveyard, that of the village and not of the church, at one time weed grown, with thorns and briars contesting for supremacy, perhaps is due much of the historical work done in the last two decades of years. Rev. Canon Bull and Mr. Fenwick, High School teacher, formed an Historical Society and commenced with the work nearest at hand, putting in order the grounds. Meetings were held, the public interested, historical pamphlets written, Parliament petitioned, till at last the monument was erected, and in the vault lie the remains of several officers and men which have been re-interred with fitting honors. How different now the scene from that night when men came from the harvest field to help on that field of blood where the next day a funeral pile of the dead was consumed in smoke and flame. And here on this battle field let military heroes have precedence.

“Sacred to the memory of Lieut. Col. the Hon. Cecil Bishopp 1st Foot Guards and inspecting officer in U. C., eldest and only surviving son of Sir Cecil Bishopp, Bart. Baron de la Zonche in England. After having served with distinction in the British army in Holland, Spain and Portugal, he died on the 16th July, 1813, in consequence of wounds received in action with the enemy at Black Rock. the 13th of the same month, to the great grief of his family and friends, and is buried here. This tomb erected at the time by his brother officers, becoming very much dilapidated, is now, 1816, renewed by his affectionate sisters, the Baroness de la Zonche and the Hon. Mrs. Peckell in memorial of an excellent man and beloved brother.”

“To the memory of Lieut. Col. Gordon and Capt. Torrens of the Royals, killed at Fort Erie during the campaign of 1814. Erected by Major Barry Fox, late of said Regt., their friend and companion, June 20th, 1851.”

Here must have been a real friendship after nearly forty years, showing the falsity of Swinburne's line.

“What love was ever as deep as the grave?”

"Sacred to the memory of Robert Dossie Patterson, Captain in the 6th Regt. of Infantry Royal 1st Warinckshire, who after serving under Sir John Moore and the Duke of Wellington, throughout the Peninsular War, fell before Fort Erie at the age of 26, Sept. 17th, 1814."

Sacred to the memory of Lieut. Wm. Hemphill, of the Royals who fell at the battle of Lundy's Lane on the 25th July, 1814. This stone was placed by his son Lieut.-Col Hemphill, of the 26th Cameronians, July 17th, 1854."

So far as known there is only one American buried here but in their nameless graves lie here peacefully those who fought as foes that hot July day alternately holding the hill till midnight, when our men were left in possession.

"Here lies the body of Abraham E Hull, Captain in the 9th Regt. of U. S. Infantry, who fell near this spot in the battle of Bridgewater, July 25th, 1814, aged 28 years."

Here was a large gathering to witness the ceremony of re-interring the remains of American soldiers, and the unique spectacle of this international funeral, for both U. S. and Canadian soldiers took part. The inscription reads. "The remains of nine soldiers of the 9th Regiment of United States Infantry. Killed at Lundy's Lane, July 25th, 1814, Re-interred Oct. 19th 1901."

In American histories the battle of Lundy's Lane is called Bridgewater.

"In memory of Philip Chesman Delatre, late Lieut.-Col. in the British army, born 1777, died 1848."

"In memory of Major Richard Leonard, formerly of H. M. 104th Lt. Infantry, who died Oct. 1833."

"In memory of Alex. Ross No. 2. Co. 93rd Highlanders, who died 11th Oct. 1846, aged 24 years This monument is erected by his comrades as a token of their respect."

"Sacred to the memory of Duncan Elphinstone Todd Esq., late a Captain in Her Majesty's 37th Regt. of foot who died Oct. 1837, aged 30 years."

Another page of history is unrolled by the two following inscriptions referring to two on opposite sides, each ill-treated in the troublous times of misrule leading to or during the Rebellion.

"In memory of Robert Randall Esq., M.P., the victim of Colonial Misrule, who died May 2nd, 1834, aged 66 years."

In Lindsay's life of W. L. McKenzie in an impassioned speech occurs the name of Randall as a victim.

"Here rests in the hope of a joyful resurrection the mortal remains of Edgeworth Ussher Esq., whose devotion to his sovereign and exertions in the cause of his country at a critical period



LAURA SECORD'S MONUMENT,
LUNDY'S LANE.

in the history of Canada marked him out as an object of the vengeance of the enemies of peace and good order by whom he was cruelly assassinated on the night of the 16th Nov., 1838, in his own house near Chippewa, at the early age of 34 years, leaving a wife and four children to mourn their irreparable loss."

But are there no inscriptions to the mothers of our land? First let us give that on an unpretentious stone, but which none the less records the name of a heroine indeed.—Laura Secord, who, when Niagara was in the hands of the Americans and a force was sent to Beaverdams to cut off our small force there, walked nineteen miles through mud and mire, in danger from marauders, red or white, wild beasts as well, to give warning, and thus helped to bring about the surrender of the attacking force. These simple words—no more, were all that marked till lately the heroine's grave.

"Here rests Laura Secord, beloved wife of James Secord, died Oct. 17th, 1868, aged 93 years."

But in the summer of 1901 was unveiled a bronze bust on a stone pedestal with an inscription that tells the story.

"To perpetuate the name and fame of Laura Secord, who on the 23rd of June, 1813, walked alone nearly twenty miles by a circuitous, difficult and perilous route through woods and swamps over many roads, to warn a British outpost at De Cew's Falls of an intended attack and thereby enabled Lieutenant FitzGibbon on the 24th June, 1813, with less than fifty men of Her Majesty's 49th Regiment, about 15 militiamen and a similar force of six nations and other Indians under Captains William Johnson, Kerr and Dominique Ducharme to surprise and attack the enemy at Beachwood or Beaver Dams, and after a short engagement to capture Col. Boerstler, of the U. S. Army and his entire force of 542 men with two field pieces. This monument erected by the Ontario Historical Society from contributions of schools, societies, Her Majesty's 49th Regiment, other militia organizations and private individuals, was unveiled 22nd of June, 1901."

The honor of first starting the scheme is due to Rev. Canon Bull of the Lundy's Lane Historical Society. It languished for some time but was finally taken up by the Ontario Historical Society, and the chief honor is due to Mrs. Thompson, the convener of the committee, by whose energy and zeal it has been carried out so successfully in the midst of many difficulties, carrying out the dying wishes of the late lamented Mrs. Curzon whose writings first drew attention to the deeds of Laura Secord. Hundreds of children contributed their mites, the idea being to have it a free will offering and not to ask for a government grant.

"In memory of Mary Earl, grand-daughter of Sir William

Johnson Bart, who died 10th of April, 1820, aged 20 years, 6 months."

This last is on the Street lot.

"Erected by the Presbyterians, of Drummondville, to the memory of Marion Watson, the beloved wife of Rev. Wm. Dickson; who died 24th of April, 1859, aged 32 years. 'A woman who feareth the Lord she shall be praised.' Prov. 31. 30."

The first interment in this cemetery is supposed to have been that recorded below.

"In memory of John Burch Esq., who departed this life March 7th, 1797, aged 55."

The name Street is well represented here as well as in the neighborhood as Street's Mills, Street's Island etc. Samuel Street was the wealthiest man of the district.

"Sacred to the memory of Samuel Street, of the Niagara Falls, Born at Farmington Connecticut, March 14th, 1775. He settled in this District A. D. 1795 and died August 21st, 1844."

The name of Thankful, Nehemiah and Abigail Street are found, also Thomas Clark Street, M P, who died at Clark's mills. The husband of Laura Secord, who was wounded at Queenston Heights is thus recorded.

"In memory of James Secord, Collector of Customs, who departed this life 22nd February, 1841, aged 68."

CHIPPAWA.

The graveyard round Trinity Church is evidently old, as around the three sides may be seen the stumps of rows of immense trees which from their weather worn appearance must have been cut down long ago. From the fact of this having been the scene of a battle we might expect to find the graves of many military men but evidently these had all been "heaped and pent, rider and horse in one red burial blent" for here they are not found. The names most frequently occurring are well known to those who have studied the early history of this old settlement. Cummings, Clark, Street, Macklem, McMicking, Kirkpatrick. Here are found names showing foreign origin as Rapalje, Hugoe, Ives, Vinnidy, Bliling, Shoemaker, Sibbit, etc.

Close to the church in an enclosure covered closely with vines are two handsome headstones commemorating the first minister, whose register of births, deaths and marriages from 1820 to 1837 has lately been found.

"Sacred to the memory of Rev. Wm. Leeming, late rector of

this parish. who was appointed a missionary to Canada by the society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts in March 1820, born Feb. 25th, 1787, died June 1st, 1863. Thy will be done."

"Sacred to the memory of Margaret Hickson, for thirty years and upwards the affectionate wife of Wm. Leeming, first minister here, born October 21st, 1777, died April 6th, 1853."

In a large square enclosure of stone and iron are two of the old altar tombstones.

"Sacred to the memory of Thomas Clark, a native of Dumfries, Scotland, who died in 1837, aged 67, and for more than twenty years was an independent member of the Legislative Council of this province, having lived in this province from its earliest settlement, and by persevering industry and strict integrity procured for him general respect, while his kind disposition and becoming deportment endeared him to numerous friends, by whom his death will be long and deeply lamented. His sisters in grateful recollection of their affectionate brother have erected this tablet to his memory."

That to his wife is in similar form with a short and simple inscription.

"Sacred to the memory of Mary Margaret Clark, wife of the Honorable Thomas Clark, and daughter of Robert Kerr Esq. late Surgeon of the militia department in this province, who died in 1837, aged 45."

In another enclosure.

"In memory of Thomas Macklem, fifth son of James and Lydia Macklem, born at Chippawa 1817, died at Magnolia, East Florida, 1859."

On the other side, "James Cummings eldest child of Thomas C. and Caroline Macklem. Drowned in the Niagara river at Clark Hill, and whose body unhappily was not recovered. His mother thus denied the consolation of laying it near his father has caused this inscription to be placed here to commemorate his birth 1852, and his melancholy death, May 6th, 1860."

In another enclosure are inscriptions.

"In memory of James Cummings, born 1789, died 1875, and Sophia his wife, born 1800, died 1878, also Ann Macklem, his sister, born 1800, died 1886."

James Cummings was the son of Thomas Cummings, the first settler at Chippawa, coming in 1784, being Town Clerk, Justice of the Peace, performing marriages in that capacity. The books kept from 1796 by him and his son James are models of neatness and methodical habits.

Another large enclosure of stone and iron with many tombstones.

"In memoriam Oliver T. Macklem, fourth son of James and Lydia Macklem. On a square pedestal is a marble female figure life size, "to the eldest daughter of James and Adelaide Macklem, died at Toronto 1889, aged 25."

One soldier's grave was found.

"In memory of Adam Ormsbry Esq. late Major of the 3rd Dragoon Guards, who died 9th October, 1835."

On old stones are inscriptions to J. Kirkpatrick, 1831, and Jane Cockrott, his wife and a late one to Mary Howat Hurrell, daughter of John Kirkpatrick, also Mary Other McMicking, beloved wife of George McMicking.

As showing distant place of birth.

"Thomas Craine, born in Douglas, Isle of Man, and Ludwig Billig and Frederick, wife of Ludwig Billig."

PRESBYTERIAN GRAVEYARD CHIPPAWA.

Here the names are almost all either of Scottish or German origin, the former predominating, as Menzies, Meiklejohn, McKenzie, Dobbie, Fleming, Gowanlock, Aberdeen and Flett, Kister, Lehrback, Oeppling, Lutes, Snider, Herber, and the places of birth, Dumbarton, Stirling, Banff, Renfrew, South Carolina and Alsace etc.

A granite monument is in memory of a valued physician and dignitary of the church.

"In memory of Robert Aberdeen, M.R.C.S.E., born in Bervie, Kincardineshire, Scotland, born 1808, died 1879."

Here is the record of a railway tragedy.

"Elizabeth wife of John Copfer, killed by accident at Ashtabula, Ohio, Dec, 29th, 1876."

And two from the German fatherland.

"In memory of Nicholas Willick, died March 25th, 1894, aged 78, a native of Upper Alsacé, Germany."

And on an iron cross.

"M. Herber Gestorben 7th January, 1862, 70' jahr, and H. Herber Gestorben, 5th October, 1869, 79 jahr,"

"Sacred to the memory of Thomas Fleming, a native of Lochwinnoch, Renfrewshire, Scotland, 1813—1861."

In that to Jeanie Fleming, wife of Addison Waud is another example that the name of the first minister of Niagara was kept in memory

The name of Jason Mogge, son of Jason and Caroline Plato, recalls the name of the Plato graveyard near Fort Erie.

One of the few verses in this graveyard is of a higher order than the frequent doggerel,

“Now low in earth
That form of love decays unseen
Yet not forgot
Above in angel light arrayed
Beyond the stars
Some more exalted form
His spirit wears.”

THOROLD—DECEASED'S.

Near this was the spot sought by Laura Secord in her memorable walk 23rd June, 1813. On a hillside is an old graveyard, some of the dates going back to the time of the war.

“In memory of George Couke, who departed this life Dec. 4th, 1812, aged 55.”

His wife buried beside him must have survived him many years, dying 1838, aged 86. We learn from other sources that George Couke was a private in the 2nd Lincoln Militia.

Andrew Hansel, born 1747, died 16th May, 1818, aged 70, and John Hansel May 29th, 1813.

George Hoover died 15th February 1827, aged 90.

In an iron fence enclosure with a large Aberdeen granite monument.

“In memory of Jonathan Hagar, died October 10th 1813, his wife Azubah, died 1847, aged 78.” Also Mahitable, daughter of Jonathan and Azubah Hagar.

Mary Seburn and Stephen Seburn died in 1828 and 1830 respectively. The name Swayze occurring in the first Parliament, also the name given to a delicious apple of this peninsula is here found.

“In memory of Hannebel, son of Malum and Mehitabel Swayze.”

“Mary Swayze wife of Hiram Swayze, died 1818 aged 32.”

Is this an ancestor of one of our missionaries in China?

“In memory of Thomas Goforth, died 1844, aged 88.”

It is remarkable how few here give the place of birth but that below shows pride of country though destitute or almost so of capital letters.

“Sacred to the memory of Wallace Bell, who departed this life August 31st 1828, aged 35, he was a native of Colcleugh, Northumberland, old England.

Here Wallace Bell lies in the dust
When his time comes to die he must.”

The rest is indecipherable.

On one stone is the name of Jacob Hansel and in that beside it Israel Hansel near them Oran Theal, Zalmm Theal, and the names, Tuer, Marlatt, Lutz, Metler, Griffiths, Hopkins are found and among Christian names Ephraim, Andrew, Jacob, many reaching extreme old age as 88, 93 etc. Many old stones are chipped so as to be unreadable.

A short distance from this is the Decew Church with a graveyard of later date with the names of Detler, Warner, Ash and Fawell, Merethew, Vanderburgh. An inscription in German with the English translation below.

“Anna Marie Egister, Ehefrau von Joseph Ziegler gest d 17 Mai 1874 alter 29 Jahre.”

The verse following the next inscription rises above the ordinary range.

— “In memory of Rebecca, wife of Hugh James, Sr. born in Locherea, Ireland, born 1775, died 1860, aged 73.

Rest weary head
Lie down to slumber in the peaceful tomb
Light from above has broken through the gloom
Here in the place where once thy Saviour lay
Where He shall wake thee in a future day
Like a tired child upon its mother's breast
Rest sweetly rest.”

LUTHERAN CHURCH.

In the register kept by Rev. Wm. Leeming, of Stamford and Chippawa, is often mentioned as the place of marriage burial or baptism, the “German Church” and here near Thorold is the graveyard, although the church no longer exists, as it was taken down to make way for the new canal. Many of the bodies buried here were removed to the beautiful new cemetery but the greater

part of the old graveyard remains. The site is fine undulating ground, almost hill and valley. While copying inscriptions in this city of the dead it was strange to see a vessel passing so close to us that we could hear every word spoken.

The church was built chiefly by the exertions of George Keefer, whose history is the history of the early days of Thorold, he having been the earliest settler. His body was removed with the old stone which bears the simple inscription.

"Sacred to the memory of George Keefer, born in Sussex County colony of New Jersey, Nov. 8th, 1773, died at Thorold, June 28th, 1858, aged 84 years."

He was the director of the Welland Canal Co., and turned the first sod. In the history of Thorold are the pictures of him self, his two wives and fifteen children. His first wife was Catharine Lampman, and here no doubt is a memorial of an ancestor of the gifted poet Lampman, who died so lately at Ottawa.

"In memory of Peter Lampman, who died in 1834, aged 86. He came from New York to this province in 1783 with his family and has resided fifty years in the township of Niagara. He was always a pious, faithful and respectable member of the German Lutheran Church."

In the marriage record of the Stamford Associate Church nearly all the licenses were granted by Robert Grant Esq., and here is his grave.

'Sacred to the memory of Robert Grant Esq. born at Inverness, Scotland, 16th Nov. 1776, died at Queenston, U.C., 16th May, 1838. This monument is erected by his daughter Christina, wife of Jacob Keefer Esq., of Thorold."

Here occur the well known names of Ball, Clement, Hoover, Seburn, Field, Ker.

Walter H. Ball died in 1822 and Jane Catharine Ball in 1818, while Henry Clement Ball born in 1789 and Mary Ball born in 1796, must have been born here soon after the family came in 1782, Charity Ann Hoover was buried here in 1829, Margaret Hoover in 1826 and Jacob Ball in 1819.

ALLANBURGH.

The land for this graveyard was given to the village by Mr. John Vanderburgh, who came in 1781 and obtained 700 acres. The oldest grave is

"In memory of Noah Davis, son of Wright Davis, who departed this life Dec. 29th, 1813, aged 21 yrs."

"In memory of Mary Crysler who departed this life on the

14th Dec. 1815, in the 52nd year of her age.”

Deborah Davis, wife of Thaddens Davis, died in 1818, aged 82, and Captain Davis 1830, aged 55. Across the street was an inscription to Major A. Upper, who died Sept. 21st, 1853, aged 82, also Jos. Upper jr. aged 76.

The names of Chrysler, Vanalstone, Upper, Swayzie, Bump, Moshier, Walkinshaw, Rannie, are found here.

WELLAND, BURGER'S.

Near Welland close to the canal is an old private burying plot belonging to the Burger family in which is found great uniformity, as at least a dozen white marble slabs can be seen with a weeping willow carved at the top. The oldest interment is thus recorded.

“Sacred to the memory of Ann, wife of Joseph Burger, born 1774, died 1814.”

Joseph Burger himself was born 1773 died 1848, and a second wife also Ann died 1833.

Joseph Priestman, aged 79 and Peter Burger and many others of the same name lie here on this corner as it were between the river and canal. Also near Welland is the Farr burying place where a Methodist Church formerly stood.

Here are buried Farr's and Brown's, where now cattle roam at will.

BROWN PLOT.

Across the river is the home of Miss Brown who has an interesting old account book dating back to 1793 showing accounts of a distillery in Chippawav as it is spelled.

The great grandfather, Lieut, Jno. Brown was one of the first settlers on the Welland river, fought at the side of Wolfe at Quebec and assisted to carry him from the field when wounded, as narrated by his grand-daughter and found stated in “Wolfeland” that he was supported by Lieut, Brown of the Grenadiers; a young Irishman born about 1739, and thus about twenty. He returned to Ireland, married, came to New Jersey and to Canada in 1789. On the Brown farm originally 300 acres, is the burial place of the old soldier, a creek meanders its way, solemn pines wave their branches, and an oak tree stands between the graves of

husband and wife. A pathetic interest attaches to the spot, for here an old negro and his wife who had faithfully nursed Capt. John Brown when ill with smallpox, are buried. The son Alexander Brown, who was in the Incorporated Militia in 1812, is buried on the Farr farm, and his son, Capt. John Brown, who was out in the Rebellion is interred at Fonthill.

FONTHILL, QUAKER GRAVEYARD

There are here two old Quaker graveyards, the two meeting houses still stand, the one of brick, the other a small frame building.

These early settlers, Menmonites and Quakers seemed to have carried out their ideas of plainness and simplicity in their last resting place. Rows and rows of low stones not more than a foot high above the ground but in some cases a foot square, sloping back, the inscription merely name and age, not even the birthplace is recorded; no titles, no praise, no high sounding epitaph. There are a few attempts to ape modern ideas, higher stones and in one case a low granite monument dares to raise its head, showing that modern ideas begin to prevail. In the oldest graveyard rows and rows of graves with nothing to mark their identity, merely a rough common stone from the field without even initials. A few low stones similar to those in the last graveyard are seen. Frequently the expression 9th month, 3rd month occurs instead of our names of Latin origin. None of the stones with names are very old showing that in early days even this slight mark of remembrance was condemned and looked on as unnecessary. The oldest is to Eliza Carl died 1826. Many reached old age as Thomas Spencer, aged 88. Peter Singer, died 1869, aged 81, Jacob Gainer born 1815, died 1900, aged 85. Jane Laird relict of late Samuel Taylor, aged 81. A few have a line of quotation as

“Orin Bemis born 1809, died 1886

Gathered into the garner.”

“James Spencer died 12th day of 3rd month, 1870.”

“Jonathan Page aged 79, died in the 8th day of 10th month.

We will meet on the other shore.”

“Hannah Gould died 1850

Sacred fore'er from busy life
They sleep in this lone spot
But oh amid earths joys
They ne'er shall be forgot.”

A young wife has a modern stanza.

"Margaret Beckett wife of John Vanderburgh died 1878, aged 29.

Do you mourn when another star
Shines forth in the evening sky ?
Do you weep when the noise of war
Or the rage of the conflict die ?
Then why should your tears roll down
Or your hearts be sorely riven
For another gem in the Saviour's Crown
For another soul in Heaven ?"

The names of Chester, Carl, Taylor, Betts, Hill, McAlpin occur frequently.

FONT HILL CEMETERY.

"In memory of Geo. Misener died August 17th, 1802, aged 18 months 1 day. The first grave in this yard."

"In memory of John Misener died August 23rd, 1832, aged 12 years, 10 months 17 day."

We learn from residents that this is misleading as the statement of the first grave refers to the latter inscription as the body of the child who died in 1802, was brought here afterwards, no doubt from a family burial plot.

In old Niagara papers the name of D'Everardo suggesting a French origin occurs frequently in the official advertisements.

"In memory of Dexter D'Everardo, born in Paris, France, 28th Dec., 1814, died at Welland, Ont., July 28th 1891 Registrar of Deeds 1852. Registrar of Surrogate Court 1856. First appointment in Welland County."

Mr. D'Everardo was also Superintendent of schools in the united counties of Lincoln and Welland before their separation.

Here lies a patriarch indeed who reached far past the Psalmist's three score years and ten.

"In memory of Elijah Phelps, who died March 15th, 1843, aged 103 years."

"In memory of Jean, beloved wife of John Watson, formerly of H. B. M. Royal Artillery, died Jan. 19th, 1865, aged 50 years. Also Elizabeth their daughter, who was drowned in the Welland river, April 29th, 1865, aged 15 years."

"In memory of John Frazer, M. D., born in Ayrshire, Scotland, March 14th, 1806, died Oct. 7th. 1882."

Dr. Frazer was long a member of Parliament for Welland.

"In memory of Jacob Brackbill, born Feb. 1st, 1777, died 26th, August, 1847. Sarah beloved wife of Jacob Brackbill, born 4th Jan. 1779, died 21st April, 1846."

The following is one of the first interments.

"In memory of Catharine wife of Thos. Bald, who departed this life April 18th, 1834, aged 38 years."

"In memory of Robert Hobson, Sheriff of Welland for 25 years, Died August 16th, 1881, aged 76 years."

A teacher and apparently a stranger, has his name preserved by those among whom he labored.

"Fides ad astra.

Erected by a few friends in memory of Freeman Eldridge, for a number of years a school teacher in Pelham, A native of Maine U. S., who died Sept. 26th, 1845, aged 40 years. Requescat in Pace."

Whether these were twin brothers who died at the same age is not quite clear.

"In memory of Thomas Rice, M. D., who died Nov. 7th, 1864, aged 31.

Also Harley Rice, who died Jan. 24th, aged 31.

Thomas Rice was drowned in Mississippi river near Grand Gulf while in service of the U. S.

The remains of Harley Rice are interred here."

FORT ERIE ST. PAUL'S CHURCH.

Since this is an old settlement and here so much fighting occurred in the war of 1812 it might be expected that there would be found the graves of many military heroes, and indeed military and naval heroes abound, but there are few dates farther back than 1820 in any of the numerous graveyards here, At that dreadful holocaust when the explosion occurred at the attack on Fort Erie no doubt the most were buried where they fell. It has been already seen that one naval hero was buried at Niagara and another at Lundy's Lane. Many retired officers must have settled down here as—witness.

"This monument as a tribute of love and affection is erected by their thirteen surviving children to William Stanton, Staffordshire, England Dep. Ass. Com. General, died 12th June, 1833 aged 77."

Here lie three members of one family, a father and two sons, all officers.

Lieut.-Col Arthur Jones, C. B. 71st Regt. 1836,

Lieut. Arthur Jones 71st Regt. 1856.

Lieut. P. Jones R. N, 1839."

In Niagara we have already seen the record of Col. Kingsmill and two sons also officers.

“Sacred to the memory of Col. John Warren, J. P. and M. P. P. for the county of Haldimand, who departed this life 5th Sept. 1832.

— Deeply and deservedly regretted.”

— It is told of this veteran that he was defeated in a Parliamentary Election by John Brant who was however unseated, being an Indian.

An East Indian veteran has on his tombstone within a medallion surmounted by a crown, an elephant, in the circle around the words Hindoostan Peninsula LXXVI. Major Routh 1849, aged 65.”

In the United Service Journal it is told of Benjamin Routh that he had fought at Copenhagen and was one of those who laid the gallant Sir John Moore in his grave in the ramparts of Corunna “the sod with their bayonets turning.” Five days after his death his Peninsular medal arrived with clasps for Nivelle and Corunna,

“Sacred to the memory of Col. the Hon. Jas. Kirby, 2nd Lincoln Militia, died June 20th 1854, aged 69 He was a faithful subject of the Crown and for his gallantry during the war of 1812 received the thanks of his country and was presented with a valuable sword by the Leg. Assembly of U. C. In private life he was esteemed for his amiable qualities, his generous and benevolent disposition and for his exemplary character as a parent, a friend and a Christian.”

A tablet and a monument commemorate the first rector of the parish.

— “Sacred to the memory of Rev. Jno. Anderson born 1805, died 1849. For twenty years rector.”

— Near Fort Erie are numerous family burying plots on the farms of the first settlers.

McAFEE GRAVEYARD.

An old frame building no longer used is called the McAfee Church and opposite it the enclosure with graves. Of Mr. McAfee it is said that he was a sympathizer with Wm. Lyon McKenzie who came here after the skirmish at Montgomery's tavern and crossed the river from this place. The name occurs thus,

"In memory of Veronica, wife of Daniel McAfee, died 1850, aged 50."

Here lies an old Butler's Ranger.

"Lewis Mabée died Oct. 12th 1823, aged 85."

A small stone has an inscription in German.

"Hier - ruhet der verstorbene Benjamin Hersche ward geböhren im iahr 1741 und gestorben im iahr 1820 den 29 October." The original spelling in this and other instances is reproduced.

GRAHAM FAMILY BURYING GROUND.

The Graham enclosure with beautiful forest trees near, seems to have been used by several families who buried their dead in long rows. Here is a well known name.

"In memory of James Wintermute, born March 17th, 1782, died June 25th, 1858."

"In memory of Richard Graham born 1759, died Dec. 15th, 1812, aged 53."

HERSHEY FAMILY BURYING GROUND.

"Not far from this is the Hershey plot, this being the English spelling of the name Hersche and here occurs in this neighborhood almost the only reference to the place of birth.

"In memory of Benjamin Hershey, born Lancaster Co. Pa. 1776. Come to Canada 1795, died 1831, aged 55." This is doubtless a son of the Benjamin mentioned before.

Here are found the names of Abraham, Randolph, and Christian Hershey all attaining great age.

PLATO FAMILY BURYING GROUND.

This is about two miles from the village. The name is spelled Platow in the original map, the family came from the Mohawk valley and the name is found in Butler's Rangers. Here may be seen the names Benner, Beam, Jansen, Sabine, Spear, and among the christian names are Cornelius, Christian, Christianna, Jacob, etc. In a graveyard near St. John's Church is the name of another Ranger.

"In memory of John G. Anger died 1813, in his 77th year. Abigail his wife died in her 81st year."

Many German names are found as Rohr, Huffman, Jansen ;

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, BERTIE.

the names Scarlett and House occur frequently and again extreme age is recorded.

In this graveyard are found several inscriptions which if not of historic or poetic value are amusing or otherwise interesting.

A tombstone with the accustomed yew tree has the words.

"Alas poor Powell who departed this life 25th January, 1867, aged 66."

We learn his first name from the next stone.

"In memory of Rebecca wife of William Powell."

Whither Isaac Brock who died 1864, aged 41, selected the following lines showing very primitive taste, or whether selected by his friends we know not.

"Isaac Brock is my name
Canada is my nation
Canada is my dwelling place
And Heaven is my expectation."

Not satisfied with this, four lines of the same order follow, although heard of before only now did I actually see this old rhyme.

"When I am dead and in my grave
And all my bones are rotten
This little verse will tell my name
When I am quite forgotten."

"For Thomas Spedding who died in 1876" a more dignified verse is selected.

"I have fought the good fight I have kept the faith."

A Loyalist and his wife attained great age.

"In memory of John Laur who died 1844, aged 83, and Sarah his wife aged 89."

The lines following are certainly original and unique if not poetic.

"In memory of Isaac H. Jun. son of Isaac H. and Meryum Allen.

I. H. to visit friends did go
Was to return in a day or so
But sickness overtook him soon
Sleeping in death he was brought home.
He's gone the loved and cherished one
Like some bright star he passed away
Death claimed his victim and he sank
Calm as the sun's expiring ray
No more we'll hear at morn
His feet upon the stair
Death hath our I. H. borne
From this world of care."

As a contrast to this we find a few lines from Longfellow's beautiful poem Resignation on a more modern stone,
"In memory of Lawrence Zimmerman died 1889, aged 25.

There is no death
What seems so is transition
This life of mortal breath
Is but the suburbs of the life Elysian
Whose portals we call death."

Here are found the names Duncklee, Buck, Wilds, Adair, Shotwell, Stowe, Spedding, Stevenson, Hibberd, Krafft, Knoll, Miller.

A drive along the beautiful Ridge road past the scene of the battle of Ridgeway brought us to Zion Methodist Church and the first tombstone commemorates one of a well known family.

' Sacred to the memory of Rev. S. E. Ryerson, Methodist Episcopal minister, who died April 1863, aged 51.

Servant of God well done
The glorious warfare passed
The battle's fought the race is won
And thou art crowned at last."

This populous graveyard has many foreign names, several of them Royalist families and many have attained great ages as
"Joseph Danner aged 95 died 1870. Rebecca his wife, aged 82.

Josiah Bearss died 1879, aged 87."

The names Zavitz, Plato, Burger, Leiffer, Krafft, Jansen, Anger, Teal, Paulus, Athol, Fliege, Haworth, Rice, Ellsworth are found.

A pastor's wife is thus spoken of

"In memory of Maggie, beloved wife of Rev. J. W. Butler, died 1872.

She was beautiful, affable and Christian."

"Chauncey M. Hibbard and Asenath Humphrey his wife" a mingling of American and Egyptian names,

An inscription in German is also found here,

"Andenkenan Anna R. Singer Geb. 7 Sep. 1806, Gest. 5 Feb. 1886, alt 79 jhr.

Unser Leben vahret siebenzig.
Jahr und vemis hoch Koinnt so
Sund's achtzig und vemis Kost
lich gevesen is; so ist's
Muhe und arbeit gevesen."

This somewhat free translation of the words of Moses in the 90th Psalm is not in orthography or syntax above criticism but the words are appropriate for one who had passed the three score and ten limit.

RIDGEWAY.

At Ridgeway the oldest inscription was 1836. The names of Schooley, Hershey, Gorham, Disher, Sloss, Troup, Tuttle, Fite, Vabery, Deckont, Hannsen, show foreign origin.

A striking line seen here lingers in the memory.

"She always made home happy."

BENNER FAMILY BURYING PLACE.

In this small enclosure are ten graves of which eight are Benners, all recording great ages as 81, 84, 88, and one even reaching 99. Jacob Benner one of Butler's Rangers died in 1817 and his wife Susanna in 1822, aged 99. One wife is recorded as having been 27 years older than her husband.

MENNONITE GRAVEYARD TP. CLINTON.

"In memory of John Claus, who was born April 10th, 1730, and departed this life June 18th, 1824, aged 94 years.

"Daniel Hock, Gebohren Den 11 ten April, 1773. is Gestorben Den 20 ten November, 1812, Hat Gilebt 39 Jahr 7 months und 9 tags."

DISCIPLES CHURCH JORDAN.

"In memory of Peter Hare, Senior, who was born May 11th, 1748, and departed this life April 6th, 1834, aged 85 years 11 months."

Peter Hare was a Captain in Butler's Rangers and was latterly known as Col. Hare probably from rank in Lincoln Militia. His widow as we have seen is buried at Homer near St. Catharines.

PORT MAITLAND CEMETERY.

A tragedy is recorded in the inscription on two monuments in this old graveyard near Dunnville.

"The officers non-commissioned officers and privates of the Reserve Battalion 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers have erected this stone to mark the spot where lie the remains of Asst. Surgeon Grantham and twenty-four men, women and children of that Regiment who perished near the shore by the sinking of the Steamer Commerce on the night of the 6th May, 1850, whilst on their route from Montreal to London, C. W."

At the late Historical Loan Exhibit in Toronto a candlestick found in the bottom of the lake belonging to the Regiment was shewn. A letter from a lady near Dunnville dated May 9th, 1850, says "the Despatch Str. ran into the Commerce which sank in fifteen minutes, and forty men, women and children were drowned, seventy escaped. The other three officers were saved, among them the Ensign, Sir Henry Chamberlain. The regimental plate, wine and stores are lost and much money. The people of Dunnville supplied the survivors with all the bedding, blankets, etc., they could."

The bodies were laid in a long trench which may be plainly seen.

"Sacred to the memory of Dr. Grantham, Asst. Surgeon 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers, aged 35 years, son of S. Grantham Esq. Lewes, Sussex, Eng., who was drowned in Lake Erie on the night of the 6th May, 1850. A young widow and infant daughter are left to lament his sudden and melancholy fate."

"To the memory of John Johnson, late Lieutenant Colonel of the Bombay Engineers and Companion of the Bath, who departed this life on the 11th of February, 1846, aged 77 years."

"In memory of Dederika, widow of the late Lieut.-Col., John Johnson, C. B., who departed this life on the 15th day of April, A.D. 1850, aged 74 years."

Capt. Cotton of the 69th Regiment is also buried here.

BURKHOLDER'S PRIVATE BURYING GROUND.

Two miles from Hamilton this may be seen, the oldest in-

scriptions go back to 1820 and here are found the familiar texts and doggerel verse common to that period. The first two are evidently father and daughter, only separated for a few months.

"In memory of Barbara, daughter of John and Magdalene Neff, died November 13th, 1820, aged 18 years. The Lord is nigh to them that call upon Him."

"John Neff died January 30th, 1821, aged 50 years."

Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord. They rest from their labors and their works do follow them."

"In memory of Christian Burkholder born Dec. 14th, 1772, died Sept. 17th, 1843, aged 71."

Remember me as you pass by
As you are now so once was I
As I am now so you must be
Prepare for death and follow me."

"In memory of Peter Burkholder, who died 21st Dec., 1867, aged 73.

Servant of God well done
Rest from thy loved employ
The battle fought the victory won
Enter thy Ma-ter's joy."

His wife Susannah Burkholder died 1875, aged 78.

"In memory of Obadiah Taylor a native of Long Island, State of New York, who died March 2nd, 1856, aged 86 years."

Afflictions sore long time I bore
Physicians were in vain
At length God pleased to give me ease
And freed me from my pain."

A slab to Eleana Goldsmith, who died in the last decade praises her in both prose and verse thus.

"Her whole life was a fulfilment of John 15th chapter, 2nd verse. Every branch in me that beareth fruit He purgeth that it may bring forth more fruit."

Her real merit was known by those who knew her best.

The friend of sinners was her friend
Trusting to him she met her end
Nor in the judgment shall she fear
Then shall her friend as judge appear
By faith in Jesus' conquest she relied
In Jesus' merits ventured all and died."

HAMILTON CEMETERY.

The city cemeteries offer little in the way of early settlers or curious inscriptions as in general the old graveyards gradually surrounded are destroyed and built over in the inevitable march of improvement, but here is the name of one of the family which gave the name to Hamilton.

A large granite monument reads

"Sacred to the memory of Robert Jarvis Hamilton, born May 29th. 1812, died 1892. Catharine his wife, born 1818 died 1847. Mary Jane his wife, born 1829 died 1899."

Many of the family are buried in the Hamilton family burying ground at Queenston.

A large altar tomb has the following inscription

"Sacred to the memory of Lieut.-Col. Gourlay, who died at his residence Barton Lodge, 1867. He was for 25 years an officer of the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers serving with the regiment in France, Spain and various British stations and in the Canadian Rebellions 1837.-8. He was a sincere Christian and in all the relations of life public and private an honourable and upright man."

"Sacred to the memory of Right Rev. Thos. Brock Fuller, D.D., first bishop of the Diocese of Niagara, born at Kingston 1810, died 1884, also his wife, Cynthia Street, born 1816, died 1892."

Col. Robt. Land was the first settler at the head of the lake, of whom a very romantic story is told, the husband and wife each thinking the other dead, meeting here after many years.

BEAMSVILLE.

In Beamsville on rising ground next to the Baptist Church is a stone to one of the early settlers who gave the name to the village.

"In memory of Jacob Beam, Sr. born Nov. 29th, 1728, died May 10th, 1812, aged 83," also to his wife aged 83."

A more pretentious granite monument to Jacob Beam, Jr., aged 85.

There are many old grey stones with the peculiar round or angled tops. It is remarkable that such old stones are so legible but it is said that Mrs. Bongner, a daughter of Elder Hill, paid to have these cleared from moss and mould.

A long line of Adairs a dozen at least shews that they were among the earliest settlers.

"In memory of David Adair, aged 77 died in 1811. Jesus wept. His wife Abigail aged 77."

One peculiarity of this graveyard is the number of Bible texts and also of verse, we will not say poetry. There is also an entire absence of military dignitaries, at least if such it is not recorded

"In memory of Anna Adair, daughter of Joseph and Charity Adair,

My body lies beneath
the dust my soul has
gone on high to dwell
with Jesus and the
just in peace and
love and joy."

"Sacred to the memory of Mercy Hixon, died 1828, aged 24.

Weep, weep and mourn
The tomb has swallowed up my friend,"

"A long row of Merralls and another of Skellays, Not a few in this ground show the place of birth.

"In memory of Henry Rolt, born in Pennsylvania 1778, died 1874, aged 95." and John Beam, born in New Jersey, emigrated to Canada in 1788, died here, aged 82."

"In memory of Charity Adair, wife of Joseph Adair, died 1837. Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord."

The same text is on the tombstone of Elizabeth House, daughter of Courad Wier, born 1800, died 1825.

' In memory of Daniel Skelley, who departed this life Dec. 15th, 1823, aged 23

Reader, although my body lies
Beneath the silent clod,
Yet every turf above me cries—
Prepare to meet thy God."

Of Joseph Merrill it is said, "He lived, he died, he lives to die no more."

"Samuel Corwin and his wife, born in New Jersey, 1767."

"In memory of Cristopher, son of Jerry Trion and Allice Kentner, aged 28.

A pale consumption gave the fatal blow,
The stroke was struck but the effect was slow;
In wasting pain Death saw him long oppressed,
Pity'd his sorrow and kindly brought him rest."

A large upright stone in memory of
"Elder Thomas Hill, of Dunstable, England, born 1780 died
1839."

Two verses below are in honor of himself and wife.

A long row of Bougners born in New Jersey who came like
others in 1788, all remarkable for great age as Martin Bougner
aged 84, his wife came in 1793 and died aged 81.

A modern granite monument has replaced an older one and
records the virtues of a pastor.

"Sacred to the memory of Rev. Thomas Morgan. He was
born in Cardiffshire, North Wales, he emigrated to the United
States in 1817 and was ordained a minister of the Baptist Denom-
ination, of Utica N. Y. He came to this province in 1824 and be-
came pastor of the Baptist Church in Clinton, where he labored
for three years with acceptance. As a preacher he was warm and
energetic, commending himself to every man's conscience, he
was unwearied in his exertions to promote the Redeemer's king-
dom, travelling from house to house warning every man as in the
sight of God. As a Christian in his daily walk he commended
the Gospel which he preached. As a Husband and father he was
tender and affectionate. He died in the triumphs of faith and the
hope of a glorious immortality on the 9th Feb. 1837, in the 40th
year of his age."

"In memory of Charlotte, wife of Jas. Freed, daughter of
Thos. and Martha Hill, departed this life in the assurance of a
glorious immortality 1841, aged 37.

Dreary dying world adieu
Brighter scenes appear in view
Jesus calls and I must rise
To join the mansions in the skies
Glad to obey the signal given
Death is but the gate to Heaven."

A more modern monument shows that a stranger dying in a
distant land is gratefully remembered.

"Rev. John Callander, M. D. from Falkirk, Scotland, died at
Toronto 1853, aged 34."

On one side is the single word Resurgam and on the other

"Erected by his friends in Clinton as a tribute of respect for
his manly qualities and Christian virtues."

An old stone forms a contrast and calls up Grey's line.

"With uncut lines and shapeless sculpture decked."

"Mary wife of Daniel Danghe thy

Blessed are the th^at die in the Lord.

The names of House, Couse, McIntyre, Hilburn, are also seen frequently.

An old record book of the Baptist Church dates back to 1807 A deed of land of two acres from Jacob Beam for the church and graveyard is shewn and the names of early members. Elder Morse is mentioned in 1807.

STONEY CREEK.

Near the battle field of Stoney Creek on a slight rising ground on land given by the Gage family is the graveyard. Till quite lately here stood a frame building a Methodist Church, in the walls of which might be seen the bullets fired on that day of June 1813, but it has been pulled down by modern iconoclasts. The oldest stone found was chipped so as to be almost illegible, a reddish stone from the neighborhood, something in color like the Credit valley stone.

"Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Phebe Bates, wife of Wm. Bates, born in Stamford, Connecticut died in this province, Dec. 16th, 1807, aged 46.

Pause reader and behold my fate
How soon my race is run
Eternal my state
Before my life is gone."

On an old grey stone

"Erected to the memory of Wm. Gage from Ireland, Co Derry, died Sept. 11th, 1820, aged 76."

A smaller stone to his wife, Susan Gage, died 1821, and a more modern one

"In memory of Capt. John Gage, who died May 16th, 1860, aged 66."

The Gage homestead has been lately fitted up as a museum by the Women's Wentworth Historical Society and from it may be seen the scene of the conflict. A massive monument of granite commemorates another member of the Gage family.

"Catharine Gage, wife of Wm. Jones"

In the inscriptions there is great uniformity of verses as A faithful friend, A husband dear, A tender parent lieth here," one being evidently copied from another, but here is one certainly original if not poetic. An old grey stone but quite legible.

"This stone is erected to the memory of Thos Fanning, died 1827, aged 22.

The rose of health bloomed on his cheeks
And joy attend his youthful breath
The rose was nipped in one short week
And all was sunk in gloomy death.

Hark death can speak my warning keep
My warning word poor Thomas cries
A few short hours near you I sleep
but we together both shall rise.

Oh may the living wisdom learn
from my sepulchred mouldering clay
from death's sad stings to swiftly turn
prepared to meet the judgment day."

And this the tribute of a friend

"In memory of Jas. Lee, aged 57.

Beneath this lies my bosom friend
One whom I long adored
He's gone and left me to depend
On God for evermore."

The names Nash, Fox, Lee, Glover, Potruff, Jones occur frequently. Three small stones have on each the words: "The family of the late Richard London," while other stones commemorate Richard London himself and his wife.

There is little of a military nature, but one stone tells of a young soldier.

"In memory of Lieut. G. G. Brabazon, late of Her Majesty's Royal Fusiliers, died 1851, aged 29."

The dreadful railway accident near Hamilton here found a victim.

"In memory of Robert Crawford who came to his death by a Disaster on the Great Western Railroad, at the bridge across the Desjardins Canal, March 12th, 1857."

"In memory of Jno. W. Crawford.

Dear as thou wert and justly dear,
We will not weep for thee ;
One thought shall check the parting tear,
It is that thou art free. !

There are many records of extreme age as Jas. Lambier, aged 81, Stephen Land, evidently a descendant of the first settler in Hamilton, aged 74, but the oldest recorded is Christina Green, died 1882, aged 102.

A few show the birthplace as—

"Sacred to the memory of Stephen Bedell, died 1837, aged 92, a native of Staten Island."

“Mary, wife of John Yeager, daughter of A. Green, born in Sussex, New Jersey. 1791,”

Another bears the names of two husbands.

“In memory of Rachel Soules, wife of Joseph Penfold and relict of the late Alphaus Gorman, aged 82.”

Two large altar tombs are respectively to Clares, wife of John Galbraith 1835 and to John Fox, 1834.

To one who died in early youth the text below seems appropriate.

“Rebecca Jones, aged 19.

Her sun is gone down while it is yet day.”

The same text is on the tomb of Clara Fortman, wife of Edw. Norton.

There is also a large vault for the family of R. Squires.

GRIMSBY EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

This graveyard seems to have been used by all denominations at first. The number of large altar tombs and other solid head stones show the early prosperity of the people. Here are found many names well known in Canadian history.

“In memory of Col. Robert Nelles, who was born 6th October, 1761, in Palatine, on the Mohawk River State of New York, and died 27th July, 1842 at Grimsby, after a residence of 62 years in Canada.”

His wife Elizabeth died 1813, and the name of a second wife Maria is recorded. The commissions of Col. Nelles as Lieut. Capt., Col., signed by different governors, from the year 1788 to 1831 are in the Niagara Historical room.

“In memory of the Hon. Abraham Nelles, born 4th Dec. 1775. died 7th July 1839.

Eye hath not seen nor ear heard neither hath entered into the heart of man to conceive the things which God hath prepared for those that love him.—1 Cor. 2, 3.”

Among the oldest interments are—

“In memory of John Moore, died May 16th, 1803, aged 64, and Dinah his wife, died Nov. 9th, 1804, aged 68.”

These however were removed from an earlier graveyard near the lake.

An old grey stone has the following inscription.—“Here lies the body of Isaac Chambers who was born 1762 and departed this life Jan. 8th, 1805, aged 42.

O Lord, my days is wasting here
And I draw near to death,
Give me a land of joyful cheer,
When I shall leave the earth.

“In memory of Elizabeth Friller, wife of Abraham Pettit, born 1778, died 1875, aged 97 years.”

“In memory of John S. Pettit, born 1788, died 1888. Mary Glover his wife, born 1791, in New Jersey, died 1856.”

“In memory of Emmeline Bergman, wife of Jonathan Wolvertton, M.D., born at Germantown, Pa., January 31st, 1816, died at Grimsby, June 29th, 1874.”

The first Missionary of Grimsby has left neatly kept records of his five years' pastorate from 1817 to 1822, in which latter year his death occurred by accident.

“In memory of Rev. Wm. Sampson, first Missionary of Grimsby, eldest son of Rev. Dr. Sampson, born at Wandsworth, Surrey, England, 1790, died at Grimsby, U.C., April 18th, 1822.”

A later minister also died here.

“In memory of Rev. G. R. F. Grout, of Quebec, Rector of this parish for 22 years, during which lengthened period he laboured faithfully and zealously, being the friend and adviser of old and young, died 1849, aged 45.

This monument was erected by his attached parishioners as a tribute of affection to one they loved.

Remember those which have the rule over you who have spoken unto you the word of God, whose faith follow.—Heb. 13, 7, 8.”

The author of the first poem published in Upper Canada “A day at the Falls,” published in York, 1825, was then a teacher in York Grammar School and became Incumbent of Saltfleet and Binbrook.

“In memoriam, Rev. James Lynne Alexander, born at Glenhead Antrim, Ireland, 1801, died at Grimsby 1879.

Where Christ who is our life shall appear, then shall ye also appear with him in glory.”

A number of altar tombs commemorate members of the Crooks family whose name is so well known.

“Sacred to the memory of William Crooks, who was born at Kilmarnock, Scotland; 6th August, A.D., 1776, and after a residence of 44 years in U.C. died at Niagara 31st December, 1836 Job 9, 12.”

“Sacred to the memory of Mary Butler, relict of Wm. Crooks,

who departed this life at St. Anns, Nelson, 30th Dec., 1851, aged 70. Watch for the morning.—Ps. 130, 6.”

The following inscription offers a refreshing contrast to the general dead level of those commonly found.

“In memory of Caroline, consort of A. A. Wolverton, who was removed to the spirit world Sept. 23rd, 1849, aged 30 years.

The material body is all that lies here, the substantial has gone to the spiritual sphere

Where kindred spirits unite in one,
Forever to dwell in their heavenly home.”

“In memory of Jonathan Wolverton, who died 1831, aged 77 years, and his wife Mary, who died 1804, aged 33 years.”

Another early settler who died young is thus recorded—

“Here lies the body of Rose Beamer, who was born 26th January. 1783, and departed this life May 19th, 1806, aged 23.

Now I have passed through death's dark door
No eye on earth shall see me more;
Prepare to meet me here above.”

“Here lies the body of Lydia Merrill, who was born 1791, died 1804, aged 13

My aged friend to me attend
And wipe your weeping eyes,
No longer mourn your daughter gone
To reign above on high.”

“Beneath this stone lieth the remains of Margaret Crooks, late of the kingdom of Scotland, who was born in Edinburgh, 23rd April, A.D., 1753, died at Ancaster, in the Province of U.C., 2nd October, 1826, aged 74 years.

This testimony of Filial respect erected to her memory by her affectionate children.”

“IN PACE.

“Jonathan Wolverton M. D., born Feb. 22nd, 1811, died April 12th. 1883.”

“In memory of Hannah Simmerman, wife of Jas. N. Simmerman, born 1816, departed this life 1835, aged 19”

Still in Him she firm confided
Who in love bestowed the rod
Desirous that each child residing
In this region turn to God.”

"Here lies the body of Sarah Walker, wife of William Walker. who departed this life 6th April, 1806, in the 60th year of her age.

Remember me as you pass by
As you are now so once was I
As I am now so you must be
Prepare for death and follow me."

It might be interesting to note where and at what date this last time worn verse is found.

"In memory of William Kitchen, born Jan. 1761, died May 28th, 1813, aged 52."

"Stephen Coon died 1805, aged 41."

"In memory of Dennis Wolverton, born in New Jersey on New Year's day 1790, emigrated to Canada in 1798 and settled at Grimsby. Member of the Legislative Assembly U. C., 1836-38 and of the Niagara District Council for many years. Died May 23rd, 1875. He trusted in Jesus."

There were many deaths in 1813 from an epidemic of typhus fever.

The names Book, Pettitt, Nixon, Anderson are found repeatedly.

PRESBYTERIAN GRAVEYARD, GRIMSBY.

In this burial place not so old as that near it are many from Muir's settlement of great age. The families of Muir and Douglas seem to have intermarried often and to have been a long-lived race.

"Sacred to the memory of Jas. Douglas, born at Whitburn, Scotland, died at Grimsby 1831, aged 89."

"Barbara, daughter of Jas. Muir, of Briech Mills, Scotland, in her 92nd year."

"George Muir, aged 90."

"Douglas Muir, aged 87, of West Calder, Scotland."

"John D. Beamer died 1872 aged 72."

His second and third wives are here buried, Sarah and Catharine, and a long row of Beamers lie buried near.

From these crowded burial grounds many bodies have been removed to the beautiful new cemetery already with many occupants.

ANCASTER.

This is an old settlement and the graveyard is filled with all varieties of tombstones in memory of the dead. There are doz-

ens of large altar tombs. Here are found the graves of U. E. Loyalists, military and naval men, the stranger, and the fashion of long labored inscriptions and original verses prevailed to a remarkable, almost an alarming extent.

One of the oldest stones is that to a husband and wife who died on the same day.

“Sacred to the memory of Alexander Richie and Mary Lucia his wife who both departed this life at Ancaster 11th April 1823.”

Here near the church is a large altar tomb to one (described in Summer Rambles by Mrs. Jamieson), who died here while visiting her sister, Mrs. McMurray, the wife of the Rector, afterwards Archdeacon of Niagara.

“In memory of Jane, wife of Henry R. Schoolcraft Esq. born at St. Mary’s Falls 1800, died at Dundas May 22nd, 1842, in the arms of her sister during a visit at the house of the rector of this church, while her husband was absent in England and her children at a distant school. She was the eldest daughter of John Johnston Esq., and Susan, daughter of Waubojeeg, a celebrated war chief and civil ruler of the Odjibwa Tribe.

Carefully educated and of polished manners and conversation she was early fitted to adorn society, yet of retiring and modest deportment. Early imbued with the principles of true piety she patiently submitted to the illness which for several years marked her decline and was inspired through seasons of bodily and mental depression with the lively hope of a blessed immortality.

Here rests by kindred hands enshrined
All of the loved one earth could find
The form, the eye, the heart, the hand
So gentle once, so kind so bland.

Death came unlooked for yet his tread
She met so calm so free from dread
Like angels winged to happier spheres
She smiled to quit a world of tears.

We mourn not then as those who see
No glorious bright eternity
But while this stone fond hearts upraise
Grief best bespeaks our love and praise.”

This memorial (the maker from Albany N. Y.) is no doubt placed here by her husband, the Schoolcraft who wrote such valuable works on the North American Indian.

A granite monument lately placed is to the first rector.

— “Sacred to the memory of Rev. Ralph Leeming, of Yorkshire,

England, ordained by the Bishop, of London, first Missionary, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, to the Gore District and first Rector of Ancaster, born 1789, died 1872, aged 83."

A large flat stone tells a pathetic story showing that the "stranger within the gates" was not neglected.

"Eliza M. Johnston, of Rochester, N. Y., died 1827, aged 17.

A stranger's grave

Placed here by her local respected friends."

Among a row of stones all with the name of Durand, a large altar tomb bears the following.

"In memory of James Durand born in England 1775, died 1833, resided in the Canadas 34 years. Served his country as a Legislator and as a Captain during the late war with honor and uprightnes but above all, his maker as an honest man "Do unto others as you would have others do to you" was the great motto of his life. His children will ever remember him as the kindest parent and the Canadas as a patriot and friend.

The following beautiful lines were written by himself in memory of his lamented consort Keziah Durand.

High in the Heaven of Heavens I trust
You now repose among the just
Thy virtues well earned meed
The pleasing hope my soul inspires
As wages grief my bosom fires
And gives me joy indeed."

Jas. Durand.

Other lines below are written in memory of Jas. Durand by Charles Durand who has lately published his *Reminiscences* continued to the present date.

"Sacred to the memory of John Palmer Battersby, Commander R. N. born 1797, died 1888.

Thanks be unto God who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ."

To his son Edwin "He giveth his beloved sleep," and to his wife Maria "The price of a virtuous woman is far above rubies, her children arise up and call her blessed, her husband also and he praiseth her."

"Sacred to the memory of Major Daniel Showers, died 1858, aged 71.

Man soon discussed
Yields up his trust
And all his hopes and fears
Lie with him in the dust

Elizabeth Showers his wife born Stamford 1787, died in Ancaster 1848."

This last shows the early settlement of Stamford.

"In memory of Lieut. W. Milne, of the Royal Navy, born at Folkland, North Britain A. D. 1766, died at Springfield, Ancaster 1826."

"In memory of Helen Eliza, wife of Robt. Berrie, and daughter of the late Lieut.-Col. Johnson Butler, died 1841, aged 35."

"In memory of Capt. John Urquhart died 1882, aged 79, a native of Inverness, Scotland."

The next is evidently a foreigner.

"Otto Ivese died at the Hermitage, late of Aloumouth, Eng., died 1835."

The father of the Rector died here

"In memory of Wm. McMurray, died 1878, aged 82, a native of Co. Armagh, Ireland."

A granite monument to John Aikman, who died 1878, aged 86. The name Aikman frequently occurs and the name Rosseaux brings up the recollection of Jean Baptiste Rousseaux the interpreter of Brant, George Rosseaux and Margaret Rosseaux lie here while the father is buried in Niagara.

PRESBYTERIAN BURYING GROUND, ANCASTER.

"In memory of the Rev. George Sheed A. M., who planted this church and having faithfully watched over it for the space of six years, was removed to his reward 1832.

His friends have erected this stone as a memorial of their esteem for his worth as a man and his zeal and abilities as a minister.

"The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance."

"Sacred to the memory of Euphemia Melville, wife of Capt. Alex. Roxburgh, Glengarry Light Infantry, daughter of Alex. Melville, of Farquhar, Scotland, who died in the prime of life at St. Margaret's College 1831."

"In memory of Capt. Alexander Roxburgh born 1774, died 1856."

"In memory of C. R. McHaffee, wife of Robert Gardener, who died at West Flamboro, 1848."

A modern granite monument with coat of arms and motto has this short inscription

"In memory of Duncan Matheson Localahsh, Rossshire, Scotland, born 1782 died 1849.

Fac et spera

Arms of the Matheson Clan."

VIRGIL BAPTIST CHURCH.

In this small graveyard is a stone to one who is called in Carrol's Case (the history of Canadian Methodism) a saint, he was a prisoner at the capture of Niagara and was long a class leader in the village named after him.

"George Lawrence born March 26th, 1757, died August 5th. 1848, A.E. 91 years."

The names of Casselman, Cassaday, Caughill, Cushman, Cain, are found. Barney Cain fought at Lundy's Lane. This village has rejoiced in many names:—The Cross Roads, Four Mile Creek, Lawrenceville, and now the classic name of Virgil to correspond with that of Homer. six miles distant.

On the Corus farm near Virgil.

"To the memory of Caspar Corus, died Nov. 24th, 1835, aged 96 years."

"In memory of Wm. Casselman, who departed this life Jan. 11th, 1847, aged 53 years."

CLEMENT FAMILY BURYING GROUND.

Several old grey stones bring to mind names well known in this Peninsula.

"Sacred to the memory of James Clement, born 15th, July, 1764, died 8th March, 1813, aged 49."

"Sacred to the memory of Catharine Clement, consort of the late James Clement, who departed this life 13th July, 1813, in the 45 year of her age."

"In memory of Sarah Clement, daughter of John C. Pettitt, and consort of Joseph Clement, who departed this life 9th June, 1824, aged 34."

"Sacred to the memory of Martha Pettitt, consort of John C. Pettitt, who departed this life 10th Dec., 1821, aged 59."

"Eliza Matilda Ball, daughter of Jacob H. and Katharine Ball, died Dec. 3rd, 1823, aged 11.

My parents dear I bid farewell
My life was short on earth to dwell
My maker's call, I must obey
Prepare yourselves to follow me."

In the Stevens graveyard very near is buried George Coughill killed at Lundy's Lane. It is told that he was carried from the field by Barney Cain, who is buried at Virgil. The house of James Clement, who died in 1813 still stands, though built in 1805, in good repair with its fine old mantels and queer old stairs, a trap for the unwary.

In the Mennonite graveyard near Jordan are buried many old pioneers or their descendants.

"In memory of Nicholas Clause, died Sept. 18th, 1876, aged 80 years."

"Rosanna Everett died Nov. 6th, 1876, aged 82 years."

"Moses Grobb died May 2nd, 1877, aged 70 years."

"In memory of Thomas Waters died Dec. 4th, 1849, aged 88 years. Judy Waters died Jan. 18th, 1837, aged 75 years."

"In memory of Samuel Moyer, born in Pa. July 25th, 1798, died Oct. 4th, 1874, aged 76 years."

"Henry Orth died 1834, aged 53 years."

"Here lies the body of Peter Couse, who departed this life Aug. 26th, 1812, aged 45 years. The rich and the poor meet together."

"Philip High died Sept. 15th, 1838, aged 69 years." Elizabeth High died Oct. 21st, 1860, aged 86 years."

GONDER GRAVEYARD.

On the Gonder farm near Black Creek are inscriptions to several of this U. E. Family.

"In memory of Jacob Gonder, a native of Pa., Lancaster Co. who died Nov. 8th, 1846, in the 71st year of his age."

"Gone Home Mary A. wife of Jacob Gonder, died Sept. 28th, 1886, aged 82"

"Michael D. Gonder died Sept. 28th, 1886, aged 82."

In an old private burial place on what was formerly the first Gonder farm, (now the Stoner farm near Welland) was buried in 1813, Michael Gonder who came to Canada in 1787 and lived at Niagara for some time. David Price who married Margaret Gonder was Indian Interpreter at Niagara, and is buried here.

"In memory of David Price of the township of Crowland, died 26th Feb. 1841, aged 91."

A few inscriptions omitted in their proper place here follow. When excavating for the Welland canal the bodies of sixteen American soldiers who had fallen at the battle of Beavertams were found. A monument was placed with the simple inscription.

“Beaver Dams 24th June 1813.”

The stone which marks the spot where General Brock fell at Queenston has on the north side.

“Near this spot Major General Sir Isaac Brock, K.C.B. Provisional Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, fell on the 13th Oct. 1812 while advancing to repel the invading enemy.”

And on the south side,

“This stone was placed by His Royal Highness Albert Edward Prince of Wales on 18th Sept. 1860.”

The inscription at Lundy's Lane to Col. Bishop has been given and the lines recalled.

“Where sleeps the young and brave and shed one tear on Cecils grave.”

In the parish church in his far off English home in Parham, Sussex, is a tablet recalling the circumstances of his death and burial.

“His pillow not of sturdy oak
His shroud a soldier's simple cloak
His dirge will sound till time's no more
Niagara's loud and solemn roar
There Cecil lies—say, where the grave
More worthy of a Briton Brave?”

Since this is the record not only of graves but inscriptions there must not be omitted the inscriptions placed lately by the Niagara Historical Society in the town and neighborhood. Seven of these are of Queenston stone, three feet high, eighteen inches square, eighteen inches above the ground with sloping face for inscription. The eighth is a white marble tablet placed on the wall of a building. The first at Fort George.

“Near this spot Gen. Sir Isaac Brock was buried from 1812 to 1824.”

In the Chautauqua grounds formerly Crookston where the American soldiers landed.

“Here were found in Aug. 1899 the remains of three soldiers who fell in defence of their country May 27th, 1813.”

On the common near Butler's Barracks.

“The site of the Military Hospital and Indian Council House.”
At the foot of King Street.

"The site of the Gleaner Printing Office 1817, and Masonic Hall, 1792."

At the old King's Wharf.

"The site of Navy Hall, the long low building near is supposed to have been one of those used by Gov. Simcoe in 1792."

About three miles up the River Road.

"House of Count de Puisaye a French Refugee 1799."

In the market square close to the Court House.

"Government House built in time of Gov. Simcoe, burnt in 1812.

On the building

"Niagara Court House built for united counties of Lincoln, Welland and Haldimand in 1847."

Seven were placed in 1901. The last in 1902.

To each of these is added the words

"This inscription is placed by the Niagara Historical Society 1901."

By a strange mistake a page from the first manuscript was omitted, see page 19 re St. Andrew's. The Wagstaff plot commemorates settlers before and after the war of 1812. John Wagstaff, a merchant of the town for many years, born 1779, died 1852, Sarah Wagstaff 1785—1854. Near this the Davidson plot. Walter Davidson 1779—1850, his wife, Sarah 1792—1848, their sons John, William, James, David. Beside Dr. Whitelaw the whole family who died young. The McFarland's, whose brick house, built in 1800, still stands, are all descendants of one who was a prisoner at Greenbush referred to in St. Mark's. One of these James, was guide to the force which took Ft. Niagara, Dec 1813. John Rogers, an officer bearer, of the church for fifty years like Col. W. D. Miller, who fought in 1812. Col. Robt. Miller lies here as does John Meneilly, for many years keeper of stores at Fort George. Joseph Barr, a victim of the Des Jardins Canal tragedy. John Ross born in Montreal 1781, d'ied at Niagara 1863. John McCulloch, a noted merchant of the town. Janet McPherson, aged 93, wife of Neil Black, and the brothers, John, Alexander, Lachlan, aged 86, 89 and 99 respectively. A few Africans who escaped from slavery lie here, and lately were found the remains no doubt hastily interred of a soldier of the King's 8th, who fell 27th May 1813.

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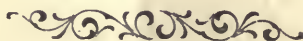


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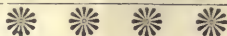
NIAGARA

Historical Society

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REMINISCENCES OF NIAGARA.



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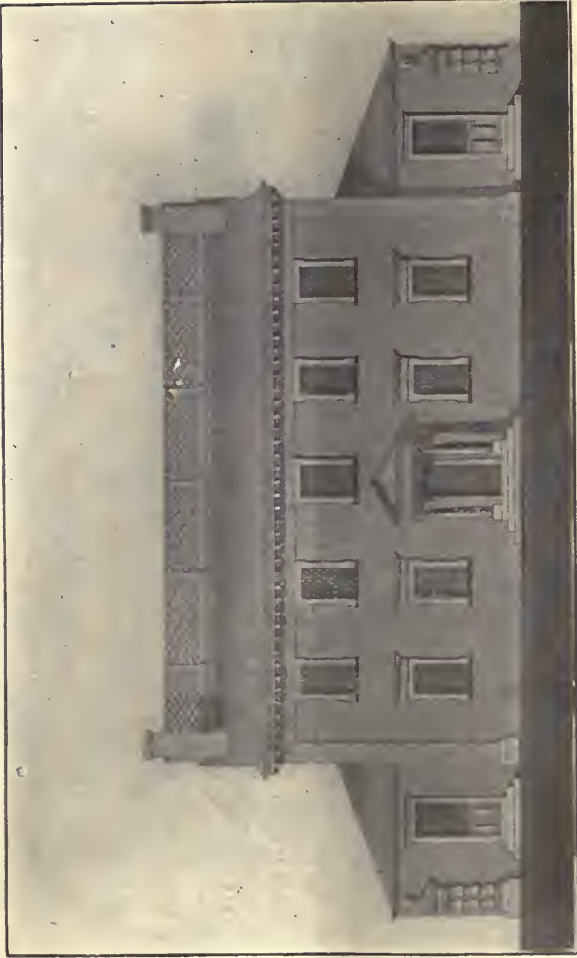
THE TIMES, Niagara, Ont.

PREFACE.

IN the present issue of "Reminiscences" an attempt has been made to gather together what some of the oldest inhabitants remember of the early days of Niagara and to cull from early works of travel references to our town. It is extremely to be regretted that so little was committed to paper in those early days or that so few letters or diaries can be found. In the conflagration of Dec. 1813, much valuable material was completely destroyed. It is hoped that some fragments may yet be collected.

The view of the house of Hon. D. W. Smith has been copied by the kind permission of Dr. Bain, of the Toronto Library. The house which was situated in what is now the Court House Square was offered for sale in 1798 for a Grammar School with four acres as an endowment. In 1800 an offer of a reduction in the price was made, but declined; being opposite Fort Niagara and in range of the guns it was in too exposed a position.

The photograph of Hon. Robert Hamilton was furnished by Judge Hamilton from a miniature in the possession of Clarke Hamilton, Esq., of Kingston. That of Andrew Kemp was sent by his grandson, Mr. D. K. Goodfellow, of Beauharnois, Que., and that of Mrs. Whitten by her daughter, Mrs. Follett, of Niagara, to all of whom hearty thanks are rendered.



House of Hon. D. W. Smith, Dept. Surveyor General.

Built about 1793. The first fine house built in Niagara. See page 35.



ANDREW KEMP

Recollections of a Boy of 1812.

(By D. K. Goodfellow.)

Andrew Kemp, the son of U. E. Loyalist parents, was born in Niagara in 1800. His father, David Kemp, was a native of New Jersey, and arriving in Canada in 1793, married in 1796, Rebecca Ransier. His wife's people belonged to New York, and had suffered much at the hands of the Revolutionists; Rebecca herself owned a farm which was confiscated with other property of the family. The name of Ransier—or Ransler (properly speaking it is Rensselaer) is to be seen in the muster rolls of Butler's Rangers, and also in the U. E. List, as that of a member of the celebrated corps.

David Kemp's father and mother were from Scotland, they came from Aberdeen about the middle of the eighteenth century and settled in New Jersey. David (born in 1769) was the second of their three sons, and there were several girls in the family besides.

David and his younger brother were too youthful to bear arms in the Revolutionary struggle, but their father and elder brother were active adherents of the loyalist side. At the Kemps' home, friends of the cause were ever welcome, and in various ways they earned the hatred of their rebel neighbors. The youngest boy, who was a baby when General Burgoyne took command in Canada, was christened "Burgoyne" in honor of that officer, from whom the loyalists expected such great achievements. When the child could just speak plainly he happened one day to be standing in the road near his mother's house, two men, evidently wayfarers approached and one of them asked the little fellow his name, "Burgoyne Kemp" was the reply. The questioner turned to his companion with a laugh, "I think" said he "that we are all right and need not inquire further," and then told the youngster to show them where he lived. They proved to be British agents in search of information or recruits, and being anxious to find a resting place among friends, they rightly took the boy's name to be a sufficient guarantee for the loyalty of his people. But the Kemps' callers were not all of this description: be-

fore the war was over the men of the family were hunted like wild beasts, they lay for many days in a cave or hole of some sort in the the ground; one of them contracted rheumatism so badly during their hardships that he was a cripple for the balance of his days. When the war ended they would gladly have remained in their home had they been allowed to live in peace, but after trying it for a while they went to New York State, having lost nearly everything they possessed. They continued in New York for a few years; but being Loyalists still, and at no pains to conceal their opinions their neighbors seem to have invoked the aid of the authorities, and a party was sent to apprehend the older male members of the family. Receiving a hint of the coming danger they went into hiding near their house, and the escort was completely deceived as to their whereabouts by the lad Burgoyne, who acted as spokesman on this occasion. Shortly afterwards the Kemps crossed over to Canada.

David Kemp's name (as well as those of his brothers) appears in the list of subscribers to the building fund of St. Andrew's Church, Newark, 1794, and also as one of the earliest pew-holders. They had come to Niagara in 1793, he removed to Amherstburg early in the last century, and at about the commencement of the War of 1812 was employed in the Engineer Department. He accompanied the troops to Brownstown, and when Proctor retreated from Amherstburg, was one of the last who quitted Fort Malden, as he stayed to superintend the dismantling of the fort and destruction of stores. His family also accompanied the retreat. His eldest son, Andrew, was then 13 years of age. The latter used to occasionally tell his grandsons about those times and one of the lads wrote down part of his grandfather's recollections. They are given here in the old gentleman's own words:—

“After General Hull's demonstration against Fort Malden, which ended in his retreat to Detroit and the surrender of that post to General Brock, I saw Brock at Amherstburg; he was a fine, jolly looking, middle aged man. I also saw Tecumseh; he was a handsome, noble looking fellow, very clean and neat about his person, and usually dressed in a white shirt, deer skin leggings and other usual Indian apparel, but sometimes in a military red-coat, for he ranked as a Major-General. I have spoken to him. He was a Shawanee, who in common with many other Western Indians had been at war with the Yankees, and came all the way to Canada to fight for the British.” “A battle on the lake took place about 25 or 30 miles from Amherstburg, where we heard the guns. The British ships were mostly small merchantmen with a gun aboard, commanded by a captain of the Royal Navy as Commodore. He had lost an arm at Trafalgar. The provincials were poor sailors compared to

British seamen, being mostly French Canadians and some of the crews were only soldiers. The vessels were undermanned and there were not sufficient guns, and what guns there were were not good while the American gunboats carried 32prs."

Referring to Proctor's retreat, during which (on the evening before the battle of the Thames the Kemps were taken prisoners, Mr. Kemp said:—

"We were taken prisoners a short distance above the village of Chatham while ascending the Thames. Father had been left behind at Chatham to destroy a vessel which was there, and only came up with our detachment a short time before we were taken. It was very late when he reached us. He at once went ashore to reconnoitre from a hill nearby, from there he saw the Kentucky Rifle Militia coming across the fields on horseback. We intended to reach an old empty house on the other side of the river and attempted to do so, but before we succeeded the bank was full of men who fired some shots at us because we did not come ashore fast enough when ordered, and they shot a woman through the cheeks. When they got us ashore, they robbed us of everything they could carry away even my mother's young baby's clothes. They chopped up everything else including a feather bed, and our blankets they put around their shoulders. Father was furious; he told them if there had been only half a dozen of them he would have defied them to have touched anything and would have thrown them into the river. One of them named Naggs, who knew us, and who had formerly lived in Detroit, had to beg and pray of father to be quiet, fearing they would shoot him. Soon after the American Regulars under General Harrison came up, and my father was placed under a regular guard when he at once complained of the treatment we had received. He was advised to complain to the General and so mother went and spoke to him. Harrison was very kind to her and said "My good woman I will do everything I can for you." But the Militia only said "who cares for General Harrison? None of his business what we do."

"My father was taken to Petite Cote near Sandwich where he lived on parole for a time (during the winter) until one day an officer came down and told him his parole would be up on a certain day, and that he was to go to Detroit; when with other prisoners he would be sent to Greenbush. When he got to Detroit and had reported himself, he noticed that the Americans seemed very lax in the way they looked after their prisoners, so he began walking about and getting farther and farther away, and at last he slipped round a corner when he took to his heels and made his way to the back of the town, where he had plenty of friends who hid him, and helped him to get across the river again to the Canadian side. Father and I then set out on

April 7th, 1814 to join the British forces at Niagara. My mother went to some friends at Sandwich. The first day out we had a canoe to travel in, the second day being on foot, we met a man named Johnson who was out looking for his horses, he had one horse with him and this he allowed me to ride all day. When we reached Johnston's house, we were obliged to stay there two days lying quiet, because we heard there of a party of Americans who were near. After this we continued our journey on foot. On one day our way lay through the 'Long Bush' where the road was just a cart track and no house for twenty-seven miles. The walking was dreadful, the snow newly fallen being about a foot deep with almost another foot of mud underneath. I got so tired that I lagged behind continually and father would have to wait for me, finally he made me walk ahead of him. I felt very downhearted and miserable, and father kept trying to cheer me up. At last we heard a cowbell which raised my spirits a little, and about dark we got into the village of Delaware, where we had plenty to eat and were made comfortable. Soon after that we had to go through the Township of Burford where the farmers were a very disaffected lot. They were very suspicious and inquisitive as to where we came from, and grumbled very much when we asked for a bed. They made us a shake down in front of the fire, which the hired man put out by sticking a large log on it, and there we lay and shivered all night on the floor which was made of rough logs with large cracks between, while there was a hole under the door large enough for a hog to come in at."

"When we got to the Grand River the bridge was broken down, but we could almost wade it. Where Hamilton now stands there was only one house at that time; a small stone cottage near the mountain."

"We reached Niagara safely April 20th, and went to a friend's. When we arrived General Riall was down by the river, and sent up soon after to ask if there was a man belonging to the Engineer Department come from Sandwich, father went out to him, and was told he was wanted over at the Fort at once. General Riall asked him if he had brought his little boy with him and father said 'Yes.' The General then asked if I was a mechanic and father told him 'No' I had been at school. The General said 'Well, that's better for him, but bring him along and we'll make him useful. I was put on regular rations of bread, meat and rum, and my pay was fifteen dollars per month. We stayed here in good quarters till the end of the war. I used to sell my rum for two dollars a quart. All the men got two gills extra to work on. I have seen a hogshead knocked in in the morning and all gone by dark. My work was to serve out tools and rum to the men. It was excellent rum, quite thick, it is very hard to

get any rum like it nowadays. It was worth twenty-five cents a gill. Our work was done outside near the Fort. There was a shanty here and father used sometimes to leave small sums of money on a shelf there so as to be handy. It was always stolen when he did so, and suspicion fell on a man of the 1st Royal Scots, so a watch was set on him. He was a German, there were two loose stones in the foundation of the hut so that it was possible to get under the building. A hole was made in the floor and a watch set, and sure enough the man was caught and got 200 lashes."

"The Colonel of Royal Scots in order, to make his men hardy, used to make them do sentry-go in the depth of the winter of 1814-15 without their great coats. They had come to Canada from the West Indies."

"There was a British gun boat destroyed a few miles from Niagara. She was at York and her commander—a lieutenant was ordered to proceed to Niagara. On his own responsibility he undertook to give passage to some ladies who were going to Burlington, and went in there to land them. The wind was then in his favor but towards evening it changed, and he found himself beating up against it, trying to make the mouth of the river, with two Yankee gun-boats rapidly getting the weather gauge of him. The chase could be seen from Niagara, and the ramparts on the lake side were lined with people watching the struggle. The Americans kept heading the Britisher off, firing at him all the time and he replying to their shots. Finding it impossible to gain the shelter of the shore batteries, the commander of the British vessel ran her ashore in the mouth of a creek a few miles off and blew her up. It was then dusk and the explosion and fire in the wreck could be plainly seen by the lookers on. The British officer was court-martialled and dismissed from the service. It was said he afterwards joined the American service."

"The village of Queenston changed very little from the time I was there in 1815, up to when I visited it last a few years ago."

"There was a woman who lived in Amherstburg at the time of Proctor's retreat when the Americans overran the place, who used to make plate pies out of sour green apples to which she put no sugar, and made up the paste without a particle of shortening in it. She sold the pies to the American soldiers at twenty-five cents each."

The family were united in Amherstburg after the close of the war. Andrew Kemp was an ensign in the 1st Essex Militia

in after years, and assisted in the capture of the Schooner 'Anne' during the troubles of 1837-8. He also formed one of the expedition to Pelee Island, March 3rd, 1838, from whence the regulars and militia after a smart action drove the "Patriot Army" (otherwise "Brigands," as they are described on the old monument at Amherstburg.) Soon after the rebellion Andrew Kemp entered the Engineer Department. David Kemp died in 1842, leaving a large number of descendants. His son Andrew removed to Kingston in 1848, and retired from the Department in 1869, being then Clerk of Works. He died in 1887 in his 87th year.

(The notes from the reminiscences of Andrew Kemp were taken by H. G. Goodfellow and the abrupt break is thus accounted for. When Mr. Kemp found that his grandson was taking notes he stopped suddenly and would talk no more. The patriotism of the family was again shown in the case of a grandson, R. W. Goodfellow, who went with the first contingent to South Africa and gave his life at Paardeberg, Feb. 18th, 1900.—J. C.)

REV. JOHN OAKLEY.

It may be said in explanation that the Rev. John Oakley appears in different positions, in a military capacity, as a preacher, as a teacher. The latter is shown by advertisements in the papers of that day. His home was next that in which the Rev. T. Phillips taught the Grammar School. The following extracts were made from the Journal in possession of his daughter, Mrs. Dorland, in Toronto, by Miss Quade, the niece of Mr. Oakley.

"I arrived at Niagara about the middle of October, 1814, two months after I reached America. Soon after my arrival there I was appointed to take charge of all the military stores, and at Fort George. In 1815 I married Mary Henry, eldest daughter of an Artillery Pensioner. In 1816 I was placed upon the reduced army list on half pay in consequence of general peace with all nations.

Before I left Niagara the Lord enabled me to obtain means of building a chapel in the western side of the town. It was a plain substantial building 30x40 and is now occupied principally by the African race as they being the most numerous members in the church, the white members when a Baptist Chapel was built at X Roads now Virgil (4 Mile Creek) united with the church which met there. While I resided in Niagara Elder Winchell, who had been instrumental in organizing a church at Queenston, preached once a fortnight for one year in Niagara and Elder Neill once a month, at the time I left that town.

Niagara, July 5th, 1830.

I am much encouraged with the liberality of the brethren and friends in subscribing towards the building our Meeting House, may the Lord bless our undertaking, it is a very serious one and I appear to be almost left alone in the business.

July 16th, 1830

With the assistance of Deacon Beam and brother Pickard we have at last determined upon the place and size of a Meeting House and have advertised for undertakers.

July 29th, 1830.

We are now very deficient of a suitable place for meeting but I think we must endeavour to have a room for that purpose until we can have the Meeting House built.

Sept. 1st, 1830.

Have been busily engaged in getting timber hauled to Niagara for building the Meeting House and we have made arrangements to have the building raised and enclosed by the middle of November next.

Sept. 18th, 1830.

Have been busily engaged during the last week in superintending the business of the Meeting House.

Oct. 4th, 1830.

It is four weeks since I have written in my Journal. The two first weeks of the time I was travelling for the purpose of soliciting money from the brethren of other churches and others to assist us in building the Meeting House. The Lord gave us favor in the sight of the people so that not only our friends but many of those who were opposed to our sentiments subscribed liberally toward the undertaking. I have been greatly grieved with the consideration that some of our brethren who are able and from whom we might naturally have expected the greatest encouragement and assistance have done less for us than many who do not profess to have experienced a change of heart. Out of 200 subscribers and several of these Catholics, there are not at present more than thirty brethren and sisters from our own denomination. During the time I was absent from my family I succeeded better than I had anticipated. Through the goodness of God who has the hearts of all men in his hands, we have been enabled to raise the frame of the building, that we intend (the Lord permitting us) to consecrate entirely to the service of our God, without the customary use of ardent spirits and oh! that it may be the birthplace of many souls,

Nov. 2nd, 1830.

Oh that all of us who occupy the little church in this place may finally prove to be of the fold of Christ.

Nov. 8th, 1830.

Last Saturday while employed in collecting for the Meeting House I had several opportunities of speaking to my fellow creatures respecting the things that make for our eternal peace."

The church thus referred to was used many years by the colored people of the town, of whom there were several hundred at one time, principally escaped slaves who had followed the North Star to liberty. Rev. J. B. Mowatt, pastor of St. Andrew's

preached to them frequently 1850 to 1857. Their numbers gradually decreased and the building was finally sold and removed to the Oliver farm. In the graveyard many of those dusky brothers and sisters are buried, but one white child is buried here, a daughter of the pastor, Rev. Jno. Oakley, as may be seen by the inscription. At first the church seems to have been attended principally by white people but soon the blacks predominated, and a dispute arose as to the possession of the church. In the words of Mrs. Guillen "The Black Baptis and the White Baptis fought for it but the Black Baptis won" In the early days it is said crowds were taken for baptism to the creek on the property of Mr. J. H. Burns, now a peach orchard, and sometimes to the lake near Kennedy's Hollow, it told of one who when presented for baptism, in fright ran home. The oil painting of Col. Butler in the possession of the Historical Society was copied from the original picture by Mr. Henry Oakley, the son of Rev. J. Oakley. Mr. Oakley was born in England in 1792. In the entry of his marriage in St. Mark's register he is called Clerk of Field Train. -- J. C.

Recollections of Mrs. Elizabeth Quade, nee Henry.

Miss Quade, of Ransomville, has given many interesting particulars of her grandfather and grandmother as well as having favored us with several contributions to the Historical Room, and I have tried to put together these written at different times. The first given was written by her mother in Aug. 1889.

"My father, Dominic Henry, was born in the county of Derry, Ireland. When eighteen years of age he enlisted in the Royal Artillery, which came to this county at the time of the Revolutionary War and was in the army of Cornwallis at the time of his surrender in 1781. My father obtained a furlough to go home and visit his parents and friends; his furlough lasted six months and during that time he became acquainted with Mary Madden, born in the county of Antrim and in 1790 they were married and he returned to his regiment, the 4th Battalion of Royal Artillery, they were moved to several parts of Canada and at last came to Fort George, where he ended his military service, obtained his discharge and kept the lighthouse where he remained eleven years from 1803 to 1814 the light house being then taken down, and the tower which now stands built in the same spot in Fort Mississagua enclosure. His term of military service was 30 years and 30 days, and he died in Niagara in 1829."

In the Wilson Star of Oct. 11th, 1888, is an article by a reporter who interviewed Mrs. Quade, then 84 years of age, which gives some additional particulars. She said "that the population of Niagara in 1812 was about 400, while Youngstown at that time consisted of two frame houses owned by men of the names of Grinset and Swain. There was no church there, and the officers and soldiers stationed at Fort Niagara crossed over to Fort George and attended services on Sunday, and coming in contact with Canadian and British officers there a friendship sprung up between the officers of both armies. I remember when war was declared in June 1812, when the news reached Fort George great excitement prevailed. Some American officers over at Fort George left the King's Wharf

near there and parted with sincere regret. On Sunday before the declaration of war General Brock attended St. Mark's Church and Dr. West from Youngstown, had with him his two pretty little daughters, General Brock bid them good-bye, and said to Dr. West "Good Bye when we meet again we shall be enemies. The reporter goes on to say Mrs. Quade saw many exciting times during the war. The Americans had one day been firing and she was playing house with several children near the lighthouse when a man came along and picked up a cannon ball which had just been fired, he was passing along with it in his arms when another ball which had just been fired struck the one he had in his arms and he was killed instantly, Capt. Bernard Frey. At another time she and several other children were playing in a wheelbarrow near the lighthouse when a cannon ball struck about two feet from them. They then ran behind the lighthouse and in another moment another ball struck the wheelbarrow they had just left, smashing it to atoms. Another time an old lady, named Grier, was feeding her cat when a red hot ball struck the cat, killing it instantly, the old lady was greatly incensed against the enemy. When the town was burned the lighthouse was left as it benefited the Americans as well as the British. General Harrison when stopping a short time at Fort George 1813, called at the lighthouse and engaged in a conversation with her father, the Keeper, who gave the details of several battles favorable to the British. Being in civilians' clothes Henry did not know for some time that he was talking to General Harrison and begged him not to consider his conversation very serious, he having spoken very freely, but was told that he could not be blamed for standing up for his country.

Miss Quade lately found a paper writer by her mother in 1886, when she was 82 years of age. "As I looked at the picture of St. Mark's Church it brought to my mind many things that happened in days long passed and gone. That was the church where I was baptized by the Rev. Robt. Addison in May 1804, with a brother and sister at the same time, and he also performed the marriage ceremony for two of my sisters, Mary, who married Rev. John Oakley in 1816, then an officer in the Field Train Department and also my sister Catharine, who married Mr. Chase. The Rev. Thos. Creen, his successor, was a Presbyterian when he came to Niagara but after a few years became an Episcopal minister, I heard him preach his first sermon in Niagara, it was preached in a school house, Presbyterian school house, used as church after the war, as the church had been burnt down. His text was "Who is this that cometh from Edom with dyed garments from Bozrah?" I afterwards heard him preach a funeral sermon in the Episcopal Church for a young girl, the daught-

er of Lawyer Cameron. His text was Jer. 3. 4. "Wilt thou not from this time call unto me, My Father, thou art the guide of my youth?" The text followed me till I at last sought the Lord to be my guide, and I find that he whom I sought to be my guide in my youth is my stay in my old age. My mind has been carried back to my childhood's days to the time of the building of Fort Mississagua. I think perhaps there is no other person living who can tell what I can about it. I saw the first sods dug that were used in the building of that fort. The lighthouse stood on the ground where the old tower now stands, our dwelling house also stood near the lighthouse and there is the place where I was born and my childhood days were past there and after the war the lighthouse was torn down and the tower built from the stone and bricks from the ruins of the town and lighthouse. I can remember far better what took place in those days than I can things that transpired but a short time ago, I well remember the day General Brock and his Aid-de-Camp were killed. I was at the funeral, I remember hearing the muffled drums beating and of seeing the soldiers standing in line and the band marched between the two lines of soldiers across the common to Fort George where he was buried, and the American flag at Fort Niagara was at half mast. The day after the funeral my mother took us children up to Queenston to let us see where General Brock was killed. It was at the foot of the hill near a thorn tree, I have been there many times since and think I could go to the very spot now. I remember when the Americans took Niagara and well do I remember when they left it leaving the village in flames, and I can remember many other things that occurred then of which I have not time to write now. Many of the people of the town brought furniture and articles of value to our house while the town was burning till the house was full and we could take no more. It is now fifty five years since I left Niagara and settled in the town of Porter, now called Ransomville. I should like to know how many of the inhabitants are now living who were in Niagara when I left in 1831. I went there a few years ago to look once more at my former home and I found but few of my acquaintances left, Miss Jane Winterbottom, Miss Agnes McKee and Mr. Bernard Clench. The last school I attended was to Miss McKee's father and mother."

We are fortunate indeed in having the reminiscences of such an intelligent and well informed narrator. Mrs. Quade was often surrounded by the children of the neighbors begging for a story of the taking of Niagara. To make it clearer she drew a sketch on common wrapping paper which is now framed and in possession of the Historical Society, it shows the river, Youngstown, fort, lighthouse, batteries and town.

In a very rare book, the report of the Loyal and Patriotic Society formed during the war of 1812-14, there is a very interesting mention of Mrs. Henry. It appears that on the day of the taking of Fort George Mrs. Henry, living near the lighthouse, served out refreshments to our soldiers who were resisting the enemy landing on the lake shore. For this noble deed the Loyal and Patriotic Society afterwards gave her the sum of £25 calling her "a brave woman and one not to be frightened."

Miss Quade also tells us that when her mother brought her children to Niagara for a visit and they landed from Youngstown to the Ferry she would say in passing what is left to us of Navy Hall "There is the old Parliament House." We possess a very good picture of Mrs. Quade, and a love letter addressed to her in 1824, which is very interesting to visitors at the Room, also a letter to Mrs. Henry, Fort George, 1820 from Ireland referring to different officers and soldiers. Dominic Henry and his wife are both buried in St. Mark's Cemetery not far from the church, but no stone as yet marks the grave of the veteran and his brave wife one of the heroines of the past.

Mrs. Quade lived to the age of 90, dying in 1894, an obituary in the local paper speaks of her Christian testimony on her death bed.

REV. JOHN MCEWAN.

Rev. John McEwan was the son of Capt. McEwan, who fought at Queenston Heights and is honorably mentioned in the military despatches as having fought well. We are fortunate in possessing copies of several letters sent to Miss Quade giving his early recollections which confirm, or clear up several doubtful points in the history of our town.

“I was born in Niagara in 1811, Niagara in my boyhood was a flourishing town, it was the market for the farmers living within a radius of forty miles, Many brought their produce to market in large boats, great crowded market waggons could also be seen in the market place. It was a sight for the boys to see the four horse coaches in the morning as they came from Niagara Falls with travellers. On 13th Oct., 1824, I was present when the remains of General Brock and his aid were taken from the ramparts of Fort George to the monument on Queenston Heights. When General Brock's coffin was opened the flesh was still on his face, it continued thus however only for a moment or two after the air struck it. The hearse was a large army waggon covered with black cloth, it was drawn by four black horses, driven by a black driver, four black men walked by the head of the horses. Boy like I followed the procession, though young, walking to Queenston and back again. When we got back to Capt. Cooper's Grove there was a halt called and a rest taken. I have always understood that the building between Fort George and Butler's Barracks was the Parliament House. The lighthouse on the American side must have been built as early as 1815, I can remember it at an early period of my life on the large building at the north east corner of the Fort. General Brock was buried in the north east corner of the ramparts of Fort George. I have been at his grave often. On the east side of the Fort there was a fine fish pond for the officers of the regiment. It was close to the Fort built of stone, a spring of clear water supplied it, so clear that the fish could plainly be seen. On the west side of the ramparts multitudes would assemble on race days to see the races. On the first street, south of St. Mark's run-

ing east and west, the hill leading to the river was cut down to make it more easy of ascent and Indian bones, kettles, and other articles used by Indians were found, it was supposed to have been an Indian burying ground before Niagara was peopled by the whites. I can give the names of the merchants, hotel keepers, steamboats, An old tree stood at the south corner of Mr. Jno. Secord's farm, the first farm from the town on the Lake Road, it was the most gigantic oak I ever saw, was I think double the height of any tree near it and with the exception of Brock's Monument, was the first thing seen in crossing from Toronto. The Free Masons used to meet in Alexander Rogers' Hotel. I have always understood that the first Parliament met in the building used as a Military Hospital in my time. The ramparts of Fort Mississagua were enclosed with oak pickets ten or twelve feet above the ground. The pickets were brought from the whirlpool and rafted down.

The night when the town was burned I have been told that a number of people were huddled together in a large smoke house, belonging to my father. Part of the time the English Church was used as a prison. My father was there one night as a prisoner to the Americans and that night two prisoners were scalped by the Indians. My father, Capt McEwan, of the Flank Co. 1st Lincoln Regt., was wounded at the battle of Niagara, was found after the battle and taken home, but was taken a prisoner out of his bed and sent to Green Bush near Albany, N. Y.

The stone house on the corner near the English Church was built by old Mr. Eaglesum. It was said that he picked up stones from the ruins of the town wherever he could and carried them on his back or in his arms to the lot.

The first ministers I remember were Rev. Mr. Addison, and Rev. Mr. Burns of the Episcopal and Presbyterian Churches. The wharf was the King's Wharf and the building there was the King's Storehouse. The teachers I remember were Mrs. Ewart, Mrs. Newall, Mr. Alex. McKee, Mr. Crombie, and Mr. Oakley. Rev. Jno. Burns taught the District School. I remember Walter Dickson as a scholar, John Waters was the best mathematician in school, Mr. Creen was the preceptor after Rev. Jon. Burns and then J. G. Ralston. An early teacher was Mr. Hurst, and Mr. Roberts, the latter taught at one time in an upper room of the frame building used by the Presbyterian Church after the war. Mr. Roberts was drowned in Niagara the day after his school closed."

The Rev. Jno. McEwan (also spelled McEuan) who was born in Niagara 1811, died in Moberly, Mo., in 1901. He was licensed to preach in 1839 and filled different appointments till 1887. He was interred in Tonawanda, N. Y.—J.C.

Reminiscences Of Mr. Daniel Field.

Reminiscences of the war of 1812-13-14 as given by Mr. Daniel Field at a family gathering on the anniversary of his 80th birthday.

I volunteered in a company of Dragoons, under the command of Major Merritt in 1811, and in June 1812 war was declared and I was called out on the 20th of June for active service. I was at the taking of Detroit for which I received a medal* and was orderly to Major Glegg at the battle of Queenston Heights on the 13th October, 1812, during which General Brock fell, during the ensuing winter I carried despatches from Queenston to Chippewa, I also was engaged in the battle of Lundy's Lane, our company got scattered and I got separated from them and was on the battle field all night carrying drink to the wounded, who lay scattered over the field, I was quite near Mr. Cockell, who was shot at that battle. Previous to this I was at the battle at Niagara on the 27th May. I was there carrying ammunition from Fort George to the army, during the battle I left my team and ran to the scene of action, when returning I came upon a wounded soldier who was unable to walk, so I took him on my back and carried him to the hospital, we were then forced to retire to Burlington Heights.

I was with the army during the whole of the ensuing summer, but received my discharge in November, and then returned to my home on the bank of Niagara River, but had scarcely been there two hours when I was taken prisoner by the Americans and taken to Niagara town. The next day they took me and my horse over the river to Fort Niagara on the American side, where I was kept a prisoner for six weeks. It was while I was there that the town of Niagara was burned by the Americans and evacuated by them.

There were 16 white and 12 Indian prisoners in the Fort with me, through the aid of a friend I got home again. As soon as it was known by Col. Hamilton of the 100th Regt. and officers they called on me to give information with regard to Fort Niagara, which they

*Mentioned on page 12, No. 5 of publications of Niagara Historical Society, where there is an engraving of the Field's House.



Andrew Kemp.



Mrs. John Whitten.



contemplated attacking.

A few days after, Col. Hamilton with his regiment crossed over for that purpose, and I with a company, called the "Forlorn Hope," was the first to cross. I piloted them into the Fort, which was taken after much loss of life, and that was one of my last adventures of the war.

"And now the war is over boys,
Down we'll sit at ease,
We'll plough and sow,
And reap and mow,
And do just as we please."



REMINISCENCES OF MR. JAS. A. DAVIDSON.

In a letter to the Niagara Times he says: "You frequently publish articles that interest me much in reference to old Niagara fifty or sixty years ago, and this has put the whim into my mind to give you some of my early recollections when I became a dweller therein in 1836. Commencing at the north end of the principal street, Queen, R. M. Chrysler carried on an extensive store, across from that the British American Hotel, then kept by Peter Cain, then the store of Wilson and Charles then the watchmaker's shop of Canniff, then the Clement block of stores, first that of Lewis Clement & Sons, next Peter Drummond's, extensive grocery and that of the Laidlaw Bros., and on the corner a brick store, the fine establishment of Balfour & Drysdale. Next up street was the hardware store of R. M. Long, the law office of Jas. Boulton, then a vacant lot owned by Jno. Young, and on the corner a two story tin roofed brick store in which Jas. Lockhart had a branch of the Commercial Bank, then the large brick store of J. L. Alma and a watchmaker's shop kept by one Peters, and on the corner at Market Square J.J. Ralston's stationer's store, at the next corner of the Market Square a brick store, Clark's grocery, then a tall narrow three story store, kept by Thos. Shaw, and adjoining it the tinware and hardware of the Wagstaff's. On the next corner Wm. Barr's extensive store, then John Andrew's furniture store and farther on opposite the Catholic Church R. Mofat's Hotel, then go down the street northward again on the corner of King the law office of E. C. Campbell, afterwards judge, the drug store of Jas. Harvey, then Culver and Cameron's store, a

tailor's shop, Frazer, and the great store of Jno. Young and his residence, a wooden store, Stocking & Grier's big store. John Grier and Judge Campbell were the two tallest men in the Niagara District. Next to Stocking & Grier's was the blacksmith's shop of Matthew Dobbie, then Smart's hat store, and the tailor's shop of Campbell & Sherwood, and Miss Thorpe's grocery, and Fisher's watchmaker's shop. On the corner the drug store of Ralph Clench. Across on the next corner was Brown's Hotel, the dwelling place of Dr. Matthews, Brown's store, shop, and Massey's harness shop, the bakery of Dix and Hay, the residence of Charles Field, and on the corner Maloney's tailoring establishment, employing six or eight workmen. On the next corner a tin roofed brick block of Blake and Rogers, next to this the Roger's residence and next the Post Office, then a two story brick house, next the residence of Archibald Gilkison, then the residence of R. M. Crysler, afterwards sold to C. L. Hall, a lawyer, and next north, the fine house of Jas. Lockhart, merchant, shipowner and banker, this house was erected by Chas. Richardson.

— In 1837 I remember standing on the top of Fort Mississagua with J. F. R. Comer, Commissariat Dept., watching the cloud of black smoke, when Montgomery's tavern was burnt. The little Steamer Commodore Barrie had a few days before taken a load of volunteers from Niagara to fight the rebels. When they returned, some with faces purposely blacked, some with pikes picked up on the field, one, Tom Stead, with a big bay horse captured, there was a jolly crowd. The late Hon. Jno. Simpson was one of the most active of the volunteers. Capt. Barker's Company of Fireman went to Chip-pawa as part of the military force and Capt. Clench's Company of colored troops to Port Robinson to guard the Welland Canal.

Niagara in my boyhood was the great trading point for the district. The Niagara Harbour and Dock Company was at the height of its prosperity and employed hundreds of workmen, many steamers were built here. All the court business for the counties of Lincoln, Welland and Haldimand was here transacted. In 1838 a company of Sappers and Miners arrived from England and were employed in the renovation of Fort Mississagua. Also about this time perhaps the finest military body that ever came to the district, the King's Dragoon Guards, officered by men of wealth and title. The men were all six feet in height with fine well trained horses. Butler's Barracks was put in order for them, many of the officers were in private houses. Some of the young officers when on a lark often carried off the big gilded boot, the sign of P. Finn, shoemaker, and sometimes paid a fine of \$25 for this, so that it proved very profitable to the owner.

REMINISCENCES OF AMERICAN OCCUPATION OF NIAGARA FROM 27th MAY TO 10th DEC. 1813.

These have been gathered from conversations with descendants of those living in the town or from letters and other documents.

Mrs. Follett remembers that her mother, Mrs. Whitten, daughter of Samuel Cassady, told her that on the day of the attack Mrs. Cassady with her children walked out to Butler's farm for safety and the daughter Jane, afterwards Mrs. Whitten, carried her little brother on her back. They stayed all night in the barn and the mother returned in the morning to see how matters stood. The house was on Queen Street near Mr. John Sando's and was found to be occupied by American officers. She had left bread recently baked in the house and on inquiring if she could return with her children, they asked who made the bread they had found in the house and offered to let her return on condition that she would bake for them, they supplying 100 lbs. of flour and she giving 100 lbs. of bread and to have all the additional loaves for herself. This she did all the time they were in occupation a proof no doubt that Mrs. Cassady made good bread. She also remembers that the house near was occupied by her brother-in-law, Mr. Chas. Field, and on the soldiers ransacking the house they found in an upper room in a trunk the Free Mason Regalia as the meetings were held in the house at one time as shown by notices in the papers. An officer stopped them, evidently one of the fraternity, and the house was free from plundering on that account.

A letter from Hon. Wm. Dickson at Albany 14th Aug., 1813' contains the account of himself and others who were made prisoners in violation of the promise of Dearborn. On 19th June they were made prisoners, kept in a house in town, then sent to Fort Niagara, three days thence to Batavia, Canandaigua, Geneva, Utica, 300 miles in 57 days. A list of persons is given who were taken into custody on 19th, 20th, 21st, June 1813. Another document gives the names of non-combatants to whom passports were given on Dec. 11th, 1813, and in a list of 8th Jan., 1814; proposed for exchange, the names seem to be all military. The report of Jno. Erly, M.D., to

Harvey as to return of prisoners kept at Sandusky in a low swampy place, fever and dysentery, prevail, men are weak, sallow, he had never in any place seen such sickness among soldiers. The list is:—

Wm. Dickson,	Barrister.	Jno. McFarland, Boat-builder.
Jno. Symington,	Merchant.	Ralph Clench, Clerk of Peace.
Jos. Edwards,	“	Jno. Powell, Registrar.
Jas. Muirhead,	Surgeon	Geo. Lane, Usher to L. C.
Andrew Heron,	Merchant	Jno. McEwan, Merchant.
Jno. Grier,	“	Jacob Ball, Farmer.

Jno. Crooks, Clerk to Jas. Crooks, and twelve others.

The list to whom passports were given on Dec 11th, 1813, Wm. Dickson, Jno Edwards, Jno Grier, Jno McFarland, Jno Crooks, J. Baldwin, A. Heron, others on Dec. 8th and Dec. 24th signed on Jan. 1814.

Mrs. Wm. Dickson when the town was burned was ill in bed and was carried out and lay on the snow watching the destruction of the house, the first brick house built in Niagara shown by a letter dated 1795. The library was valued at £600. The late Walter H. Dickson then a boy of six remembered them threatening to throw him in the well.

Mrs McKee, whose husband was a prisoner at the Fort, on the death of a child refused to have it buried till the husband and father could come to the funeral. He was blindfolded and brought over with a guard and then returned the same way. When the town was burned the family had seven buildings burned, the store with valuable goods from Montreal, a soap and candle manufactory, two dwelling houses etc. They packed fifteen trunks with the most valuable things and their friend, the father of the late Dr. Rolls sent for them to his house near St. Catharines. The mother to keep her little girl from standing on the snow while watching the conflagration placed her on a large tea tray but in spite of all her toes were partly frozen. On reaching the Eight-Mile Creek the trunks were buried and covered with brushwood to be safe from marauders.

Mr. Andrew Heron, the Secretary and Librarian of the Niagara Library started in 1800, lived near what was afterwards Howard's Hotel but was then a prisoner at Greenbush with others formerly mentioned, found on his return that his wife with an infant child (afterwards Mrs. Dugdale) had been carried out on the snow while the town was burning. The library of 1800-1820 was partly saved as shown by entries afterwards and lists of books bought to replace those destroyed. Mrs. Taylor of Ancaster, has part of a volume

which her father, Capt. Taylor, saved, from the burning building and it was supposed to be the only book so saved, but the existence of several is known of. The fragment had had charred leaves. One book, No. 81, is now in possession of the Niagara Historical Society and Mrs. M. Servos has two volumes also with the original label. There were 400 people in the town, mostly women and children, or old men and invalids, as the able bodied were either prisoners or in the militia fighting.

The house of Mr. Ralph Clench was not burned as shown in "Proceedings of the Loyal and Patriotic Society," but was burnt accidentally a few weeks afterwards, two families Clench and Stewart, were living there, and help was given as there were seventeen thus left homeless

The late John Rogers told me that he was a boy of nine at the time and that he distinctly remembered being on the street when a cannon ball fired from Fort Niagara passed near him. Their home could have been saved as they had friends, indeed relatives among the American officers, but were told this would only be an injury as it would be thought they were disloyal and sympathizers with the enemy. It is told that one of the beautiful mantel pieces in the present house was saved by Mrs. Rogers, who carried it out herself.

Mrs. Winterbottom was in the house situated where Dr. Ker's house stands and American officers boarded there. An Indian came in one day and demanded liquor, her child, the late W. B. Winterbottom, ran screaming that his mother was being killed, as on her refusal the Indian raised his tomahawk to kill her but an officer fortunately struck him down with his sword. During the bombardment people retreated to their cellars, some hung blankets over their windows, some took refuge after the burning in a cave dug in the side of a hill, or made huts of rough boards.

Mrs. Campbell, wife of Fort Major Campbell. The following letters show the sufferings and losses of the family.

Stamford, 28th June, 1815.

MADAM—The Province of Nova Scotia having voted the sum of £2500 for the relief of sufferers on the Niagara frontier from the conflagration of their houses by the enemy, the trustees appointed by the President, Sir Gordon Drummond to distribute the fund, have deposited in the hands of Thos. Dickson, Esq., of Queenston, the sum of £63 12s 8½d, to be paid to your receipt on demand. They have done this on the supposition that such a sum might be acceptable al-

though no application to share in this benevolence has been made on your behalf. Should you decline to accept of the sum, the Trustees request that you would signify your pleasure to Mr. Dickson as early as possible so that it may be divided amongst others,

Thos. Scott.

Wm. Dummer Powell

John Strachan.

Mrs. Major Campbell,
Windsor,
Nova Scotia.

In a letter from York, Jan. 18th, 1816, from Alex. Wood the claims of Mrs. Campbell are stated. "She bore her troubles with much fortitude and resolution. She was in comfortable circumstances, and on the death of her husband in 1812, with three young children was unable to leave the place and on the memorable night of the destruction of the town she was driven from her house with her infants, without the possibility of saving her own or their clothes and was with Mrs. Wm. Dickson exposed for three days and nights upon the snow with the canopy of Heaven for a covering, her house once the seat of hospitality and plenty reduced to ashes before her face, a few valuables she had endeavoured to save were torn from her by a monster in human form and carried off and divided. All this is known to several respectable people."

In a letter from Alex. Stewart, July 25th, 1823, to Alex. Wood, York, supposedly a statement of losses for Government damages he mentions that "the widow Campbell lived in a house 36x26, a story and a half high, finished in handsome style with barn etc., a good fence round two acres of land with fruit trees. Her house was furnished in a style corresponding with the rank of her husband, a Major in the army Her furniture plundered and a sum of money taken from her hands by a villain of our country serving under the rebel Wilcocks. Several gentlemen have placed the value of her property at £1200 cy. On her husband's death leaving three children, one an infant, this unfortunate woman after carrying it four miles to baptism had to dig its grave and cover its remains. If there is an individual who can claim more commiseration than another surely it would be Mrs. Campbell."

Statement of loss by the conflagration of the town 10th Dec. 1813, of Mrs Eliza Campbell, widow of Fort Major Duncan Campbell.

Dwelling House, Barn	£ 600	s 0	2 Pair Tongs and Shovels	£ 2	s 0
10 Silver Table Spoons	10	0	1 Pair Dog Irons	2	0
10 Dessert Spoons	6	5	1 Large Iron Oven	1	5
20 Tea Spoons	5	10	1 " Wash Kettle	1	0
1 Silver Soup Ladle	3	0	1 Bell Metal Wash Kettle	1	10
4 Salt & Mustard Spoons	1	0	2 Iron Pots, Frying Pan	1	15
2 Silver Cups, large	12	0	1 Large Copper Tea Kettle	1	10
1 Chestdrawers	5	0	6 Dozen Table Plates	2	0
13 Chairs	4	15	2 " Dishes	3	10
1 Complete Set.			15 Glass Tumblers	1	5
Walnut Dining Table	6	0	12 Wine Glasses		14
1 Four Post Bedstead	4	0	2 Dressing Glasses	2	12
1 Travelling "	3	10	1 Piece White Cotton	2	13
2 Camp "	5	0	1 Wrapper Coat	4	0
1 Small "	2	0	1 Barrel Pork	5	0
1 Washstand	1	0	1 " Beef	4	0
5 Small Tables	2	10	1 Handsome Fowling Piece	5	0
1 Cow and Calf	5	10	Tea Tray, 4 doz. Cups and		
1 Mare, two year old, 1			Saucers	2	4
yearling	30	0	1 Wood Saw, 2 Spades		
3 Canadian Stoves	25	0			

£ 773 13

(Fort Major Campbell was taken prisoner with Cornwallis, served afterwards at Halifax was Capt. in 5th Regt. and Fort Major at Fort George, where he was buried shortly after Sir Isaac Brock, near the West Garrison Gate.—Ed. J.C.)

In a letter from Geo. Phillpots, Royal Engineer's Office, Fort George, he asks as to the claims of people in Niagara whose chimneys and walls were taken down to build by others and asks whether the price of the brick or stone is to be given or value as standing as chimneys are good enough to build round and some walls good enough to put a roof on. In July last when there was a probability of Americans attacking Fort George and Mississauga he was ordered by General Riall to cut down all orchards in the town and level all the buildings which would afford cover to an enemy between the forts. People are demanding to be paid for the loss sustained.

Wm Hamilton Merritt says in his diary that "on the 6th we went down to Castle Chorus with Capt. Hamilton, Jarvis, McKenny and Ball to find some medicine buried there, next day procured a wagon had the chest dug up. Whilst there at breakfast at Squire P. Ball's a fight commenced between Indians under Capt. Norton

and Chief Blackbird and about 600 of the States Infantry. In Oct. Mr. Gordon, his brother-in-law took his family from 12 Mile Creek to Burlington for safety.

On Dec. 10th saw by the glare at night that the town was on fire. On the advance of Col. Murray nothing but heaps of coals and streets full of furniture was seen, Mr. Gordon's house left standing. The barracks and woodwork nearly consumed. I returned to Rev. Mr. Addison's almost famished and had a good sleep."

Rev. Jno. McEwan says "the night the town was burned a number of people were huddled together in a large smoke house owned by my father. Part of the time the old English Church was used as a prison. My father, Capt. McEwan, was there one night as a prisoner. He was wounded at the battle of Niagara and taken home, was taken prisoner out of his bed and sent to Greenbush, N.Y."

In ten years of U.C., by Mrs. Edgar. A letter from T. G. Ridout to his father from St. Davids 20th July, 1813. "Rode down to the Cross Roads three miles from Niagara where the Royal King's and 600 or 700 Indians are posted. The Americans were "advancing into Ball's fields. Blackbird and Norton went to meet them. We rode to within $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles of the town. The road was covered with Indians, officers and soldiers and from the Presbyterian Church they must have judged our force 3000, but we had only 1000."

The same officer writes from St. Davids 24th Aug., 1813. "Lieut. Col. O'Neil with 30 Dragoons 19th covered the advance of Lt.-Col. Harvey into the town. Scouring several of the streets as far as the Presbyterian Church, Col. Harvey called at his old quarters and recovered a box he had left there. The enemy commenced a brisk fire from the garden walls and houses, but our troops retired in order and with little loss.

Sept. 15th, Headquarters near Niagara. We burn rails, steal apples, pears, and peaches. I carry on foraging, onions, eggs, turkeys, musk melons, milk cows, etc.

Sept 4th, 1813, Four Mile Creek. We have changed quarters from St. Davids. The 8th, 104th, part of the 89th and 100th on the edge of the wood, in front the main road crossing the camp by Mr. Addison's, where the General stays, we took possession of an old house, made a straw bed on the floor. We collect balm from the garden for tea and carry on an extensive robbery of peas, onions,

corn, carrots, etc., for we can get nothing but by stealing except milk. Bread and butter is out of the question, we have an iron pot which serves for teapot, roaster, and boiler, and two window shutters put upon three barrels serve for a table.

Sept. 21st, I carry on the foraging, the nests are kept nice and clean from eggs. We feed a turkey every day at the door which is doomed for our Sunday dinner. I wish George could bring a little starch with him for the frills of my shirts. Peggy Nelles has just mended my blue coat and sent it down to me for which I thank her very much; concerning the shirts the starch has not yet come to hand."

Mrs R. N. Ball, says the Crooks family, left for Thorold at 12 at night, 26th May from Crookston, one mile creek, carried a child of ten which was helpless. Old Jacob Ball's wife also went to Thorold carrying a baby. The log house at Crookston was swimming with blood the day of the battle. The Ball home was 74 ft. long, part of logs, additions were built in 1814. It was taken down and is now a packing house for fruit, the ceiling is high and the old doors may yet be seen.

— Rev. John Carrol in My Boy Life, gives his own recollections and those of his mother. Born in 1809 he was only four when the family came to Niagara and his father and two brothers enlisted in the Royal Artillery Drivers and had been in the town a fortnight when the battle occurred May 27th, 1813, "I remember the militia men pouring into the house to receive a badge of white cotton or linen on the arm to let the Indians know that we were British, (for both sides employed Indians.) I remember the women in tears, ranks of red coated soldiers then sounds, bang, bang, pop, pop. Mother said the bullets flew like handfuls of peas, then a crashing sound through the house, it was a cannon ball, through the walls over our heads, mother took us out of the house, spread a blanket near a fence close to a wheatfield, another cannon ball ploughed up the ground near us mother thought it time to flit, a brother ten years old had a feather, bed and some bedding in a sheet tied on his back and we went to the Four Mile Creek. Our horses on the common fell into the enemy's hands, the house we left was afterwards burned with all our household effects. We got into good quarters, an old farmer, George Lawrence, a Methodist Class Leader, took us in. Mrs Lawrence had a good voice and used to sing the old fashioned spiritual songs. Defensive works were thrown up in the northwest bank of the creek, about a quarter of a mile away. We were at the mercy of the forag

ing parties from both sides. Some paid and others did not. The old man wept when abused that the victuals were not better. A guard of thirty was placed near. Old Mr. and Mrs. Stivens, Dutch people, had two sons, Hans and Hinery in the Provincial Dragoons. Mrs. Cassady who came there to nurse a sick daughter performed two very heroic acts. One day shots were heard, a little soldier who had been posted in the orchard came running scrambling up the steps. "Lord Jaisus, where will a fellow hide?" to which Mrs. Cassady replied by pushing him heels over head down the steps. "Go fight like a man." Poor old Mrs. Stivens wrung her hands "och my poor Hans, oh my poor Hinery". Presently the dreaded Indians appeared in twos and threes. Mr. Lawrence offered his hand which was accepted but another came up and caught him by his neckcloth, Corporal Smith, a militia man, took out a cartridge, when another Indian shot our defender through the back. Another advanced with his tomahawk, when courageous Mrs. Cassady rushed forward and knocked it away exclaiming "Don't murder the man in the house," and he was led away a prisoner. Mother had before this thrust us four little ones into a pot hole under the stairs and now stood with her back to the door and her face to the Indians like a bear at bay. They passed through the house up stairs and down. We never knew whether they were British Indians, or not, but some thought they had quarrelled with the soldiers and were out to do mischief. A son of the house, George Lawrence, in the militia, was that day brought in wounded in the thigh in a skirmish. The Lawrences now retired farther back and we started through the Black Swamp, walking to the Ten Mile Creek, where we found shelter in a small log house."

P. McDonough, letters from Fort George, 1813, Newark, May 30th. "We are at last in Canada. The enemy met us on the shore and made an obstinate resistance for fifteen minutes. This is a delightful place, the people evacuated but are returning daily.

Aug. 4th We still remain here doing nothing. If things go on no better than they are doing I shall be ashamed to return to Philadelphia next winter. War characters must rank low there.

Aug. 9th. I was out all afternoon and had a few shots at the Indians. Ours are coming over to-morrow about 400 or 500.

Oct. 8th. The Militia and Indians had a desperate engagement with a party of the British on the 6th for about two hours and a half fought at such a distance that four were killed. We can attempt nothing, Col. Scott's positive orders are not to suffer himself to be drawn out of the Fort on any terms whatever or to permit an officer to leave it."

Letter of General Drummond to Loyal and Patriotic Society. Jan. 1st, 1815. "When shortly after being appointed to the command of the Province, on visiting the Niagara frontier I was shocked beyond measure at beholding the desolation that had been spread on the once flourishing village of Niagara. As the principal sharer in the immense stores that had been captured in the important fortress in Niagara I beg to subscribe my portion of the prize money towards relieving the distress of those persons who inhabited the late village of Niagara and vicinity." The letter contained £360, being £200 the amount of the annual subscription and one hundred and sixty pounds being his proportion of his share for first division of Niagara Fort prize money. "The Lieut.-Gen. regrets that this latter sum should have fallen so far short of his expectations but he trusts the next dividend will afford him a share worth the acceptance of the Society for their truly laudable and benevolent purposes."

Dr. Mann wrote of his medical and surgical experiences in the American army. He says that after Niagara was taken 27th May, nearly 400 killed or wounded lay on the ground in a space 200 yds. by 15 showing how sternly contested was the battle. In the summer the sickness among the soldiers was alarming. At Fort George and near it of 5000 men, more than one third were on the sick list from effluvia from sinks. When 700 men were in hospital there were only three surgeons fit for duty. During June it rained almost incessantly, July and August were very hot, the enemy near, skirmish almost daily. In October and November rain, diseases were typhus, diarrhoea, dysentery, many died from diarrhoea, being stopped with acetate of lead which brought other dreadful diseases. A flying hospital was established at Lewiston.

The statement of Mrs. Henry serving out refreshments to our soldiers on the day of the battle has been already given.

In a letter from Alexander Hamilton, afterwards Sheriff Hamilton written to Edinburgh and dated St. Davids, July 4th are a few references to the state of affairs then and to familiar names. After giving a sketch of the battles of Detroit, Queenston, Ft. George, Stoney Creek, Beaver Dams, He says,

"The Americans upon taking possession of Niagara allowed the inhabitants to remain in quiet possession of their homes and property but since their last adverse fortune they have taken up almost every gentleman of respectability and sent them over the river as prisoners of war. You will be sorry to hear Mr. Wm. Dickson is among the number. Mr. T. Dickson had to make his escape in the night, John

Robertson, you will be glad to hear, has behaved himself with great propriety and approved himself a most gallant soldier, his wife and daughter are both well. Robert went up last winter with Mr. Robert Dickson to bring down for our support the Northwestern Indians and is expected back every day. George and myself are attached to Col de Haren, of the 104th Regt. from our knowledge of the country and roads to assist him. James is attached as a Lieut. to the Incorporated Militia. It is with the utmost pleasure I say that although one or other of us, sometimes two or three together have been in almost every action yet that not one of your friends has been hurt. Mr. and Mrs. Clarke, Mr. and Mrs. William and Thomas Dickson are all well. We are still determined that although the force of the enemy is still greatly superior to ours, to make one gallant attempt to drive them from our shores, trusting to that divine providence which has hitherto, so strongly upheld us, we have no fears."

In the Report of the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada and Montreal a very rare book published 1817, are many references to help given to inhabitants many of them wealthy but left destitute. Large sums were subscribed in Nova Scotia, Jamaica, London, Montreal, England. One tenth of income of subscribers was given, Militia of York gave one day's pay. Rev. R. Addison and Rev. Dr. Strathan gave their services in distributing. Dr. Muirhead was very active in assisting the distressed and though he lost almost all at the burning, would take nothing from the society for his medical services to the poor. Widow Secord faithfully distributed £110 to sufferers at St. Davids. Rev. Dr. Burns distributed at Stamford, Mr. Geo. Ball distributed at 20 Mile Creek, Thos. Dickson also.

A letter from Gen. Drummond 14th Mar., 1814, tells of the distress of the family of Mr. Clench, whose home, the only one remaining was burnt down accidentally on the 14th inst. with furniture, bedding, clothes, leaving utterly destitute two families, Mrs. Steward and Mrs. Clench composed of 18 children, mostly females, Mr. Clench being a prisoner.

Mr. Symington's family is referred to, as being driven out, property destroyed, while he, a gentleman of great worth and respectability and wealth, had been taken prisoner at Niagara after he and others had been permitted to take care of their families.

Mr S. Winterbottom is spoken of as very deserving rewarded by his loyalty as the enemy made a point of distressing

all loyal inhabitants.

The names are mentioned of those having suffered of Mrs. Hanna Frey, Mr. Jas. Secord, Capt. David Secord, Mrs. Heward a widow and a teacher lost employment by the war, Widow Myers and her son John Ray a teacher.

Mr. Heron frequently gave to the poor, living in root houses, and cellars and under a few boards leaning upon chimneys still standing, and was allowed £10 to defray what he had thus given.

There is a list given of houses burned in the town and near it, and the supposed value. It was only after many years that a part of this was received and paid in instalments. The Government resisted the claim of St. Andrew's church as the steeple had been used to take observations of the enemy and thus they said it was used for military purposes, but eventually £400 was allowed. St. Mark's had of course been used as a military hospital after the battle of Queenston Heights and afterwards as a commissariat. The money to restore it was given by the king and the S.P.G.

The following list gives an idea of the people of the town and their losses. The first twelve and a few others lived on the outskirts. Descendants of perhaps a dozen of those mentioned are still found living here but of many the name is forgotten.

Isaac Swayze house & barn	£200	Dr. Holmes, house	£ 100
Wm. Dickson, brick house	1000	Dr Kerr, house & stable	650
M. McLellan, house & stable	100	Mrs. E. Thompson, 2 houses	500
M. Bellinger, barn	125	A. McKee, 2 houses	600
Castel Chorus, "	125	Mrs. Forsyth, house etc.	1250
T. Butler, house, stable, barn	200	G. Slingerland,	200
J. Butler, " " "	350	J. Eggleston, 3 houses	750
J. Secord " " "	1200	T. Powis, 2 "	1250
P. Ball, " " "	800	Dr. Muirhead,	500
J. Ball, " " "	1000	Mrs. Stewart,	500
J. Crooks " " "	625	McKean & McEwan	1000
G. Lawe " " "	200	A. Heron,	700
T. Merritt " " "	400	W. Dorman, etc.	150
Rev. Mr. Burns, house	60	A. Rogers	400
J. McKay, barn	60	S. Bunting	100
J. Symington, house etc.	400	Children of J. Kelly	150
J. Clark, house	400	P. De Jordan,	100
R. Clench, house & stable	150	Mrs. Rose Fields	750

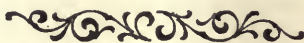
J. McFarlane, house etc.	100	S. Cassady	150
C. Gesseau, two houses	400	J. Monroe	200
D. Secord, house of John	200	E. Vanderlip	1000
Mrs. Wright	150	Mrs. Hill	500
Estate of Fitzgerald	100	A. Garner	450
J. Grier	750	Major Campbell's Estate	350
J. Young	1000	F. Waddell,	350
J. Crooks	1000	J. Clark,	200
W. Dickson	1000	Col. Claus	1000
Estate of J. Emery	1000	J. Powell	300
J. Edwards	500	Mrs. McBride	300
Mrs. Bradshaw	160	J. Adlem	25
J. Rogers	250	Estate of J. Jones	750
Mrs. Frey	300	Joined the Enemy	
J. Saunders	100	W. W.	£ 250
J. ———	50	J. Wagstaff	250
Estate of D. Phelps	100	J. Doty	375
Colonel P———	600	P. Howell	500
Estate of C. McNabb	50	S. Thompson	750

In Niagara 80 houses, barns, stables, etc.

Letters of Col. Wm. Claus 1818-1820 12th Jan. 1818. "My Lord. Anxious that something should be done towards rebuilding our church, which in the winter of 1813 was destroyed by the enemy at the time our town was burnt, I take the liberty of addressing myself to your Lordship, a freedom I would not presume upon if there appeared the most distant prospect or steps taken to make it even in a state that we could attend divine service, but during this season it is hardly possible to attend It remains in the state the commissariat put it in for the purpose of storing provisions in after we repossessed ourselves of the frontier, with the trifling addition of a reading desk and gallery for the troops. I therefore pray the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel would give us aid. The church was made use of in 1812 as a hospital for the wounded soldiers and in 1814-15 as a provision store. Our situation is widely different from the rest of the province, we were deprived of our all and have barely the means of even getting covering for ourselves and families to which cause must be attributed the melancholy state the church remains in "

20th Sept., 1820. To Hon. and Rev. Dr. Stewart, **** Previous to the war of 1812 the small congregation of Niagara erected at their own expense, a church which cost them nearly £1200 cy.

*** In 1816 application was made to His Majesty's government for aid when His Majesty was graciously pleased to order £500 stg. which has been received and applied but falls far short of our wishes, notwithstanding we are keeping the work going on. Our congregations are too poor to expect much from them, from living within gunshot of the enemy they suffered the loss of all they possessed, burnt out and plundered of everything, they have really not yet recovered their misfortunes from the late unhappy war."



References to Niagara in Early Books of Travel, Diaries, etc.

General Lee, papers 1759 (Although Niagara here means Fort Niagara as often in early dates, the glowing description is really that of the vicinity of the Fort just taken from the French and become a British possession.)

"Niagara, Aug. 9th, 1759. The situation of this place and of the country around it is certainly magnificent. It stands on Lake Ontario at the mouth of the river, 18 miles from the Great Falls, the most stupendous cataract in the world. Had I a throat of brass and a thousand tongues I might attempt to describe it but without them it certainly beggars all description. The country resembles Eckworth Park, if not surpasses it. For an immense space around it is filled with deer, bears, turkeys raccoons, in short all game. The lake affords salmon and other excellent fish. But I am afraid you will think I am growing romantic therefore I shall only say it is such a paradise and such an acquisition to our nation that I would not sacrifice it to redeem the dominions of any one Electoral province of Germany from the hands of the enemy."

Gilbert Family Captivity 1780 to 1782. This is a most remarkable story of the capture of fifteen persons of ages from one year to 69 by Indians who had fled at the approach of Sullivan's army. Notwithstanding the hardships they endured during the two years of their wanderings they all with the exception of the father who had-

died from hardships, reached home after their adventures, they had been separated some had run the gauntlet, others were painted black for death, but were finally adopted into Indian families and at last purchased and sent home by way of Montreal by the British Government. The story is a long one, they seem to have kept some sort of diary, but only that part relating to Niagara is given.

Abner Gilbert was with Elizabeth Gilbert with a party of Indians near the Falls, they came down to the river to get provisions at Butlersburg. (Niagara) a small village built by Col. Butler on the opposite side of the river to Fort Niagara * * * * They went to the house of an Englishman, one John Secord, who was styled brother to the chief, having lived with him some time before Elizabeth was left here and in July 1781, Col. Butler at Butlersburg tried to free Abner who now found his sister Elizabeth and stayed two weeks in the house of John Secord and drew clothing from the King's stores, Elizabeth was very comfortable here. She with John Secord's wife went to see the child of Elizabeth Peart, over a year old with the Indians. Capt Fry's wife purchased it for thirteen dollars. Elizabeth Gilbert lived more than a year in J Secord's family and became fondly attached to them, calling the mistress of the house her mamma. J. Secord took her one day to Fort Niagara, where she met six of her relations. Col. Butler and John Secord procured her release from the Indian, who claimed her, by presents. She then stayed two weeks more at Butlersburg with the Secord family Rebecca and Benjamin Gilbert were sent to Five Mile Meadow, the Seneca King's daughter took them to a hut, where her father Siangorachtli, his queen, and the family were, eleven in all. After three days they went to the landing on the Niagara river, later they had chill and fever for three months, cured by a decoction of herbs. A Captain Latteridge tried to procure their freedom, Gen. Haldimand at Quebec sent orders for liberty to be given to their captives, at the Council Fire and their freedom was given.

Pigeons were procured by falling trees with nests, dried them in the sun and with smoke. On 30th June, 1782, part of the family sailed for Montreal, and Crown Point was reached and home Sept 1782.

Mrs. Simcoe, wife of Col. J. B. Simcoe, first Lieut.-Gov. of Upper Canada.

"July 26th. 1792. Navy Hall, built for Naval Commanders when here, is now undergoing a thorough repair for our occupation but is still so unfinished that the Governor ordered three marquees to be

pitched on the hill above the house, which is very dry ground and rises beautifully, in parts covered with oak bushes. A fine turf leads on to woods through which runs a good road to the Falls. The side of the hill is terminated by a steep bank covered with wood a hundred feet in height in some places, at the bottom of which runs the Niagara river.

July 30th. We visited the Falls, stopped and breakfasted at Mr. Hamilton's, a merchant, who lives two miles from the landing. Mr. Hamilton has a very good stone house, the back rooms looking on to the river. A gallery the length of the house is a delightful covered walk, both below and above in all weather.

July 29th, 1792, There is no church here, but a room has been built for a Mason's Hall, met for service in Free Mason's Lodge, where Divine Service is performed on Sunday.

June 6th, 1793, Levee at Navy Hall, King's birthday, ball, dancing from 7 to 11, supper, handsome ladies, 60 gentlemen present.

Aug. 24th, 1793, We set out to-day for the Falls, Mr. Pilkington had been desired to put one or two short ladders to make the descent easy from rock to rock by the side of the Indian ladder, (a notched tree.)

May 15th, 1796. Whitsunday: Col. Butler buried to-day."

Wm. Jarvis, Secretary to Gov. Simcoe writes 1792. "I was ten days in search of a hut to place my wife and lambs in. I was obliged to pay £140 for a log hut with three rooms with half an acre of ground. I have purchased logs to make an addition of one decent room to it. No one is exempt from fever and ague." In 1793 he describes the provisions laid in for the winter. "I have a yoke of fattened oxen to come down, 12 small shoats, about 60 dunghill fowl, 16 fine turkeys, and a dozen ducks, two sows, a milch cow. In the root house I have 400 head of good cabbages, 60 bushels potatoes, 3 barrels wine, 2 of cider, 2 of apples, and a good stock of butter, my cockloft contains 150 lbs. of the finest maple sugar, also plenty of good flour, cheese, coffee, loaf sugar. In the stable I have the ponies and a good sleigh, and I have the snuggest and warmest cottage in the province."

Mrs. Jarvis writes: "The Four Mile Creek would be a place worthy of the King's notice, it meanders in a manner superior to any stream I ever saw. There is a great mill upon it and the fam-

ily are Dutch. We have received much attention from them, Mrs. Servos sent me lard, pumpkins, sausages, Indian meal, squashes, carrots, etc.”

Capt. Alexander Campbell, 42nd Regt., 1791-2. “There was only one public house. Near the fort saw 1000 mostly whitefish caught in a seine net, sometimes 6000 are caught in one day, fishing is from October to May, the troops and inhabitants have stated days, the town is laid out one half acre to each house, eight acres at a distance and a large common for the use of the town.” He went from Niagara to Grand River, called at Major Ten Broek’s. Dined at Squire McNab’s, who is J. P. with Johnson Butler called on Col. Butler, (his father) next to Capt. Clench’s on Mississagua Point, opposite Fort Niagara.” Thanks are expressed for kindness shown by Messrs. McNab, Hamilton, Dickson, (merchant,) Crooks, Kerr, Forsyth, Clark, (storekeeper,) Johnson, Clench, Capt. Law, Alex. McNab. “I cannot particularize the hospitality I received and how many happy nights I spent at Niagara at assemblies, entertainments, card parties, also to the officers of the 26th Regt. and others.”

Letter from New York to friend in England, Nov. 1794, printed in Philadelphia 1795.

“From Oswego vessels sail to Niagara but settlers more frequently sail in open boats along south shore, 120 miles, I went with a schooner of 100 tons burden from Kingston to Niagara, three days out of sight of land though the passage is made in twenty hours. We enter the Niagara River between the fort and the town called Newark, with a beautiful prospect of both, the Fort is on the east side a regular fortification and well garrisoned. The mouth of the river affords a safe and copious harbour, sufficiently large for half the British navy. The town of Newark is situated in 43° north latitude extending about a mile enjoying the fresh breezes from this little sea, plentifully supplied with fish at all seasons. In winter are caught with seines whitefish, from two to six lbs. weight, sturgeon, bass, salmon, in the creeks around the lake. They are not only a luxury but a great assistance to new beginners in supporting their families, many laying in a half dozen barrels for winter use.

The Surveyor General, a gentleman of liberal education and indefatigable in the duties of his office gave much correct information. The farmer can cut timber to fence his fields, and girdle the remainder, put in the harrow, only in some place is it neces-

sary to use the plough till the second or third crop, the trees are beautiful white pine, oak, walnut, sugar maple, beech, hickory, and basswood. At Newark reside many gentlemen, who form a very intelligent and agreeable society.

At the lower landing Queenston, the vessels discharge their cargo, and take on furs from 300 to 1500 miles back. I have seen four vessels of 60 or 100 tons, unloading at once and 60 waggons loaded in a day for the upper landing or Chippawa Creek. This portage is a source of wealth to the farmers, who carry from 20 to 30 hundred weight at 1s 8d N.Y. cy per hundred weight and load back with furs, transfer to batteaux at Fort Erie and then shipped in vessels for Detroit etc.

Weekly Courts of request are held through the province for all debts under half a Joë. District courts every three months, and an annual circuit before Chief Justice and two associate judges."

Duke de Rochefoucault Liancourt 1795-7. "I made a long stay of eighteen days, from June 23rd to July 10th, waiting permission from Lord Dorchester to visit Quebec, as foreigners were forbidden from the conduct of some Frenchmen.

There were in Newark one hundred houses, the house of Col. Smith, Lt-Col. in the 5th Regt. is much distinguished from the rest, it is constructed, embellished and painted in the best style, the yard, garden and court surrounded with railings as in England, a large garden like a French kitchen garden, is in good order, laborers are paid at a dollar a day, but he finds in his regiment as many as he chooses at 9 pence sterling a day, he is clearing 5000 acres and has the use of thirty, which belong to the king situate in front of him.

The Legislature opened with two members instead of seven, five of Assembly instead of fifteen, but as the time was almost expired the governor may prorogue from day to day, hoping that vessels may bring members. His retinue was fifty men from the fort. Dressed in silk he entered the hall.

Simcoe's guard was four soldiers, who came every day from the fort. No church has yet been built in Newark. Mr. Hamilton, an opulent merchant, concerned in the inland trade has a farm, a distillery and a tanpit yard. I helped one day at fishing with the soldiers, net 100 ft. long, four ft. deep, caught 500 fish, sturgeons, pikes, sunfish, salmon, trout, herring. Mr. Littlehales

was very kind, Simcoe's intimates were Mr. Pilkington and Major Seward."

He describes Simcoe's residence as a miserable low building.

I. Weld Travels in 1797. "At Niagara we were landed at Mississagua Point an agreeable walk of a mile to the town, many Indians present, 70 houses, Court House, Jail and a building intended for Legislative bodies. Called at four taverns before we got accommodation as the people were suffering from ague, not a house in town exempt, and nearly all at Fort Niagara. On the margin of the river three quarters of a mile from the town stands Navy Hall, opposite it a spacious wharf, adjoining it extensive stores belonging to the crown and private persons. Navy Hall is now occupied by troops as Fort Niagara has been given up. A block house is to be erected on the top of the banks for the soldiers to be finished in a few months. At Fort Niagara there are only fifty men and four small field pieces. The stone fort is ten yards from the lake but when first built there was an extensive garden between it and the lake. The new block house at Fort George is nine feet higher than the top of the stone house at Fort Niagara and commands every part of the fort. It is proposed to erect a fort at Mississagua Point, a still better situation than the block house. At the Falls are several ladders, one below the other, a long pine tree with notches in the sides, vibrates as you step, Mrs. Simcoe's ladder is farther down, is strong and firmly placed, large masses of earth and stone and ladders placed from one break to another.

John Maudé, 1800. "Arrived at Queenston, Fairbank's Tavern. Fourteen teams were at the wharf, teams drawn by two yoke of oxen peltries or bales waiting to be loaded, also three schooner. A miserable dinner, sent my introduction to Col. Hamilton, which procured me an invitation to supper, the goodness of my supper made up for the badness of my dinner.

Aug. 27th, At West Niagara, late Newark. Had embarked at 8.30 a.m., on board the Schooner, Gov. Simcoe, of 90 tons, commanded by Capt. Sampson, pretty good accommodation. Capt. and Mrs. Claus on board, reached West Niagara at 10 a.m. The situation is pretty, the fort new and remarkably neat, built on the edge of a handsome green or common, skirted by a few tolerable houses. The Garrison consisted of the Queen's Rangers and Canadian Volunteers. Although a warm day the officers were playing fives. They were on good terms with the American officers. Major Rivardi was



Hon. Robert Hamilton.

Died 1809. Called the Founder of Queenston
See Page 33.



the American Commander, he dined on shore, and although the tavern was a very bad one we had a tolerable dinner."

Thos. Moore, 1804.—In a letter the poet says. "To Col. Brock of the 49th who commanded at Fort George and to the officers I am particularly indebted for much kindness during the fortnight I remained at Niagara. Among the many pleasant days which I spent with him and his brother officers that of our visit to the Tuscarora Indians was not the least interesting. They received us in all their ancient costume, the younger men exhibited for our amusement in the race, the bat game etc. while the old men and the women sat in groups under the surrounding trees and the picture altogether was beautiful as it was new to me."

C. F. Volney, (French) 1804, but travelled in 1797 speaks of ladders at the Falls as others but gives position as 1,200 yards below Table Rock.

D'Arcy Boulton 1805, Niagara is a handsome town of about a mile square, its streets at right angles (seems to quote from letter of 1794 about fish.) The climate is remarkably fine, 60 waggons loaded every day from Queenston to Chippawa

John Mellish 1806 to 1811. "I came down on opposite side of the river, the wind was blowing so that I could not cross to Newark. It contains about 500 inhabitants with many handsome buildings of brick and stone, two churches and a jail, an academy, six taverns, about twenty dry goods stores where every article may be procured on as good terms as at Montreal. The fort is garrisoned by 500 men of the 41st Regiment and the remainder of the Regt. is along the banks of the lake, Queenston has 300 people and six stores."

Heriot 1806. "On the western bank a mile higher up than Fort Niagara the British fort is situated on ground higher than the last, constructed of cedar, pickets and earth, buildings on it of much neatness. On the bank of the river and beneath the fort are several buildings of store house and barracks one of which is called Navy Hall, contiguous to a wharf. A swamp in the vicinity from stagnated vapors is prejudicial to health of residents and troops in garrison. A plain intervenes of near a mile between the town and Fort George, houses of wood neat and clean near 200, streets spacious and cut at right angles. On Mississagua Point on west side of the river a lighthouse has lately been erected, while fish and black bass are caught near the point in great abundance." (An engraving of British Fort at Niagara taken from the east bank of the river shows flag on

large buildings on heights of Fort George, several buildings at King's wharf, St. Mark's church is seen and a large building with flag staff near where present Court house stands, a building on the bank midway between Fort George and the town is supposed to have been first Butler's barracks as here these buttons are found.)

Christian Schultz writes from Fort Niagara 1807 says "Newark makes a handsome appearance, has 200 houses, a convenient light-house below the town directly opposite the American Fort. The British Fort is a mile above the town has a garrison of 200 men, the works are strong, they have opened two new embrasures, have a full band of musicians. Three British Schooners are lying at King's wharf. Youngstown, above Fort Niagara, has five or six houses, Queenston 100 houses and a garrison of 28 men."

Journal of Charles Prentiss Oct. 1807. "Queenston is a pleasant village situated in a valley of good land containing some very elegant storehouses. Here is a fortification and troops stationed. Rode to Newark and put up at Emmitta Hotel. The land is good and level and under improvement. The town on a pleasant plain contains an Episcopal church, Court House and Gaol and about a hundred and fifty good houses, called at a printing office where I got about thirty newspapers, a present from the editor. The light-house two hundred rods from the town is lighted every night for the Shipping on lake Ontario. Fort George is a strong fortification about eighty rods from the town, store houses extend from the fort to the river. A large number of troops are stationed here and are under very strict discipline."

Michael Smith Hartford 1813. "I was living in Upper Canada and writing a geographical description of it in 1812 when the war broke out, though many papers were lost I went to the States and published it there.

Niagara, a beautiful and prospective place of much trade inhabited by a civil and industrious people. Fort George is half a mile from the river 24 ft above the water, nearly square enclosing a space of 150 by 100 yards. The pickets are high and strong defended by a ditch on one side and breastwork on inside, well provided with cannon, ammunition, water, provisions, etc. There is a Council House, Court House, jail and two houses for public worship. There are several squares in the village adorned with almost every kind of precious fruit, the village on the east looks towards the fort over a beautiful plain of nearly one mile wide" He then goes on to contradict the scalping stories thus, "The Indians are forbid by the

British Government to cross lines, perhaps some of my readers may say I am a wretched tory and deserve to be hung for naming forbearance and humanity with the word British after they have paid Indians for scalps of women and children. But I will tell you the truth although you may not believe it, which is that the Indians are not paid one cent for scalps, indeed they have not taken any since the battle of Brownston, and every one they took they brought down to Fort George by my house, I asked the chief if Col. Claus or the Gov. gave them anything for them and they said not but some men would give them a dram for them. They told me none of the Indians took any scalps from women and children, but only from those killed in battle. When they took them to Fort George the Govt. and Col. Claus reproved them for their conduct and told them to take no more scalps. If they now take them it is against the knowledge or will of the British. It is entirely indifferent to me whether anyone believes these remarks or not, indeed I will not stand the truth of it but it is the nearest or greatest evidence I could get on the subject."

Mr. Smith had moved to Canada 1808, "There are three good schools in U.C., York, Quinte, Niagara village by Rev. J. Burns. There is a public free school in every district. During the war all the schools were closed and no preaching, no debts collected."

Mrs. Jenoway 1814. The following letter gives the explanation of the earthworks back of Brock's monument, some asserting they were the works of Indians others of the French and still others that they were thrown up by the Americans. All these statements are here shown to be wrong and that the work was done by the British in 1814 and destroyed by them when the enemy under Gen. Brown was advancing previous to the battle of Lundy's Lane. The date of Fort Mississagua is also fixed by this. Built by Lieut. Jenoway, of 1st Scots Royals. "Hope Cottage, Fort George 14th Sept. 1814.

It is now five months since your brother was made assistant engineer of this place. I have now been with my husband for three months and am living in a cottage of his own building. I left York on the 6th of June to join my husband who was at Queenston having been ordered from Fort George to erect fortifications there. Five thousand of the enemy landed at Fort Erie. Mr. Jenoway was left to command at Queenston and the fortifications he had constructed, but as our army had to retire after a hard battle with only fifteen hundred British to oppose so many, consequently your brother had to blow up the batteries and go to Fort George with his

men and guns. Previous to that I had to make my retreat with the children at nine o'clock at night. When four miles from Queenston six Indians rushed out of the bush and asked me for money but when they found that I was an officer's lady they went away. We went to the Twelve where we stayed three weeks. The Yankees were within four miles of us and when they retired my dear husband brought us to Fort George. He has now the entire command at Forts Mississauga and George of the Engineer Department. The former is a large new fort which he had the direction of at the commencement.

Your affectionate sister,
HANNAH JENOWAY."

Lieut Francis Hall 1816-7 "There is a newspaper printed at St. Davids. Fort Mississauga is star shaped and intended to be faced with stone; to Fort George is a mile of flat ground occupied mostly by the village of Newark, which has in great part been rebuilt, houses of wood.

On Saturday, we were 49 in number and it was the anniversary of Detroit. The clergyman who was of the party made allusion to it next morning in the church."

Capt. R. Langslow, of East India Co.'s service, Journal 1817. "Took the stage at the Falls for Newark, pouring rain, coach cover a farce reached Fort George between 8 and 9 and went to the inn kept by A Rogers, got tea very comfortably. Talked with Major Davies of 99th at Fort George, Newark or West Niagara. Sept. 23. Dined with the mess of the 70th Regt. Port and claret—in profusion. They live well and have a good mess. The Barracks (not the men's and officers') are infamous, left with Col. Evans between 10 and 11 and had a dreadful walk to the inn through water up to the knee, the rain poured all the time and nearly a mile to go, Wed. Sept. 24th took my leave of the friendly hospitable couple, Col. Evans from Staffordshire, Mrs. Evans a very pleasant woman from Scotland I suspect. Visited the works of Fort Mississauga opposite Fort Niagara, a strong little star fort with a block tower in the centre as the last hold after the American fashion. On my way to the mess visited Fort George It has been curtailed one half. General Brock lies under the flagstaff in the highest bastion and I walked over the grave of this gallant soldier. Sept. 25th took stage through Queenston, passed over the battle ground, saw remains of several small works and redoubts. A tall pole like a flagstaff erected on the spot where General Brock fell, about 300 yds.

from the road to the right. A little further on is a block house and out work, apparently newly erected 400 yds. on the right."

On reaching Fort Erie he was "petrified" to find he had left behind his Indian Shawl and pocket thermometer and drove back all the way to Roger's inn and this gives a curious reference to the brother of Sir Walter Scott and the belief of some as to the authorship of these inimitable works. "Started at 1 p.m. and reached Niagara at 6 p.m. "Thank my lucky stars I found my shawl and thermometer uninjured. The next day ate fine peaches at Col. Grant's garden, saw Capt. Vavasour Sept. 30th started back, plagued with the harness, got some string at Mr. Scott's, Paymaster of 70th, who lives three miles from Fort George, said to be the author of *Guy Mannering*, *Waverly*, disappointed in not seeing him. These novels are supposed to be sketched by Mr. and Mrs. Scott but finished for the press by their brother Walter, such is the opinion of the officers of the 70th"

Jno. M. Duncan Travels 1818, letter from Niagara. "It is intended to level the works of Fort George and erect a strong fort closer to the lake where there is already a small one called Fort Mississagua. Niagara has a Court House and Jail under the same roof, the Jail in the lower floor, the cells for criminals and debtors surround and open from the hall which leads to the Court room, and the guilty or unfortunate inmates are exposed to the gaze of those who enter. The partitions and doors are of strong pieces of oak bolted together, the doors about nine inches thick of two thicknesses of wood with sheet iron between. Some of the debtors' rooms have a small window to the outside but the criminals have no light but from a small semi-circular opening in the door. The debtors have fire places but the others can only look out to a stove in the middle of the hall which can give no perceptible warmth. How dreadful to pass a Canadian winter in such a place. I did not spend a Sabbath in the town. A single church in town, a sabbath school is to be attempted.

Jno. Howison 1818. "Population of Niagara 700 or 800, many merchants, a regular market, some pretty houses with several decent taverns. In winter there are public dancing assemblies, military races twice a year, two newspapers, Mr. Gourlay much discussed. Apple and peach orchards, the pigs eating the fruit on the ground. Major Norton has much influence with the Indians. He has married one of their women, speaks their language and lives among them."

Jas Strachan 1819. "Niagara town is rising from its ashes with

great rapidity. He draws a contrast between the church and the jail, the former entirely out of repair and most discreditable to the people, the latter the most splendid building in Upper Canada. No stone or memorial to mark the burial place of General Brock under one of the bastions of Fort George." He wrote the sonnet following sometimes attributed to his brother Bishop Strachan.

Why calls the bastion forth the patriot's sigh?
And starts the tear from beauty's swelling eye?
Within its breach intrepid Brock is laid
A tomb according with the mighty dead,
Whose soul devoted to his country's cause
In deeds of glory sought his first applause.
Enrolled with Abercromby, Wolfe and Moore
No lapse of time his merits shall obscure,
Fresh shall they burn in each Canadian heart,
And all their pure and living fires impart,
A youthful friend rests by the hero's side
Their mutual love death sought not to divide,
The muse that gives her Brock to deathless fame,
Shall in the wreath entwine McDonell's name.

Diary of John Goldie 1819 published by his grandson, Dr. J. C. Cavan. "On June 4th 1818 started to walk to examine the botanical productions of U.S. and Canada near the lakes from Montreal through Glengarry Reached York 6th July, Instead of sailing by Frontenac to Niagara we went round by land, Thermometer 90° at Stony Creek. On July 10th reached Niagara. Well laid out streets but not filled with houses, 300 of 68th Regiment here. The only building worthy of particular notice is the jail just out of town. It is a large two story brick building very handsome and is considered to be the finest building in Canada. At present it holds within its walls the celebrated Gourlay. The Niagara Newspapers are full of his writings and those of his opponents. I read one of his papers and can not think that he is so dangerous a character as the men in power would make people believe. I suspect his greatest fault is in speaking too many truths. Thermometer 94°, On the 11th I went to the Falls and on the road saw fruit trees, cherries and peaches, have seen and eaten more cherries than I have ever done before. At Queenston saw the spot where Brock fell near the road and marked by a number of old thorn trees in a rude circle. At the Falls a ladder of 28 steps from an arbor vitae tree."

The botanical specimens obtained with such labor were sent to Scotland at different times and strange to say three times the same

thing occurred. They were lost either by shipwreck or otherwise.

Adam Hodgson, letter from North America 1819-1820. This traveller seems to have been in bad humor on his visit to Niagara. "I found at the village of Niagara about 400 British soldiers in a miserable fortress mouldering to decay with little appearance of discipline or respectability. This was the more mortifying to my English feelings as within gunshot the American flag was flying on the old French fort in excellent repair and of far more formidable aspect, although the garrison contained little more than 120 men. These however were kept employed while the British were allowed to be idle if they chose, although they might occasionally work for farmers in the neighborhood. They are allowed $1\frac{1}{2}$ gills of rum per day and can buy a gallon for a dollar. One effect of their indolence was perhaps visible in the humiliating spectacle of one of the men for some offence receiving 300 lashes a short time before as I was informed, in sight of the American Fort, and in presence of several American travellers, who exulted that this disgrace is banished from their army. I conversed some time with an Irish soldier who thought Niagara a fine situation from the cheapness of liquor. I sailed for York, we were becalmed in a miserable open boat and were out all night instead of taking four or five hours, embarked in the evening in a steamboat."

E. A. Talbot 1824. Niagara had 100 houses 558 inhabitants. Queenston 60 houses 300 people, In Niagara three churches, Episcopal, Presbyterian meeting house, Methodist chapel. He tells that Richard Talbot has taken out 24 families, 200 people in 1818, came by the Brunswick the cabin for the use of the Talbot family and three other families. met Col Talbot in York who had a grant of 100,000 acres, describes the Indian church in Brantford, settled near London, built a house 46 x 24 from 26th Oct to Dec. 2nd.

Jas. Pickering 1824-1828 was hired to Col. Talbot visited Niagara several times, kept a diary, stayed over a year with Col. Talbot as his foreman. "At Ancaster are four brother Crooks who own land, large stores and good taverns at Niagara, apples and peaches plenty. Flag on Sunday flying from Brock's monument, in December some apples still hanging from trees. Aug. 2nd. At the mouth of the river dragging for the body of Morgan who was murdered in or near Niagara. The steamer Michigan in September was sent over the Falls with wild animals, 8,000 spectators. Fire seen from the lake supposed to be the light house at Niagara but was

the steamer Frontenac. At Niagara lately a soldier was hung for murdering his wife."

"Wonders of the West," first poem published in Upper Canada, 1825, by J. L. Alexander.—Extracts interesting to us from referring to Niagara more than for their literary value.

II.

The boat had stemmed Ontario's tide,
And anchored on the southern side,
A noble river with its waves
Two rival nations' confines laves
That giant stream which through the lakes
Of Canada its circuit makes
And issuing from Ontario,
About two hundred miles below
After so long a pilgrimage
(Less holy name were sacrilege)
Assumes St. Lawrence name of awe
But here is called Niagara.

III.

Upon the river's eastern side
A fortress stands in warlike pride
Ontario's surges lash its base
And gradually its walls deface
And from its topmost tower displayed
A flag with stripes and stars portrayed
Upon the west an ancient mound
The Union Jack and British ground
Nor distant far another stands
Which the whole river's mouth commands.
Between the two lay Newark village
Which yet they let its neighbors pillage,
Not only so but burn it down,
And from its ashes now has grown,
Another but more lovely far,
Since the conclusion of the war
Which they have named Niagara.

V.

Some gazed upon the fertile fields,
The various fruits the orchard yields,
Plum, cherry, apple, pear and peach

And some the pendant branches reach,
While some regard the distant shore,
A British Colony no more,
And blush for battles fought and won
Between the mother and her son.

VII.

But now a chain of hills appear.
A monument its summit bears,
Whose tomb is that? the stranger cried,
Brock's monument, Wogee replied.

X.

Now with unwonted labour spent
Behold them on the monument.

* * * * *

Despair had seized upon his brain,
And from that tower's giddy height,
He leaped, the bulwarks stopped his flight,
And his now frantic sister's arm
Preserved St. Julian from harm.

* * * * *

She grasped his hand and led him down,
The winding staircase to the ground.

McTaggart Travels in 1826, speaks of Jacob's ladder, which hangs from the ledge of the Table Rock.

Fitzgerald de Roos, 1826—"At the Falls a circular kind of corkscrew ladder constructed round a mast descended to a path to the cataract"

Capt. Basil Hall, 1827 describes the Falls but not Niagara, but in 40 Etchings from sketches and Camera Lucida he has a view of Niagara River from Brock's Monument shewing the points etc., Indians, houses placed on frames without foundations, one large room half furnished crowded with guests.

G. H. Hume, 1832—"Niagara is not healthy, subject to lake fevers, inhabitants yellowish in color and are termed yellowheads, climate mild, all fruits are found here."

E T. Coke, 1832—"A subaltern's furlough. The batteries have been undermined by waves and have nearly disappeared. Fort George has some low wooden decayed barracks. Fort Mississagua in a still more mouldering state. I attended service in the Scotch and English Churches, the former had only been commenced a few months, the interior was yet in an unfinished state, but the con-

gregation was large. The 79th Highlanders in full costume, fine soldier like appearance.”

Rev. Isaac Fidler, 1832—“Took coach for Youngstown from the Falls, crossed the river and heard a violent outcry from a boat in the middle of the river pursued by another gaining on it from the American shore. The outcry was made by an Irish deserter from the Fort who had scarcely reached the Canadian boundary before his pursuers were upon him. His vociferations increased, and the Canadians flocking together from all quarters rushed into the water to save him. He declared he had been misused and his pursuers were threatened with being thrown into the water if they did not desist. I called on the missionary of Niagara who welcomed me in the true British spirit of Christian brotherhood. He is a sincerely pious man greatly esteemed and respected.”

Thomas Fowler's Journal, 1832.

He gives the best description of the Hermit of the Falls, (page 221) also a description of the first Brock's monument. “The base is a lobby square in form. Above the base is a round pillar with a stair inside leading to a fine gallery which encircles the column a little below the top. At Niagara, Crysler's Hotel sent coach to the wharf for passengers without charge. Streets are at right angles with rows of poplars. On the south and west of the town is an extensive field of tableland, remarkable for its levelness and beauty occupied as a parade ground by troops of the garrison. About 9 in the evening had supper, charge three York shillings. There are four churches and the jail and court house of the county.”

Ferguson, 1833—Niagara was not much alive, some morasses in the vicinity make it unhealthy. Had letters of introduction to Newark and Queenston but Mr. Hamilton would not let me go to any place but his house. At Crysler's hotel in Niagara was reloaded on whitefish.”

Radcliff's letters, 1833, to McGrath in Dublin—“At York Physicians are very much wanting here and apothecaries still more. Ignorant persons act in that capacity who scarcely know the names of the drugs they sell. At Niagara this most necessary branch is solely conducted by a female who compounds medicines and puddings with equal confidence but not with equal skill. It is extraordinary that there are few peaches at the north side or at either extremity of Lake Ontario, but such is their abundance on the south side that they are sold there for a shilling a bushel.”

Capt. Hamilton Travels in 1834—“The 79th Regiment was at

Fort George, Lord Durham said that the descendants of U.E. Loyalists were not so loyal as late settlers from Great Britain." (Many who called themselves U.E. Loyalists were not so but came after Simcoe's offer of land.)

John Galt, 1836—"Niagara has 1500 inhabitants, neat houses, numerous shops and taverns, two weekly newspapers, and a weekly market. In the Canals 1832 there are interesting letters from emigrants laying stress on the fact that there are no game laws or lords over you, you can make your own soap, candles, sugar, treacle, vinegar."

Mrs Jamason Sumner, Rumbles and Winter Studies, 1836-7 — Two visits to Niagara and the Falls are described, one a dark and gloomy one the next roseate in hue. "Was welcomed by Irish friends, (the Alma family.) The chief proprietor at the dock yards is a public spirited good natured gentleman. Capt. Melville (£20000) has been expended on the works, there are fifty workmen. A steamer was building, the brass work and casting is all of the first order. There are no booksellers but plenty of taverns, the fort dilapidated, our force there three privates and a corporal. Drove to Falls, Mr. A a magistrate, pointed out a house where he had arrested a gang of forgers and coiners, returned at midnight in sleigh, intense cold, 29th January, did not speak a word in returning.

June, 1837, Sir F. B. Head had received an address from 431 colored inhabitants of vicinity, mostly refugees from slavery.

In jail a wretched maniac in chains four years for murdering his wife was about to be hung. Heard the death bell pealing for a young man who died from habitual drinking. Visited a mulatto woman who had taken part in the fray when Moseby the black man escaped. The slave had escaped from Kentucky, was followed by his master, lodged in jail. Hundreds of blacks surrounded the jail to prevent his return to slavery. The mob was orderly, no firearms, one woman seized the sheriff, another held an artillery man to prevent his firing. In the scuffle Moseby escaped but two blacks were shot by the soldiers. My informant foremost in the fray, formerly a slave in Virginia, said "We thought we were safe here, but I'll go to the end of the world to be safe, I will, I will."

T. R. Preston 1837-1839. Speaks of Morrow or Morreau's execution, the sheriff was within an ace of acting as hangman if he did not do so actually. Gives a list of the disposal of prisoners in Rebellion. Usher was murdered by Lett who boasted of it.

Letter in United Service Journal signed Bungle, an officer of 43rd Regt. "Fort George in ruinous state encamped in green plains

found a most civilized circle graced by several fair ladies. At daylight struck our tents and went by steamer to Queenston, marched to the Falls. Thermometer 120° Rich foliage of solemn forests, luxuriant crops of grain. Soon after Lord Durham, family and suite arrived. I suppose Niagara Falls never saw such a convocation of cocked hats as was on 17th July. His Excellency was met by Lord Colborne and Sir George Arthur with their staffs. A grand review and two hundred persons to dinner. Immense concourse chiefly Americans. One regiment Light Infantry 600 strong, one squad 1st Dragoon Guards, two guns three companies of 24th Regiment A troop of Niagara Lancers, a most excellent and efficient corps."

Sir Jas. Alexander in L'Acadie, 1841—An officer in ———, "visited Col. Talbot, Niagara, took part in a Court Martial at Niagara on an old officer who had left his post at Fort Mississauga for Buffalo with a woman of loose character, found guilty and had to leave the service. Visited Fort Niagara, American officers very friendly, four came over and dined at Lieut. Moody's R. E."

Sir Richard Bonnycastle 1845,—Describes the ice jam at Queenston, ice piled thirty feet high and the wharf injured. A flag at Fort Mississauga on Sundays and holidays. At the races were many blacklegs and drunken vagabonds. Stopped at Howard's Hotel where coach started, monument of Brock rent from top to bottom.

De Vaux Guide, Buffalo, 1845—Brock was first interred at Fort George with a 24lb. American cannon captured at Detroit at his head. The monument on 17th April, 1840, partially destroyed, the circular stairs within were torn to pieces, stones thrown out of the wall and it was rent from top to bottom, a part fell in 1841.

W. H. Smith Gazetteer, 1848—"At Niagara the Gaol and Court House one mile southwest of the Town. A Harbor and Dock Co. employs from 150 to 350 hands. Vessels built here between 1832 and 1839, Steamboats, Traveller, Experiment, Queen, Gore. Schooners, Jesse Woods, Princess, Fanny, Toronto, Sovereign. Between 1839 and 1845, City of Toronto, Princess Royal, American, Chief Justice Robinson, Admiral, Eclipse, Minos, Emerald, London, Dart, Oak, Gem, Shamrock, Ann, Propellers Adventure, Beagle, Traveller. Schooners, Wm. Cayley, Shannon, Clyde, Shamrock, and eighteen barges. There are 3 physicians, 9 lawyers, 32 stores, 3 booksellers, 2 chemists, 4 bakers, U. Canada Bank. The best taverns are Moffatt's and Howard's. Five Churches. Engines and machinery of very perfect description, a marine railway for hauling up vessels of first class."

Silas Hopkins of Lewiston started from New Jersey in 1787, to help his father drive cattle to Niagara, they sold them to the garrison at Queenston and Niagara. "The next summer I went with my father to the residence of Col. Butler near Newark. He was then about 70 or 80, had a large, well cultivated farm was hospitable and agreeable. In 1789 the drovers gave a treat to the Indians at Lewiston, 200 gave a war dance. We had guests from Fort Niagara (officers) In 1790 I met T. Street, father of Samuel Street, of Chippawa. He asked me to go with him to Massachusetts but I started without him. He followed and was robbed and murdered on the way.

Our cattle were ferried across in batteaux to Newark. In 1788 there was only an old ferry house and barracks of Butler's Rangers there, 500 or 600 Indians often encamped there, oxen were sold to Butler's Rangers for £50, cows for £20. In June I was at Fort Niagara at the celebration of King George's birthday. In 1788-90 eagles were plenty there. John Mountpleasant the son of Capt. Mountpleasant whose mother was an Oneida his sister became the wife of Capt. Chew. I remember Gov. Simcoe and the Queen's Rangers, they wore green uniform and their barracks was at Queenston, whence the name."

Wm. Jarvis, 1792, 25th Sept. One of the first burials recorded in St. Mark's register is that of a child aged four thus pathetically referred to in the diary of the Secretary of the Province. "The symptoms of his illness were so strange that his mother desired a post-mortem, as she says to satisfy me and be a guard for my other babes. His complaint was found to be in the windpipe and no where else, where neither art nor medicine could avail. The doctor called it a thick musilage or thick skin which surrounded the inside of the windpipe. The faculty who have written on the subject say none have survived this disorder and that it is very frequent in Scotland."

1812-13 Dr. Joseph West was Surgeon at Fort Niagara from 1805 to 1814. One of his daughters has given reminiscences of Fort Niagara. "How many associations crowd into my mind at mention of the name. Here I first drew my breath and passed my earliest years of childhood under the eye of a kind father who was taken from his young family by consumption caused by a severe cold caught in the damp dungeons of the old Mess House, while attending the wounded and dying after the battle of Queenston. It was surrounded by strong pickets of plank on three sides. There was a yard 30 or 40 feet wide between the Mess House and the pickets and a promenade beyond but the lake has made encroach-

ments and the waves dash against the house. The English built the second story. Many gay scenes I witnessed there, music, dancing. Then I looked back through the vista of years and fancied I heard the Indians war whoop, the gay chattering Frenchman then the proud Englishman in their glittering uniform, they succeeded by our own brave army. There was constant interchange of civilities between the officers of Fort Niagara and Fort George and the inhabitants of the little town of Niagara. I well remember the Sunday previous to the declaration of war being at church at Niagara. General Brock accompanied us to the boat and took myself and sister in his arms, "I must bid good-bye to you, my little rosy cheeked Yankees", Then to my father "Farewell Dr." Then I remember the commotion, preparing for war, repairs etc., then the militia pouring in, the families of officers had to vacate their quarters, we were sent to the country and met on the way 100 Tuscorora Indians going to offer their services to Fort Niagara. We returned after four weeks to near the fort. One night we heard the voice of a British officer. "We do not war with women let us get some fowl and be off." We heard the explosion at York which jarred our house. The wounded and dying were brought over. Well do I remember walking with my father between rows of white tents, what scenes of sorrow and suffering I witnessed. General Dearborn and staff were quartered at our house once, as every available inch of ground was occupied at the fort, mattresses on the floor, tents in the yard. Our house was burned by the British after the taking of Fort Niagara."

TREASURE AT FORT NIAGARA,

By Lieut.-Col. E. Cruikshank.

In 1789, when Lt. Colonel Peter Hunter, of the 60th Regiment, commanded at Niagara there came as a settler from the United States, a man with a large family professing to be quakers. Jeremiah Moore also professed the craft of a whitesmith. Immediately on his arrival at the Fort he waited upon the Commander and informed him that after the reduction of the French Garrison by Sir William Johnson, the French prisoners of war had been dispersed in the colonies, and that a sick soldier being unable to proceed was received in his father's house where he was hospitably entertained until his death. Shortly before that event the Frenchman gave them to understand that he was not ungrateful for the kindness he had experienced but that he had no means to mark his sense of it but a small folded paper in a little pocket book which might possibly turn out a prize to some of the children, in which hope he requested one to accept his pocket book

It contained a folded paper on which was some writing in the French Language understood by none of my father's family.

After the death and burial of the prisoner, occasion was sought to ascertain the purport of the paper writing and it was found to be a memorandum of the burial of the French military chest previous to the surrender of the Fort of Niagara. It stated that early in the day a fatigue party was ordered of which he was one, that it proceeded to the flag staff and opened the ground close to it, as deep as they could with their spades throw the earth clear of the pit or well, that the fort adjutant with the paymaster and commandant attended with a large iron chest which was carefully deposited in the bottom of the pit, before it was quite daylight. That as soon as it was left the party began to cover it with the earth and had perhaps filled up about three feet when a battery opened upon the fort and one of the first shot killed one of the laborers and precipitated the body into the pit about seven feet below the surface, that the officer would not wait to get out the body and urged the filling in and making the surface of the ground even. That the capitulation taking place that day the writer, supposed that the chest remained and that at the peace it might be a prize which would be well paid for.

Mr. Moore told Col. Hunter that although his father had not thought much of this memorandum yet it had frequently occurred to him and more frequently lately since the troubles when emigration to Canada had become very common. That his family having become very unpopular from services rendered to the King's troops and loyalists, their residence had become unpleasant, that he had brought them with him and now proposed to ascertain the truth of the memorandum in hopes that the Colonel would allow him a share of the prize.

That Colonel Hunter laughed at his credulity but said that he should have permission at his own charges to dig under the flagstaff as long as he pleased, that all he found should be his own, and upon this encouragement he, Moore, engaged a party and the next day was permitted to begin his labor in presence of a sergeant's party and some of the officers who attended from curiosity, especially Lieut. Humphries, the engineer. That when they got down about seven feet they discovered the skeleton of a man to the great astonishment of all present and most, though expected, to the engineer and Moore who alone knew what to anticipate from this circumstance. All was surprise and conjecture for a few moments when the sergeant proposed to raise the bones but the engineer opposed any movement until the commandant was apprised and his orders received. His orders were for Moore and his party to retire until the next day and a sentinel was left over the flagstaff. It snowed in the night and for several days, so that it was some time before Moore returned with his party to work, but the flag-staff had been removed to another part of the fort, and no trace could be found of where it had stood and permission was denied to make any farther opening in the ground. Moore in relating this story effected to believe that the engineer was not so incredulous of the soldier's veracity as he pretended to be.

Mr. Moore always spoke in the highest terms of Col. Hunter as a humane and honorable man to whom the settlement at Niagara was chiefly indebted for its continued existence through a period of famine in which it could not have subsisted without aid from the military stores which this gentleman opened discreetly to save the settlers. The measure was hazardous as the troops on the upper waters and lakes depended on the stores of Niagara without any means of resupply during the winter. He permitted rations of flour and pork to be issued to individuals in proportion as recommended by two gentlemen of character in the settlement who became accountable to the Crown and individually creditors to the parties thus assisted. No transaction could be more creditable to the parties than this arrangement, Colonel Hunter risked a military

censure for acting without orders on so serious a risque which was such that the commander-in-chief on rectifying (?) the act that he would not have assumed the responsibility of giving provisions, etc.

It is supposed that the Guarantees were never called upon by Government for repayment of the provisions so advanced, and a question has been mooted on that point how far a subsisting claim not likely to be enforced was authority to the guarantees to compel the individual payment of each barrel of flour and pork from the consumers to place in his pocket principal and interest of a charity which cost them nothing.

Jeremiah Moore has a very large family, and became largely a partaker of the King's stores under this guarantee which it is said finally consumed his little farm in principal and interest but nothing could affect his loyal gratitude for the original benefit.

Solomon Moore the son of Jeremiah inherited his father's talents and loyalty. He married and had a large family, being a man of some ingenuity he became a candidate with some others for the grant of a lot of land on which he had been some years living, supporting his large family by boiling salt. His pretensions had been favorably received by the Executive Government which had decided to grant to him the lot which he occupied, but the war and the removal of the Civil Lieut. Governor had delayed the patent when the aid-de-camp and private Secretary of a military successor discovered that the grant was incomplete not only for that but several adjacent lots which had been reserved as fuel to boil the salt, obtained a grant for Moore's lot among others. The military grantee was informed of the true state of Moore's petition still before the Council and in a friendly manner urged to surrender his grant or make over the particular lot to Moore.

This was declined on the ground that his means of life were connected with this grant. The military administrator was then petitioned by Solomon Moore to revise the measure and that he might be heard against the grant to his aid-de-camp but the General would not receive or refer the petition notwithstanding the urgent representations at the Council board against the irregularity and impropriety of the grant.

This application to the Military Governor being rejected, Solomon Moore had no resource but to address the Secretary of State a humble petition for a hearing upon the facts stated. The ready attention paid to this obscure individual by a command to the Executive Government to report all the circumstances of the case was the most grateful despatch to the poor colonist who found that justice was still open to him in the King's Court although closed in the Governor's.

The Executive Government did report the circumstances of the grant to the aid-de-camp in such plain terms as inclined the honorable feeling of the principal Secretary for War and the Colonies to address to the Government of Upper Canada the following expression of indignation which was communicated to the parties.

* * * * *

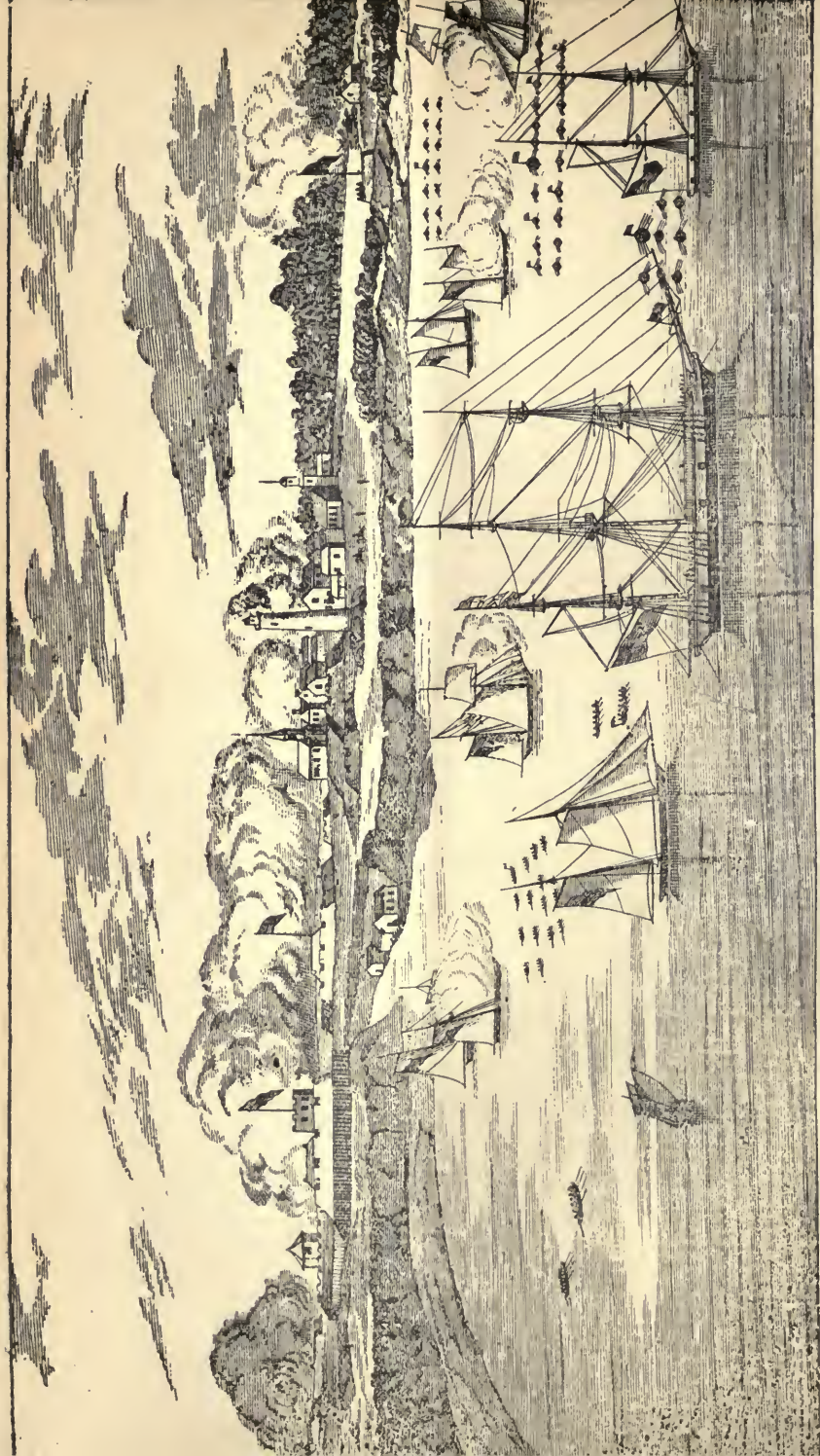
When the peremptory letter was communicated there was serving in the province a young gentleman, brother to the under Secretary of State, who accompanied the grantee to visit his estate and is supposed to have represented that the case had been exaggerated beyond the true coloring, that it would never have reached England if the grantee had consented to yield his prize, not to the supposed sufferer, Mr. Solomon Moore, but to his advocate the member of the Executive Council who first used his personal influence with the grantee to that effect, and then made himself a party in the executive Council to influence the general officer who had bestowed this prize on his personal friend and who failing in his attempt induced Solomon Moore to pass by the local authorities and present his case to the highest power in a dress to excite attention. Something like this is supposed from an otherwise unaccountable change in the opinion and sentiments of the Secretary of State without any known or assigned cause at least none made known to the Colonial Government when it received instructions to forbear further interference in the transactions with Moore Plomerfeldt etc.

Original in possession of George Murray Jarvis, Ottawa, Ont., in hand writing of Chief Justice Wm. Dummer Powell and Endorsed

“Jeremiah Moore,
French Military Chest,
Lieut. Col. Hunter,
Solomon Moore,
Major Loring,
M. Geul Gordon,
Salt Springs.”

There was a well known salt spring in the Township of Louth and I find that on 3d March, 1814, a grant of 700 acres was made to Robert. R. Loring in that township. Loring was then A.D.C. and Mil-Secty. to Lieut.-General Sir Gordon Drummond, Military Administrator of Upper Canada ——— E. C. The member of the Executive Council was probably Mr. Powell himself.





"THE TAKING OF FORT GEORGE."
(See preface to Second Edition.)

3.
Ducit Amor Patriæ

Niagara Historical Society

NO. 12

The Battle of Fort George

—BY—

Lieut.-Colonel Ernest Cruikshank, V. D.

Author of the Story of Butler's Rangers, &c., &c., &c.

Second Edition

PRICE, 20 CENTS

1904.

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Preface to First Edition.

THE reproach has frequently been cast upon us that Canada has no history; it might be said of us with far more justice that we do not know our own history. The various historical societies are, by their efforts, trying to wipe away this reproach, and we feel proud of following in the wake of the Lundy's Lane Historical Society in publishing a paper written by Capt. Cruikshank, who has so well earned the title of the Historian of the Niagara Peninsula.

Of the towns of Ontario not one, we are sure, possesses a history so eventful, so ancient, so interesting as Niagara, having been at different times a legislative, an educational, a military and a commercial centre, at one time occupied by the enemy and again a heap of smoking ruins, now a quiet summer resort with many points of historical interest, with wide streets shaded by old elms and having unrivalled lake and river scenery. The members of the youngest of these historical societies feel that they may congratulate themselves on being able to place in the hands of the public the story which so far has not been told of the Taking of Fort George, told, too, in a style so clear, so dispassionate, and shewing such deep research, a story of troublous times, which, so told, cannot but be helpful to old and young of every nationality.

Asking for our first venture a kind reception, we send it out to the public, hoping that it may do its part in proving that we have a not ignoble history which should inspire us to yet nobler deeds.

1896.

J. C.

Preface to Second Edition.

THE Battle of Fort George, the first publication of the Niagara Historical Society, was so well received that the edition has been exhausted for some time, and the society now reprints it as number twelve with many additions and corrections by its distinguished author, Lt.-Col. Cruikshank, V. D., who in his Documentary History of the War of 1812 and his other historical work has done so much valuable work for his country, work done without any pecuniary compensation, but from love of the work, which incentive perhaps always produces the best results.

For the engraving, The Taking of Fort George, we are indebted to the kindness and courtesy of the Hon. P. A. Porter, Niagara Falls, N. Y. It is from the Portfolio, published in Philadelphia, 1817, and is particularly interesting to us as giving the appearance of the churches St. Marks and St. Andrews before the town was burnt down, as also the lighthouse, situated exactly on the spot now occupied by the tower of Fort Mississagua.

J. C.

THE BATTLE OF FORT GEORGE.

27TH MAY, 1813.

NIAGARA BEFORE THE WAR.

For about a quarter of a century Niagara was the principal town and commercial capital of Western Canada, and for a brief period was actually the seat of government for the Upper Province. The removal of the provincial officers to York in 1796 struck the first blow at its supremacy, but its material prosperity continued until the beginning of the war with United States, when its exposed situation subjected it to a series of calamities which culminated in its total destruction on the 10th of December, 1813.

During that time many travellers of more or less note visited the place at short intervals on their way to or from the Falls, and a considerable number of them have recorded their observations. Patrick Campbell in 1791, D'Arcy Boulton in 1794, the Duke de Rochefoucauld-Liancourt in 1795, Isaac Weld and J. C. Ogden in 1796, John Maude in 1800, George Heriot in 1806, Christian Schultz in 1807, John Melish in 1810 and Michael Smith in 1812 have described the town and adjacent country at considerable length from various points of view. Other accounts are to be found in the *National Intelligencer* newspaper published at Washington, D. C., in 1812, and in Smith's Gazetteer of Upper Canada for 1813. From these numerous sources it would seem an easy task to form a fairly correct estimate of the appearance of the town, its commercial importance and the character of the inhabitants.

It is described as being nearly a mile square, sparsely built, with many pasture fields, gardens, orchards and open spaces interspersed among the houses. Smith, an American resident of the province, who was expelled in 1812 for having declined to take oath of allegiance, states that there were "several squares of ground in the village adorned with almost every kind of precious fruit." According to the same authority it contained two churches—one of them built of stone, a court house and jail, an Indian council house, an academy in which Latin and Greek were taught by the Rev. John Burns, a Presbyterian minister, a printing house, six taverns, twenty stores and about a hundred dwelling houses, many of them described as "handsome buildings of brick or stone, the rest being of wood, neatly painted." From the lake the town is said to have made an "imposing appearance" as most of the buildings fronted the water. Smith concludes

his account with the remark that it was "a beautiful and prospective place, inhabited by civil and industrious people." Dr. John Mann, a surgeon in the United States army who accompanied the invading forces and afterwards wrote the "Medical History of the War," styles it "a delightful village." The population was probably underestimated at five hundred, exclusive of the regular garrison of Fort George, usually numbering about two hundred men. The names of John Symington, Andrew Heron, Joseph Edwards, John Grier, John Baldwin and James Muirhead have been recorded as some of the principal merchants of the day.

An open plain or common of nearly a mile in width separated the town from Fort George. This post was described by the Governor General in the early summer of 1812, in official report on the defences of Upper Canada, as an irregular fieldwork consisting of six small bastions faced with framed timber and plank, connected by a line of palisades twelve feet high, and surrounded by a shallow dry ditch. Its situation and construction were alike condemned as extremely defective. Although it partially commanded Fort Niagara, it was in turn overlooked and commanded by the high ground on the opposite side of the river near Youngstown. The troops were lodged in blockhouses inside, affording quarters for 220 men, besides which there was a spacious building for the officers. The magazine was built of stone with an arched roof but was not considered bomb-proof. All the works were very much out of repair and reported as scarcely capable of the least defence.

On the margin of the river immediately in front of the fort stood a large log building known as Navy Hall, which had been constructed during the American Revolution, to serve as winter-quarters for the officers and seamen of the Provincial vessels on Lake Ontario. Near this was a spacious wharf with good-sized store-houses, both public and private. The Rangers' Barracks, also built of logs, and an Indian Council House, were situated on the further edge of the common, just south of the town. A small stone light-house had been built upon Mississauga Point, in 1805-6.

The road leading along the river to Queenston was thickly studded with farm buildings, and the latter village is said to have contained nearly a hundred houses, many of them being large and well built structures of stone or brick, with a population estimated at 300. Vessels of fifty tons and upwards, loaded with goods for the upper country, sailed up the river to this place, where they discharged their cargoes, and took in furs and grain in return. Ever since its establishment the "carrying place," on the Canadian side of the river, had furnished much profitable employment to the neighboring farmers, who were paid at the rate of twenty pence, New

York currency, a hundred weight for hauling goods between Queenston and Chippawa; Maude relates that during his visit in 1800, he passed many carts and wagons on this road, taking up boxes and bales of merchandise, or bringing down furs, each drawn by two horses or two yoke of oxen. Three schooners were then moored at the wharf at Queenston, and fourteen teams stood waiting to be loaded. Others had noticed as many as fifty or sixty teams passing each other in a day. At this time the old portage on the American bank was entirely disused, but in 1806 the exclusive rights to the carrying place on that side were granted to Porter, Barton & Co., and much of the traffic was consequently diverted.

Christian Schultz tells us that in 1807 the Canadian side of the river was "one settled street, from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie," while the other was still almost wholly "waste and uninhabited," which he attributes chiefly to the fact that the land on the American bank was entirely held by speculators. The villages of Chippawa and Fort Erie contained about twenty houses each. For upwards of twenty miles back, he states that the country was pretty well settled from lake to lake. A stage coach made three round trips weekly between Niagara and Fort Erie. A considerable sum from the provincial treasury was annually spent in opening and improving roads. Frenchman's, Miller's and Black creeks were bridged only on the river road, but there was a bridge across Lyons' creek at Cook's Mills, and the Chippawa was bridged at its mouth, and at Brown's, sixteen miles higher up. From the Portage Road near the Falls, a continuation of Lundy's Lane led westerly through the Beechwoods and Beaver Dam settlements, crossed the Twelve Mile creek at De-Cew's, and following the crest of the mountain to the Twenty, ascended that stream as far as a small hamlet, known as "Asswago," and finally united with the main road from Niagara to York, near Stoney Creek. Another well travelled road from Queenston passed through St. Davids, and joined the Lake Road from Niagara at Shipman's tavern, where they crossed the Twelve Mile Creek on the present site of the city of St. Catharines. A third, leading from Niagara through the dreaded "Black Swamp," of which all trace has long since disappeared, united with the road from St. Davids before crossing the Four Mile creek. Still another, beginning near the mouth of the Two Mile creek, ran nearly parallel with the river till it intersected Lundy's Lane. Besides these there were the main travelled roads along the river from Queenston to Niagara, and along the lake from Niagara to Burlington.

In 1794, Lieutenant Governor Simcoe styled the Niagara settlement "the bulwark of Upper Canada," and affirmed that the militia were loyal to a man, and "very well calculated for offensive war-

fare." Since then the character and feelings of the population had essentially altered. Many of the first settlers had died or removed with their families to other parts of the Province, and their places had been taken by later immigrants from the United States. The twenty townships extending from Ancaster to Wainfleet, which then composed the County of Lincoln, were supposed to contain 12,000 inhabitants in the spring of 1812. In the entire province of Upper Canada, one-sixth of the population were believed to be natives of the British Isles and their children; the original loyalist settlers and their descendants were estimated to number as many more, while the remainder, or about two-thirds of the whole, were recent arrivals from the United States, chiefly attracted by the fertility of the soil and freedom from taxation. Michael Smith states (1813), that within twelve years, the population "had increased beyond conjecture, as the terms of obtaining land have been extremely easy." The proportion of loyalists in the County of Lincoln was perhaps greater than elsewhere, but it is probably a safe estimate to say that one-third of the inhabitants were recent settlers from the United States, who had removed to escape taxation or avoid militia service. John Maude met several families in 1800 on their way to Canada from those counties in Pennsylvania where the "Whiskey Insurrection" had just been suppressed, who informed him that they had fought seven years against taxation, and were then being taxed more than ever. "Hundreds of them," he remarked, "have removed, are removing, and will remove into Upper Canada, where they will form a nest of vipers in the bosom that fosters them."

In 1811, the Governor General estimated the number of militiamen in Upper Canada fit for service at 11,000, of whom he significantly stated that it would probably not be prudent to arm more than 4,000. This was virtually an admission that more than half the population were suspected of disaffection. The Lincoln Militia were organized in five regiments, numbering about 1,500 men, of whom perhaps two-thirds were determined loyalists.

In many quarters, before the war, the disaffection of the people was open and undisguised. Schultz states that while at Presqu' Isle, on Lake Ontario, in 1807, he strolled along the main road, and found six or seven farmers assembled in a country tavern, who had just heard of the *Chesapeake* affair. "They seemed disappointed," he observed, "that I did not think it would lead to war, when they expected to become part of the United States." He also relates that he was subsequently in a public house in Niagara, where eight or ten persons were gathered about a billiard table. The attack upon the *Chesapeake* again became the topic of conversation, and one man said,

"If Congress will only send us a flag and a proclamation declaring that whoever is found in arms against the United States, shall forfeit his lands, we will fight ourselves free without any expense to them."

John Melish declared his conviction from enquiries made during his visit in 1810, "that if 5,000 men were sent into Upper Canada with a proclamation of independence, the great mass of the people would join the American Government." Dr. Tiffany and Barnabas Bidwell, formerly Attorney General of Massachusetts, and a representative in Congress, who had become a defaulter and fled to the Newcastle District, near the Bay of Quinte, where he was engaged in teaching a private school, wrote secretly to their political friends in a similar strain.

These statements were eagerly quoted, and no doubt believed by the leaders of the war party in Congress. Henry Clay assured the people that "the conquest of Canada is in your power. I trust I shall not be deemed presumptuous when I state that I verily believe that the militia of Kentucky are alone competent to place Montreal and Upper Canada at your feet."

On the 6th of March, 1812, Calhoun expressed equal confidence. "So far from being unprepared, Sir," he exclaimed, "I believe that four weeks from the time the declaration of war is heard on our frontier, the whole of Upper Canada and a part of Lower Canada will be in our possession."

Jefferson wrote about the same time that, "The acquisition of Canada this year, as far as the neighborhood of Quebec, would be a mere matter of marching, and would give us experience for the attack of Halifax, the next, and the final expulsion of England from the American continent."

Mr. Eustis, the Secretary of War, was, if possible, still more optimistic, "We can take Canada without soldiers," he declared, "We have only to send officers into the Province and the people disaffected to their own Government will rally round our standard." General William Widgery, a representative in Congress from Massachusetts, gained momentary notoriety by his statement: "I will engage to take Canada by contract. I will raise a company and take it in six weeks." Another speaker declared that, "Niagara Falls could be resisted with as much success as the American people when roused into action." After the declaration of war had been promulgated, Clay, the speaker of the House of Representatives, and the real leader of the war party, solemnly declared that he would never consent to any treaty of peace which did not provide for the cession of Canada.

The correspondence of General Brock with the Governor General shows that in many respects these expectations were well founded,

and that he was far from being hopeful of offering a successful defence without strong reinforcements.

"The late increase of ammunition and every species of stores," he wrote on the 2nd December, 1811, "the substitution of a strong regiment and the appointment of a military person to the Government, have tended to infuse other sentiments among the most reflecting part of the community, and during my visit to Niagara last week I received most satisfactory professions of a determination on the part of the principal inhabitants to exert every means in their power for the defence of their property and to support the government. They look with confidence to you for aid. Although perfectly aware of the number of improper characters who have obtained possessions and whose principles diffuse a spirit of insubordination very adverse to all military institutions, I believe the majority will prove faithful. It is best to act with the utmost liberality and as if no mistrust existed. Unless the inhabitants give a faithful aid it will be utterly impossible to preserve the province, with the limited number of military."

On the 24th of February, 1812, a proclamation was published announcing that divers persons had recently come into the province "with a seditious intent and to endeavor to alienate the minds of His Majesty's subjects," and directing the officers appointed to enforce the act lately passed by the Legislature "for the better security of the province against all seditious attempts" to be vigilant in the discharge of their duties. Joseph Edwards of Niagara, Samuel Street of Willoughby, Thomas Dickson of Queenston, William Crooks of Grimsby and Samuel Hatt of Ancaster were among the persons commissioned to execute this law.

On the 17th of April, a boy at Queenston fired a shot across the river which happily did no injury. He was promptly arrested and committed for trial, and two resident magistrates, James Kirby and Robert Grant, tendered an apology to the inhabitants of Lewiston for his offence. Five days later General Brock reported that a body of three hundred men in plain clothes had been seen patrolling the American side of the river. On the 25th, it was announced that 170 citizens of Buffalo had volunteered for military service. A proclamation by President Madison calling out one hundred thousand was published about the same time, and the Governor of New York was required to send 500 men to the Niagara, which he hastened to do, being a warm advocate of the war.

Meanwhile the flank companies of militia regiments of the counties of Lincoln, Norfolk and York were embodied by General Brock, and drilled six times a month. They numbered about 700

young men belonging to "the best class of settlers." By the recent Militia Act, they were required to arm and clothe themselves, and as many of them had far to travel, Brock begged that they should at least receive an allowance for rations.

The Governor General suggested that the Government of the United States entertained hopes that something might happen to provoke a quarrel between its soldiers and the British troops on that frontier, and desired him to take every precaution to prevent any such pretext for hostilities.

Early in May, Brock made a rapid tour of inspection along the Niagara, thence to the Mohawk village on the Grand river, returning to York by way of Ancaster. He reported that the people generally seemed well disposed and that the flank companies had mustered in full strength.

BEGINNING OF HOSTILITIES.

By the 17th of June six hundred American militia were stationed along the river, and a complaint was made by three reputable inhabitants of Fort Erie that their sentries were in the habit of wantonly firing across the stream. On the 25th of the same month this period of suspense was terminated by the arrival of a special messenger employed by Mr. Astor and other American citizens interested in the Northwest fur trade, to convey the earliest possible information of war to Lieut. Colonel Thomas Clark, of Queenston, who immediately reported his intelligence to the commandant of Fort Erie. The messenger, one Vosburg, of Albany, had travelled with relays of horses at such speed that he outrode the official courier bearing despatches to Fort Niagara by fully twenty-four hours. On his return he was arrested at Canandaigua, and held to bail together with some of his employers, but it does not appear that they were ever brought to trial.

Lieut. Gansevoort and a sergeant in the United States Artillery, who happened to be on the Canadian side were made prisoners, and the ferry boats plying across the river at Queenston and Fort Erie were seized by the British troops at those places. The people of Buffalo received their first intimation of the declaration of war by witnessing the capture of a merchant schooner off the harbor by boats from Fort Erie.

The flank companies of militia marched immediately to the frontier, and were distributed along the river in taverns and farm houses. On the second day, General Brock arrived from York, with the intention of making an attack on Fort Niagara. He had then at his disposal, 400 of the 41st Regiment, and nearly 800 militia. Success was all but certain, as the garrison was weak and inefficient. His

instructions, however, were to act strictly on the defensive, and he abandoned this project in the conviction that the garrison might be driven out at any time by a vigorous cannonade. Rumors of his design seem to have reached General P. B. Porter, who commanded the militia force on the other side, and he made an urgent demand for reinforcements.

"The British on the opposite side are making the most active preparations for defence," Benjamin Barton wrote from Lewiston on the 24th of June, "New troops are arriving from the Lower Province constantly, and the quantity of military stores, etc., that have arrived within these few weeks is astonishing. Vast quantities of arms and ammunition are passing up the country, no doubt to arm the Indians around the Upper Lakes, (for they have not white men enough to make use of such quantities as are passing). One-third of the militia of the Upper Province are formed into companies called flankers, and are well armed and equipped out of the King's stores, and are regularly trained one day in a week by an officer of the standing troops. A volunteer troop of horse has lately been raised and have drawn their sabres and pistols. A company of militia artillery has been raised this spring, and exercise two or three days in the week on the plains near Fort George, and practice firing and have become very expert. The noted Isaac Sweazy has within a few days received a captain's commission for the flying artillery, of which they have a number of pieces. We were yesterday informed by a respectable gentleman from that side of the river, that he was actually purchasing horses for the purpose of exercising his men. They are repairing Fort George, and building a new fort at York. A number of boats are daily employed, manned by their soldiers, plying between Fort George and Queenston, carrying stores, lime and pickets, for necessary repairs, and to cap the whole, they are making and using every argument and persuasion to induce the Indians to join them, and we are informed the Mohawks have volunteered their service. In fact, nothing appears to be left undone by their people that is necessary for their defence."

However, the Governor General seized the first opportunity of again advising his enterprising lieutenant to refrain from any offensive movements. "In the present state of politics in the United States," he said, "I consider it prudent to avoid any means which can have the least tendency to unite their people. While dissension prevails among them, their attempts on the province will be feeble. It is therefore my wish to avoid committing any act which may even from a strained construction tend to unite the Eastern and Southern States, unless from its perpetration, we are to derive an immediate, considerable and important advantage."

Brock felt so confident at that moment of his ability to maintain his ground on the Niagara that he actually stripped Fort George of its heaviest guns for the defence of Amherstburg, which he anticipated would be the first point of attack. But the militia who had turned out so cheerfully on the first alarm, after the lapse of a couple of uneventful weeks, became impatient to return to their homes and families. They had been employed as much as possible in the construction of batteries at the most exposed points, and as they were without tents, blankets, hammocks, kettles or camp equipage of any kind, they had suffered serious discomfort even at that season of the year. As their prolonged absence from their homes in some cases threatened the total destruction of their crops, many were allowed to return on the 12th of July, and it was feared that the remainder would disband in defiance of the law which only imposed a fine of £20 for desertion. Nearly all of them were wretchedly clothed, and a considerable number were without shoes, which could not be obtained in the Province at any price. Many of the inhabitants Brock indignantly declared were "indifferent or American in feeling."

However, the month of July passed away without developing any symptom of an offensive movement on this frontier. On the 22nd, the session of the Legislature began at York, with the knowledge that General Hull had invaded the province at Sandwich with a strong force, and in hourly expectation of tidings that the garrison of Amherstburg had surrendered to superior numbers. Yet amid these depressing circumstances, Brock concluded his "speech from the throne" with these hopeful and inspiring words: "We are engaged in an awful and eventful contest. By unanimity and despatch in our councils, and by vigor in our operations, we may teach the enemy this lesson, that a country defended by freemen, who are enthusiastically devoted to their King and Constitution, can never be conquered."

During the following week the most discouraging reports from Amherstburg continued to arrive almost daily. It seemed as if the invading army would be able to overrun the whole of the Western District, with scarcely a show of resistance on the part of the inhabitants. A majority of the members of the Legislature were apathetic or despondent. They passed a new militia act, and an act to provide for the defence of the Province, but amended both in a highly unsatisfactory manner, after which the House was hastily prorogued by the General, who was eager to proceed to the seat of war.

"The House of Assembly," he wrote on the 4th of August. "have refused to do anything they are required. Everybody considers the fate of the country as settled, and is afraid to appear in the least conspicuous in the promotion of measures to retard it. I have this instant been informed that a motion was made in the House, and

only lost by two votes, that the militia should be at liberty to return home if they did not receive their pay on a fixed day every month."

On the succeeding day he began his march to the relief of Amherstburg. Most of the regulars and some of the militia which had been hitherto stationed along the Niagara, preceded or accompanied him on this expedition, which they were fortunately enabled to do by the inactivity of the enemy on the opposite bank, who actually do not seem to have become aware of their absence until they had returned victorious. Lieut.-Col. Myers, the Assistant Quartermaster General, was left in command. The men belonging to the flank companies, who had been allowed to return to their homes to assist in the harvest, were summoned to rejoin, and 500 more held in readiness to support them.

On the 20th of August, the inhabitants were thrown into a frenzy of delight by the almost incredible intelligence that Detroit had been taken with the entire American army. A few hours later, General Van Rensselaer, who was still in ignorance of this event, signed an armistice which put an end to any further apprehension of an attack for several weeks.

The Americans did not remain idle during the interval. A body of five or six thousand men was assembled and five detached batteries were completed on the bank of the river, between Fort Niagara and Youngstown, two of which were armed with very heavy guns, and two with mortars.

Upon the termination of the armistice, the militia generally returned to their posts with alacrity, accompanied by a number of old loyalists, unfit for service in the field, but capable of performing garrison duty.

The garrison order-book of Fort George still exists to bear witness to the ceaseless vigilance with which the movements of the enemy were watched. On the 2nd of October an order was issued directing one-third of the troopers to "sleep in their clothes, fully accoutred and ready to turn out at a moment's notice." This was followed on the 6th by another, requiring the whole of the regular troops and militia to be under arms by the first break of day, and not to be dismissed until full daylight, and on the 12th all communication with the enemy, by flag of truce, was forbidden, unless expressly authorized by the commanding general.

On the morning of the 13th of October, as soon as General Brock was convinced that the Americans were actually crossing the river at Queenston, he directed Brigade Major Evans, who remained in command at Fort George, to open fire with every available gun upon Fort Niagara and the adjacent batteries, and continue it until they were absolutely silenced. This attack was forestalled by the

enemy, who, as soon as they perceived the columns of troops marching out on the road to Queenston, turned the whole of their artillery upon Fort George and the neighboring village, with such a disastrous effect that in a few minutes the jail and court house and fifteen or sixteen other buildings were set in a blaze by their red hot shot. Major Evans had at his command not more than twenty regular soldiers who composed the main guard for the day. The whole of the small detachment of Royal Artillery, usually stationed in the Fort, had accompanied the field guns to repel the attack upon Queenston. Colonel Claus, with a few men of the 1st Lincoln Regiment, and Cpts. Powell and Cameron, with a small detachment of militia artillery, alone remained to man the guns of the fort and batteries. The gravity of the situation was greatly increased by the fact that upwards of three hundred prisoners were confined in the jail and guardhouse, which was now menaced with destruction. However, while the guards and the greater part of the militia were vigorously engaged in fighting the flames, amid an incessant cannonade, under the personal direction of Major Evans and Captain Vigoreux of the Royal Engineers, the batteries were served by the militia artillery men, assisted by two non-commissioned officers of the 41st Regiment, with such energy and success that in the course of an hour the American guns were totally silenced. By that time the court house and some other buildings had been totally consumed, and the disheartening news arrived that Gen. Brock and Colonel Macdonell had been killed, and their men repulsed by the enemy, who were landing in great force at Queenston, and had obtained possession of the heights. Evans rode off at once to send forward every man that could be spared from the stations along the river. He had just marched off a small party from Young's battery, when the American batteries resumed firing and obliged him to return at full speed to his post. As he reached the main gate at Fort George, he encountered a party of panic-stricken soldiers, flying from the place, who informed him that the roof of the magazine, which was known to contain eight hundred barrels of powder, was on fire. Captain Vigoreux climbed upon the burning building without an instant's hesitation, and his gallant example being quickly followed by several others, the metal covering was soon torn away and the flames extinguished in the wood beneath. The storehouses at Navy Hall were, however, next set in a blaze which could not be overcome owing to their exposed situation, and they were totally destroyed. The artillery combat was resumed, and continued till not only Fort Niagara but all the other batteries on that side of the river were absolutely silenced and deserted. One of the largest guns in that fort had burst, completely wrecking the platform, disabling several men and dismay-

ing the remainder to such an extent that they deserted the place in a body, and could not be induced to return until the firing had ceased. For several hours the works were entirely abandoned, and could have been taken without the least resistance had Evans been able to spare men for the purpose.

On the next day a cessation of hostilities was again agreed upon, which continued until the evening of the 20th of November. During this interval the six battalion companies of the First Lincoln Regiment were consolidated into three, under the command of Captains John Jones, Martin McClellan and George Ball, each containing about eighty rank and file.

At six o'clock on the morning of the 21st November, the guns of Fort George and five detached batteries began a second bombardment of the American works, chiefly with the object of diverting the attention of the enemy to that part of the line, as General Smyth who had succeeded Van Rensselaer, was massing his troops in the vicinity of Buffalo, with the apparent intention of forcing the passage of the river between Fort Erie and Chippawa. The fire from the American batteries, which appear to have been weakly manned, was ill-directed and occasionally ceased altogether for long intervals, while flames could be seen rising from their works, apparently caused by the explosion of shells. One of these missiles fell within the north blockhouse in Fort Niagara and dismounted the only gun there. Another shot from a twenty-four pounder on the right of Fort George dismounted a heavy gun near Youngstown, while a third silenced the piece on the roof of the messhouse at Fort Niagara for nearly an hour. One of the guns in that place also burst with disastrous results, killing two men and disabling others. A large building under the walls, which covered the landing of troops, was entirely destroyed. By five o'clock in the afternoon, Fort Niagara was absolutely silenced, and only the Youngstown "Salt" Battery continued to fire an occasional gun. At dark the British guns ceased firing. But a single private of the 49th Regiment, and a gallant old half-pay officer, Capt. Barent Frey, late of Butler's Rangers, had been killed on the Canadian side of the river during the cannonade. The latter had voluntarily occupied himself in gathering the enemy's shot as they fell, for the purpose, as he declared, of having them sent back to them as soon as possible. He is said to have been killed by the wind of a cannon ball as it ricocheted along the ground. The messhouse at Navy Hall was destroyed, and seventeen buildings in the town itself were set on fire by heated shot, besides many others considerably damaged by the cannonade. A small merchant schooner lying at the wharf was sunk.

The American commandant at Fort Niagara, Colonel McFeely of

the United States Artillery, admitted the loss of only eleven men killed and wounded, though he estimated that not less than 2,000 round shot and 180 shells had been discharged against his works from the British batteries. He reported an instance of remarkable courage displayed by a woman. Among the prisoners taken at Queenston on the 13th October, was a private in the United States Artillery named Andrew Doyle, who was recognized as a British subject, born in the village of St. Davids. He was accordingly included among those who were sent to England to be brought to trial for treason. His wife remained in Fort Niagara throughout the bombardment, and actually took part in working one of the guns. "During the most tremendous cannonading I have ever seen," said Colonel McFeely in his official letter, "she attended the six-pounder on the old messhouse with the red hot shot and showed fortitude equal to the Maid of Orleans."

Cannon balls were much too scarce and valuable to be wasted, and Lieut.-Col. Myers took pains to state in his report that the number of round shot picked up on the field exceeded the number fired from his guns on this occasion.

This artillery duel put an end to actual hostilities in the vicinity of Niagara for the remainder of the year. But the privations and sufferings of the militia were not yet terminated. They were retained in service until the middle of December, when winter set in with unusual severity, and all danger of an invasion seemed at an end.

As early as the middle of November, Sir Roger Sheaffe had reported that many of them were "in a very destitute state with respect to clothing, and all that regards bedding and barrack comforts in general; these wants cause discontent and desertion, but the conduct of a great majority is highly honorable to them, and I have not failed to encourage it by noticing it in public orders." In the order to which reference is made, he had said: "Major General Sheaffe has witnessed with the highest satisfaction the manly and cheerful spirit with which the militia on this frontier have borne the privations which peculiar circumstances have imposed upon them. He cannot but feel that their conduct entitles them to every attention he can bestow upon them. It has furnished examples of those best characteristics of a soldier, manly constancy under fatigue and privation and determined bravery in the face of the enemy."

On the 23rd of the same month he observed that the number of the militia in service had constantly increased since the termination of the armistice, and that they seemed very alert and well disposed. Their duty during the next three weeks was of the most wearisome and harassing kind, as none of them were permitted to take off their clothes by night, and in the day they were kept fully accoutred, with

arms in their hands. Strong patrols constantly moved along the river, keeping up the communication between the posts, and owing to the smallness of the force assembled to watch such an extensive line, the same men were frequently placed on guard for several nights in succession. Their clothing was insufficient to protect them from the cold, and numbers were actually confined to barracks from want of shoes. Disease carried off Lieut.-Col. Johnson Butler, Captain John Lottridge, Lieut. John May, Sergeant Jacob Balmer, and twenty privates of the Lincoln Regiments during the month of December, and there was much sickness among those who survived. Many, distressed beyond all endurance by the miserable condition of their families in their absence, returned home without leave.

Late in November the Governor General issued a proclamation directing all citizens of the United States residing in Upper Canada who still declined to take an oath of allegiance, to leave the Province before the first day of January, 1813. Among those who were banished at this time was Michael Smith, already mentioned, who published a few months later a small volume, entitled "A Geographical View of the Province of Upper Canada." This book met with such a favorable reception that five other editions appeared at short intervals during the next three years, several of them being materially revised and enlarged. His description of the wretched state of this part of the Province was the result of personal observation, and is certainly not overdrawn.

"In the course of the summer on the line between Fort George and Fort Erie, there was not more than 1000 Indians in arms at any one time. These Indians went to and fro as they pleased to their country and back, and were very troublesome to the women when their husbands were gone, as they plundered and took what they pleased, and often beat them to force them to give them whiskey, even when they were not in possession of any, and when they saw any man that had not gone to the lines they called him a Yankee, and threatened to kill him for not going to fight, and indeed in some instances these threats have been put into execution. They acted with great authority and rage when they had stained their hands with human blood.

"The inhabitants at large would have been extremely glad to have got out of their miserable situation at almost any rate, but they dared not venture a rebellion without being sure of protection.

"From the commencement of the war there had been no collection of debts by law in the upper part of the Province, and towards the fall in no part, nor would anyone pay another. No person could get credit from anyone to the amount of one dollar, nor could anyone sell any of their property for any price, except provisions or clothing, for

those who had money were determined to keep it for the last resort. No business was carried on by any person except what was necessary for the times.

"In the upper part of the Province all the schools were broken up, and no preaching was heard in all the land. All was gloom, war and misery.

"Upon the declaration of war the Governor laid an embargo on all the flour destined for market, which was at a time when very little had left the Province. The next harvest was truly bountiful, as also the crops of corn, buckwheat and peas, the most of which were gathered, except the buckwheat which was on the ground, when all the people were called away after the battle of Queenston. Being detained on duty in the fall not one-half of the farmers sowed any winter grain."

All supplies from Montreal were cut off by the American fleet being in possession of Lake Ontario from the 8th November until the close of navigation. Flour and salt were scarcely to be purchased at any price and the condition of many families soon became almost too wretched to be endured. It is not surprising then that numbers of those who had no very strong ties to retain them, seized the first opportunity of escape.

Lake Erie was frozen over as early as the 12th of January. A few days later two deserters and three civilians made their way from Point Abino to Buffalo upon the ice. They stated that the British forces were greatly reduced by sickness and desertion and that they did not believe there were more than thirty regulars stationed along the river between Fort Erie and Niagara. In fact several companies of the 41st had been recently despatched to strengthen the garrison of Amherstburg, which was again threatened with an attack, and a show of force was kept up by ostentatiously sending out parties along the river in sleighs by day and bringing them back to quarters after dark.

Stimulated by the information derived from these men the commandant at Buffalo projected the surprise of Fort Erie by crossing on the ice, but the desertion of a non-commissioned officer, Sergeant-Major Macfarlane, disconcerted his plans.

In February Sir George Prevost visited Upper Canada, proceeding as far west as Niagara. Upon consulting with Major-General Sheaffe he arrived at the conclusion that it would be scarcely possible to defend that province successfully with the means at his disposal. In this opinion Chief Justice Powell who was taken into his confidence, seems to have fully concurred.

Late in March the arrival of three families of refugees at Buffalo by passing across the ice is recorded. They confirmed former accounts of

want and distress and the weakness of the British garrisons on the Niagara. The American officers were enabled, by information obtained from these and other sources, to estimate with precision the actual force which might be assembled to resist an invasion. But as they failed to make their attacks simultaneously it happened in several instances that they encountered the same troops successively at different places many miles apart. Soldiers of the 41st, who had been present with Brock at the taking of Detroit, fought at Queenston on the 13th of October and returned in time to share in the victory at the River Raisin on the 22nd January, 1813. Two companies of the 8th that took part in the assault upon Ogdensburg on the 22nd February, faced the invaders at York on the 27th April and again at Fort George a month later. Finding themselves repeatedly confronted with considerably larger forces than they had been led to expect, the American generals soon ceased to put much confidence in the reports of their spies.

The cabinet had at first designated Kingston, York, and Fort George points of attack in the order named. The attempt upon Kingston was quickly abandoned owing to a false report that the garrison had been largely increased, and it was determined to limit the operations of the "Army of the Centre" in the first instance to the reduction of the two latter places.

On the 17th of March, Major General Morgan Lewis, who had been appointed to the command of the division on the Niagara, arrived at Buffalo attended by a numerous staff. At noon of the same day, the batteries at Black Rock began firing across the river and continued the cannonade with little intermission until the evening of the 18th. A few houses were destroyed and seven soldiers killed or wounded near Fort Erie. Three of the American guns were dismounted by the British batteries. A week later the bombardment was resumed with even less result.

York was taken without much difficulty on the 27th April, but it cost the assailants their most promising general and between three and four hundred of their best troops. They ascertained on that occasion that they still had many warm sympathizers in that part of the Province. A letter from an officer who accompanied this expedition, published in the *Baltimore Whig* at the time, states that "our adherents and friends in Upper Canada suffer greatly in apprehension or active misery. Eighteen or twenty of them, who refused to take the oath of allegiance, lived last winter in a cave or subterraneous hut near Lake Simcoe. Twenty-five Indians and whites were sent to take them but they killed eighteen of the party and enjoyed their liberty until lately, when, being worn out with cold and fatigue, they were taken and put in York jail, whence we liberated them."

Michael Smith corroborates this account in some respects. He relates that twelve days after the battle of Queenston Colonel Graham, on Yonge Street, ordered his battalion to assemble that a number might be drafted to go to Fort George. Forty of them did not come but went out to Whitchurch township, which was nearly a wilderness, and joined thirty more fugitives that were already there. Some men who were home for a few days from Fort George offered to go and bring them in but as they were not permitted to take arms they failed and the number of fugitives increased by the first of December to 300. When on my way to Kingston to obtain a passport, I saw about fifty of these people near Smith's Creek in the Newcastle District on the main road with fife and drum beating for recruits and huzzaing for Madison. Some of them remained in the woods all winter, but the Indians went out in the spring of 1813 and drove them into their caves, where they were taken."

So pronounced was the disaffection among the inhabitants in the vicinity of York, that Chief Justice Powell warned the Governor General that "in the event of any serious disaster to His Majesty's arms little reliance is to be had on the power of the well disposed to depress and keep down the turbulence of the disaffected, who are very numerous."

On the 29th of April the capture of York became known at Fort George, and the boats and stores deposited at Burlington were removed to a place of safety. On the 8th of May the American fleet came over to Fort Niagara and landed the brigade of troops that had been employed in the reduction of York. Although victorious, they were described by General Dearborn as being sickly and low spirited. Next day some of these troops were sent in two schooners to Burlington Beach, where they destroyed the King's Head tavern, built by Lieut.-Governor Simcoe, which had served as quarters for soldiers on their march to and from Niagara. They had intended to march inland and destroy Hatt's Mills, in the Township of Ancaster, but were deterred by a report that a body of troops had been assembled in the vicinity. These vessels continued to cruise about the head of the lake, while the remainder of their fleet sailed away, as it proved, to bring forward another division of troops.

Brigadier General John Vincent had lately assumed command of the British forces on the line of the Niagara, consisting of the 49th Regiment, five companies of the 8th, three of the Glengarry Light Infantry, two of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, and a captain's command of Royal Artillery with five field guns, numbering in all 1925 officers and men, of whom 1841 were effective. Besides these, Merritt's troop of Provincial cavalry, Runchey's company of negroes, a company of militia artillery and an uncertain and fluctuating num-

ber of militiamen belonging to the five Lincoln Regiments, were available.

By a general order in March, about 1700 militia had been summoned to the protection of the frontier, but when the alarm had subsided most of them had been allowed to return to their homes, as it was felt that they would be more usefully employed in cultivating their farms than in idly waiting for an attack, which the enemy appeared to be in no hurry to make.

The regular troops were in high spirits and confident of victory, but the militia appeared gloomy and depressed. Vincent complained ruefully, "It is with regret that I can neither report favorably of their numbers nor of their willing co-operation. Every exertion has been used and every expedient resorted to, to bring them forward and unite their efforts to those of His Majesty's troops with but little effect, and desertion beyond all conception continues to mark their indifference to the important cause in which we are now engaged. In considering it my duty to offer a fresh exposition of my sentiments to Your Excellency respecting the militia of this Province, I must at the same time express a belief that when the reinforcements reach this frontier many of the inhabitants, who have been for some time wavering and appalled by the specious show of the enemy's resources, will instantly rally round the standard of their King and country."

Lieut.-Colonel John Harvey, a very able and enterprising young officer of considerable military experience in many climes, who had lately joined General Vincent's division as Deputy Adjutant General, earnestly advised that accurate information of the enemy's numbers and designs should be secured at any cost, and then "by a series of both active and offensive movements, they should be thrown on the defensive, no matter how superior their numbers might be." Had the whole of the 8th Regiment arrived in time this might have been accomplished, but two of its companies had been nearly annihilated at York, and the march of the remainder very much delayed by the attack on that place.

As late, however, as the 20th of May, we find Lieut.-Colonel Myers writing to the Adjutant General in these terms: "It is not wise to hold an enemy too cheap, but I cannot divest myself of the idea that the foe opposite is despicable and that it would be no hard task to dislodge him from the entire of his lines on the Niagara river. With some subordinate attacks upon his flanks, I am of opinion that it would be an enterprise of little hazard for us to get an establishment on the heights above Lewiston, opposite Queenston. This once effected, I cannot but feel the strongest confidence that we would in a short time effect the object so much to be desired. It would be giving

such a turn to the war that I conceive it would strike terror to the enemy, which would produce the happiest effects."

The return of the American fleet with a numerous body of regular troops on board put an end to these rather fantastic schemes of conquest. At daybreak on the 21st no less than seventeen armed vessels, and upwards of one hundred Durham boats and batteaux were assembled in the shallow but landlocked and commodious haven at the mouth of the Four Mile Creek in rear of Fort Niagara, from which several thousand men were speedily disembarked.

For several days these troops paraded ostentatiously in plain view, probably in the hope of overawing their opponents by the display of numbers. Many workmen were seen at the same time busily occupied in constructing new batteries along the river and building boats. Reinforcements continued to arrive daily until it was supposed that about seven thousand soldiers were encamped between Lewiston and Fort Niagara. This force was composed almost wholly of regular troops that had been in service for some time and included nine of the best regiments of infantry in the United States army. They were accompanied by a strong regiment of heavy artillery, well appointed field-train and a battalion of dragoons.

Major-General Henry Dearborn who was in command had distinguished himself in the Revolutionary war, during which he had commanded a regiment in Arnold's expedition against Quebec, at Saratoga, and in Sullivan's campaign against the Six Nations. But he was now past sixty years of age and in ill-health. He had not been employed in military service for thirty years, and had grown so corpulent that he could scarcely mount a horse. For field operations he accordingly provided himself with a light open spring waggon, which was called a "Dearborn" in his honour, by the maker, and generally known by that name for some years.

The Secretary of War had warned him to be careful to employ a sufficient force to ensure success. Seven thousand men was the number deemed requisite. "If the first step in the campaign fails," he wrote plaintively, "our disgrace will be complete. The public will lose confidence in us. The party who first opens a campaign has many advantages over his antagonist, all of which, however, are the results of his being able to carry his whole force against part of the enemy's. We are now in that state of prostration Washington was in after he crossed the Delaware, but, like him, we may soon get on our legs if we are able to give some hard blows at the opening of the campaign. In this we cannot fail, provided the force we employ against his western posts be sufficiently heavy. They must stand or fall by their own strength. They are perfectly isolated; send, then, a force that shall overwhelm them. When the fleet and army are gone we

have nothing at Sackett's Harbor to guard. How would it read, if we had another brigade at Sackett's Harbor when we failed at Niagara?"

The undisturbed control of Lake Ontario by his fleet gave the American general a still greater advantage than his numerical superiority. It was understood that the British squadron would not be able to leave Kingston for at least a week, but two small vessels were detached to watch that port while the remainder assembled at Niagara to cover the landing. On May 10th a council of war composed of Generals Dearborn, Lewis, Chandler, Boyd, Winder, and Quartermaster General Swartwout, unanimously decided in favor of an attack upon Fort George. Colonel Moses Porter, a veteran professional soldier of forty years' standing, who had risen from the ranks, was placed in command of the artillery, and instituted great activity in the construction and armament of new batteries upon the river bank commanding that post.

Vincent was accordingly thrown entirely upon the defensive. Had he only had Dearborn's army to contend with, superior as it was, he might have entertained a reasonable hope of being able to maintain his position, but the presence of the fleet would enable his antagonist to select the point of attack at will, and even to land a force in his rear.

Nor were the fortifications along the river in a satisfactory state. The chief engineer had examined them during the winter and reported that Fort George was still in a "ruinous and unfinished condition," although the parapet facing the river had been somewhat strengthened. He had recommended that it should be completed as a field work, and that a splinter-proof barracks capable of sheltering 400 men should be built within, and the upper story of the block-houses taken down to place them on a level with the *terre pleine*. But these suggested improvements could not be carried out for lack of materials and workmen. At this time the fort mounted five guns; one twelve, two twenty four pounders, and two mortars. On the left, fronting the Niagara river, were no less than five detached batteries, armed with eleven guns, five of which were mortars. All of these works were open in the rear, and could be enfiladed and some of them taken in reverse by an enemy approaching on the lake. Six other batteries had been constructed along the river between Fort George and Queenston, two at Chippawa, and three opposite Black Rock, about two miles below Fort Erie. All of these posts required men to occupy them, and there were besides thirty odd miles of frontier to be constantly patrolled and guarded. About one-third of his regular troops and two-thirds of the militia were unavoidably stationed along the upper part of this line extending from Queenston

to Point Abino, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Cecil Bishopp. Vincent retained for the defence of the eleven miles of front between Queenston and the mouth of the Four Mile Creek thirty gunners of the Royal Artillery, with five field pieces, under Major William Holcroft, 1050 regular infantry, 350 militia, and about fifty Indians. This force was subdivided into three diminutive brigades of nearly equal numbers, the right under Lieut.-Colonel Harvey, being detailed to guard the river, and the left, under Lieut.-Colonel Myers, the lake front of this position, while the third, under Vincent's own command, remained in readiness to support either of these when attacked. Fort George was garrisoned by Ormond's company of the 49th and a detachment of militia artillery, amounting in the whole to about 130 men. The gunners serving with the field artillery being not more than half the usual complement, additional men were attached from the infantry. The batteries were entirely manned by volunteers from the regulars and militia. The whole force was turned out every morning at two o'clock, and remained under arms until daylight. The staff officers set a conspicuous example of activity and watchfulness. Harvey and Myers, accompanied by their aides, patrolled the lines the whole night through and slept only by day. As the enemy continued their preparations for nearly a week after the return of their fleet, the effects of the prolonged strain soon became apparent in the exhausted condition of both the officers and men. At first General Dearborn's movements seemed to indicate that an attack would be made by crossing the river above Fort George, and on the 24th of May the whole of the British troops were kept under arms all night. About three o'clock in the morning the enemy was distinctly heard launching boats at the Five Mile Meadows, nearly opposite a station occupied by Lieut. (afterwards Major General) R. S. Armstrong, R. A., who, by command of the vigilant Harvey, immediately began to fire in that direction with a six-pounder field gun and the nine-pounder mounted in a battery at Brown's Point. The Americans replied briskly with two six-pounders, and continued their efforts until they had put ten boats in the river. But if they had intended to cross at this place they soon abandoned the attempt, and when day dawned all of these boats were seen on their way down the river with a few men in each. As they came within range the guns of Fort George began firing, which instantly drew upon that work a cross fire from no less than twenty-five guns and mortars mounted in Fort Niagara and adjacent batteries, arranged in the form of a crescent at a distance varying from seven hundred to one thousand yards. The American fort brought into action six twelve and two nine-pounders and a mortar; the battery at the graveyard, one twelve-pounder and a mortar; No. 3 battery, two six-pounders;

the Salt battery, two rifled 18-pounders, two six-pounders, two 8-inch howitzers and two 8-inch mortars; No. 5 battery, two twelve-pounders, and No. 6 battery, at Fox Point, two twelve-pounders. The fire from the Salt battery, where Colonel Porter had taken his station, proved far the most formidable and effective. The twelve-pounder in Fort George was soon dismantled by a shot which shattered its carriage, and every building inside was set on fire by the shower of shells and red-hot shot which rained upon it. The gunners were driven by the flames from the twenty-four pounder beside the flag-staff, but the unequal contest was still gallantly maintained by a similar gun in the cavalier and a smaller piece in the north-western bastion, until Major Holcroft, perceiving that the barracks were totally consumed and that shells were bursting in every corner of the place, sent orders to this handful of undaunted men to cease firing and retire under cover. The gun at Mississauga Point remained silent by order of Colonel Myers, who hoped, by this means to deprive the enemy of any excuse for turning their artillery upon the village, and the other detached batteries seem to have taken little part in the contest. Having destroyed all the buildings in Fort George and effectually silenced its fire, the Americans discontinued the bombardment about two o'clock in the afternoon.

The lake front of the British position was then closely reconnoitred by boats from the fleet, sounding the shore in every direction and occasionally venturing within musket shot of some of the batteries, which remained silent, partly from scarcity of ammunition and partly through fear of provoking a renewal of the cannonade. Buoys were placed to mark the stations the ships were to occupy next day, when they engaged the batteries on the left of Fort George and covered the landing.

On the part of the British, some ineffectual efforts were made to repair the damages of the morning. The tackle and carriage of the gun at the flag-staff in Fort George had been totally destroyed by the flames and could not be replaced, while the ring-bolts of another gun at the light house had been drawn by the recoil, and little service could be expected from it. Only a small picquet was stationed in the fort during the night, and the remainder of the garrison lay upon their arms on the common, about half a mile in the rear, in hourly expectation of an alarm, with the other brigades on either flank.

Shortly after reveille had sounded next morning a rocket was seen to rise into the air from Fort Niagara and a single gun was fired at Fort George. This was the signal for all the American batteries to begin a cannonade, which was not returned, and ceased at the end of half an hour. Long after the sun had risen a dense fog hung over the river and lake, effectually concealing all objects on the opposite

side except the dim outline of Fort Niagara. Nothing could be seen of their troops, most of whom had been embarked soon after midnight at the mouth of the Four Mile Creek. At daybreak Generals Dearborn and Lewis went on board Commodore Chauncey's flagship, which immediately got under way, followed by the remainder of the fleet and the immense flotilla of batteaux and other boats filled with soldiers. Hours passed away and the entire armada remained almost motionless, waiting for the rising of the fog. Finally, when the fog-banks rolled away, sixteen vessels of different sizes were descried standing across the mouth of the river at a distance of about two miles from land, followed by no less than 134 boats and scows, each containing from thirty to fifty men, formed in three compact divisions, one behind the other. At a signal from the flagship, the entire fleet tacked and stood towards the Canadian shore, the small boats wheeling by brigades and carefully preserving their alignment. Their approach was gradual and deliberate, being favored by a gentle breeze, which, however, scarcely raised a ripple on the glassy surface of the lake. The schooners *Julia* and *Growler*, each armed with a long 32-pounder and a long 12-pounder, mounted on pivots, by making use of their sweeps entered the mouth of the river and opened fire on the flank of the crippled battery near the lighthouse, while the schooner *Ontario*, of similar force, took up a position near the shore to the northward, so as to enfilade the same work and cross the fire of the two first-named vessels. Two guns and a mortar in Fort Niagara also concentrated their fire upon this battery, which was occupied by a few men of the Lincoln artillery under Capt. John Powell. Only a single shot was fired from the gun mounted there before it again became unmanageable, and the gunners were soon afterwards driven out by the incessant fire directed against them from different quarters. At the same time the *Governor Tompkins*, of six guns, engaged the one-gun battery near the mouth of Two Mile Creek in flank, while the *Conquest*, of three guns, anchored in such a position as to fire directly into it from the rear, which was entirely open and unprotected. Resistance in this case was obviously out of the question, and it was immediately abandoned. The *Hamilton*, *Scourge* and *Asp* anchored within short musket shot of the shore, a few hundred yards further west, nearly opposite a group of farm houses called Crookston, a short distance eastward of the mouth of that creek, which was the place selected for landing the troops. The three largest vessels, the *Madison*, *Oneida* and *Lady of the Lake*, drew more water and were in consequence obliged to remain at a greater distance, though still well within effective range of every part of the level plain beyond the landing place. The united broadside of the fleet amounted to fifty-one guns, many of them being heavy long-range pieces mounted upon pivots

which could fire in any direction, and the weather was so calm that they were afterwards able to increase the number by shifting guns from the other side. The whole of the artillery in Fort Niagara and the batteries on that bank of the river had also opened fire. Two sides of the British position were thus simultaneously assailed by the fire of more than seventy guns and mortars, which swept the roads and fields in every direction, scarcely receiving a shot in reply. A picquet of the Glengarry Light Infantry, which had been stationed with about 50 Indians of the Six Nations under Captain John Norton among the thickets near the mouth of the Two Mile Creek, hastily retired to avoid utter destruction by the storm of missiles hurled against their covert. Lieutenant William Johnson Chew and two Indians were killed and several wounded before they could escape.

A heavy column of troops was then discovered marching from the American camp in rear of Fort Niagara in the direction of Youngstown. This consisted principally of dismounted dragoons and heavy artillery, commanded by Colonel Burn, who had been instructed to cross the river there and intercept the retreat of the British garrison towards Queenston. Their appearance had the effect of detaining a large part of Harvey's brigade on that flank to watch their movements.

BATTLE OF FORT GEORGE.

It was about nine o'clock when the landing began at Crookston in the following order: The advanced guard in twenty boats was composed of four hundred picked light infantry selected from several regiments, Forsyth's battalion of riflemen, and the flank companies of the 15th United States Infantry, amounting in the whole to about 800 rank and file, with a strong detachment of artillery in charge of a three-pounder field piece, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Winfield Scott, an able and energetic young officer who had been taken prisoner at Queenston the year before, and was destined to be the future conqueror of Mexico. This force was strictly enjoined not to advance more than three hundred paces from the water's edge before it was supported by General Boyd's brigade of infantry, with Eustis's battalion of artillery and McClure's rifle volunteers on its flanks. This was to be followed by Winder's brigade with Towson's artillery, and Chandler's brigade with Macomb's artillery, which were instructed to form upon Boyd's right and left respectively. Each of these brigades must certainly have numbered not less than 1500 officers and men. The reserve was composed of the marines of the fleet and a picked body of 400 seamen, which were landed but not brought into action. When his command was formed

in line, about half a mile from the shore, Scott, who had been on board the flagship Madison to receive orders, rejoined it and took his station in the centre, when he announced that the pendant flying astern of that vessel would be dropped as a signal for them to advance. Forsyth's riflemen formed the right, Lieut.-Colonel George McFeely commanded the left, consisting of the companies of Milliken Mills and McFarland, while Scott himself took charge of the centre, composed of companies of Nicholas Biddle and Hindman of the 2nd, and Stockton of the Third United States Artillery.

The entire fleet continued to fire over the heads of the men in the boats and effectually screened their advance until they reached the shore and formed on the beach under shelter of the steep clay bank. Captain Hindman of the United States Artillery, a very gallant young officer who was in command of the detachment with the gun attached to the advance guard, is mentioned as the first man to reach the shore. So far they had not met with the slightest opposition, but when they began to ascend the bank the artillery fire from the ships slackened and they were briskly attacked by three companies of the Glengarry Light Infantry, two companies of Lincoln militia, and the grenadiers of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, who had been partially sheltered during the cannonade in a ravine two or three hundred yards distant. The effect of their musketry was sufficient to cause the American advance guard to retire under cover of the bank once more, and the fleet recommenced its fire. Lieut.-Colonel Myers then succeeded in bringing forward the remainder of his brigade, increasing the force assembled in the ravine to forty men of the Newfoundland Regiment, ninety of the Glengarry Light Infantry, twenty-seven of Captain Runchey's negro company, 100 Lincoln militia and 310 of the 8th or King's Regiment. Several American authorities agree in the statement that their troops twice attempted to ascend the bank and were twice driven back by this determined handful of men, who charged repeatedly and actually inflicted some loss with the bayonet. After they had succeeded in forming upon the plain, General Boyd stated that for "fifteen minutes the two lines exchanged a rapid and destructive fire, at a distance of only six or ten yards." The official returns of casualties establish the fact the whole of Boyd's brigade, consisting of the 6th, 15th and 16th United States Infantry, was ultimately brought forward to the support of Colonel Scott's command, making a force of about 2,300 men opposed to 567. Whenever practicable the ships continued to fire with destructive effect on the attenuated British line. Myers fell desperately wounded in three places when leading the first charge. Lieut.-Colonel Nichol, Quartermaster General of Militia, who had volunteered to act as his

aide-de-camp, had his horse shot under him. Every field officer and most of the company of officers were soon killed or disabled, and at the end of twenty minutes' close fighting the survivors gave way, leaving nearly three hundred dead and wounded on the field. They were rallied at a second ravine some distance in the rear by Lieut.-Colonel Harvey, who brought up with him several companies of the 49th, and a six-pounder field gun under Lieut. Charleton, which had been stationed near Fort George, and about ten o'clock retired to a favorable position near William Dickson's house, where they awaited another attack. During this action Dominick Henry, the keeper of the light house at Mississauga Point, a discharged soldier of the Royal Artillery, distinguished himself by assisting the wounded in the thickest of the fire, while his wife was extremely active in furnishing refreshments to the troops engaged, proving herself a veritable heroine, in the sight of many witnesses.

Lieut. Armstrong, with two other guns, had also been directed to proceed to the support of Lieut.-Colonel Myers, but upon advancing along the road parallel with the lake near Secord's house, he was suddenly assailed from both flanks by a body of riflemen whose fire wounded his horse and one of his men, and a belt of thick woods prevented him from joining the remnant of that brigade, which was then in full retreat. While engaged in examining the road in front, Armstrong came unexpectedly upon one of the enemy's riflemen, whom he made prisoner, and discovering that he was in danger of being surrounded, retired hurriedly to the Presbyterian church where the remainder of the field guns had been posted. From this position they covered the retirement of Lieut.-Colonel Harvey's force, which took place about ten o'clock. By that time the Americans had succeeded in landing the greater part of their field artillery, and began to advance slowly in three dense columns, Scott's light troops skirting the woods on the right, with the 6th, 15th and 16th United States Infantry and four guns in the centre, and another regiment with four guns moving along the margin of the lake. As they had brought no horses they were obliged to drag their guns by hand, and their advance was necessarily very slow. While observing their movements, Harvey was almost cut off by a party of riflemen who had stealthily made their way through the woods with that object. He galloped off unhurt amid a shower of bullets, and formed his brigade in a fresh position behind a third ravine. Major Holcroft opened fire from a six-pounder and a howitzer, but on perceiving the advance of the enemy's light troops on the right, he placed these guns in charge of Lieut. Armstrong and moved in that direction with the two other pieces. For nearly half an hour the artillery kept up a brisk fire and succeeded in checking the enemy's infantry. Harvey

then noticed that their riflemen were again stealing forward through the woods, with the intention of turning his left flank, and ordered a general retreat to the common beyond the council house. During the cannonade Holcroft had lost but one gunner wounded and a single horse killed, but the limber of his largest gun, a twelve-pounder, was so badly damaged that it went to pieces on the road.

An hour later, when the Americans emerged from the village, an eighteen-pounder, in the battery next to Fort George was traversed, and fired upon them until they made a vigorous charge and captured it with several of the men engaged in working it.

Vincent joined Harvey with the reserve, and the whole force remained in position on the common for nearly half an hour. Commodore Chauncey's flag-ship entered the river and anchored abreast of Fort George. The troops at Youngstown began to enter their boats, while the enemy in front were steadily prolonging their lines to the right with the evident purpose of occupying the only possible avenue of retreat and surrounding the British forces.

At noon General Vincent despatched an order to Colonel Claus to evacuate Fort George and join him upon the Queenston road. He immediately began his retreat upon St. Davids, the infantry retiring through the woods, and the artillery and baggage by the road. This movement was so quietly accomplished that it seems to have almost escaped the attention of the enemy, who were busily engaged in reforming their line. The retreating column was overtaken at Swayzy's farm at two o'clock by the greater part of the garrison of the fort, and halted on the mountain near St. Davids to rest and collect stragglers.

General Dearborn had become so much enfeebled by his exertions, and the effects of his previous illness, that he had to be lifted from his horse and supported to a boat, which conveyed him on board the flagship, from which he viewed the landing of his troops, although unable to keep his feet for more than a few minutes at a time. The command accordingly devolved upon Major General Morgan Lewis, an officer of little experience and less military knowledge, but an active and influential politician, who had been in turn Chief Justice and Governor of the State of New York and was a brother-in-law of the Secretary of War. He was absurdly fond of military pomp, parade and display, and his political opponents delighted to ridicule a speech he had made to the militia while he was Governor, in which he had remarked that "the drum was all important in the day of battle." Having the fate of Van Rensselaer and Winchester fresh in his memory, his movements were cautious to the verge of timidity. An hour and a half elapsed after Harvey retreated before he ventured to advance beyond the village. He had then not

less than 4,000 men in order of battle, besides the reserve of marines and seamen. His line extended without a break from the lighthouse on Mississauga Point to the river above Fort George. That work was approached with excessive caution, as the sound of repeated explosions within caused them to dread a recurrence of their disastrous experience at York, and even the lighthouse was avoided lest it should be hurled in fragments on their heads. Colonel Scott was, in fact, unhorsed by a large splinter which broke his collar-bone, but there were no other casualties. When the fort was entered it was found that the garrison had disappeared with the exception of a few soldiers of the 49th Regiment, who were still engaged in dismantling the works. Some of these men were surprised in the act of cutting down the flagstaff to obtain the garrison flag, from which the halliards had been shot away, and others were taken prisoners as they attempted to escape through the main gate. More than a hundred sick and wounded were found in the hospital. The village of Niagara was entirely deserted, and many of the houses had been much damaged by cannon shot.

During the afternoon the Second Regiment of United States Dragoons was brought over from Youngstown, but scarcely any pursuit was attempted as the American army was described as much exhausted from being under arms for eleven hours. No one seemed to know positively which way the British had retreated. Colonel Scott, with some of the riflemen, seems to have advanced a few miles along the Queenston road, but was peremptorily recalled by General Lewis, who feared an ambush. Meanwhile Vincent's column had retired in almost perfect order, leaving scarcely a straggler behind, and marched with such speed that the rear guard arrived that night at DeCew's house, where a small magazine of provisions had been formed a few days before in anticipation of a reverse.

About four o'clock in the afternoon a dragoon reached Fort Erie with information of the loss of Fort George, and Lieut.-Colonel Bissopp immediately began his retreat with the regular troops and field guns stationed there, leaving Major John Warren with a few men of the Third Lincoln Regiment of militia to occupy the works and engage the attention of the enemy on the opposite bank. Soon after his departure, Warren opened fire on Black Rock from all the batteries and continued the cannonade all night. At daybreak the destruction of the stores and fortifications began. The barracks and public buildings were burnt, the magazines blown up, the guns burst or otherwise rendered unserviceable along the whole line from Point Abino to Chippawa. When this had been thoroughly accomplished Warren disbanded his men, and an American force crossed from Black Rock and took possession of the dismantled works. A quantity of

stores which had been abandoned at Queenston was destroyed on the same day by Lieut.-Colonel Thomas Clark, at the head of a small party of the Second Lincoln Regiment, who had returned from Beaver Dams for the purpose.

Scarcely had this been done, when a strong brigade of American troops advanced from Fort George and occupied that village.

THE LOSSES.

During these operations General Vincent had lost the whole of his garrison ordnance and a considerable quantity of spare arms and military stores. His regular force had been diminished by 350 officers and men, nearly all of whom were killed or wounded, but he was joined during the night of the 27th by two strong companies of the 8th Regiment, which had advanced that day as far as the mouth of the Twelve Mile Creek on their way to Fort George. The loss of the regulars in the battle was officially stated at fifty-two killed, forty-four wounded, and 262 missing, nearly all of those reported missing being either killed or left wounded on the field. The small detachment of Lincoln militia engaged is stated to have lost five officers and eighty men killed or wounded, but no official return seems to have been preserved. The names only of Captain Martin McClellan and Privates Charles Wright, George Grass and William Cameron, who were killed, have been recorded. Two Mohawk Indians, Joseph Claus and Tsigotea, were also among the slain. General Boyd stated that his men found 107 dead and 175 wounded of the British troops upon the field. The losses of some of the detachments actually engaged were truly appalling. The five companies of the 8th Regiment lost Lieut. Drummie killed, Major Cotton, Lieuts. Nicholson, McMahon and Lloyd, and Ensign Nicholson wounded, and 196 non-commissioned officers and privates killed, wounded or missing, out of 310 of all ranks who went into action. The Glengarry Light Infantry lost Captain Liddle and Ensign McLean killed, Captain Roxborough and Lieut. Kerr wounded and 73 non-commissioned officers and men out of an aggregate of 108. The grenadier company of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment lost Capt. Winter, Lieut. Stewart, and fourteen others out of forty.

The total loss of the American army was officially stated at 150, of whom thirty-nine were killed. The only officer killed was Lieut. Henry Hobart, a grandson of General Dearborn. Covered as their landing was by the fire of so many cannon, it is, perhaps, remarkable that their loss was so great. As a proof, however, of the severity of the short struggle on the plain, Dr. Mann, the American army surgeon, who was present, remarked that he found 27 dead and 87

severely wounded on the field when he landed, and that nearly 400 of both armies lay stretched on a plot of ground not more than 200 yards in length and 15 in breadth.

On the 28th the whole of the militia except Merritt's troop of Provincial Cavalry, Runchey's company of negroes, and about sixty picked men of other corps who were determined to follow the fortunes of the army, were disbanded, and Vincent continued his retreat to Grimsby and finally to Burlington Heights, where he arrived on the 2nd June with eleven field guns and 1800 seasoned soldiers, who, in spite of their recent reverse, were in high spirits and eager to meet the enemy again on more equal terms. The brilliant result of the action at Stoney Creek three days later amply atoned for a defeat by which they had lost no credit.

The Americans were justly disappointed by the incompleteness of their success. For nearly two days they appear to have absolutely lost all track of their enemy. "When we marched for Queenston on the 28th," wrote an officer in the United States army, whose letter was published at the time in the *Baltimore Whig*, "we found the British far advanced on their retreat by the back road toward the lower part of the Province. They collected their force very actively. Our friends hereabouts are greatly relieved by our visit. They had been terribly persecuted by the Scotch myrmidons of England. Their present joy is equal to their past misery. This is a charming country, but its uncertain destiny, together with the vexations the farmers endured by being dragged out in the militia, left the fields in a great degree uncultivated. The British Indians are not of much use to them. They run as soon as the battle grows hot. I saw but one Indian and one negro with the Glengarry uniform on, dead on the field. Their Eighth fought very resolutely and suffered severely."

Many American historians have condemned General Dearborn for not having accomplished more with the means at his disposal, but they have made little or no allowance for the physical weakness which actually rendered him unfit to command at all. General Armstrong, who as Secretary of War was eager to justify his own conduct, declared that "if instead of concentrating his whole force, naval and military, on the water side of the enemy's defences he had divided the attack and crossed the Niagara below Lewiston and advanced on Fort George by the Queenston road, the investment of that place would have been complete and a retreat of the garrison rendered impracticable." This, however, was actually the movement which Dearborn had planned but failed to execute in time. Ingersol, a member of Congress and a leader of the war party, bitterly observed that "the British General effected his retreat (probably without Dearborn knowing it, for he stayed on shipboard) to the

mountain passes where he employed his troops in attacking, defeating, and capturing ours during all the rest of that year of discomfitures."



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NO. 13

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## PREFACE

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In sending out our thirteenth publication we would hope for it as favorable a reception as has been granted to our other issues. The story of St. Mark's and St. Andrew's appears in No. 7, and a short sketch of the Baptist church in No. 12, these are now followed by the history of St. Vincent de Paul's church told clearly and sympathetically by Mrs. Greene. It is hoped that the history of the churches of the town will be made more complete by that of the Methodist church in a later number.

Much valuable material is on hand for future issues and we hope that any who can contribute documents bearing on the family history of the early settlers will do so, thus more light will be thrown on the early history of our country.

*St. Vincent de Paul*



ST. VINCENT DE PAUL'S CHURCH.



# A WIFE'S DEVOTION.

A Canadian Heroine of Sixty Years Ago.

BY JANET CARNOCHAN.

The story of the heroic exertions of Maria Wait during four years, first to save the life of her husband and next to obtain a full pardon or some amelioration of his sufferings when a prisoner in Van Dieman's Land, is known to comparatively few persons and forms a remarkably interesting page of Canadian History, giving us glimpses of governors, judges, lawyers; a journey in the first place of seven hundred miles in the days before the advent of railways, introducing us to officials in Toronto, Kingston, Quebec, Lieutenant Governor Arthur and Lord Durham, Bishop Mountain, Wm. Hamilton Merritt, M.P.P., Jesse Ketchum, and affords the dramatic ending of her labors, the respite arriving only half an hour before that appointed for the execution of the prisoners. Next she travels from Niagara to Kingston to visit her husband in the prison at Fort Henry and returns to obtain signatures, this indefatigable woman, leaving her babe, takes a journey of three thousand miles, crossing the Atlantic to intercede for her husband even at the foot of the throne.

We now have glimpses of Charles Buller, the Secretary of Lord Durham, Joseph Hume, Mrs. Fry, Miss Strickland, Mrs. Opie, Mary Howitt, the Philanthropists Buxton, Clarkson, Wilberforce, the Patriot Dan O'Connell, Sir Robert Peel, Prince Albert, the young Queen, our heroine meeting the best in the fashionable, literary, political, philanthropic and religious world of that day.

Her letters show a well trained mind, an affectionate heart, an indomitable will, and a deeply religious spirit, while those of her husband show great vigor and close reasoning powers, he having had some legal training, and we can understand and pardon the bitterness with which he speaks when we remember his sufferings. To all her other difficulties was added that of insufficient means. We note with interest that though so much is re-

corded of hardships and hard heartedness, the letters of both husband and wife tell of many deeds of kindness, the dark record is broken by the silver lining of the cloud; the benevolence of the people of three countries is recorded, in Canada, United States, and England.

Maria Wait, nee Smith, seems from her letters to have been born not far from Niagara, as was also Benjamin Wait, he says "I was one of Canada's sons born, bred and rocked in the cradle of liberal principles. She was my own, my native land." She was educated by Robert Randall, who was also the early friend and patron of her husband. On the tombstone of Robert Randall, at Lundy's Lane it is recorded that he was "a victim of Colonial Misrule." He was fourteen years in the Legislature and went to England to complain of the wrongs of Canada, was ruined in health and fortune, though not in mental energy. Dying in 1834 he had taken part in the efforts to break the power of the Family Compact, but was spared the later troubles. These letters imply that the writers suffered from being his friends.

The book from which the most of this story is derived is a rather rare one.

"Letters from Van Dieman's Land, written during four years imprisonment for political offences, also letters of Mrs. Wait." The book is dedicated to Taaddeus Smith, a brother of Mrs. Wait, and was published in 1843.

The devoted wife returned from England to Canada to petition Lord Sydenham, and finally the long separated husband and wife met, he having escaped in an open boat was picked up by a U. S. Whaler; wrecked on the coast of Brazil; spent a month in Rio de Janiero and finally reached New York and found his wife teaching in Buffalo. But alas this loving wife whether worn out by anxiety or the fatigue she had undergone, or from other cause lived little more than a year after the return of her husband, who, notwithstanding the extraordinary hardships he had undergone, to which some of his companions succumbed lived to the age of 82, dying in Grand Rapids, Michigan, in 1895.

"Whatever opinion may be held of those who took part in the Rebellion of 1837-8, whether justified or not, there can be no question that we are now enjoying the advantages gained by that struggle, there can be no question either as to the cruel treatment meted out both in Lower Canada where houses were burnt and savagery reigned, or to those executed here, particularly those banished, the treatment of felons being given to political prisoners, they being herded with the vilest of convicts. There is no question either as to the tyranny, injustice and oppression



of the Family Compact of which in these days we can have no conception. While the total incapacity of Mackenzie as a military commander must be noted, and while we must severely condemn him for bringing from another country a force to invade his own land, we remember that it is difficult sometimes to say what constitutes treason. When successful the leader is a hero, a patriot, when unsuccessful a rebel and a traitor.

But of the deeds of Mrs Wait, there can be no divided opinion. Other women have performed heroic deeds. Catharine Douglas, who to save the life of her king, James the First, of Scotland, in Stirling Castle, thrust her arm into the staple in the absence of the bolt, breaking the bone, this was the deed of a moment; our own Laura Secord's was the deed of a day, long and toilsome indeed. Helen Walker, the original of Jeanie Deans to save the life of a darling sister travelled painfully for weeks. Prascovia Lopouloff the Elizabeth in the Exiles of Siberia to save her father, endured hardships for months, but this heroic woman, undeterred by difficulties, disappointments and opposition gave years to the rescue of her husband and his fellow prisoners, travelling many thousands of miles through Canada and to England, and finally contemplated going to Van Dieman's Land to be near the loved one and help in any way in her power.

In Dent's history of the Rebellion is a very graphic description of the Court House in Niagara at the trial of Robert Gourlay in 1819, very much in the style of Macaulay's Trial of Warren Hastings, and in this same building, now the home of waifs from the old land, was Benjamin Wait confined. A few days before, Morrow had been tried, found guilty and executed, now sixteen more were sentenced to death, of these the sentence of thirteen was commuted, and three, Chandler, McLeod and Wait were left for execution. A letter to a friend begins thus. "You, Benjamin Wait shall be taken from the court to the place from which you last came and there remain until the 25th August, when between the hours of eleven and one you shall be drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution and there hanged by the neck until you are dead. The Lord have mercy on your soul! This sentence was pronounced by Judge Jones, 11th August, 1838, The house was crammed, my counsel was Alexander Stewart." He goes on to tell of being led back to his ironbound stone cell; (the iron grating scarcely a foot square which afforded the only chance to see the light of day is in the Niagara Historical Room and two culverts in the town were formed of the stone walls of the condemned cell.) Mrs. Wait had taken a room near

the jail, the 24th regiment was on guard, afterwards the 43rd, the commander of the latter being much more compassionate to the prisoners than the first. Petitions for pardon were signed and taken by his father and Rev. Mr. Johnson, of Drummondville, to Toronto and Kingston, but preparations for the execution were made, a hangman brought from Toronto, to avoid what had occurred in the case of Morrow when the Sheriff had to perform this repulsive task, one hundred dollars having been offered to a black man in vain.

In a letter from Niagara to a friend, dated Oct 13th, 1838, Mrs. Wait tells that on the evening after the sentence had been pronounced she determined to go to Quebec to petition the Governor-General, but everyone tried to dissuade her, and said that she ought to stay to give consolation to her husband, that appeal was useless, besides she might endanger the life of her infant, which must be left behind. There were barely two weeks, but she was firm against all opposition. Miss Chandler determined to go with her to beg for her father's life, in his case there would be ten children left fatherless. A subscription was taken up for Miss Chandler but none for Mrs. Wait as her friends opposed her going. "It was urged that a daughter pleading for the life of her father would be more likely to be successful than a wife for that of her husband. This was poor reasoning to me as I could not trust my husband's life to the pleadings of anyone but myself much less to those of an inexperienced girl of eighteen"

Before leaving, she begged the jail surgeon, Dr. Porter, that were she unsuccessful the body might not be given up for dissection but given to friends for burial. James Boulton and Judge Butler are both mentioned as also Capt. Richardson of the Transit, who gave Miss Chandler a free passage and four dollars. The next morning before leaving Toronto Mrs. Wait went to see Jesse Ketchum, whom she had met when a girl, had breakfast there and joined him and his wife at family worship, before leaving this philanthropist gave her ten dollars to help on her way. Capt. Moody treated the two distressed ladies with great kindness. Another steamer was taken at Kingston. Though she speaks of the beautiful scenery her mind was too distracted to enjoy it. Another steamer at Montreal for Sorelle, the residence of Sir John Colborne, whose son gave a letter to the aid-de-camp for the Governor General at Quebec, but on reaching his residence they could not obtain an audience but were told a message would be sent to them. By the kindness of the captain they were allowed to remain on the boat at night, and at ten the next morning again went to the castle but no decision had

been reached. They begged for an answer that day as otherwise Niagara could not be reached in time. A pathetic circumstance is the drive in the interval in a caleche through the streets and to the battleground and the citadel to pass the time of suspense. On their return found there was still no answer, were told one would be sent to the boat before it sailed.

At this critical moment Miss Chandler was in tears and Mrs. Wait begged leave to sit there till a reply was given; if too late they would only arrive in time to embrace the lifeless bodies of those they loved. Col. Cooper the aide-de-camp finally went to intercede for them and returned with the news of a commutation of the sentence. Lord Durham could not give a free pardon till he had seen the documents but would give a letter to Sir George Arthur the Lieut.-Governor.

On the return journey much kindness was received from a Mr. Simpson, M. P., as it was necessary to intercept Gov. Arthur who was travelling, and inquiries were constantly made whether they had met or passed him. This gentleman contributed twenty dollars, one half of which she gave to Miss Chandler. At Cote de Lac, the steamboat was waiting for the arrival of Sir Geo. Arthur, and on his appearance next morning another trying interview took place as on the presentation of the despatch from Lord Durham he seemed annoyed, said he could not accede to the request. Mrs. Wait pleaded earnestly but she feared in vain, and afterwards sat down to write to Lord Durham telling him how his message had been received, honorably telling Gov. Arthur the next day of what she had done, who seemed angry and said "Before you send your letter to Lord Durham I wish you to understand that I have granted a respite." We may imagine with what feelings this was received, and she tells that only now, when the strain was over did she begin to think of her child, (she had been quite ill on the way from mental excitement and the great strain) One pleasing feature all through is her grateful mention of kindnesses received. Mr. Macaulay, the Secretary, had spoken kindly to her, and now on the boat Bishop Mountain, clad in his robes on the way to Toronto, was very kind.

Niagara was reached on the 22nd. She flew to the prison to convey the joyful tidings but found the respite had not arrived and as she had no papers to prove it had been granted, her news was hardly believed. The next day she went back to Toronto to inquire, and driving to the Chief Justice found he was not at home, then to the Solicitor General, Judge McLean, but met him on the way, by whom she was sent to

Parliament, and met Mr. Sullivan, but no news of the respite had come. If it arrived she was told it would be sent next day on the Transit. In the interval she called on Bishop Mountain, who promised his help. She had only time to reach the boat, and arriving at six in the evening, found she could not see her husband that night. On handing in his breakfast the next morning she tried to offer encouragement but at eleven the boat brought no good news and the long day dragged on till the arrival of the evening boat and still no message, nor yet on the Transit the next day at eleven, the 25th, and the day appointed for the execution, but at noon the Sheriff, who had gone to Kingston with prisoners, arrived on a Government Steamer with the respite and the news was conveyed to the prisoners by the Rev. Thomas Green, the rector, of St. Mark's, at half past twelve.

After the overwhelming scene which ensued she hurried off to see her babe twenty miles away with its grandmother. It had been ill but was brought next day on a pillow to Niagara. The mention of the Sheriff (Alexander Hamilton) recalls the story that the gruesome task he had been obliged to perform so preyed on his mind that he died shortly after and the words of Wait have some bearing on this. "The execution of Morrow had made such an impression on his mind that he was glad of a respite and succeeded in gaining the Governor's boat to convey the news."

The next letter is from Wait himself who tells that on October 6th he was removed accompanied by the jailer, Wheeler to Toronto and thence to Kingston escorted by soldiers, there they found many of their friends who had been prisoners in Niagara jail.

From this strong fort had escaped sixteen, by digging through a stone wall four feet thick and traversing underground rooms and an outside trench. Many came to see the scene of so daring an escape. The prisoners now used various devices to keep themselves well employed, reading writing, making small boxes, portfolios, and Wait introduced the art of making a curiously wrought paper memorial inscribed in elegant style with names and short pithy mottoes which were eagerly sought after and often sent to friends. An association for literary improvement and amusement was formed, addresses given etc. On Sabbath one of the prisoners Rev. Wixon a Baptist minister and the editor of a paper, who had lost one leg and walked with a crutch gave commentaries on the Psalms. His crime was an article published in a newspaper.

On 4th November Mrs. Wait came with Miss Chandler bringing clothing and food, but after this toilsome journey in wintry weather only five days of companionship were enjoyed for now an order came for twenty three prisoners to be sent to Quebec.

An interesting circumstance is that their guards on the way, the Glengarry Militia, were visited by lady friends with fruit, vegetables and other food which they kindly shared with the prisoners; on the way they saw the smoking ruins of the houses of the habitans who had taken part in the rebellion. At Quebec they found that a remarkable escape from the Citadel had been made by Theller and Dodge. On the 22nd November, the prisoners were sent to England in a vessel loaded with timber the room was dark and cold, they were treated as felons, in chains, lodged with the worst criminals. The Mersey was reached on Dec. 11th, and steps were taken at once by the prisoners to gain a hearing. They had determined to protest against all illegal treatment and Wait seems to have been made their spokesman. Many visitors showed kindness, particularly is mentioned Dr. Buck the prison chaplain, who is spoken of as a Christian gentleman. Letters had been sent by Wait signed sometimes by the prisoners sometimes by himself to Joseph Hume, Roebuck, Lord Brougham, Lord John Russell, Lord Durham, asking for redress but apparently with little result.

A striking account is given of a frightful storm at sea when sent to Portsmouth, the vessel returned in five days almost a total wreck, the shore was strewn with dead bodies from the numerous vessels lost. The commander of the vessel Lieut. Pritchard was most kind and reported the prisoners as "mostly men of property, respectability and family, intelligent praying, moral men. I have frequently listened to their devoutness before they retired to rest."

At length reaching Portsmouth they were placed on a hulk for convicts and there met Sir P. Durham (Admiral) brother of Lord Durham, and Wait was presented as "the man whose life was saved by the unparalleled conduct of his wife who made a journey of 700 miles to present personally her petition to Lord Durham." Here again on the York hulk the prisoners shewed their ingenuity in making boxes, horse-hair rings, paper tokens in the shape of hearts, these were shown on shore and Miss Strickland the celebrated author of Queens of England sent to them several sheets of colored paper to make for a Bazaar with strict orders "to have the

Day increased the demand and we thus purchased many an extra loaf of good bread."

All this time they were kept in ignorance of their fate but told they would not be sent out of England. In spite of this they were on the 17th March sent to Van Dieman's Land a voyage of 16000 miles, their hardships on the voyage were so great that three of the nine died soon after landing and Wait only recovered after months in the hospital. He was sometime after assigned as clerk and storekeeper to a farm of 6000 acres, also acted as teacher to five children for six months and in 1841 was granted a ticket of leave from the efforts of his wife who during all these weary years had never ceased her exertions for his release. We have passed over very slightly the sufferings of the husband as this record is that of a wife's devotion and that of her partner only as it affected her.

The letters of Mrs. Wait tell the rest of the story, sad indeed but relieved by gleams of brightness, one from New York in Aug. 1839 tells that she had been in Lockport till May, two letters had reached her from Mr. Wait, as soon as she knew of his being sent as a convict to Van Dieman's Land she immediately left for Canada resolved to obtain certificates and petitions and go to England. She met on this canal boat for Buffalo a warm hearted family from St. Thomas named Wynen who sympathized with her and raised \$30 to help. She then went to Haldimand and meeting the Hon. Wm. Hamilton Merritt obtained from him letters and also a contribution of \$20, then went all through the Niagara District being received kindly. The struggle of parting with her child is thus described. "Could I leave my child? I could not take her with me and should I join my husband in his exile my heart must yearn for my absent child. Could you my dear friend but imagine the heart rending effect of these sad reflections x x x I made it a subject of prayer to God by day and in the vigils of the midnight hour continued my supplications for guidance and direction while pressing my dear babe to my breast. Thus nearly a week of dreadful anxiety passed while I continued my preparations, x x x then I prayed with a fervor I had scarce ever experienced when a calm and consoling resignation was diffused through the soul and I felt that the conflict was past and I could leave her without a struggle. My youngest brother brought from Dunnville a generous contribution, my aged father bid me farewell - at Tonawanda, being a refugee from his home. I

heard at Rochester of the release of nine of the prisoners in London, some thought from this that I need not go to England. I visited Mr. McKenzie in prison and at Syracuse I met the widows of Woodruff and Buckley, whose husbands were sacrificed at Kingston. At New York the talented Mr. Bidwell called on me, offering more than sympathetic words, benevolently opening his purse. The aid I have received from kind Americans is \$300, which with assistance from friends in Canada may come far short of what I require, my passage will be \$75, which is \$25 less than the usual sum."

The next letter is dated London, Dec. 30th, 1839, twenty one days out, I first saw Mr. Ashurst and Mr. Walker, their agents, and then went to Lord Durham with letters from Mr. Merritt, which were sent by him to Lord John Russell with letters from Mr. Durand and others. I met with many kind Christian friends. Female prayermeetings were held to intercede for husbands and fathers in bondage. I personally saw Lord John Russell, who promised to present a petition to the Queen, this was ultimately presented by Lord Normanby. I met Mrs. Fry, the female Howard, of England, she is a friend of the Duchess of Sutherland, I think her the most majestic woman that I have ever seen. Lady Barham, a lady in waiting on the Queen, has most kindly laid the matter before her Majesty, who to use Lady Barham's own language, "expressed herself as being much touched with the circumstances and was pleased to say she would consult her ministers on the subject, when should it be deemed practicable, she would be glad to listen to the application and grant the request though it is most difficult to act in these matters." Of the Queen, Lady Barham says "to know her is to love." I am advised to wait the course of affairs in Canada and so cannot go to Van Dieman's Land till a final answer is received, but to stay is very expensive, five dollars a week for board with any comfort, from the humidity of the climate.

The Queen is to be married in February and there are hopes of a pardon then."

Letters are sent through friends to Sir John Franklin, the Governor of Van Dieman's Land with regard to Wait and Chandler. Application was made to the Queen on her marriage but there were so many similar appeals that this one was not granted. The Chartists are referred to as being sent to Van Dieman's Land also

"I have besieged the government on every hand, had the best of influence which I think must eventually prevail, if other-

wise I will endeavour to reach the land of their captivity and do something for them though I must leave my dear child and friends in America."

A letter is quoted from Lady Grey offering sympathy and help with letters to the isle of their imprisonment. Sir Edward Parry, a contemporary navigator with Sir John Franklin, is also pressed into the service. A kind letter from Charles Buller, Secretary to Lord Durham, is given. Mrs. Wait now becomes companion to a widow lady, Mrs. Ellis, with whom she is very comfortable. Lady Barham writes that nothing can be done at present for the prisoners, that "the Queen regrets her inability to remove the cause of your distress." She then looks forward to a six months' voyage.

A letter to her brother in May, 1840, gives us two pictures of life in England—the beautiful country seats, and London in the May meetings of Christian and benevolent societies.

"The fields are rich with primroses, daisies, cowslips and buttercups. I have welcomed the delicate snowdrops, the crocus, the variegated polyanthus, the ever valued smile of the violet at a time when our fields are still lying under the pressure of snowbanks, indeed I have drunk in the beauties of this early spring with a degree of ecstasy."

Then follows a description of the church rates to be paid by all and the case of John Thorogood, a shoemaker, in jail eighteen months for non-compliance. In all her sadness she says "she has frequently laughed outright when on the scene of the marvellous adventure of the famous John Gilpin, particularly when on the road where he passed the sign of the Bell at Edmonton and Mrs Gilpin waited her smoking dinner as so facetiously described by Cowper.

Her description of the meeting of the London Missionary meeting at Exeter Hall with seats for 6000 and well filled is particularly interesting to us now after sixty years, and shows a well informed mind, keenly alive to the progress of the world. Sir George Grey, the son of the Lady Grey previously referred to, took the chair and opened with an eloquent address in which he spoke of the death of the Martyr, Rev. John Williams, at Erromanga, which recalls to us our own Canadian Martyrs on that Island fifty years later, the heroic Rev. Geo. Gordon and his wife and afterwards his brother, undeterred by the murder of his relatives by the natives on what has been well named "the martyr island." Missionaries from all parts of the world spoke, among them Robert Moffatt, the father-in-law of David Livingstone. Other meetings are spoken of, benevolent, scientific and



religious. One of the world's great conventions on the Rights of man discussed the emancipation of the slave. Ladies were there from America, but were not allowed to speak, according to the rule which then governed these meetings, but some one spoke of the ungallant Englishmen who would not give a hearing to this "Spartan band of women" At one meeting Prince Albert spoke and was cheered enthusiastically, was called by Sir Robert Peel "the right arm of the throne" and by Mrs. Wait is spoken of as "the youthful and amiable looking Prince." The philanthropist Buxton, Archdeacon Wilberforce are also mentioned. The last meeting was presided over by the Duke of Sussex, it was packed and many were turned away. The French ambassador was present, Monsieur Giuzot, and many American gentlemen and ladies, the Duchess of Sutherland, leaning on the arm of Mrs. Fry, the venerable Thomas Clarkson, who was listened to with respect, Judge Birney from America, Mary Howitt, Mrs. Opie, Daniel O'Connell. "I fancied I had heard eloquence before and I had heard eloquence in that hall from the lions of English oratory but this was eloquence that entranced the mind with its cadence and melody in strains too bewitching to resist and elicited enthusiastic cheering which transcends description." An American mulatto spoke with ability and pathos; all this was in the afternoon from two to five o'clock.

A visit is also spoken of to the Zoological Gardens, the Tower and other places, her remarks showing a cultured mind and a knowledge of history and literature.

The next letter is dated London, July 2nd, 1840, and tells that after deciding to go to Van Dieman's Land, she is advised by Buller to return to Canada instead, and petition Mr. Poulett Thompson, the Governor-General, and a letter of introduction is given her. Showing the versatility of this admirable woman we find that expecting to go to her husband and not knowing how she would support herself there she had entered the Home and Colonial Infant School Society to learn their methods of instruction. After ten months in England, through the kindness of friends a passage was taken for her to America, and she promised her husband that should her hopes prove abortive she will with her child join him. "Cheer up" she says "rise superior to surrounding circumstances".

Again we find her on this side of the Atlantic still assiduously working for these unfortunate prisoners. In September 1840, she tells of writing to the Governor-General and not being satisfied with the verbal reply, conveyed by J. E. Small, writes again and receives a letter from Government House, Montreal, which only promises leni-

ency and a ticket-of-leave. Receives a letter from W. H. Merritt M.P., enclosing one from Sir John Franklin, in answer to appeals to him. It is somewhat strange to us to see in what varied lights the same person is spoken of by people in different circumstances. Sir John Franklin known to us as the naval commander and to whom such a pathetic interest attaches from his sad fate so long in doubt and the persistent efforts of Lady Franklin, appears here as the ruler of convicts in that distant island.

Her next visit was to Kingston to appeal to Parliament and the Governor-General in person. More than fifty members recommended her memorial among whom she mentions Sir Allan MacNab, and by the Governor she was kindly received.

She then spent four weeks in the Niagara District obtaining signatures to a petition asking for a free pardon to all implicated in the rebellion and writes from Louth to Mr. Merritt saying she could have the signatures of nearly the whole province, mentions the good wishes of Mr. Thomson and Mr. Thorburn, both members of Parliament. Mr. Merritt replies that the House had addressed the Government and that the Home Government and the Queen are urged to consent to a pardon. In reference to the help given by W. H. Merritt, M.P., Mrs. Wait calls him "the worthy and distinguished member of Parliament and her husband says" his kindness will be remembered with that deep sense of gratitude so eminently due."

This closes the letters of this remarkable woman, as before the pardon was received, Mr. Wait had escaped and after some months met his wife in Buffalo, where she was teaching. Her exertions it is well to know were appreciated both by her husband and the other prisoners as he speaks of the "energetic conduct of my affectionate wife, notwithstanding the obstructions thrown in her way and the difficulties she encountered "and Mr. Gemmel who had also escaped published a card attributing his freedom to the exertions of Mrs. Wait, showing that her labors were not for her husband, alone, but for his companions in suffering as well

Since writing the above, from a letter received it is learned that Maria Wait was educated by Robert Randall, M. P. P., that she died shortly after the birth of twins in 1843 one of which survived, named Randall.

The infant, Augusta, was kept a great part of the time of the mother's absence by Mrs. Gonder at Chippawa, and the friends there who met to bid Mrs. Wait farewell saw her while they were watching from the shore wipe away the fast falling

face p. 12



THE OLD GAOL, AS IT WAS 60 YEARS AGO  
NOW THE WESTERN HOME.



THE WESTERN HOME, AS IT IS TO-DAY.



tears as the boat carried her from their sight. She is buried in Buffalo, but it is feared no stone marks the spot where rests the dust of this noble woman.



## AN HISTORIC HOUSE.

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If the Niagara Court house and Jail built in 1817 could tell only a part of what has been enacted within its walls what a tragic tale should we have. It has been said elsewhere by the present writer that to know the history of Niagara is to know much of the history of Upper Canada and in a lesser sense to know the history of this building is to know much of the history of our country.

An advertisement in the Spectator published in St. Davids in 1816, for brick, stone, lumber, lath, shingles, etc. for a jail and court house is signed by Ralfe Clench, Clerk, who we know was a United Empire Loyalist, a member of Butler's Rangers, a member of Parliament, a Judge, who had fought at Queenston Heights and whose name appears more frequently perhaps than any other in papers of that day. The first Court House and Jail in Niagara had been burned in 1813 and the next served the double purpose from 1817 to 1847, then when the Court house was built in 1847 it was used as a Jail only till 1866 and from 1869 to the present time has been the Western Home for waifs and strays from the crowded motherland and from its walls have gone out more than 4000 children to homes in our land.

In a letter in the Niagara Gleaner for March 26th, 1818, is a letter referring to the new Gaol and Court House as a handsome building which must have cost a great sum of money and does credit to the builders and founders but he "cannot conceive why it was set in that swamp." Another letter is from the contractor Josiah Cushman acknowledging his satisfaction with the committee.

Here in 1819 was confined Robert Gourlay, a British subject banished as an alien by false oaths, his crime that of pro-

testing in the newspapers of the day against the government of that period.

A graphic description of the scene is given in the opening chapter of Dent's history of the Rebellion in which are portrayed the Court Room, the lawyers, the Judge, the prisoner, commencing thus and much in the style of Macaulay's trial of Warren Hastings. "In the afternoon of a warm and sultry day towards the close of one of the warmest and most sultry summers which Upper Canada has ever known an extraordinary trial took place at the court house in the old town of Niagara x x. The date was Friday, the 20th of August, 1319. The court room, the largest in the province was packed to the doors, and though every window was thrown open the atmosphere was almost stifling."

Gourlay was so treated that his reason gave way. The chapter is named the Banished Briton. The editor of the Niagara Spectator, Bartemus Ferguson, fared badly also, a letter of Gourlay's had appeared in his paper in his absence and without his knowledge and for this the unfortunate editor was confined in the Niagara Jail, tried for sedition and sentenced to pay a fine of £50, to be imprisoned in jail for eighteen months, to stand in the public pillory one hour, to give security for seven years for the sum of £1000 and to remain in prison till the fine be paid and security given. We may surely congratulate ourselves that we do not live in these "good old days"

The newspapers of the day show how severe were the punishments, as in 1825 John Hight for Highway robbery was condemned to death. In 1826 three men were sentenced to be hanged for horse stealing and sheep stealing, on 25th October. This sentence was not carried out as the paper for Oct. 28th has an item headed "Great Disappointment. Great numbers came from U. S. into town to see the execution but His Excellency had suspended the sentence. A waggon load of cakes and gingerbread had to be sold at reduced rates." What a mingling of sad and gruesome elements does this extract give us. In 1831 is mentioned the Debtor's prayer written on the walls of the prison. In 1832 a letter in the Gleaner from a debtor in jail speaks of the kindness of Mrs. Stevenson and Mrs. Capt. Mosier in sending food and delicacies to debtors confined there, and in a Canadian home now after a lapse of seventy years may be seen a symbolic picture executed by one of these unhappy prisoners confined for debt, representing a bird in a cage fed by a little girl who is

spoken of in the letter as the angel Mary. In the same letter the kindness of John Crooks, P. M., is spoken of in sending a load of wood in winter to allay the sufferings from the cold of a Canadian winter. Another pathetic story lately told me is that of a prisoner confined for debt for years; in those days the creditor was obliged to send weekly to the jailer a certain sum to provide food (meager enough we may be sure.) On the death of the prosecutor it was found that he had actually left in his will a sum that this payment might be made and the unfortunate debtor still be kept a prisoner. The executor, however unwilling to carry out this malignant desire from a grave felt himself compelled to do so, till becoming ashamed at last thought of a way of escape for himself from this binding decree and escape for the prisoner as well. By the law the money had to be paid at a certain hour and it was so arranged one day that the messenger was detained a few minutes past the time and the jailer as the money was not forthcoming set the prisoner free, no doubt to the satisfaction of many sympathizers. This recalls a story in *Old Man Savarin* by E. W. Thompson, when a copper coin (many of which were not legal tender) afforded an excuse for a similar jail delivery.

In 1828 another victim complains in a letter in the *Gleaner* (Edward McBride a Parliamentary Candidate) that he was put in jail for debt to keep him from being elected.

In the *Gleaner* of April 10th, 1832, a memorable meeting was held in this building in which we see the rumblings of the storm which culminated in the Rebellion of 1837 of which the imprisonment of Robert Gourlay and Bartemus Ferguson thirteen years before gave warning. The meeting was called by the Sheriff to discuss the affairs of the country. The accounts are very confusing, one meeting was held outside the building with Jas. Cooper as chairman, the other inside with Wm. Ball as chairman. Each party declared his the only legal meeting, both declared their loyalty to the King, William IV both passed an address with eleven resolutions, one declaring themselves satisfied with the administration, the other complaining of the grievances that existed, in the war losses not being paid, nor grants of land confirmed. Numerous contradictory letters appeared in the *Gleaner* telling of this exciting meeting.

The celebrated slave escape in 1837 gives perhaps the most dramatic event in connection with this building. At that time there were 300 or 400 colored inhabitants in Niagara most of whom

had escaped from slavery following the north star to liberty. Among them was a man called Moseby, who had escaped from Kentucky, using his master's horse for some distance. He was working on a farm near town when he was arrested and put in jail having been followed by his master, a demand being made for his return to the United States as a felon for horse stealing, not as an escaped slave. It is said that baseless charges of this kind were often made to secure the return of the slave. The Government was appealed to and Sir Francis Bond Head, then the Governor, ordered that he be given up. Meanwhile great excitement prevailed in town, the colored inhabitants collected in crowds, messages were sent to all the dusky race in the vicinity and several hundreds assembled watching the jail to see that the prisoner was not taken away. The white inhabitants sympathized with the prisoner and furnished provisions and other comforts for the beleaguering army. This was kept up for two weeks and finally a waggon was ready with constables and soldiers to take the prisoner to the wharf. The women in the crowd sang hymns, some were armed with stones in stockings, (a very effective weapon) one strong black woman seized one of the officials and held him prisoner. The riot act was read, the prisoner driven out, rails from a fence were stuck in the wheels to stop the progress, the prisoner, whose manacles it is said had been manipulated by friends in the jail jumped out and escaped. The order to fire was given and two black men were shot dead and others wounded. The leader was a teacher and exhorter, an educated mulatto named Herbert Holmes, the other named Green. Both were buried in the graveyard of the old Baptist church. An inquest was held and after seventeen hours the verdict of Homicide, but whether justifiable or not was not known. Some of the papers of the day headed the account Mobocracy in Niagara, others spoke of Holmes as a hero and his death as murder. In many books of travel in Canada from 1820 to 1830 the Jail and Court House is spoken of as the handsomest building in Upper Canada. The fine wood work in the interior may yet be admired. The present dormitory for the children was the Court Room, the spectator's gallery and the fine arches remain but many changes have been made in the building as the condemned cells, were taken down, and from the stone two culverts constructed in the town. In our Historical room may be seen the grating only about a foot square, from which a prisoner condemned to death might take almost his last sight of the light of day. The picture taken in 1860 is that of a building of unmitigated ugliness, very different in appear



ance from that of the present day with its beautiful trees and flowers as laid out by the good taste of Miss Rye, by whom it was purchased in 1869, it having been unoccupied for several years, when Niagara ceased to be the County town.

On July 31st, 1838, Jas. Morreau, who had taken part in the rebellion was hanged. A printed bill in the possession of the Society offers a reward for his arrest. Thirteen other persons were condemned to be executed on 25th August. Ten were reprieved and the wife of Benjamin Wait and the daughter of Chandler took the long journey to Quebec to beg the lives of the husband and father. After many difficulties and discouragements Mrs. Wait returned with the promise of a reprieve which however did not arrive till half an hour before the time fixed for the execution. The excitement of such a dramatic scene may be imagined. Another memorable execution was that of Seely in 1836 who died protesting his innocence of the murder attributed to him. Many years afterwards the real murderer on his deathbed confessed his guilt, thus confirming the statement of Seely.

In this building the congregation of St. Mark's church worshipped in 1843 while the transept, the new part of the church was being erected.

Among the last prisoners were some of those taken in the Fenian Raid, lodged here before being transferred elsewhere.

It is rather remarkable that the advertisement for materials for the first jail and Court House in Niagara in 1795 is signed by Ralph Clench, the same as in that of 1816. The jail was situated on the corner of King and Prideaux street. We read that in the war of 1812 there were confined in the jail at one time 300, many of them political offenders. It was burned during the bombardment previous to the conflagration in Dec. 1813. Many other remarkable events might be narrated which transpired in this building but these may be left for other explorers of historic lore. J. C.

## NAMES ONLY.

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This may seem to some a trivial subject but it is indeed very interesting and involves some knowledge of the town and throws light on some of its forgotten pages. The town was laid out in 1791 by D. W. Smith, Deputy Surveyor General, the son of Major Smith of the 5th Regt., laid out with mathematical regularity, wide streets, not all, however, of the same width. The first survey extended only to King Street, a river front of 800 yards, but as we learn from a meeting of the Lund Board in 1791, this was extended in the direction of Navy Hall. In the map of 1791 the property of D. W. Smith is shown; on the four acres now called the Market Square was his fine house referred to in our No 11. In 1816 the boundaries were extended, and in 1822 a map was made by Capt. Vavasour, R. E, taking in the common to Fort George, and in the map of David Thompson, 1845, are included the map of Vavasour and that of the Harbour and Dock Company of 1831. In the letter of Jno. Small, 1795, the names of owners of lots in the town are given from No 1 to No. 412, the same as numbers used now. In Vavasour's map the new part is numbered again from 1 to 46, and in the Harbour and Dock Company's numbered from 1 to 21. In the map of Chas. L. Hall, barrister, about 1830, the numbers are the same as in that of 1795. The fact that the town at first extended only to King Street explains the reason that to the continuation of the streets south a different name is given. Thus Queen Street, south of King, is Picton Street. No doubt the chief street of the town was named from Queen Charlotte, the wife of George III, and its continuation, Picton St., from the heroic general who fell at the battle of Waterloo, the streets east and west of Queen are respectively called Johnston and Prideaux, from the two commanders who conducted the sieges of Fort Niagara in 1759. General Prideaux was killed by the bursting of a shell and was buried in the chapel as told by Sir William Johnston in his diary. "He was buried with great form. I was the chief mourner." There has been much discussion lately as to the site

of the grave and whether there should not be a stone to mark the spot where lies a British General who gave his life for Britain's glory. The continuation of Prideaux Street is Byron Street, the poet as he just at this time "awoke one morning and found himself famous." Johnston Street, south of King, is called Platoff Street, from the Russian General, who defeated Napoleon. Gage Street, next to Johnston, is named from General Gage, Governor of Montreal, in 1760. In 1774 he was governor of Massachusetts, at that time a very difficult position. On the south of King Street it is named Castlereagh from the British statesman, whose fate was so tragic. The remaining streets to the west are simply Centre, William, Mary, John and Anne, whether from William III and his Queen Mary and her sister Anne or for some local magnates in the town or simply for no reason, a dearth of ideas, John, though so common a name, has never been a popular name for a king of England. We turn now to the streets at right angles commencing with King Street, the origin of which need not be questioned; it is now often called Broadway. The next Regent, was probably named from the Prince Regent, afterwards George IV, but there is a tradition that it had a more plebeian origin; a fashionable tailor on this street advertised that he was from Regent Street, London, and articles bought there were said to be from Regent Street and that name was gradually given. It seemed puzzling how the next street could be called Victoria, as when these streets were named, Victoria was not born. As the Princess Charlotte, of Wales, died in 1817, Victoria born in 1819, was heiress to the crown but an explanation has lately suggested itself. It is found that in early maps the streets north of King are simply called 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th streets, and at a later date part of them were renamed. The next, Gate Street, is so far an unsolved mystery, Simcoe Street bears a name worthy of remembrance, that of the first governor of Upper Canada, who lived here a part of five years, his hospitality shewn by his Indian name, Deyonguhokrawen "one whose door is always open," a lake, a county, a town all bear his name. Mississagua Street is the only Indian name preserved in our streets, running out to Mississagua Point where the lighthouse stood on the spot now occupied by the tower built of the bricks from the ruins of the town styled by our poet "a stern memorial of a deed unchivalrous." Our street namers seem now to have exhausted their ideas as the remainder of the streets to the north are sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth streets.

South of King Street nearly all the names are military given shortly after that Titanic struggle of Britain with so many foes. That was surely still more than of late a condition of "splendid isolation". The next street to King has however the name of a Scientist, from Sir Humphrey Davy who had in 1819 invented the safety lamp. Next comes Wellington Street, recalling the Iron Duke of whom Tennyson said "Truth lover was our English Duke, whatever record leap to light. He never shall be shamed." The next Alava, from a Spanish general who served on the staff of Wellington. Nelson street recalls the great Sea Admiral who won victory after victory and finally saved England from the threatened invasion of Napoleon by destroying the combined fleets of France and Spain. It is fitting that the next street should be called Collingwood, the friend of Nelson, who followed him step by step up the ladder of promotion and on the death of Nelson assumed the command and completed the victory. Another military commander gives his name to the next, Blucher Street, reminding us of that long loud Sabbath day of Waterloo when Wellington standing firm resisting charge after charge finally wished for "night or Blucher" but before the arrival of either knew the day was won and the "Old Guard of France" had failed to make any impression on that "front of steel," why the name Lichen was given to the last street we know not, except that here one of the numerous springs found on the bank causes moss and lichen in abundance. Another name Trivene is given on one map.

There still remains the land given to the Harbour and Dock Company in 1831. Part of this was marshy and the earth from the excavation for the "slip" was used to fill up the low land, the exhalations from which no doubt helped to cause the fever and ague of which early visitors speak so much. It is easy to see why the boundary was called Front Street; where now stands the Queen's Royal Hotel was the Engineers' Quarters, the continuation of the street, Ricardo is named from neither a military nor naval hero, nor yet from a royal personage or a great statesman but from David Ricardo who wrote on Political Economy and Taxation in 1817.

The chief officials of the Harbour and Dock Company were honored by the streets of their domain being named after them. Delatre, from the President, Col. Delatre, whose tragic death on the Toronto steamer is recorded in papers of that day, 1848. Col. Delatre had belonged to the Ceylon Regiment in 1818, and lived at Lundy's lane in 1832, and in Niagara

over a year. His house, Delatre Lodge, is now owned by Mr. E. B. Hostetter. He was a student of the classics as well as of science. This street is often called Spring Street, the reason being obvious. The Secretary of the company, Jas. Lockhart, afterwards a noted merchant of the town as well as a banker and ship owner gives his name to the next street, and a cross street is called Melville from Captain Melville, the chief proprietor, who is spoken of in 1837 by Mrs. Jameson in her *Summer Rambles and Winter Studies* as a public spirited good natured gentleman. Ball street also a cross street, is named from George Ball, a large stockholder who came from the Mohawk valley in 1784.

The names in the County of Lincoln will suggest new lines of thought, when Simcoe came as Governor in 1792 a division was made of nineteen Counties in Upper Canada instead of the forty six at present in Ontario. These were all named from counties in England and the townships from the towns and villages in the respective Counties, Lincoln included the Niagara peninsula and extended as far as the present County of Norfolk. The names of townships, Caistor, Clinton, Grantham, Gainsborough, Grimsby, Louth, Ancaster, Barton, Glanford, Crowland, Humberstone, Wainfleet, Stamford etc., are all from towns or villages in Lincolnshire, England. The names since given to our towns and villages give us some hint of the chief men of the time, being either military or political officials, or some village magnate's name is preserved. Newark was named by Simcoe from a town in Lincolnshire, Queenston it is thought from the Queen's Rangers stationed there, Governor Simcoe had been the colonel of another regiment of Queen's Rangers in the Revolutionary War. The Hon. Robert Hamilton or Judge Hamilton, the Lieutenant of the County and the chief man of the District, supplies a name to two cities, Hamilton from George Hamilton his son, and St. Catharines from Catharine Askin, his first wife. It is true that Page's Atlas credits the name to Catharine Butler, the wife of Colonel Butler, although on another page he names Catharine Hamilton, and some have asserted it was from Catharine, the wife of Hon. Wm. Hamilton Merritt, but it is shown conclusively that it was named St. Catharines in the first survey, 1809, and the fact that the same Judge Hamilton who owned 500 acres where St. Catharines now stands, gave a grant of two acres for a church in 1798 gives consistency to the statement. It was first called the "Twelve" and Shipman's Corners from Paul Shipman, who kept a tavern, and

to whom also St. Paul Street owes its name. Port Dalhousie was named from Lord Dalhousie, who gave great encouragement to the Welland Canal project. Thorold takes its name from Sir John Thorold, who was the member for Lincolnshire in England then. It was at first called Stumptown, the heavy forest just cleared away having left such evidences, but a proposal was made to call it St. George from George Keefer, who is entitled to be called its founder. It is right and fitting that the name Merritt should be preserved as it is in Merrittton, in sight of that great feat of engineering skill, the Welland Canal, projected by the Hon. Wm Hamilton Merritt. The villages Homer and Virgil owe their classic names to we know not what freak. The first was called the "Ten" from the Ten Mile Creek. Virgil has had several names, the "Four Mile Creek, the Cross Roads, then Lawrenceville from a good old Methodist Class Leader who lived there during the war of 1812, Jordan was the Twenty and Grimsby the Forty, the entrance of those creeks into Lake Ontario being supposed to be that number of miles from Niagara. Drummondville is now called Niagara Falls South, a change much to be regretted as the name of General Drummond who fought so bravely at Lundy's Lane, Fort Erie and elsewhere should certainly be commemorated. However, the church standing on the site of the battle of Lundy's Lane is called Drummond Hill Church. It is much to be regretted that so few Indian names have been preserved, as except Niagara, Chippawa and Erie there is no trace of the musical and sonorous Indian language. The name Niagara has forty different spellings in the Documentary History of New York; Ongiara Ouniagarah brings up Goldsmith's line "And Niagara stuns with thundering sound" It was first West Niagara to distinguish it from Fort Niagara on the east side of the river then Nassau, Butlersburg, Newark, when Simcoe removed the capital to York the people of the town quite indignant obtained an act of Parliament in 1798 to change it back to Niagara and now many say Niagara-on-the-Lake to distinguish it from Niagara Falls, Niagara Falls South, Niagara Falls Centre, Niagara Falls City, N. Y., making confusion worse confounded.

Dundas is named from Lord Dundas, the Secretary of State in Simcoe's time, Port Colborne from the stern military governor during the Rebellion. Port Robinson was first called Port Beverley from the Chief Justice John Beverley Robinson, and Allanburg from, it is probable, Sir Allan McNabb, St. Davids at first called Davidsville from Major David Secord

whose houses there were burned in 1814, Beamsville from Jacob Beam, one of the earliest settlers, and who gave the land for the Baptist Church, Smithville from Smith Griffin who came in 1787 and was the first merchant in Smithville, Stamford was first called Mount Dorchester from Lord Dorchester, sometimes Township No. 2 as Newark was Township No. 1. This enumeration might be still more extended but may at least show that there is something after all in a name.

J. C

# ST. VINCENT de PAUL'S CHURCH

BY MRS. JOSEPH GREENE.

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The history of the Catholic Church in the Niagara Peninsula began many years before the erection of the present edifice known as St. Vincent de Paul's Church (it was the first Catholic Church erected on the Niagara Peninsula) and to record that history, in a manner which would do it justice, even in a moderate degree, would require the pen of one infinitely more gifted than the writer, for there is a wealth of historic lore, both civil and religious, surrounding this charming and picturesque old town of Niagara. Its religious history may be said to date from the year 1626, when Father Daillon made his way to the Niagara Peninsula with a view of evangelizing the "Neutrals," which tribe claimed the peninsula as its own. Few pens can adequately portray the apparently insurmountable difficulties which the early pioneer priests of western Canada had to encounter and overcome, the incalculable dangers and obstacles which were continuously besetting them as they journeyed through dense and desolate forests, across fallen timbers and swollen streams with nothing to guide them other than a 'blaze' which intimated to the weary traveler that a settlement lay beyond. Nevertheless, we invariably find, that no difficulties daunted them nor did disappointments nor rebuffs discourage them, and, as a result of this untiring zeal, we are now, in our comfortable churches, reaping the fruits of their almost superhuman exertions.

As previously stated, Father Daillon bent his energies to the lofty task of sowing the seeds of christianity among those Godless savages, but with poor success, in fact they would have meted out to him a terrible death but for the intervention of their Chief, Soharrisen.

About 1636. Father Brebeuf, that heroic missionary and martyr, visited the same tribe, living on the same food as they used, sleeping in their wigwams, continually exposed to torture and death by an unreliable and merciless foe, risking everything in the hope of saving some immortal souls.





REV. FATHER GORDON.



REV. FATHER LYNCH.



It is not my intention, however, to again rehearse the well known historic facts concerning the horrible tortures and oft times martyrdoms, which the early Catholic Priests received at the hands of those savages, while endeavoring to spread among them the light of Christianity.

In 1669 Father Galinee with two companions passed through Niagara on his way to the West. This illustrious Sulpician priest has furnished us with much valuable narrative concerning his missionary labors during his explorations of the great lakes. As far as can be ascertained no other missionary visited Niagara until 1678, when Father Hennepin, a Franciscan missionary of historic fame, offered up mass on the banks of the Niagara River. We are also indebted to this intrepid missionary for the first intelligent description of that sublime wonder of nature, the Falls of Niagara.

We are informed by Father Charelevoix, the Jesuit historian, that he said mass at Fort Niagara in 1721 on his way to the Mississippi, and there is a record of a Recollect, Father Grespel, as having been Chaplain at the Fort in 1733. Father Picquet, a Sulpician, in 1751 travelled over the Niagara Peninsula, instructing and converting the natives and instilling renewed ardor and faith into the converts of earlier days, and according to his own account, he also said mass at the Chapel at Fort Niagara; and Sir Wm. Johnson tells us that two British officers were buried under the Chapel in 1759, but no trace of it remains.

In 1794 Father Edmund Burke, an Irish Priest, of the diocese of Quebec, believing that there was pressing need for a missionary priest in the Western part of the Province, sought and obtained permission to embark on that laudable undertaking. He came from Quebec to Niagara and in addition to his labors among the Indians acted as Chaplain to the Catholic soldiers who were stationed here at the time. Having been held in high repute by the officials of the Government, he secured grants of land from Governor Simcoe in different parts of Canada, one being in this vicinity on which he proposed erecting a monastery for the education of priests for the Western Mission, and in order to further this object he again journeyed to Quebec, but returned here in 1798. He eventually left here in 1800 on account of ill health. For one who had been a Professor in the University of Paris and surrounded with all the culture and refinement incidental to such a position, it must have been extremely repugnant to reconcile himself to his savage surroundings and

apply himself to the uninteresting task of mastering the Indian tongue. He was consecrated Bishop of Halifax in 1818. He was an intimate friend of the Duke of Kent and was known and admired by all the Military and Naval Officers who commanded in British America at the time. He was of commanding appearance, of a cheerful and engaging manner and Great Britain had no more loyal subject than the Right Rev. Edmund Burke.

In 1802 Father Des Jardins succeeded Father Burke as Chaplain to the soldiers, but he remained only a short time and left no parish records. This information appears in an article written by the late D. A. O'Sullivan and published in the Toronto Jubilee volume, 1892.

In 1816 a few Catholic families resided in Niagara and along the banks of the Niagara River, who were visited at intervals by Priests from Glengarry and other points.

These conditions continued until 1826 when Father James Campion was placed in charge of the mission here by Bishop Macdonell who had been chosen Vicar Apostolic of Upper Canada by Pius. VII in 1819 and was made titular Bishop in 1820. A short sketch of Bishop Macdonell may not be found uninteresting. He was born 17th July, 1762 in Inverness-shire, Scotland, and educated in the Scotch College of Paris and Valledolid in Spain. He was ordained on the 16 Feb., 1787, and spent five years in Scotland. He accompanied the Highland Regiment of Glengarry Fencibles, who were all Catholics, to Ireland in 1798, having been appointed their Chaplain. When the regiment was disbanded four years later, Father Macdonell, embarked for Canada in 1803, having previously secured a grant of land for every officer and soldier who wished to accompany him to Canada and I may add he was accompanied by the greater part of his men. When they arrived here Lieut.-Governor Hunter endorsed their patents of land and they settled in Glengarry.

When Father Macdonell came to this country in 1803 there were only three Catholic Churches in the whole Province, but through his perseverance and energy he succeeded in having thirty-five built during his thirty years of unceasing labor. There were also twenty-two priests throughout the different parts of the Province, most of whom were educated at his expense. He was created first Bishop of Kingston in 1826. It was a favorite saying of his "that every man of his name should be either a priest or a soldier." Apropos of this, at the breaking out of the war of 1812 among the first to take up

arms in defence of his country was Lieut.-Colonel John Macdonell, who was Attorney-General for Upper Canada, being only 24 years of age. General Brock appointed him his Provincial Aide-de-Camp and at the battle of Queenston Heights, when the heroic Brock fell mortally wounded, Colonel Macdonell assumed command, but while leading his men up the heights, he also fell.

Those two great men were buried in the same spot at Fort George where they laid for twelve years. There remains now rest in the sarcophagus in a monument second to none in America, erected on Queenston Heights by a grateful Canadian people. The following is a quotation from a letter, written by one of the Militia who took part in the battle dated 14th Oct. 1812.

“This heroic young man, the constant attendant of the General, strove to support to the last a cause never to be despaired of, because it involved the salvation of the Country.” Lieut.-Colonel Macdonell was a practical Catholic, as evidenced, by his approaching the sacrament before leaving for the frontier.

When Father Campion had this mission assigned to him in 1826 there were only three priests to look after the needs of the Catholics scattered over 225 miles of territory between Detroit and Niagara and the whole north-western part of Ontario, viz Fathers Fluet, Crevier and Campion. Father Campion had also to attend Dundas once a month, which is about 50 miles distant from here, and London and St. Thomas twice a year. When this good priest's presence was required at a death bed he had not infrequently to travel over one or even two hundred miles, and when one remembers that the greater part of the land at that time was a dismal wilderness, with but an occasional settlement, one can in a slight degree appreciate the hardships Father Campion had to encounter. At the present writing we have residing among us an old lady (Mrs. Paynter, born in 1819, whose recollections of the pioneer days are very entertaining. She remembers Father Campion very well, he having frequently visited her father's house (Simon Walsh) where he was always a welcome guest. Patrick McArdle and John Harris also took an active interest in the welfare of the mission and were the first to greet Father Campion on his arrival here. Patrick McArdle came to Niagara in 1816. He was an Irishman and a staunch Catholic, John Harris was an Englishman, his ancestors having settled in England shortly after

the Norman Conquest. He came to Niagara in 1818.

The first entry in the old Niagara Register in the hand writing of Father Campion, reads as follows—The first day of June, by me Roman Catholic Missionary for Niagara, Dundas etc., has been baptized Mary Ann Hughes, born the 2nd day of January, 1827, of the lawful marriage of James Hughes and Mary May.”

Jas. W. Campion,

M. Pt.

Here is another entry in the old Register—”The 12th August, 1827—By the Right Rev. Alex. Macdonell has been baptized Mary Harris, born the 11th July, 1827, of the lawful marriage of John Harris and Margaret Grey, who is not a Roman Catholic, the sponsors being Patrick McArdle and Mary Fegan, also McArdle—Alex. Mcdonell, R. Ep”

The following is an extract from the same register of a marriage, which shows how careful and conscientious the early Catholic Priests were to guard the sanctity of the marriage tie. “The 8th day of October, 1827—Cornelius Calahan and Mary Carrol both from Ireland, having solemnly declared and given a certificate of their not being married or contracted before with any person, and not being able to discover any impediment to prevent them from getting married, I, the undersigned Roman Catholic Missionary for Niagara, Dundas etc. etc. have received their mutual consent of marriage and have given the benediction according to the rules of the Holy Roman Catholic Church in presence of Patrick Cullen, Patrick Handy, Andrew Boylan, Patrick Flynn and Mary Kelley.”

Jas. W. Campion,

M. Pt.

Father Campion remained in charge of the Niagara Mission until 1830, when he was recalled by Bishop Macdonell to Kingston to act in the capacity of his Secretary. He died in 1841.

At the date Father Campion was removed, the Catholics had no church, no church property of any kind, not excepting a graveyard, and their dead were buried in St. Mark's Episcopal Cemetery. Services were held at one time in a hall over the brick store on Queen St. now occupied by Mr. Doyle, at another time, in the house now owned and occupied by Miss Catholine. At that period it was one large room but was apparently of sufficient capacity to embrace the congregation that gathered there to be present at the celebration of the Mass.

Services were also occasionally held in the brick cottage, which is part of the Western Home estate. It was occupied by Mrs. Stevenson, a zealous Catholic lady, who with her daughters, promoted the interests of religion materially by teaching Sunday School and instructing the children in the knowledge of their belief. Mrs. Richards of Pembroke (nee Allinson) is her granddaughter. No record can be found as to the number of Catholics in Niagara in 1830 when Father Campion was removed, but as near as can be ascertained, there were about three dozen families represented at the services, exclusive of soldiers. Father Campion recorded 64 Baptisms, 6 profession of faith 17 marriages and 6 burials during his pastorate of three years, some of the children baptized however were brought here from New York State.

The priest appointed to succeed Father Campion was Father Cullen, who, noting the great need the Catholics had for a church here, and concluding there was a sufficient number to warrant the undertaking, he therefore on the 3rd of April, 1831, called a meeting whereat it was resolved to open a subscription list for the purpose of erecting a church. The following is a copy of the minutes of said meeting.

#### NIAGARA.

"At a meeting of the Catholic inhabitants of Niagara held on Easter Sunday, the 3rd day of April, 1831, Daniel MacDougal, Esquire, was called to the chair and George Macan was requested to act as secretary, after which the following resolutions were unanimously agreed on.

1st Resolution—That the Glory of God, the honor of religion and the wants of the Catholics of this place require that a Catholic Church be erected in this town.

2nd Resolution—That the Rev. John Cullin, our pastor, Daniel McDougal and George Macan are hereby nominated and appointed to procure the subscription of every well disposed person, who is willing to contribute towards the erecting of a Catholic Church in Niagara.

3rd Resolution—That John Harris, H McNally, J. B. Cootby and Andrew Boylan are hereby appointed collectors of subscriptions for the Catholic Church of Niagara

4th Resolution—That Daniel McDougal is hereby nominated Treasurer, and George Macan, Secretary, to the Roman Catholics of Niagara, and the collectors above named in the 3rd resolution are required to pay in the monies collected by them to the treasurer and he is to give his receipt for the different sums received, which receipts the said collectors are to place in the

hands of the secretary immediately after obtaining said receipts.

5th Resolution—That it is expedient to form a committee of management consisting of five of the resident inhabitants of this place, any three of whom will form a quorum, who shall manage, superintend and transact all the temporal affairs appertaining or in any wise belonging towards the erecting of said church, and the Rev. J. Cullen (or the resident priest being incumbent of this place) Daniel McDougal, Geo. Macan, John Harris and Michael Morley be and are hereby constituted and appointed to be the said committee of management.

6th Resolution—That the treasurer give an accurate account of the monies or other funds put into his hands at every meeting of the committee of management, if required to do so by them, and that the secretary give a statement of the affairs of the church on the Easter Monday of every succeeding year to a general meeting of subscribers to be called together in the church on that day and that the treasurer is hereby prohibited from paying out any of the funds of the church without a written order from the secretary, countersigned by two others of the committee of management.

7th Resolution—That the persons now nominated and accepting office are required to hold the same for one year only, but are eligible to be re-elected as often as is expedient and that the said committee of management have power to fill up any vacancies in their number which may happen by death or change of residence during their year in office.

8th Resolution—That the thanks of the Catholic inhabitants of this place are due and hereby given to our worthy pastor, the Rev. J. Cullen, for his laudable exertion in commencing the subscription of this morning for the purpose of erecting said church."

The following year viz. 1832, the church was begun; Bishop MacDonell, who was conspicuous not only in the ecclesiastical but also the political life of the country, having secured a grant of four acres of land from the government on which it was erected. It is a frame building measuring 60x40 ft., with ten large Gothic windows of stained glass and a commodious sanctuary and vestry. There is also a tower with a large window surmounted by a steeple 50 ft. high and a cross. The interior arrangements of the edifice consist of three aisles with two central and two side rows of pews. There are two galleries, the cost of those having been entirely assumed by the Catholic soldiers, who were stationed here at the time, and for whom one of the galleries was reserved. There are three altars



daintily finished in white and gold. Those are not the original altars, they having been discarded at the time the church was repaired. The altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary to the left of the main altar was a gift from the Barron family, and St. Joseph's Altar to the right of the main altar was presented by Mrs. Newton, daughter of Col. McDougall, mentioned as having been President of the first meeting held in 1831.

The church was completed in 1834, and Bishop MacDonell, on the 9th of Nov. of that year, came over to Niagara and blessed it, giving it the name of "St. Vincent de Paul," and celebrated the first mass therein. There is an entry in the register that the first communicants were "Miss Dixon and Mrs. Duff."

At the rear of the church is the cemetery in which at least two headstones are still standing with the year 1832 legible but the names are undecipherable.

Father Polin succeeded Father Cullen but remained only a short time. During his tenure of office here he records ten baptisms and one marriage, one baptism having been performed in "Gravelly Bay", now Port Colborne, thirty miles from here.

Father Edward Gordan succeeded Father Polin in 1834 and completed the erection of the church and at once took the necessary steps for the erection of a Presbytery. A meeting was called and a subscription list opened in 1835. One Lieut. Coleman of the 15th regiment was appointed to collect among the soldiers here and in Toronto. He also appears to have collected from a number of the prominent Protestant citizens and business people of the town and of Toronto. Here are a few of the names that appear on his list: "Mrs. Lyons, Messrs. Stocking & Grier, Robert Dickson, E. C. Campbell, James Lockhart, W. B. Winterbottom, etc., belonging to the town. On the Toronto list some of the names are: the Hon. Mr. Eluesley, Capt. Coleman, Hugh Dougherty, J. Shaughnessy, etc. The Presbytery or "Glebe House," according to the records cost £253 14s 11½d but the amount collected up to the year 1840 was only £50, and Father Gordon then paid the balance due from his own private funds.

On the 13th Sept., 1834, Bishop Gaulin, coadjuter of Bishop MacDonell, administered the sacrament of Confirmation, this being the first time it was administered in the mission east of Sandwich. There were five males and six females confirmed at that time, ranging in ages from 13 to 23 years.

Beginning with the pastorate of Father Gordon the Niagara Mission appears to have flourished. Some of the more distant places were detached from the mission viz. Dundas, St. Thomas, and London but the pastor had still a large circuit to traverse viz Niagara Falls, Port Colborne, St. Johns, Smithville, St. Catharines, Toronto, Gore and Adjala.

At a meeting held at the chapel on the 20th of April, 1835, (Easter Monday) the office of Church Warden was established. and Messrs. Hugh McNally and William Harris were appointed for that year, at the same meeting Mr. John Lyons was appointed to act as secretary and treasurer during the same term and Rev. Edward Gordon, Messrs. John Harris, and Thos. Heenan were appointed collectors of subscriptions for the finishing of the church and Mr Farrell was appointed to collect "for the country" Father Gordon left a record of the total Catholic population for a thousand square miles viz. 817 souls.

The first entry in the Baptismal Register by Father Gordon was made on the 27th April, 1834, as follows: "April 27th was baptized by me the undersigned priest, John, aged four weeks, son of William Kay and Elizabeth Shean. Sponsors Edward McCann and Margaret O'Connor.

Signed

Edward Gordon,

M. Pt.

Father Gordon kept a very careful record of the baptisms, confirmations, marriages, professions of faith and burials, with occasional explanatory notes. For instance, opposite the entry of the baptism of James Morreall the following note appears: "This man was sentenced to death for participating in the rebellion. He led the insurgents at the "Short Hills." He was 23 years of age and was received into the church in jail, 29th July, and was executed 30th July, 1838."

Among the burials of 1843 is an entry of a young priest, 26 years old, who died suddenly at the Falls while visiting relatives there, and is buried under the main altar of the church here, at the funeral were "Rev. Mr. Mullen, Mr. Charest and Mr. McIntosh.

In the old register, Father Harold discovered a petition from the congregation of St. Vincent de Paul Church, Niagara, asking Bishop Power to give the "necessary power and instructions to have the stations of the cross erected in order that we and all who are disposed may have an opportunity of receiving the many spiritual advantages to be obtained by devout prayer and med

tation on Christ's passion" and your Petitioners as in duty will ever pray etc."

Signed,

John McHenry, David Langan, Mich. McGuire, Ed. Gordon, Pt. for the rest of the congregation."

The document bears the date '9th Dec., 1844,' and is written on a full sheet of foolscap. The petition is on one side, the reply, granting the petition on page 2, a declaration by the pastor, that he has this day erected etc., in the presence of the "undersigned witnesses" no names are inscribed, however, and on page 4 is the Bishop's name in full, with the words "favored by Rev. M. P. McDonough" in one corner. The Bishop's letter, sealed with red wax, is countersigned by J. J. Hay, Sec., and recites that he has authority from a decree of Gregory XIII to delegate any priest to erect the "Via Crucis" and hereby delegates etc." The letter is given at Toronto 13th Dec., 1844.

The priest's declaration shows that the Stations were erected on the 5th February, Ash Wednesday. A copy of this declaration also exists in the archives, made out by Father Gordon, in obedience to the Bishop's orders to do so.

In 1844 Father Gordon called a meeting of the Catholic congregation in order to raise funds for the liquidation of the debt incurred for the painting, plastering etc. of the Catholic Church. At that meeting it was unanimously agreed that each man would pay the sum of five shillings currency and each "single female" the sum of two shillings and sixpence. Among the names on the list who paid the sum stipulated appear the following:—Alex. Lane, Hugh McNally, Daniel McDougal, Patrick Lawless, Mrs. Carpenter, Michael Morley, Mrs. Mary Stevenson, Thomas Daly, Richard Ryan, Nicholas Wall, Patrick Maddigan, Michael Maguire, Margaret Healey, Mrs. Hewitt, Mrs. Hall, Martin Kearns, William Walsh, Edward Scully, Wm. Primace. Sergeant Murphy (King's Dragoon Guards) Bernard Roddy, Rev. John Carroll, Mrs. Morris, Mrs. Todd, John O'Donnell, Mrs. L. Donnelly, Maria McArdle, Patrick Mahar, Charles Toel, Alex. Davidson, E. Power, (Kings Dragoon Guards,) Mrs. Duff, Annie McKenna, Catharine Doyle, etc.

Father Gordon was most thorough and conscientious in all his undertakings. He built churches at Niagara, Niagara Falls, Trafalgar, Toronto Gore, and Adjala. He was very practical and carefully looked after the spiritual welfare of his flock, as evidenced by the following correspondence in which he insists on Col. Kingsmill allowing the Catholic soldiers stationed here at the time, to attend mass, as there was a number of

Catholic non-commissioned officers and privates who were not permitted to be present at the morning services, the Colonel claiming that the regimental doctor made his examination at that particular time.

Letter from Father Gordon to Colonel Kingsmill, dated "Saturday morning, April 13th, 1839."

"Sir—I regret to find that the Catholic soldiers of your regiment do not attend Divine Service on the Sunday mornings. They have not been in the church on the forenoon of Sunday but once since the time I first had the honor to speak to you in their behalf. Divine Service commences on Sunday mornings at eleven o'clock, precisely, at which hour you will have the kindness to allow them in future to attend.

I have the honor to be sir etc., Edward Gordon,

Catholic Pastor of Niagara.

The soldiers were permitted to attend mass for a few Sundays after dispatching the above letter, when they again failed to be present, and on inquiry, Father Gordon learned that the Colonel had again prevented them. Another lengthier letter of explanation was sent by the priest to the colonel in which he states "All Catholics are obliged in conscience to give their attendance during the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass which is always offered up to God only in the forenoon." No attention being paid to his repeated requests, Father Gordon then laid the matter before the Major General, commanding the forces in Canada, who immediately commanded Col. Kingsmill to permit his Catholic soldiers to attend Divine Service at the hour named by their chaplain.

Father Gordon was removed to Hamilton in 1846 and was elevated to the dignity of Vicar General. He died at the Episcopal residence, Hamilton in 1870.

The next in succession was Father John Carroll who remained in charge of this mission until about 1855. He accepted a chaplaincy in Chicago, where he died in 1891, having reached the venerable age of 93 years. He was a generous subscriber towards the building fund of the church, as his name frequently appears on the different lists for a substantial sum. He was a distant relation of the Carrolls, of Carrollton, one of whom signed the Declaration of Independence, he was also a nephew of Rev. Edmund Burke, mentioned earlier in this article.

Fathers Leveque, Cullen, Boyle, Musard and Wardy each remained but a short term here, and thus we arrive at the year 1857, when Father Mulligan assumed the charge of Nia-

gara Parish. While here he worked most zealously, being an ardent advocate for the cause of temperance, he also had three sisters of St. Joseph's Order, installed as teachers in the Separate School in 1857. This school was built on a corner of the church property about 1842, as we are informed by a resident of the town that he went to school there in 1843, and there was a meeting held in it in 1844 to consider the matter of putting pews in the church. The school was in a flourishing condition for a number of years and many excellent scholars received their early training within its walls. Father John Kennedy had been one of its pupils. This promising young priest was drowned near Penetanguishene.

This school was eventually closed in 1876 owing to the depletion of the Catholic congregation.

Father Mulligan was removed from here in 1862 and was given the charge of Niagara Falls Parish in which place he remained for several years. In 1866 he was inducted as pastor of St. Catharines and Dean of the Niagara Peninsula. He labored in that parish for about nineteen years with untiring zeal, but in 1884 his health had become so impaired that his physician advised a sea voyage, which suggestion was immediately acted upon and he went to Ireland, where his aged mother still lived. He never rallied sufficiently to return but died in the land of his birth, in the arms of his mother.

Father James Hobin was next in succession. This reserved but pious priest was endowed with great mental gifts, being considered one of the best theologians of his day. He was very ready to assist the needy and distressed in a practical as well as a spiritual manner. He was succeeded by Father T. J. Sullivan in 1868 who only remained about a year. During his short pastorate here he began the refurnishing of the Presbytery and Sanctuary. He was removed to Thorold in 1869 and installed there as pastor where he still remains one of Thorold's most prominent figures, laboring with his wonted energy for the salvation of souls.

Father Kelly was next appointed in 1869. He purchased a small pipe organ for the church, but it was so badly damaged during a severe thunderstorm when the lightning struck the church that it became practically useless. It was replaced by a smaller organ which was presented to the church by the late Mr. Joseph Petley.

Rev. Dean Harris in his history of "the Catholic Church in the Niagara Peninsula" relates to an amusing incident which occurred during Father Gordon's periodical visit at Toronto Gore. A

young man named Sweeney desired to have his child baptised. When asked by the priest the name he wished to give the child, the young man replied, "Vanus your Reverence". What! said Father Gordon: why you rascal, I'll never give a Catholic child the name of a heathen goddess, "Well, your Reverence" replied Sweeney "that's my father's name". Nonsense, man, replied the priest, no Catholic priest, particularly an Irish one, would give her name to any child, male or female, so go and get your father before a drop of water goes on the head of this helpless infant. When the father entered the priest asked him, "What's your baptismal name, Sweeney". "Vanus, yer Reverence," replied the man. "Why my good man, surely you never got that name at baptism. "No Sir," answered Sweeney, "I was baptised Sylvanus but the neighbors always call me Vanus for short."

Father Laboureau succeeded Father Kelly in 1871. He was highly educated and a good musician. He had a marked individuality and wielded a great influence for good among his parishioners. He made a number of necessary improvements around the church property, but was taken from here in 1872 and given the charge of the parish at Penetanguishene, where he still remains. He has had erected at Penetanguishene a magnificent memorial church to the early Jesuit martyrs which will be a lasting monument to commemorate their heroic deeds and glorious martyrdom and will also bear testimony to the energy and zeal of its founder.

Father Berrigan, appointed in 1872, remained in charge until 1874. He was a strict disciplinarian and took a deep interest in the education of the children, carefully looking after their material as well as spiritual welfare. He died in 1904.

Fathers A. J. O'Reilly (1874—1876) P. J. Kiernan (1876—1878) and E. F. Gallagher (1878—1879) followed in succession. Those devoted priests neglected no opportunity of adding to the "treasure store of piety" and religious fervor, which is the strength and glory of a parish. Father P. J. Harold next assumed the charge of the parish in 1879 and remained until 1882, when he was temporarily succeeded by Rev. A. M. Murphy, O. C. C., a priest of the Carmelite Order. In 1884 Father Harold again took charge, remaining here until 1888, when Father T. M. Shanahan was appointed pastor. This talented young priest was soon obliged to resign his parochial duties and leave Niagara on account of ill health, bearing with him the affection and regret of the parishioners. He died shortly after his departure from here and his early death caused a heartfelt sorrow.

In 1890 Father Harold was a third time appointed pastor

of this mission. He found the church and Presbytery in urgent need of repairs and being very energetic and exceedingly resourceful as to ways and means, he at once set to work to make the necessary improvements. The church was so thoroughly renovated from foundation to cross, that it will, we trust, weather a few more decades. The Presbytery or "Glebe House" was sold and removed from the premises, under Father Harold's supervision, and was replaced by a much larger and more commodious structure, which contains all the modern improvements, including furnace, electric light etc. Those very necessary changes and repairs were made with very moderate expense to the congregation.

Father Harold possessed the gift of imparting knowledge in a remarkable degree and being a lover of children, he made them his special care, "and in teaching them the way to live, he taught them how to die." He was an accomplished classical scholar and gifted with great literary ability. He wrote a very interesting Historic Romance of the First Century, "Irene of Corinth," the contents of which are both fascinating and instructive.

Being a practical musician, the choir, which was in a lethargic condition, also came in for a large share of his attention and time. The late Father Brennan, who was also a lover of sacred music, devoted much of his spare time to the choir and presented it with a number of pieces of valuable music.

The earliest choir consisted of members belonging to the Band of the Regiments stationed at Niagara, and later it was conducted by Sergeant Charles Conroy, who, at present, resides in Ottawa, but who will no doubt be remembered by many residents of the town, for being an ardent admirer of the old town, he never forgets to pay it an occasional friendly visit.

A small melodeon was presented to the church by a friend and Mrs. Newton (nee McDougall) took charge of this and directed the choir for years with the assistance of Mr. Conroy, with great success. Miss Allinson (now Mrs. Richards) on the resignation of Mrs. Newton, then took charge of the choir, being a mere child at the time, and with the most untiring devotion and fidelity she played the organ, taught and directed the choir for years. Needless to say her success was remarkable. She also devoted much of her time to the instruction of the children in her class in Sunday School, and she did not relinquish her self-imposed but extremely praiseworthy tasks until a short time before her marriage. She organized a large Choral Society which was composed of members of all denominations. Several very successful concerts were given by this society, th

proceeds from some of them being given for the benefit of the Public Library, in which institution she was much interested. It is often said, there is no one who cannot be done without. This no doubt is true, but Mrs. Richards was one of the few who left a very large niche to be filled in the hearts of the congregation of St. Vincent de Paul, and not alone in the Catholic congregation, for her departure was sincerely regretted by all lovers of music, irrespective of creed.

After Mrs. Richard's departure, the following ladies took charge of the organ and choir for a short time:— Miss Murphy (now Mrs. Mooney) Mrs. Lamb, Miss McFaul and Miss Robinson.

Miss Walsh then took the choir and presided as organist for several years with much ability and success. Her strength not being sufficient to sustain the strain which the duties entailed, she eventually resigned the position. Mr. Mulholland is the present organist and director of the choir, which position he has held for over six years with admirable executive ability and characteristic modesty. It may be stated here that in no instance, has any of the organists or members of the choir received any recompense for their services other than perhaps a limited quantity of judicious praise, tempered with healthy criticism.

In 1894 Rev. Father Harold took his departure from here and was succeeded by Father Jno. J. Lynch in the same year. Energetic, zealous and scholarly, Father Lynch, apparently, had every prospect of many years of splendid opportunity before him to labor for the salvation of souls, but our Lord had willed otherwise. During his short sojourn here he was respected and beloved by his parishioners, not only because of his devotion to duty, his compassion for the sick and poor, without respect to race or creed, but also because of the affectionate warmth of his heart, his never failing courtesy and interesting personality. He had so endeared himself to all both Catholic and Protestant, as "never to estrange a friend or create an enemy." "He was of youth the guardian and of all, the friend" His life was closed in the morning of his priesthood, on the 9th of Sept., 1897. He was buried in St. Vincent de Paul's Cemetery where a monument was erected to his memory by his parishioners bearing the following inscription—

"We hold his name in benediction."

"To the memory of Rev. Father Lynch, who for three years was pastor of this parish. He died Sept. 9th, 1897, in the 34th year of his age and the 10th of his priesthood. Eternal rest give to him Oh! Lord."



After the death of Father Lynch in 1897 the Carmelite Fathers were requested to take charge of the parish, by Archbishop Walsh, and Father A. M. Murphy, O.C.C. again officiated here, until 1899, when he was removed and Father A. D. Brennan assumed the charge. His term of office was only temporary, for being a highly educated man, he was transferred to Chicago, where he filled the duties of Professor of Theology in the Carmelite College there. Shortly after going there his health failed him and he was obliged to return to the Hospice at Niagara Falls. He died in 1903, "He needs no tears who lived a noble life," Father Murphy returned here after Father Brennan was removed and continued to officiate until 1902, when Father D. F. O'Malley took charge, Father Murphy having been selected to fill the position of Prior of the Carmelite College at Chicago. Father O'Malley, being a very eloquent speaker, was removed from Niagara after a short stay here and was succeeded by Father Murphy, this being the fourth time the Niagara Parish was committed to his care. Father Murphy was heartily welcomed by his parishioners on each occasion of his return, as he had endeared himself to all by his unobtrusive virtues and simplicity of manner, never sparing himself where duty called him, but in every instance yielding his services unstintingly on behalf of his flock. He was removed from here in 1904, when Archbishop O'Connor received the parish back from the Carmelite Order and once more placed a secular priest in charge, viz: Rev. Father McEachern, who is the present incumbent.

The presbytery has just now been thoroughly refitted and partly refurnished, owing to the laudable enterprise and energy on the part of several of the ladies and gentlemen of the parish. The congregation generously contributed the requisite funds and as a result the presbytery presents a very pleasing and comfortable appearance.

This sketch would be incomplete were we to omit the names of such generous unselfish supporters of the church as Messrs. Peter Clarke, George Greene, Patrick Healey and James Doyle, who, with others, deserve more than passing mention herein, would space permit. Suffice it to say they will live in affectionate remembrance in the hearts of the people of the parish. With the exception of Mr. Clarke, who returned to Ireland after the death of his wife, and eventually died there, they are resting peacefully in the little cemetery of St. Vincent de Paul in the rear of the church. In the cemetery also repose many of the pioneer residents of the early church, notably Mrs. Stevenson, who is

mentioned in the old Niagara Gleaner, 1832, as performing a work of mercy by sending comforts to the prisoners. In the McDougall family plot is the grave of Colonel McDougall, whose name appears as Chairman on the original set of Resolutions drawn up in 1831, previous to the erection of the church. When Bishop McDonell came to Niagara to consecrate the church, he was entertained at Colonel McDougall's. Adjacent to the McDougall plot is a sarcophagus in which lie the remains of John Lyons, registrar for many years. His name appears on the records of a meeting held on Easter Monday, 1835, as Secty Treasurer for that year. There is a tablet erected in the church with the following inscription:— "To the memory of Lieut. Adj't Reginald Mc Donell, Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, who died at Niagara, C.W., on the 20th Dec 1851, aged 39 years. This tablet is erected by his brother officers as a testimony of regard." His remains are interred in the graveyard and a stone with a similar inscription marks the spot. Hundreds of other dear departed friends rest in our little graveyard, in fact it would be difficult to find one in the parish who has not some beloved relative resting there. "And with the morn those Angel faces smile which we have loved and lost ere yet awhile."

In collecting the facts contained in this sketch I have consulted "Galinee's Narrative, "The History of the Catholic Church in the Niagara Peninsula", by Dean Harris. "History of the Church in Niagara" by Rev. P. J. Harold. I have also gathered authentic information from a few of the pioneer residents of the town and from ancient records of the parish. Imperfect and unpolished as this narrative is presented to you, it is history. The old pioneers are fast vanishing from our midst but the church of St. Vincent de Paul crowned with the sign of our redemption will bear testimony to their unselfish generosity and unwavering faith.

"Ducit Amor Patriae"

# Niagara Historical Society

NO. 14



Letters of  
**MRS. WM. DUMMER POWELL**  
1807==1821



PRICE 20 CENTS.

Times Print, Niagara

## PREFACE

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In presenting to the public in this the tenth year of our existence as a Society our fourteenth publication we trust that these letters copied so carefully by the late lamented Mrs. Curzon, may throw many side lights on the history of the period referred to. It has been said that in this age of postal cards, telegraphs and telephones letter writing is a lost art; at all events it will be seen that Mrs. Powell wielded a facile pen. We desire to express our hearty thanks to Æmilius Jarvis Esq., Toronto, for the photographs kindly presented to us, taken for our Society from valuable family portraits in his possession, also for information explaining some of the references in the letters. We have also to thank Mrs. J. E. Wilson for allowing the pictures of her father and mother to be copied to appear here. We trust that many descendants of early settlers will do likewise in lending portraits to be copied and giving reminiscences of those gone before that the memory of these days may not be forgotten.



ANN MURRAY,  
Wife of Chief Justice Powell.  
From a portrait in possession of Æmilius Jarvis Esq. Toronto.



## Letters of Mrs. Powell 1807-1821

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In a blank book of good size and of thin foreign paper are extracts from eighty-eight letters from 1807 to 1821 chiefly dated at York, in the handwriting of the late lamented Mrs. Curzon, copied from the Powell papers in the Reference Library, Toronto, thus headed:

[By permission of the Chief Librarian Toronto Public Library, Jas. Bain, Jr. Esq., who judged the notes might be useful to me as a student of Canadian History.

Notes on Public Affairs taken from private letters by Mrs. Annie Powell, wife of Chief Justice Powell, to her brother, George W. Murray Esq., Merchant, New York.]

These papers were placed in my hands by the wish of the late Miss Curzon, whose tragic death we all deplore, and permission to print them was obtained by me from Dr. Bain. J. C.

YORK, SEPT. 4TH, 1807.

"It is three weeks since I heard from you my dearest brother and everything which varies from general habit induces me to expect a speedy knowledge of what I most hope or most dread. I calculate the time of my husband's departure from England, his probable return from Spain, the necessary detention in London and perhaps betray my ignorance in every one except the first, which from his letter is certain, whether I am right or not it engages my mind in expectation of the desired event of his return and disengages it from dwelling upon those actual sufferings so many exertions have been made to mitigate and relieve. I have endured nearly eighteen months of uncertainty, the first were borne with tranquillity, for they were gilded with the most flattering expectations. At the moment these hopes were so dreadfully terminated, had the next

welve months been exposed to my view the prospect would have overpowered my senses, and deprived me of all ability to contend with evils of such magnitude, yet although I have suffered severe anguish I have also during this period experienced hours of cheerfulness, not the delightful serenity of reflection, and my attention has been engaged by foreign objects and I have considered it incumbent on me to seek those as the only means of enabling me to perform the active duties indispensably necessary to my situation as the mother of a large and helpless family and a member of society when every one ought to perform their part by setting examples of morality and decency.

My dearest brother, will the hour arrive when I can lay my head to my pillow and thank God for the restoration of my husband and my son with a warmth of gratitude equal to the fervor of those petitions for their preservation which I now offer at the Throne of Mercy? Surely if this long looked for event is to be awarded I shall be lost to all sense of goodness if I suffer murmuring or discontent to embitter the feelings of those for whom I live. My husband has an increased claim upon my affection, friendship and duty, and I hope the power to reward him for his exertions to restore my peace will accompany a will which must be invariable.

When I forget what I owe to you my dearest George, may God forget me, and by withdrawing his protection leave me the prey of greater miseries than those from which your fraternal affection has sought to save me. — I did not write last week as I intended, the only conveyance was so sudden I had not time. Your neices are still on the other side, Evelyn and your child with John, Anne with Mrs. D. at Queenston. Mrs. D. has been confined near a fortnight, as in the wretched state of this country as to servants a mistress of a family needs a friend to superintend, it is as much as a nurse, Anne has been enabled by her attentions in this way to return in part the various acts of kind and considerate friendship we have for many years been in the habit of receiving from Dickson. I mean they should return next week as the Toronto has been in a very bad state and is now patched up I shall endeavour to send a small vessel with a decent master for them.

\* \* \* Our Governor is gone down to Kingston, I think he is well out of the way of seeing the shocking things with which Wilcock's paper is filled. I hope you see it, you know enough of the different people here to judge pretty well what is correct. The account of Mr. Thorpe's trial is perfectly incorrect, and the indecent manner in which it is detailed would shock the editors of the Citizen or Aurora. The Governor's absence gives a color to the assertions of his being called home. The arrival of the Attorney-General will



most likely show who is right, the chairman of the meeting who offered to remunerate Mr. Thorpe for the loss of not going the circuit knew nothing of it until he saw it in the papers. This man so lost to decency who drives his wife and daughters to such company as the decent farmers will not associate with, what can he expect will be the result? \* \* \*

Robert is I suppose by this time on the Atlantic, God grant our mother may be indulged her wish to see him.

My poor Jerry's letter being one month later date than the one before it makes one think if he himself is not on the way another letter may be, if Mr. Reynolds application ———.

Where can Kane [Paul Kane] be gone? I ask questions as if you could answer them next week, pardon me.

Grant's wife writes of the general complaint of the influenza. It seems to be considered as an harbinger of some other contagious complaint, God forbid the fever should begin its dreadful ravages.

Mary begs I will not forget to offer her duty and love, she is making an apple pudding I wish you could share it.

[NOTE. This letter has been copied rather more fully than might appear necessary for the purpose indicated at the outset see Page 1, but is done to show the excellent heart and fine nature of the lady who wrote it. The remainder of the letters are in the same tone and with one exception are signed in a most touching style, indicative of a warm affectionate nature.

Your affectionate sister and faithful friend.

Address, G. W. Murray, Esq., Merchant, New York, superscribed in another hand, Lewiston, Sept. 10th, 1807.]

YORK, SEPT. 11TH, 1807.

Your letters my dearest brother of the 25th and 26th reached me yesterday, they are truly consolatory, my mind for the first time in many months is completely relieved from the dreadful reflection that my darling son was suffering from the accumulated miseries of fetters and close confinement. I now await the result with patience, secure that a few weeks will in all probability ascertain what I greatly hope, though not without a degree of fear. Indeed your letters were calculated to afford me ease and comfort, and while I think I might have accounts of Mr. Powell I am willing to ascribe the delay to events for which I cannot account. I rejoice that your city is yet free from that horrid disease so much dreaded, and hope sincerely that the benefits arising from an uncommonly cold summer will be equal to any ill effects it may have on the produce of the country. The complaint affecting the eyes and the head has I find been very general in the States. Mrs. McGill has had an attack

something like it but I hear of no one else, and hope we shall escape it. \* \* \*What should I have been my beloved George had you possessed that aversion to the pen which marks the characters of some of your brothers. My son had languished in prison without the necessaries of life, and his mother broken hearted had been unable to look forward to the moment of his restoration to his unhappy family.

Mr. Powell says Capt Adams, should he go to Carthage I trust he may afford a conveyance to the poor prisoner from a slavery so near its termination. I thank you for your assurance of obtaining information on a subject of importance to the public.

The Governor is at Kingston, on his return, the shameful and unfounded assertions in that infamous paper are enough to irritate him to the severest measures—they strike at the public and private character—do pray read them and beg Mr. Powell to do so. God grant he may be arrived.

It is the White Havana Sugar I wish to have. I should like 100 cwt. (?) or a small cask of muscovado, that is if the other is not sent on. Mary is well and will I sincerely hope merit your affection, she has a pair of beautiful Canary birds which with her peachicks afford her employment and amusement. You do not say if they had heard of Mr. Powell after his arrival in Spain.

[They, refers to the relatives in Norwich, England, Mrs. Powell and Mr. Murray's mother and sisters.]

P.S. I give a dollar, or 10 [York Shillings 12½ cts] a gallon for vinegar. If you think it can be sent on cheaper I should be glad of a barrel or a half one.

(Here occurs a most tantalizing break of over seven years, the period of the war so interesting to us here. J. C.)

YORK, APRIL 7TH, 1815.

My Dearest Brother

Ever since the restoration of peace has removed the bar to communication between us I have been anxiously expecting intelligence from you on your own immediate situation and that of those dear friends around you from whom the calamities of the late dreadful state of warfare have so long separated us, hitherto these hopes and expectations have been fruitless. A few days' very severe illness have determined me to delay no longer to write lest a continuance of indisposition should disable me from ever giving you the assurance that no event can alienate or diminish that affectionate friendship which has been one of the first comforts of my not happy



The medal has just come to light most opportunely and its finding at this time is a remarkable coincidence, as it commemorates the golden wedding of the writer of these letters. It was found accidentally at Creemore while a reservoir was being enlarged. The plate so appropriate to our pages was kindly given us by the Toronto News the illustration having appeared in that paper Feb. 1st. Chief Justice Powell and Bishop Strachan, it has been said, were for many years the real rulers of Upper Canada. John Powell born in Niagara 1809 was Registrar for many years and the son of the John Powell referred to on pages 6 and 18.



life. The scenes in which I have for the last two years been engaged will in the event most probable tend to curtail it, they have certainly served to hasten the infirmities of age and destroyed many of those hopes and prospects, which if realized would have smoothed my passage to the grave. There is little of comfort now to be anticipated but I have reason and most sincerely thank Divine Providence that all has not been wrested from me by the evils inflicted on this once happy and flourishing colony.

While all correspondence was precluded except such as must meet the eyes of the public I could not write for many reasons, it is unnecessary to detail them, one is sufficient, you know the former machinations set on foot against my husband, suspicions were raised and not always removed even by the most conclusive proofs of innocence amongst various characters who have held the supreme authority here, it was possible that some one might have received false impressions from those who imperfectly remembered former transactions, to prevent the most distant shadow of probability I thought it incumbent on me to forego all communication with those friends so dear to me. Your kindness to my son John was sometime since acknowledged by his father, the style of that letter originated from the same necessity, but I have many fears that it did not reach you, that your answer has miscarried or that the unavoidable brevity gave offence when we all longed to express the gratitude we felt. John's habits of procrastination delayed the remittance of the money you had so liberally advanced for it was furnished immediately on his return and it would be a great satisfaction to hear it has been received by you. To relate all that has befallen us since the bitter hour in which our correspondence ceased is as impossible as it would be unprofitable, great indeed must be the change if you have ceased to feel an interest in our concerns therefore I shall as concisely as possible give you some idea of our present situation. The number of our family has not diminished. Mr. Powell has enjoyed good health with the exception of two or three short attacks of fever. Had not the late unhappy war existed his circumstances would have by this time been perfectly easy but the great expenses attending the most economical mode of living have retarded this most desirable and long expected event — Your neices are yet and will most likely continue unmarried. A very pressing invitation for one of them to visit their aunt Progers has tempted Anne to talk of a voyage to England. \* \* \*

Evelyn's constitution is greatly improved, ever seeking to serve others she is universally beloved. \* \* \* Mary, your favorite, is changed beyond description, the loss of flesh and complexion has been in part the consequence of a complaint in her stomach, from which she

frequently suffers, but still more to increasing regret for unkindness to one who merited and I believe possessed her best affections— for many months subsequent to the dreadful loss we sustained on the 13th Oct. 1812, I feared no time would restore her tranquillity, the generous bequest of our late lamented friend was a proof of his regard which she could not but feel a reproach for her capricious conduct, but these are statements I have never hinted to her—the good sense she possessed and the vivacity of her feeling rendered it unnecessary, and the subject is ever carefully avoided.

(This reference was not understood till explained by the kindness of Æmilius Jarvis, Esq., who states that Miss Mary Powell, who afterwards married Samuel Peters Jarvis, the son of Mr. Secretary Jarvis, was previously engaged to Col. McDonnell, Attorney General of Upper Canada, and Aid-de-Camp to Sir Isaac Brock. A later letter refers to this marriage. J.C.)

[The schools and nunneries of Montreal are animadverted upon in connection with sending an orphan grandchild Mary, to some school for accomplishments.]

John Powell since his return has lived with his wife and child in an apartment at Mr. Shaw's, they are now removed to our immediate neighborhood and he goes in a few days to see if the ruins of his dwelling at Niagara admit of such reparation as will shelter them for the summer.

Grant, as Surgeon of the Incorporated Militia, passed the last campaign on the frontier and caught the Lake fever which though conquered at the moment has been attended with a very serious liver complaint, he is just now convalescent, but I fear his constitution has suffered a shock not likely to be overcome. He with his wife and two daughters live in a very comfortable house. The discharge of the Regiment reduces his means to £200 per annum, as clerk to the House of Assembly to which he succeeded after the 27th April, 1813, when his predecessor was killed in defence of this post, [Young Allan Maclean] Thus have I given you an account of us \* \* \* although it is not indicative of prosperity or comfort, that we have been preserved to struggle through the difficulties which surrounded us is more than we have frequently anticipated and for which we are grateful to the Giver of all Good. An hour before the intelligence of Peace reached us we had determined to abandon our all here and seek bread and quietness in the only country that promised to afford them, to that Beloved Country my wishes ever incline and until now

I have indulged the hope that some effort of fortune would gratify them. I no longer look forward to such a possibility \* \* \* In this country, probably in this place will be the closing scene — My most earnest prayer is for permission to retain my usefulness to the last hour.

April 25th. The want of conveyance has detained this and I open it to say that I have received yours of the 22nd March on the 24th of this month \* \* \* I send this by Kingston, as yet no nearer to us, if you will direct yours for me to the care of Major Glegg, Dep Adgt. Gen., Kingston, it will be forwarded immediately by express."

[This letter is addressed as usual to George W. Murray, Esq., Merchant, New York, and is marked on the left hand lower margin "single sheet" on the upper left hand margin is written "Ogdensburgh, N.Y., May 13th" and at the right upper margin 30, probably the amount of postage. The sheet is lawyer's foolscap size, unruled and is written 47 lines of thirteen words to the page in a small clear hand, both the top and bottom fold of the paper on the address page is closely written upon, the manner of folding letters admitting of this economy. The letter was wafered but a great blotch of red sealing wax upon the same spot indicates opening which may have been done by the writer herself, as shown by the shrinking of the wafer in doing it having been steamed soft to open for last words.]

[4th Letter]

YORK, JUNE 30TH, 1815.

My Dearest Brother

I have been greatly at a loss to account for your silence and began to fear that the circuitous route I was obliged to adopt for my letters had been an unsafe one. Yours of the 1st has just reached me in a cover from Mr. Clarke and sets my mind at rest respecting the fate of the first. I will hope a few days longer will ascertain that of the last and I should have waited had I not been desirous to lose no time in saying that the post to Niagara had been re-established, therefore letters to me directed to the care of Thos. Dickson, Esq., Queenston will meet with neither delay nor danger \* \* \* This information (private) and the difficulty of a passage to Quebec had decided Anne to relinquish her intention of going to England that way.

You ask the distance from Kingston to this place, it is 140 miles, but except on horse back the roads are impassable for traveling. The American Vessels are constantly passing up and down.

\* \* \* Mr. Powell came from Niagara this morning, where he has been for some days distributing relief to the sufferers in the war."

(In the list of houses burned at Niagara the name of John Powell referred to in last letter does not appear. The money distributed was raised by the Loyal and Patriotic Society, of which Bishop Strachan was the Secretary. J. C.)

[5th Letter]

YORK, AUGUST 23RD, 1815.

[This letter expresses great anxiety at long and unexpected silence, says letter of latter end of June, was forwarded by Mr. Dickson with "the Post" at Lewiston with assurance of enquiry for any which came to me by that conveyance] \* \* \*

This letter may be long on its way \* \* \* is given to a son of Dr. Kerr, whose journey is in search of health [asks Mr. Murray's kind attention to Mr. Walter Kerr, who may have to go further southward than N.Y. \* \* \* deploras inability to assist a relation] but the recommencement of European contest continues to reduce our ability to procure even the decencies necessary to our station in life, nor can we look forward to the desired period when this reduction will cease to distress us \* \* \* Mr. Powell left us five days ago to take the Eastern Circuit which will be a very long one, John accompanies him, the derangement in his means of subsistence requires the aid this temporary office affords him—indeed I see no chance of recovering from the unfortunate events of the last three years \* \* \* It is said that our good Governor (Gore) and Mrs. Gore are on their way from England but dissatisfaction has so frequently attended our best grounded expectations that we are fearful of encouraging the hope of an event so desirable \* \* \* You will have seen in the papers the death of our respected friend Mr. Cartwright, his valuable life fell a victim to that cruel complaint which carried to the grave his four hopeful children, his only surviving daughter is married to a Captain in the Royal Navy, Capt. Dobbs, a very fine young man, but whose health precludes all hope of a long life, of his three sons the eldest is consumptive, the other two above ten years of age are not free from the threatening of that dreadful malady, but we have hopes that Mrs. Cartwright will remove to this place and that change of air may check the progress of a disease that seems inherent.



[6th Letter]

YORK, OCTOBER 13TH, 1815.

My Dearest Brother

[Two pages and a half of family news concerning chiefly the illness of Mr. Murray's son, John, of consumption and the baseness of an elder brother, who while apparently a wealthy man neglected to aid his mother and other members of the family who had a right to expect him to do so] \* \* \* I have a thousand things to say in which self is concerned—the Governor is arrived, well and friendly as ever, we owe to him the ability to support the late disastrous times, the timely nature of his influence at home gained for my husband the means to get rid of difficulties that would almost have overwhelmed us. An evil is now with the officers of the King's Government hanging over us—the seat of Govt. is to be removed to Kingston but it is too great an undertaking to be accomplished this winter—we are to have remuneration for unavoidable losses but yet the decision is a sad distraction to the comforts of those who have been devoting many years to the improvement of their possessions—for myself I am perfectly resigned to the measure, the few years before me render it unimportant where they are passed, and the hope of my remains reposing beside one of lamented children is consolatory to my feelings of everlasting regret.

[A Letter from Miss Anne Powell, the eldest daughter of Judge Powell to her uncle, Mr. G. W. Murray.]

[7th Letter]

YORK, NOVEMBER 11TH, 1815.

If this were the first time I had addressed you my dear uncle since the communication has been open between us \* \* \* When I last wrote to you I fully expected to see you in a few weeks, however papa applied for leave to go home and of course I gave up all idea of any other protection — he was disappointed but not half so much as I was for by that means I lost the chance of going in company with my old friend Mary Cartwright, now Mrs. Dobbs [wife of Capt. Dobbs of 1812 fame].

To Geo. W. Murray, Broadway, N.Y.

[by Miss Mary B. Powell]

YORK, JANUARY 5TH, 1816.

My Dear Uncle

\* \* \* Mama's sudden determination to take Mary to school to N.Y. has thrown us all into a little bustle, Mary [one of

two fatherless grand-daughters of Judge Powell] \* will I am sure all ways find in you and my aunt George interested friends who will soon make New York a second home to her \* \* \* I hope nothing may prevent Janie's [Miss English] taking her as a boarder \* \* \* [sundry warnings against certain relations follow] I hope you will not think I mean to dictate by writing thus, nor when I say that could I prevent it she should never go to a Presbyterian Church and except for some particular reason to none but Grace Church — and never to any of an evening, I may be fanciful but I cannot think such a rule could be a disadvantage.

\* (This refers to the children of Wm. Dummer Powell, one of the ten members of the first Law Society of U.C., a letter of whom from Queenston in 1801 to Col. Robert Nelles at Forty Mile Creek (Grimsby) is in possession of the Society. This returns thanks for forwarding their escape in an elopement with Sarah Stevenson to Niagara, where they were married by Rev. Robt. Addison. W. D. Powell died in 1803, as shown by entry in St. Mark's register, while his wife lived to 1834, as shown by tombstone in St. George's Cemetery, St. Catharines. J. C.)

[8th Letter]

JANUARY 6TH, 1815.

Favoured by the Hon. and Rev. Dr. Strachan  
My Dearest Brother

From your letter to Anne, received the 1st I have some hope this may meet you at Utica, where Dr. Strachan has promised to inquire for you. You will hear from him of my intended journey, \* \* \* to induce our dear Jane English to take our little Mary under her charge. Mr. Powell had consented to my placing her at Quebec \* \* \* There were and are objections, all will be done away with if I am able to accomplish my present wishes. \* \* \* Mrs. Grant Powell and her children accompany me to Albany, from Buffalo to that place we go unprotected except by a careful and discreet servant, neither Mr. Powell nor Grant can be spared and I am too old and good a traveller to feel any apprehension from this circumstance.

[9th Letter]

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 2nd, 1816.

[From Mrs. Powell in New York where she had gone expecting to see Mr. Murray but he had left for Utica just as she arrived — Great disappointment.]

[10th Letter]

2 Miles from Black Rock.  
FEB. 26TH, 1816.

My Dearest Brother

I arrived here a few minutes ago in the hope of crossing the St. Lawrence [Niagara] this evening but I find no means of doing so, indeed were I to proceed the wind and the snow would probably prevent the boat from going over. My journey has been entirely on wheels, of course fatiguing enough \* \* \* the road from Canandaigua to the Genessee River was dreadful, we were ten hours travelling it excepting the time taken to mend the stage which broke down in the midst of the worst road. I had the pleasure to deliver the letters to Dr. Oaderdonk.

[11th Letter]

YORK, MARCH 15TH, 1816

My Dearest Brother

From my letter of the 5th, written at Queenston to our sister W. you would find that I had proceeded thus far without accident \* \* \* I then tried to escape the bad roads which were declared almost impracticable by crossing in a vessel the next day, you will suppose that I was not a little surprised at the sight of Mr. Powell about 11 at night, who had left York at 12 the day before, the Equinox had so alarmed him that all difficulties as to his absence and hazardous travelling were speedily overcome and nothing could satisfy him but that his presence and attendance was necessary to ensure my safety. He most certainly judged correctly as to the uncertainty of the navigation for a change of weather detained the vessel five days at Fort George, and the heavy easterly gale which brought her over prevented all communication with her for twenty-four hours after she anchored to the west of the Garrison, while I on the 8th at noon was rejoiced by seeing my children well and receiving the congratulations of my friends.

Mr. Powell is likely to suffer from a little excursion a few miles out of town, where he took Mrs. J. Powell and little Anne to see Mrs. Claus. The horses ran away and Mr. Powell's leg was hurt.

The kindness of our excellent and warm friend, the Governor, has been exerted to serve my husband, at his desire the Legislature now in session have voted \$4000 to remunerate him for extra judicial services in settling land claims which occupied much time and were a laborious business some years ago, this sum will about overcome the perplexities resulting from the late war, and we have

reason to hope that reward for the services of a life of which a great portion has been spent devoted to promote the good of the colony will not stop here, but of this nothing is certain \* \* \* The most perfect confidence prevails between the Governor and the Legislature, of this they have given every proof by ordering £3000 to his Excellency for the purchase of plate. Anne is with Mrs. Boulton, who has a little daughter.

[12th Letter]

YORK, APRIL 26TH, 1816.

My Dearest Brother

[Concern about the increasing illness of Mr. John Murray] \* \* \*

John is inhabiting his ruins (in Niagara) and doing his best to make them tolerable for his wife and children who go over next week. When remuneration is made we will be enabled to rebuild, in the meantime he and Grant have the addition of \$100 per. annum added to their salaries.

(Signed) Anne Powell,  
who is this day 61 years of age.

[13th Letter]

YORK, MAY 9TH, 1816.

[This is entirely occupied with family affairs and the little girl at school, but speaks of Mr. Powell's (Judge's) departure for England with his eldest daughter, Anne.]

[14th Letter]

YORK, MAY 25TH, 1816

My Dearest Brother

\* \* \* I had anticipated the satisfaction of hearing of the travellers [Mr. P. Miss A. P. Mr. John Murray, the sick son, he died in England] by the Toronto which took Major Hatton to Sackett's Harbour, that they had reached Albany. Mr. C. writes me from Montreal that he had letters from Mr. P. while there (Albany). I send the order to Senor and Maitland \* \* \* It seems Capt. Phelan came on the Niger to N. Y.

[15th Letter]

YORK, JUNE 12TH, 1816.

My Dear Brother

\* \* \* Young Charles writes that his father by being thrown out of his chaise had his right thigh broken and Mr. Astley

Cooper had set it \* I am suffering from rheumatism, hope the warm weather, if ever we have any, may relieve me. This is the first day we have sat without a fire, all the fruit in the country is destroyed, the grain is much injured and no prospect of hay. \* \* \* Mr. Dickson lives at Queenston but he always sends over for the letters [to Lewiston] therefore the best direction is to him at Lewiston, Connty of Niagara, N.Y. If directed to Queenston it is a chance but they go to Buffalo.

[Superscription marked "double sheet" in Mr. Murray's received 30th. Letter enclosing one for Mr. W. D. P. and forwarded by ship Edward to Liverpool. Top line Lewiston 20th June. \$1.00 postage to England included probably.]

[16th Letter]

YORK, JULY 9TH, 1816.

My Dear Brother

\* \* \* [Matters relating to little Mary and the "extraordinary interference" of her aunt in the arrangements made with Miss English before she left for England] \* \* \* They know and you are fully aware that nothing but a permanent benefit to the last objects of my poor William's earthly solicitude

Enclosure forwarded by ship Magnet to Liverpool 1 oz. \$1.00.

[17th Letter]

YORK, JULY 31ST, 1816.

My Dearest Brother

[Domestic affairs] \* \* \* I think Mr. Powell will be home in about two months, the Govt. is very anxious for his arrival and I believe feels his absence greatly. Nothing can be more friendly and attentive than both His Excellency and Mrs. Gore, \* \* conviction that it proceeds from friendly regard for me and mine. Indeed we owe the Governor so much. \* \* \* Mary's sister Anne would have written her an account of the Ball and Supper to be given at the Govt. House tomorrow night and to which Mrs. Gore has invited me to take her \* \* \* The season has been very unpropitious, the weather though tolerably fine is not seasonable. We begin to look with less dread of consequences if it pleases God to grant us a dry harvest, although the late frosts destroyed a good deal, the crops are in many places abundant.

[Superscribed] Packet forwarded pr ship Importer to Liverpool.

[18th Letter]

YORK, AUGUST 11TH, 1816.

My Dearest Brother

Mr. Hogan offers to forward letters to you by private hand. \* \* \* I have not heard from you of the arrival of the Minerva Smith at her distant post whether that was London or Liverpool. The Governor says she is a Liverpool trader. It is now thirteen weeks since they sailed and I look with great anxiety to to-morrow's post. \* \* \*. I wrote you the last of the month by Mr. Crane who had offered to take letters of the Governor. \* \* \* John goes the Western Circuit with the Chief Justice and by so doing gives room for a visitor; Miss Eliza Powell, for their "ruins" are too scanty to admit an addition to the family circle when he is at home. The claims for remuneration of losses are gone home and if they are granted he will be enabled to lodge his family more comfortably but the prevailing system of economy may perhaps interfere. Happily our fears of want are fading away, favourable weather and the promising appearance of the grain encourage the expectation of an abundant harvest and we may be indulged in good wheaten bread, a luxury we had scarcely dared to anticipate; the overflow of merchandise is here comparatively as great as with you, of course every description of British manufacture and every foreign article is cheaper than ever was known; and as the increase of importation exceeds that of population we shall experience a favorable difference in our expenses of living — and we have need of it.

If Mr. Powell does succeed in the object of his voyage we may look forward to a tolerable competence for our future lives, if he fails we have been so accustomed to suit our living to our circumstances that we may be as well content; the almost certain conviction that the government will never permit its faithful servants to suffer want will assist to support our spirits under the unavoidable infirmities of age.

Has Capt. Phelan paid the promised visit (at Norwich), by a change of regiments he may be stationed at this post \* \* \* a romantic visionary character \* \* \* he is too eccentric for a desirable neighbor, other ways \* \* \* a pleasure to see the daughter of my sister.

[19th Letter]

YORK, AUGUST 20TH, 1816

My Dearest Brother

[Expressing much solicitude with regard to Mr. Murray's health] I do not know what other medical men

there are in Norwich but I have the greatest confidence in the skill and attention of Mr. Martineau, whose uniform friendship for my father's descendants will secure his best exertions. \* \* \* I think Mr. P. is now on his way out, the Parliament was sitting of course, the public offices were not deserted and as a public and domestic man he knows his own importance too well to delay his return an hour longer than necessary. Eliza goes to Niagara to-day. The Captain of the Toronto has just called to receive his orders from her and she has concluded to sail at sunset. Nothing can exceed the Governor's and Mrs. G's kind attention to every circumstance which can contribute to our comfort. Greatly do we dread military influence and as truly hope that no temptation will induce the Government to place us under its control, but such is the present system that those who wish it frequently report its probability \* \* \* [Deplores serious disaster to relatives in commerce]. Again I wish you were all in this country where the commercial security compensates for the tardiness of accumulating wealth. \* \* \* S. G. has made a very handsome portion, is now gone to France and returns to marry into one of the best families at Quebec indeed in proportion to the population, the late war has made as many fortunes in these provinces as it has marred in the U. S. \* \* \* Mr. Hogan promised to send my packet (for England) from Utica, he was much liked here and may be induced to fix in one of the provinces.

[20th Letter]

YORK, SEPTEMBER 18TH, 1815.

My Dearest Brother

I had flattered myself that by this time I should have been enabled to announce to you Mr. Powell's safe arrival at his own humble dwelling and was greatly disappointed when the Toronto returned yesterday with letters from the Governor by the July packet and I received neither letters from nor intelligence of my husband. We have seen that the Courier and the Pacific had arrived at New York in tolerably short passages from Liverpool and as Mr. Powell on the 12th July had reason to imagine the next day's interview with Mr. Goulburn would conclude his business. I was surely not unreasonable in supposing that he would be ready to embark on the 26th the day it is said the latter sailed. I thank you for your kind congratulations; the object attained would be valuable could it have been secured without the expense and fatigue of a personal application:—however, independent of the emoluments (which when compared with increased demands are scarcely a consideration) it was a point of honour to solicit that which has long been considered the

just reward of a life of exertion for the good of the colony:—but there is another point of view in which it is more gratifying to me:—the Governor's strong recommendation of the measure is a proof of his confidence in the talents and integrity of a man who at one period was held up to him as undeserving of his regard or esteem and the consideration that it gives a claim to a respectable support when age and infirmity may incapacitate him for his arduous duties, serve to cheer the present moment and remove apprehension of future want.

[21st Letter]

YORK, OCTOBER 7TH, 1816.

My Dearest Brother

\* \* \* The Chief Justice was taken very ill on the circuit and unable to hold the Niagara Assizes.—Mr. Powell is therefore obliged to do this duty and leaves this on Friday. I suppose he told you that Mr. Scott (Chief Justice) returns with a pension of £800 per annum, he is perfectly satisfied with the arrangement and I can truly say that looking forward to a similar provision is more satisfactory than the present elevation and increased salary [to the Speakership of Leg Assy. at salary of £400 per annum] indeed the latter is scarcely equal to increased expenses for in many instances we must depart from the system of economy which has saved us from ruin.

[22nd Letter]

YORK, OCTOBER 27TH, 1816.

[All family news, Mr. Dickson, Niagara, is mentioned as our very great friend.]

[23rd Letter]

YORK, NOVEMBER 29TH, 1816.

[Complains that letters entrusted Mr. C. Shaw and a parcel all to be delivered at New York appear to have been only partly distributed. Mr. P. objected to sending letters etc. by this gentleman, regarding him as most careless]

[24th Letter]

[Refers to illness of Mr. Murray's son.]

I have just written to Grant who lives in the country, the sad



account, the event will distress though not surprise him, his opinion has been long decided.

[25th Letter]

YORK, JANUARY 20TH, 1817.

[Comforts the father (Mr. G. Murray) on the loss by consumption of his son John, who had been sent to England the previous year for his health to his father's mother and sisters in Norfolk. The young man appears to have started for the south of France to spend the winter but was detained on the coast, where he died. A very pious, wise and affectionate letter.]

[26th Letter]

YORK, FEBRUARY 24TH, 1816.

This is the sitting of the Legislature and there is every probability of its being a long session. An allowance was made for the Speaker of the Upper House, and this obliges us to give dinners twice a week, the party always consists of 16, so you may imagine we have a continual tax upon our time. The severity of the season adds to the trouble, the 14th was one of our days and the thermometer was  $\frac{0}{22}$  (below zero) the combined art of the family could not make the house warm, and the provisions were almost frozen by the fireside. An accident has added five children to our family, Dr. Strachan's house caught fire on Saturday and though it was not wholly destroyed rendered uninhabitable. Mrs. Strachan is on a visit to her mother at Cornwall and we have taken the children in till their own dwelling is repaired \* \* \* good children, the youngest about 18 months old, the good Doctor has been unfortunate, this is the second dwelling house besides his school house which has been burned.

[27th Letter]

YORK, MARCH, 24th, 1817.

[Private matters] \* \* \* Am quite well and have only to complain of the difficulty of giving dinners twice a week and the little chance of my being relieved by the prorogation of the Legislature. The members like the good things of the metropolis too well to leave them.

[28th Letter]

YORK, APRIL 13th, 1817.

My Dearest brother

A person of the name of Jones who is a saddler in the town goes to N. Y. and affords me an opportunity of send-

ing to your care a parcel for England. \* \* \* The delays in the communication by Quebec are so great, at this season of the year particularly. \* \* \* We have had as yet no account of the arrival of the January packet. \* \* \* A dinner to the Bench and the Bar in the first day of Term fully occupied me the last post day. I am glad to say our bustle is over for the present. The Governor prorogued the House of Assembly on the 7th and the long detention here made it desirable to the members to return with all expedition to their different employments. John Powell was amongst those most anxious to return to his humble tho' comfortable dwelling which consists but of two rooms and a kitchen, the former dwelling place having been burned but fortunately for him the detached buildings escaped the conflagration. This gentleman's son was coming to attend Mr. Strachan's school, not one of that description fit for a boy of his age at Niagara. A Mrs. Goodman was intending to come from Quebec with a staff of teachers to conduct a school for females. [The writer objects to sending her grand-daughter because there can in this place be no distinction of classes: this objection does not arise from aristocratic pride, but from the conviction that the vulgar habits of home are more likely to become contagious than to receive correction by example]

[29th Letter]

YORK, JUNE 2, 1817.

My letters are always by the packet and enclosed in the Govt. despatches and, by some absurd arrangement go first to Quebec, the movements of the post from there are shamefully tardy, so much so that the Governor gets his private letters direct from New York three weeks before the official ones from Quebec, I am sorry to say that His Excellency and Mrs. Gore leave us in a few days for England, he has obtained leave of absence and they mean to take their passage from New York when I most truly hope you will see those friends whose loss we shall severely feel. I shall perhaps write by Mrs. Gore. The Governor has been much and seriously indisposed within the last month. \* \* \* We are sitting by the fireside and a few nights ago all the early vegetables were destroyed by frost.

It is impossible to describe the confusion of this house. We have added a story which gives us five bed chambers and a drawing room, the size of the dining room. The Carpenters are this day laying the floors and we are covered with dust and stunned with noise.

[30th Letter]

YORK, JUNE 9, 1817

My Dearest Brother

As the ship is arrived which conveys the Governor and Mrs Gore to Sacker's Harbour I have no time to lose in availing myself of the opportunity to write tho' it will be perhaps but a few lines. Our friend Lt.-Col. Coffin, Adj. Gen. of Militia, accompanies His Excellency across the lake and I hope to N Y. \* \* \* the good Colonel, though not one of the most animated is one of the best and most honourable of men: his greatest pleasure is the ability to do an act of kindness and his friends not unfrequently upbraid him with too great facility to sacrifice his own interests to promote that of others. You are a personal stranger to the Governor and Mrs. Gore but I think when you do see them, both you and my sister will cease to wonder at the regret their departure excites in this limited circle: however, it is to be hoped that they may be induced to return to a Province where they will be ever remembered with the most grateful regard. \* \* \* Col. Coffin will, I am sure take charge of anything for us. I wish there were anything worth sending \* \* \* There is a Mr. Roberts arrived from England with very respectable recommendations and is seeking for a house fit for a school. \* \*

[31st Letter]

YORK, JULY 7<sup>TH</sup>

[Private] \* \* \*

The season except a few days has been so cool that warm clothes were necessary. It is now perfectly summer and we are cheered by prospects of abundant crops. We paid last year \$46 a ton for hay, we might now contract for it at ten \* \* \* This is the first day of Term and soon after it concludes Mr. Powell will begin the circuit.

[32nd Letter]

YORK, 26th JULY, 1817

My Dearest Brother

If Mrs. Gallagher has reached N.Y. before this she will tell you of the hurried visit paid to us by herself. Mrs. G. and Olivia \* Our neices (Mrs. G. and Olivia) Mr. Powell leaves this on the 6th Aug. for the Eastern Circuit \* \* Mrs. Cartwright is on a visit to Dr. Strachan, she looks ill but her spirits are good; a

change of climate is recommended for her and her twins who are threatened with a malady so fatal to her numerous family. I think she will take them to Ireland with her daughter and son-in-law Capt. and Mrs. Dobbs.

[33rd Letter]

YORK, AUG. 12th.

My Dearest Brother

\* \* \* \* Mr. Powell is on the Circuit: you will be surprised to hear that I was gratified with a visit from our friend Mr. Clarke of Montreal, which though but a few hours was a satisfaction which I had never dared to contemplate; he came up with the Commissary General, dined with us, went to Niagara, returned on the steam boat, staid a few hours and returned to Kingston. Mr. Powell went by the same conveyance and by that means had the pleasure of his society, which was denied to me: you will readily imagine that we neither recognized the other, the loss of teeth and complexion prevented my immediately knowing my first Canadian friend, and you know the change effected on your sister by the long term of twenty-eight years during which period her couch has not been strewed with roses \* \* \* \*

I hear nothing from Col. Coffin but think the steamboat tomorrow will either bring him, or tidings of him. I am the more anxious to see him that we may learn what foundation the editor of the Albany Argus could have for the disgraceful paragraph respecting our Governor, I know the impetuosity of his Excellency's temper but cannot think it would lead him to merit the epithets so liberally or rather so. illiberally bestowed upon him; the more so as Mrs. Gore's unbounded influence is always exerted to calm undue irritation \* \* \*. We sat by a good fire the 8th and 9th of August.

[34th Letter]

YORK, AUG. 31st, 1817

My Dearest Brother

Mr. Powell is on Circuit still but lamenting that he had been persuaded that the business of the Court would occupy an unusual long period; by which means he has taken three weeks longer time than necessary. John is with him and he says will make a very profitable circuit as independent of liberal allowance for travelling expenses the Clerk of Assize has fees upon all Court causes.

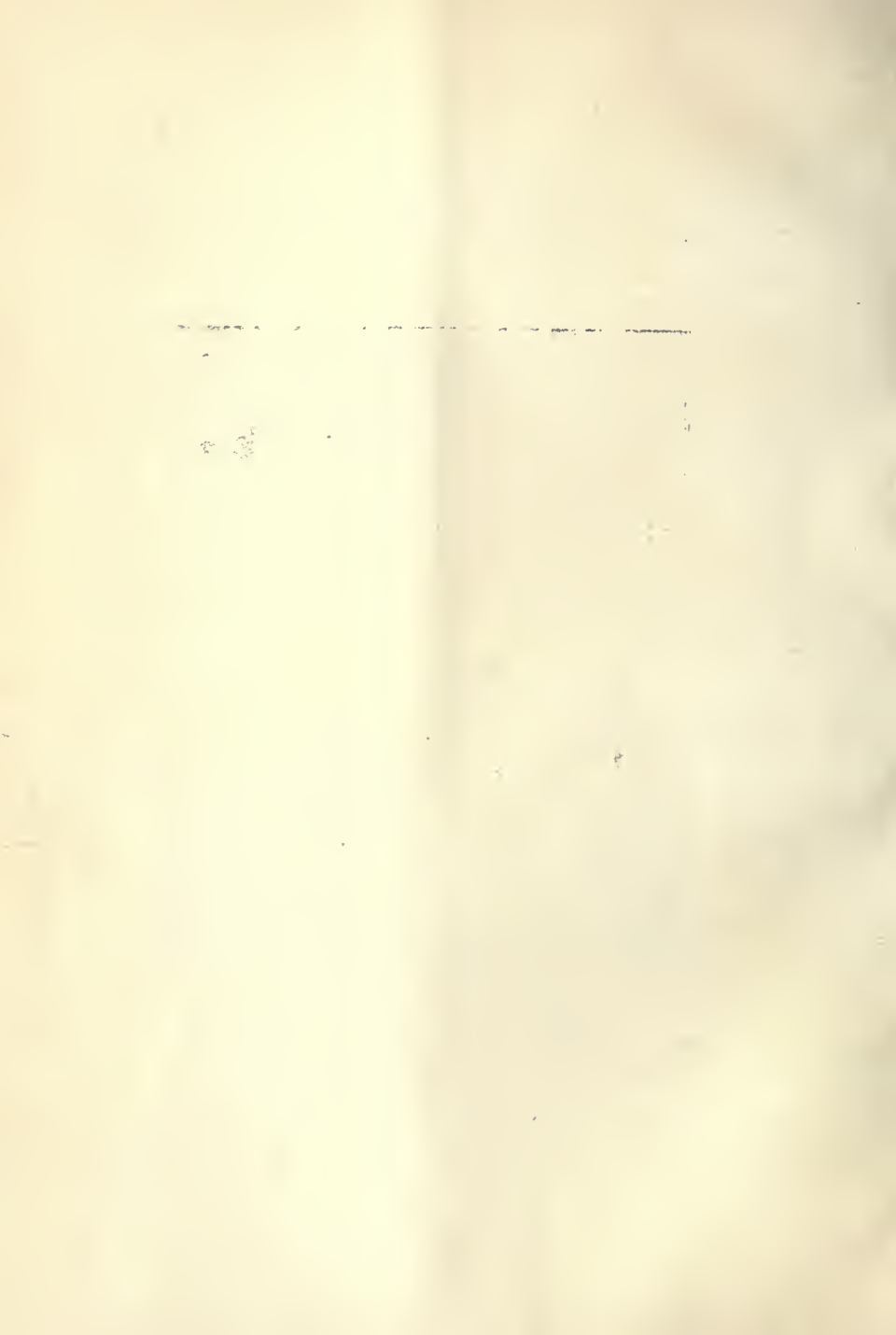
I have letters from our sister by the June packet \* \* \* a

7000-20



WILLIAM DUMMER POWELL,  
Chief Justice of Upper Canada.

From a portrait in possession of Æmilius Jarvis Esq. Toronto.



contested election has kept them all alive and she expresses much satisfaction at the proof it has given "that the influence of the Norfolk Democrat [William Cobbett] is less extensive than he and his friends have anticipated."

There is in the London papers eight o'clock in the morning an account of a new Governor appointed for this Province. Such intelligence must be premature as the Government will be Mr. Gore's as long as he chooses to retain it, the only possible foundation for this report may be a promise of the succession to Sir Peregrine Maitland if our Governor will accept of an equivalent at home, this is all he can desire and although his loss will be seriously regretted by his friends and all the well affected in the country, it would be selfish in them to wish he should lose an opportunity of securing permanent and more advantageous employment. Amongst his earliest friends and connexions we shall feel his loss, perhaps the more from his successor being a military man; few of that profession are well calculated for the duties of civil government. The gentleman named has lately married a daughter of the Duke of Richmond, her father is a strange man \* \*

We are gratified with a prospect of an abundant season and I think our whole family will be furnished this year with the produce of the country with as little money as our horses cost.

[35th Letter]

YORK, NOVEMBER 2ND, 1817.

My Dearest Brother

Yours by Mr. Robinson came to hand last evening as the delay of the steamboat had detained him ten days at Kingston, A thousand thanks to you for it and for the kind attention our young friend received during the few days he remained in your city, he is considered by us as a young man of uncommonly good talents and will in all likelihood be the head of the Bar in this Province, a distinction to which his Honour and integrity fully entitles him and it will ever be a satisfaction to me to reflect that Mr. Powell has been the means of bringing him forward for the benefit of the Province. (Afterwards Chief Justice Robinson.)

[36th Letter]

YORK, NOVEMBER 23RD, 1817.

My Dear Brother

Mr. Crookshank called yesterday to say he leaves this to-morrow for New York and kindly offered to be the bearer of any

letters. Mr. Powell therefore avails \* \* \* We were surprised a fortnight since by the marriage of Miss Crookshank to Dr. Macaulay. Mrs. M. you may remember to have seen just going to Quebec when you were here. She died and left a large and young family, of whom Miss C. has consented to receive a legal right to protect; it is for them a most happy occurrence and I trust her meritorious motive for becoming Mrs. M. will meet its reward not only in the consciousness of having done right, but in the enjoyment of domestic tranquillity. She has long lived in the possession of every elegant indulgence the world can give and was secured from losing them. Mrs. McGill must feel the loss of a sister whose cheerful activity rendered her essential to the comfort of the family. \* \* \* I have not written since we heard from the Governor of his intended resignation on the 1st Oct. I am truly grieved at the determination, indeed his friends are only consoled for their loss by the conviction of his being amply provided for at home; their rich and expensive furniture is now selling, few articles are in my means to purchase, you may judge of the rest when I tell you that a Library Table of Rosewood left with us to take care of is 48 Guineas. The dining tables are 72 guineas and everything in proportion. It gives Dr. Strachan an opportunity of furnishing his most elegant mansion which is the handsomest and largest house in the Province, ours, more humble but more suitable to my wants and wishes is not fitted for such expensive luxuries. \* \* \*

[37th Letter]

YORK, OCTOBER 19TH, 1817

My Dearest Brother

[Recites a sad case of desertion of a young woman by her husband and the fact that twins were born later, a little one of two years their eldest child Poor woman helped on her way to connections in New York who would send her home to her father a "Coal Meter" on the Thames and of course known to many shipmates. Deplores poor woman's helpless fate and sends a letter by her to Mr. Murray, proceeds thus] A society was yesterday established upon the basis of the original Scots Society, now termed the Friends to Strangers, the first donation was to this unfortunate woman. Eliza was requested by Dr. Strachan, the Treasurer, to give \$50 to her as the first donation of a society formed by her grandfather, no compliment could be more grateful to my filial reverence. Eliza and Mary with Col. Coffin stood spousors to the poor infants and this circumstance adds to the interest we take concerning her, Mrs Irvine \* \* \* Mr. Wood and Mr. G. Crookshank are



going in a few days to N.Y., on their way to England, we have had very severe frost but expect the Indian Summer will give us a few weeks of fine weather before winter.

[38th Letter]

YORK, DECEMBER 22ND, 1817.

My Dearest Brother

Mother's health is declining fast. Letters from Norwich to this effect as late as 30th Sept, [Mrs. Irvine seems not to have delivered the letter entrusted to her for Mr. Murray. Mrs. P. accounts for it \* \* \* she might have met her worthless husband and been obliged to submit to his control] \* \* \* Mr. Crookshank took long letters \* \* \* We hear that Charles Shaw and his wife spend the winter in your city. The October mail brings commissions or rather appointments to Mr. Boulton as Judge and Mr. Robinson as Attorney-General. It is a great advancement for a young man of 26, the situation is about £1800 stg. per annum.

[39th Letter]

YORK, 26th JAN, 1818

[Family matters. Praises a nephew for having erected a stone or mural tablet with very appropriate inscription over the remains of "our lamented John" Mr. Murray's only son] \* \* \* The late grievous news from England caused a universal shock to the people of the Province and doubtless throughout the whole British domains: it is a great national as well as domestic calamity; that heart must be hardened which does not sympathize with the survivor, rare and perfect domestic happiness subsisted between the Royal Pair: it is almost a solitary instance of a connexion in that rank of life being formed upon principles of affection and the choice of the parties: as a national loss it cannot be estimated. May Heaven avert the evils threatened by the unexpected visitation. [This event so much deplored was the death of the Princess Charlotte of Wales, the only child of the Prince Regent (George 4th) and the Princess of Brunswick (Queen Caroline) she was married on the 2nd May, 1816, to Leopold, Duke of Saxony, and Prince Saxe Cobourg and died in childbed the following year. Princess Charlotte was heir to the throne of England after the father's death] \* \* \* The Legislature meets the 5th Feb. and my cares begin.

[40th Letter]

YORK, FEB. 2ND, 1818.

My Dearest Brother

\* \* \* had I not wished to introduce to you Mr. Askin, of Detroit, the son of a gentleman whom while he lived we were in habits of intimacy and whose family have conferred various obligations to us. I believe Mr. Askin is in doubt whether he proceeds to Ireland or returns here. An estate at Strabane, in that country has fallen to him but some difficulty has arisen respecting the legality of those marriages where the ceremony was performed by the officer commanding at the post, and he will be guided by the opinions on this subject; he is an excellent young man \* \* \* [The orphan nieces at school in N.Y are expected to remember Mr. A. as the brother of their kind friend Mrs. McKee probably the wife of the Indian Agent at Detroit]

Grant's [Powell] annual duty commences on — and a few weeks finishes the employment for which he gets \$1,200 per annum. It is certainly great remuneration for brief attention, but it is not sufficient for his support and as he has declined practice [medical] in his profession he is endeavouring to obtain some addition; the difficulty of doing this is more obvious to others than himself for his father's situation prevents him from making those exertions to save his children which he has done heretofore \* \* \* \* The Governor writes that it is supposed Sir Peregrine Maitland will be his successor his lady is daughter to the Duke of Richmond and niece to Lady Bathurst. I hope their high rank will not induce them to consider the inhabitants of the Wilderness as an inferior race of beings: we have been so long accustomed to the condescending kindness of our regretted Governor and his excellent lady that reserve and hauteur would be ill received, however, we will hope that the higher the better bred. \* \* \* Improved health of Mrs. Cartwright and all the family except Capt Dobbs, who has never recovered a blow he received in the attack on Fort Erie.

[41st Letter]

YORK, MARCH 1st, 1818

My Dearest Brother

Wrote nearly a month ago by Mr. Chas Askins sent letter to him at Queenston find he has not yet left. Received the children's letters from Mr. Creighton who sent them from Fort George \* \* Mr. Bethune, the clergyman from Brockville, was re-

turning in a comfortable sleigh and Anne availed herself of such a favourable opportunity to pay her visit to Kingston the only moderate days between 29th Jan. and 26th Feb. Never have we known such a season, the day you say the thermometer was ° (zero) it was with us  $13^{\circ}$  at eight o'clock in the morning \* \* \* Mr. Chewett is very ill. I fear there are small hopes of his recovery.

[42nd Letter]

YORK, APRIL 1ST, 1818.

My Dearest Brother

Mary is just gone down to see Mrs. Boulton who had a little daughter born on the 26th \* \* Mr. Robinson is Attorney-General: his lady presented him with a son on the 27th, Mrs. R. is wonderfully well but the infant is puny \* \* With the exception of the last few days the weather for the last month has been delightful, but the streets are now almost impassable.

[43rd Letter]

YORK, APRIL 27TH, 1818.

My Dearest Brother

I would not reply to your kind favour of 20th March till this week \* I wished to announce that I have entered upon my 64th year in as good or better health than is usually enjoyed at that advanced period of life \* \* \* [The lady lived to be 92] I hope Charles Askin will see you. We look for Mr. Crookshank, common report has given him a wife \* \* \* Henry J. Boulton went down to the steamboat to bring up a lady; a Miss Jones of Brockville is by this time Mrs. Boulton. A fortnight's acquaintance in this place last winter terminated in an engagement now indissoluble \* \* We are glad to hear of Mrs. Irvine's good fortune and hope she is now near home.

[44th Letter]

YORK, 4TH MAY, 1818.

[Nothing of use]

[45th Letter]

[No date within, outward marked May.]

My Dearest Brother

You will be surprised to see Mr. Powell who is by this time I trust safely arrived \* \* Capt. Dobbs goes by N.Y. to France \* \* Mr. Powell will make those adjustments which cannot be so well ar-

ranged at a distance: the journey he has undertaken is arduous for his time of life but I hope it will \* \* settle business \* \* for years particularly irksome to his sister Warren. \* \* We have had the worst season ever experienced here, incessant cold rains till the last five days \* \* We have reason to fear its consequences from delay in sowing the summer crops.

[46th Letter]

YORK, JUNE 15TH, 1818.

My Dearest Brother

I cannot allow the daughter of our esteemed friends Mr. and Mrs. Cartwright to pass through N Y. without introducing her and Capt. Dobbs to your acquaintance \* \* Mrs. Grant Powell expects her sister the beginning of next winter, they come, six in a light waggon.

[47th Letter]

YORK, JUNE 23RD.

\* \* Mrs. Dobbs writes to Eliza that they have changed their route and go by Montreal to Dublin.

[48th Letter]

YORK, JULY 9TH, 1818.

[Private entirely]

[49th Letter]

YORK, AUGUST 3RD, 1818.

My Dearest Brother

\* \* Mary has consented to become the wife of Mr. Jarvis: it is possible the change in her situation may take place this autumn. We can have no personal objection to the connection but truly regret that \* \* has entailed difficulties upon a son who would have been perfectly equal to the support of a family. After being called to the Bar the young man to render the office respectable and productive relinquished his professional pursuits and devoted himself to official business: the father was urged to resign in his favour and by that means secure the reversion: the young man offering to assume all his father's debts if he would only make over his property to him: to the latter he consented but the delay of resignation rendered it ineffectual, \* \* \* some discussion with \* \* \* caused a fatal duel: \* the father died during the son's confinement and the established rule of our Gov-

ernment not to allow of an immediate succession in a family gave the Secretaryship to another. Devotion to the comfort of his widowed mother and to obtain education for his only unmarried sister with uniform exertion to conquer the embarrassments of his late father have united to abridge his means: he is now private Secretary to the Administration but as a few days will probably bring our new Governor this may cease: however it gives him a claim to some provision and I am satisfied that whatever can, will be done to serve him and I hope they may be enabled to form a decent establishment without being taxed with imprudence. Debts he never has and never will incur, a lesson has been taught him by witnessing the misery to which \* \* have been exposed by an indulgence in this unhappy propensity \* \* Except from Julia Claus's verbal intelligence I have had no intelligence respecting you, a letter from Anne on Saturday by Major Hillier, Sir Perigrine Maitland's A.D.C. she was at Woolwich on a visit at Col. Pilkington's \* \* expect the new Governor the day after to-morrow \* \* the heat has been beyond anything ever experienced here, the thermometer has been as high as 112 in the shade on the north side of the house and although that was only for one day its effects were very seriously felt, the mornings and evenings are now so cool that \* \* expect much sickness \* \* Tell Anne that on Saturday evening Capt. Atty was married to Miss Eliza Crookshank. They go by N. Y. to New Brunswick in the coming month \* \* Charlotte Shaw is to stay with Mr. McGill, Mrs. Fuller is dead and Mrs. Shaw has retired to Oak Hill with her two orphan nephews.

\* (This was one of the famous duels in early times here, and was fought July 12th, 1817, between Samuel Peters Jarvis and John Bidout, the latter was killed, and the former imprisoned for some time. J. C.)

[50th Letter]

YORK, SEPT. 6TH, 1818

My Dearest Brother

Yours of the 10th August was 21 days on its way  
+ + Mr Powell is now on the Western Circuit, the last commission opens to-morrow at Sandwich, when his presence could not be dispensed with, as the cause between Lord Selkirk and the North West company comes before the court + + I have had the honor of seeing Lady Sarah Maitland and found her a most unaffected woman perfectly affable and desiring to be on easy terms of ac-

quaintance with us all; the Duke of Richmond and his family are to be at Kingston to-day on their way up. I understand that the same affability marks the manners of His Grace and the Lords and Ladies who are his children. The Duchess is not come out. 7th. I wrote thus far before church yesterday, amidst the alterations and improvements of this thriving place, we are enlarging and embellishing our church and it bids fair when finished to be a decent place of worship: at present we assemble in the lecture room. Anne \* \* \* had paid a visit to Weymouth and the tribute of paternal affection in a spot rendered sacred to us by the ever lamented and beloved youth \* \* \* She dined with the clergyman lately appointed who had that morning seen and admired the inscription and was surprised to meet with one so deeply interested in him whose memory it commemorates \* \*

[51st Letter]

YORK, OCT. 2ND, 1818.

My Dearest Brother

Your niece Mary last evening assumed the certain cares and doubtful comforts of conjugal life and early this morning left us to proceed to Queenston where Mr. Jarvis has taken an house and finds a fair prospect of professional success \* \* They are to be at Burlington to-night and remain there two or three days with his sister Mrs. Geo. Hamilton \* \* Mr Powell is just now particularly engaged as the Governor returned last evening from a visit to the Western part of the province, which he commenced the morning of the day on which Mr. P. returned from the circuit. I think it is probable that Grant may obtain an appointment which will add 4 or 500 dollars per annum to his income \* \* The season here has been particularly favourable for invalids, mild and dry weather for the last two months \* \*

[52nd Letter]

YORK, 8th Nov, 1818

My Dearest Brother

[Letters sent by Mr. Stephen Jarvis returned undelivered. Money matters] \* \*

At present it is impossible to speak to him on any business other than legal or political, the last three weeks have been incessantly occupied by such an accumulation of duties that I have dreaded the consequence, the Legislature: Assizes: Executive Coun-

cil and the Term have entirely engrossed his time sometimes from eight o'clock in the morning till ten at night with no other refreshment than a sandwich and a glass of lemonade. \* \* \* Our great people are very pleasant, her ladyship particularly: the Governor is very reserved but I believe a most excellent man: we have dined once, been at two evening parties and are to dine on Wednesday next:—their style of entertainment is plain and handsome, no affectation of fashion in defiance of comfort \* \* \* I suppose you have seen accounts of the trial at Sandwich, or rather of the conduct of the Grand Jury who prevented them: and I trust will consider the assertions respecting Mr. Powell as the production of an infamous agent of one of the parties: no human being is more free from partiality in his judicial character.

[53rd Letter]

[No Date]

Marked outside 1ST DEC., 1818.

[Chiefly Private]

Mr Wm. Jarvis went to N.Y. with his grandfather, Dr. Peters; who lives in the Bowery: if Mrs. W. Powell had the ingenuity to give him the address of her daughters his return will afford an opportunity to write \* \* \* I see the Exchange Coffee House in Boston is burned down \* \* \*

[54th Letter]

1819.

[Private]

\* \* \* to keep a dinner engagement previously made at Govt. House: these invitations are not extensive: therefore we have been frequently honoured by receiving them: Sir Peregrine and her ladyship are most superior and estimable characters, but neither of them in the enjoyment of good health—the only apparent interruption to the most perfect domestic happiness. \* \*

[55th Letter]

YORK, FEBRUARY 27TH, 1819.

[Entirely Private]

[56th Letter]

YORK, MARCH 15TH, 1819.

[Chiefly Private]

\* \* \* We have for the last fortnight experienced all

the rigours of winter, the sleighing never was better and the thermometer at 7 this morning was  $\frac{0}{2}$  an unusual degree of cold so near the Equinox. Mary and her beloved have been with us the last three weeks. They came over in a vessel and to-morrow leave us in their carriole, the schooner which takes over their baggage is fast in the ice which extends beyond the Garrison. \* \* \*

[57th Letter]

YORK, APRIL 6TH, 1819.

[Private]

[58th Letter]

YORK, APRIL 26TH, 1819.

[Private]

[59th Letter]

YORK, MAY 17TH, 1819.

[Private Chiefly]

\* \* The Provincial Legislature meets the 7th June which is only three weeks from this day and from that till the middle of September \* \* \* duties occupy instant attention \* \*

[60th Letter]

YORK, 31ST May, 1819.

[Private]

[61st Letter]

[From Mary B. Powell one of the orphan daughters of Mr. William D. Powell \* and who was brought up by the paternal grandfather. The letter is addressed to Mrs. Geo. Murray, New York, the children, Anne and Mary having returned to their home after several years at Miss English's boarding school New York]

[YORK, AUG. 15th, 1819

My dear aunt

As the steamboat goes to-day at one o'clock I will write a few lines by it \* \* \* as the weather has been uncommonly warm: for two or three days the heat has been dreadful and uncle Grant who went to Queenston with aunt Eliza says that it is much worse there. The Duke of Richmond has been here and is gone



further north with the Governor, he left his family which consists of ladies Mary Louisa Lenuox and Lord William, who have been here some time, they are going over to-day to meet the Duke who they expect to return by way of Niagara. Lady Louisa is only sixteen, she is thought to be a little like Anne. Lord William called here the other day but we were all unfortunately gone to the Humber, although we see him almost every day when we ride, which is the fashion here to ride every afternoon, and Grandmama does it as she thinks it is good for her [In a carriage is meant] I have been to ride on horseback very often and am very fond of it Grandpapa goes the circuit to-day. \* \* \*

[62nd Letter]

YORK, AUG. 2nd, 1819

My Dearest Brother

\* \* \* Mr. Powell has been at Niagara since the 13th The Assizes commenced on the 16th and I am anxious to know how he supported the heat of a crowded court (the summer intensely hot and Mr. P. unwell, when the thermometer was 92 in the shade. The trial of Gourlay \* for sedition, has, I understand, collected a vast concourse of people as well from the State of New York as from different parts of the Province. It was to come on yesterday and we shall hear the result to-day or to-morrow. The letter respecting the Emigrant who had come to York was sent to him by Grant, who had seen him sign his name to an affidavit the day it arrived \* \* \* Mary is with her aunt at evening church. They go at ten in the morning to the Sunday School where each has a class, from that to church, return at two o'clock to the school, and return home after evening service to a five o'clock dinner. [This is an old English custom of reading Evening Prayers in the afternoon and holding no service in the evening. In large towns evening service began to be necessary instead of the afternoon hour and the custom spread]

*Dant's*

\* (In Dant's history of the Rebellion this trial is described very graphically, the Court House, the prisoner, the lawyers, the witnesses, the judge. See page 9-15, Vol. 1. J. C.)

[63rd Letter]

QUEENSTON, SEPT 7TH 1819

My Dearest Brother

A very heavy calamity has cast a gloom over all reflecting minds in this Province: the account of our irreparable loss in

the death of the Duke of Richmond arrived at York two days before I left it. The Governor was absent and this sad event had not even at that time been communicated to his excellent daughter its effects upon her delicate constitution were dreaded by all who know her unbounded affection for her father, who, most unduly attached to all his children, had ever been wrapt up in this darling daughter: as the energetic promoter of all good in and to these provinces his Grace will be long and deeply regretted; indeed to promote the welfare of the Country committed to his care, he has sacrificed his valuable life. \* \* \* the knowledge that had he been within the reach of medical aid his life might have been preserved is an aggravation to affliction. Depending upon his own excellent constitution and great physical strength he neglected the means of preservation and died in a wretched hovel in an almost pathless wilderness unattended by any of his numerous family, three of whom had separated from him at Kingston in the vain hope of again embracing him in Montreal: a march of 20 miles under a burning sun brought on hydrophobia and a few hours terminated a life which he resigned in full possession of his mental faculties, and with the most perfect resignation to the will of the Almighty. \* \* \*

[64th Letter]

YORK, SEPT. 9TH, 1819

Powell]

[Announces birth of a dead child to Mrs. Jarvis (nee)

[65th Letter]

YORK SEPT 19th 1819

My Dearest Brother

[Mrs. J. recovering] Mr. Powell leaves home  
next Friday to hold the Assizes at Newcastle \* \* \*

[61st Letter]

YORK OCT 10TH 1819.

My Dearest Brother

\* \* \* The Consul from New Ycrk and his daughters dined with us on Wednesday \* \* \* all of us were much pleased with the Miss Buchanans \* \* \* They go home by Montreal. 11th Have just received our revered aunt's letter forwarded by you \* \* \* I suppose the parcel which is Mrs. Philan's Poem contains letters. + \* +



Hannah Owen Peters, wife of Wm. Jarvis, Secretary of U.C.  
Maria Lavinia Jarvis, afterwards Mrs. Geo. Hamilton.  
Augusta Jarvis, afterwards Mrs. T. McCormack.  
From a portrait in possession of Æmilius Jarvis Esq. Toronto.



67th Letter]

YORK, OCT 31st, 1819

[Private]

[68th Letter]

YORK, NOV. 22nd 1819

My dear aunt

\* \* \* I am sure you will be very sorry to hear of the death of poor Mrs. McGill. She has been ill for a long time and no one expected that she would recover. She died on Saturday night in consequence of a mortification having taken place. She was so much better two days before when Anne and I were there with Grandmama that poor old Mrs. McGill seemed quite in high spirits and Dr. Widmere, who attended her, said, he thought there might be some hope, which made her death appear a greater shock. Her loss will be very much felt, she was so much beloved and respected, and I do not think anyone will feel it more than Grandmama, who has known her for so many years. The funeral will be tomorrow \* \* \*

[69th Letter]

YORK, JAN. 18th, 1820

My Dearest Brother

\* \* \* the gentleman who takes the letters. He is the Major of the 68th, who has been Commandant at this post for some time and is on his way to join his family in Ireland. [Major Gladstone] \* \* \*

[70th Letter]

YORK, MARCH, 10th, 1820

My Dearest Brother

\* \* \* The Assembly was prorogued yesterday and we are left to the care of an Administrator. Sir Peregrine set off for Quebec this morning and we shall in all probability see him no more till the arrival of Lord Dalhousie, an event greatly desired by all who feel the importance of the presence of our excellent Governor and the pleasure of Lady Sarah's society, indeed their return will be satisfactory to me on that as well as other accounts, for during the Governor's absence Mr. Powell's station obliges him to see all strangers who come to the place \* \* \* Anxious for intelligence from home the change here occasions the Government Bag to go to Halifax and by land to Quebec therefore the various impediments increase the

length of time after its arrival \* \* \* When Mr. Jarvis was in New York he brought some very excellent cotton stockings at \$7 or \$7½ per doz. I very much want 2 doz. of that description, he does not remember where he purchased them only that it was in some bye lane. I likewise send a pattern of silk, begging my sister to procure if possible a full gown pattern of figured silk of the same or nearly the same color [pattern is a thin flat sarsnet of a dark dove grey] If none such can be had a nankeen figured crape of the colour—if neither of these, a black figured silk or black figured nankeen crape, about 13 yards each of two different kinds of washing silks for the children and if they can be put into a box a doz pairs of white and as many cheap coloured long gloves, it will save me many dollars in the course of the year \* \* \* Mr. P. has got through his late arduous duties wonderfully well; he is now enveloped in papers and much engaged in reading the documents laid before the Parliament relative to the contest between the Northwest Company and the Earl of Selkirk: it has fallen to his lot to prove the want of dependence on his Lordship's veracity, and the proofs are too well authenticated to admit of doubt: his Lordship sunk the character of the British Peer when he became a speculator and the loss of health peace and credit is the sacrifice \* \* \*

\* (Poor Lord Selkirk who fought so bravely through so many years against multiplied misfortunes, dangers and difficulties, floods frosts and famine, Indians, grasshoppers, Northwest Company, in his attempt to found a colony and who spent a fortune in the attempt is here rather harshly spoken of. Dent. Dr. Boyce and Kingsford give varying accounts and a pamphlet printed in 1817 in London gives the North West Company's version of the story. J. C.)

[71st Letter]

YORK, APRIL, 5th, 1820

[Chiefly Private]

\* \* \* I enclose a memorandum from Mr. Cameron, who is Mr. Gore's agent here. The Irons mentioned are most stupendous and magnificent but only calculated to be placed at the corner of stone or marble steps to adorn: they cost 70 guineas in England and I do not wonder at our good friend's anxiety to know their fate: and I hope you will be able to ascertain it \* \* \*

[72nd Letter]

[From Miss Anne Powell to her uncle Mr. G. W. Murray New York. Private, painful affairs, dated on outside York, April, 1820] Rec'd. 27th.]

[73rd Letter]

York, April 10th, 1820

My Dearest Brother

\* \* \* January Packet, the affairs of Europe are in a state of ferment the effects will not reach us I trust. \* \* \*

[74th Letter]

YORK, MAY 29TH, 1820.

My Dearest Brother

[Condolence in sad misfortunes] Mr. P. bids me say that could you relinquish the employment which has produced nought else than disappointment and distresses of various descriptions and become an inhabitant of this happy and prosperous country where industry meets its certain tho' slow reward, 1000 acres of the best land he possesses shall become yours with every aid his station in the Govt. affords \* \* \* the sacrifice to you would be greater than my imagination suggests but the transition from a life of care and keen disappointment to the calm and natural avocations of an agriculturist would perhaps reward it by the restoration of peace and the preservation of health, a finer climate or more delightful country is not within the king's dominions, and say the dissatisfied what they may there is not in the world a more equal government, but this you know as well without my information and it would be to me a source of heartfelt comfort could I be satisfied that political prejudices had so far subsided as to overcome every objection to becoming what you are by birthright a British Subject. If I err pardon me \* \* \* You know the high estimation in which I hold this privilege and will forgive my earnest desire that all whom I love should share the blessing \* \*

[75th Letter]

YORK, JULY 13TH, 1820.

[Private]

[76th Letter]

QUEENSTON, AUG. 23RD, 1820.

Announces birth of a son to the Jarvises, the mother doing well]

[77th Letter]

YORK, OCT. 14TH. 1820.

[Private]

[78th Letter]

YORK, NOV. 27TH, 1820.

My Dearest Brother

\* \* \* A large party at the Government house on the 23rd where the At Home which is a dress visit of half an hour was transformed into a Ball and Supper and kept us up till between 2 and 3 in the morning, the increase of our Society would surprise you, there were more than thirty well dressed Females and more than a dozen absent, my little girls, [the orphan grandchildren] particularly my dear Mary, were delighted with the party, and well they might for they receive the kindest attention from Sir Peregrine and Lady Sarah.

[79th Letter]

YORK, DEC. 21ST, 1820.

[Private. The Jarvises removed from Queenston to Niagara for some little time].

[80th Letter]

YORK, JAN. 10TH, 1821.

My Dearest Brother

Mr. P. is quite well it is now Term time and his more serious labours begin on the 31st when the Legislature meets I wish it was over for it is no trifling consideration that for the next two months I shall have to prepare twice a week to entertain the members of the two Houses, whose united number is at least fifty. Do not suppose I can receive them all at one time, unfortunately my dining room admits of a table for no more than 16 of which our own family are 6.—The House of Assembly is the Brick building which you may remember at the extreme end of the town; it is now repaired after its being burned by the Americans, handsomely furnished, and Grant as Clerk of the Lower House occupies five good apartments besides a large kitchen; it saves him house rent but is attended by inconveniences which he will feel during the confinement of his wife in February or March. John [Powell] has similar apartments at which he stays during the session. Mr. Jarvis is Clerk in Chancery and as such attends the house. He will stay with us. Mary wisely determined to remain at home \* \* \* the season has been a very severe one but some pleasant weather, good sleighing. Everything here is cheap beyond belief: My servant just brought from market a Turkey weighing 15 lbs. which cost 5/ N.Y Cy. I have paid \$2 for one of 5 lbs. the finest pork is \$4 and 4½ per cwt. Flour be-



tween 3 and 4 dollars a barrel. Beef has been as low as 3d per lb, yet servants' wages are as high as ever, ours stand us in \$40 per month and the washing done out of the house. It is a sum which ought to maintain a regular family. \* \* \*

[81st Letter]

YORK, FEB. 1st, 1821.

My Dearest Brother

\* \* \* My annual labours commence this day which is the first Parliamentary dinner, the House met yesterday and by direction of the Governor the Commons chose their speaker. His Excellency meets and speaks to them to morrow. The Upper House dine with us to-day \* \* \* I hope, without expecting, a short session, for the increase of population has nearly doubled the representation and the Legislative Councillors have experienced an equal augmentation, discussions may be therefore expected.

[82nd Letter]

YORK, APRIL 17TH, 1821.

[Private]

Cold and snow, ague very prevalent.

[83rd Letter]

YORK, JUNE 24th, 1821.

[Private]

[84th Letter]

YORK, AUG. 15th, 1821

My Dearest Brother

Our young friend Mr. William Robinson, brother of the Attorney General \* \* \* The intense heat of weather for nearly the last fortnight has been almost too much to endure \* \* \* I feel to-day all the effects of a night more resembling those I have passed in Alexandria, Egypt, than the general climate of Upper Canada. The drought has been equal to the heat but we shall be rewarded for our discomfort by an abundant harvest of the finest grain housed without even a shower; the great addition to our population by numbers of hungry emigrants will furnish consumers of this overflow of bread-stuff for in that alone our abundance consists. The duties levied on provisions from the States leaves us at the mercy of the Butchers who are strangers to that virtue.

I wish you could see our garden, it abounds in fruit and vegetables of the very best kind \* \* \* the alarming indisposition of our darling Sam [the Jarvis baby named after his grandfather, Rev.

[86th Letter]

YORK, OCT. 4TH, 1821.

[Entirely private]

[87th Letter]

YORK, OCT. 15TH, 1821.

[Entirely private]

[88th Letter]

YORK, DEC. 1ST, 1821.

My Dearest Brother

Mr. Powell's labours commenced on the 21st when at an unusually early period the Legislature was called together, 2nd Dec.

In the midst of all these causes of anxiety I have been obliged to do what under other circumstances would have been a matter of choice and source of amusement, attend a Coronation Ball given at the Govt. House, as soon as the farcical mourning for our unlamented Queen expired: it was numerous and splendid: between 150 and 200 people present, a proof of the increase of Society here at present augmented by the members of the Legislature.

[Copying ended 13th May, 1897.]

Samuel Peters] \* \* \* Eliza says I must have a black satin or black figured silk gown. Neither can be got here. Mr. Robinson would take charge of so small a parcel for me \* \*

[85th Letter]

YORK, SEPT. 11TH, 1821.

My Dearest Brother

\* \* \* The season is very sickly and appears totally different to those we used to experience \* \* \* excessive heat and drought succeeded by almost constant rains \* \* I fear for their effect on Mr. P. who is now I imagine on his way to Sandwich, where he holds the Assizes on the 13th, he has gone in our commodious covered wagon with four horses, which affords room for J. Powell who accompanies him; he is sometimes half inclined to give up these annual journeys but while the fatigue is not too great I encourage him to take the advantage of air, exercise and change of scene, there is no emolument now attending them for the allowance is seldom equal to the expense, it being now no greater when there are seven courts than when there were but three \* \* \* Mary would be pleased to introduce you to her Humming Bird which has been the pet for some weeks and appears satisfied with its captivity \* \*

(Additional light has been cast upon the reference to the son in prison on page one also referred to on page three as "My poor Jerry" by a letter from Æmilius Jarvis, Esq., who kindly gives the following information which is quite romantic obtained from a bundle of letters relating to Jeremiah Powell. It appears that he went away at an early age and joined a ship in Baltimore which proved to be owned by the Spanish pirate Mirando. He was ultimately captured and sentenced to be hanged with the rest of the crew. The old Chief Justice travelled over to England and thence to Spain and pleaded his son's case before the Spanish Court and was successful in obtaining his pardon, returning home with his son, who subsequently went to sea again and was never heard of. Mr. Jarvis still owns a little oak box and a few pieces of the set of chessmen which were carved by him while a prisoner in Spain. He sent them to a young lady in Boston, to whom he was engaged to be married. Years afterwards and after his death she sent them to Mrs. S. P. Jarvis his sister. J. C.)

(Mrs. Curzon's death occurred in little more than a year after copying the above letters. Her literary work had been carried on in spite of failing health almost to the last. The following tribute to her memory by the pen of the present writer may perhaps fittingly close this page written in loving memory of Mrs. S. A. Curzon, who so carefully copied the foregoing letters. The obituary notice which was written immediately after her lamented death appeared as Historical No. 82.)

By the death of Mrs. Curzon of Toronto, Canada has sustained a loss which will long be felt. An English woman, she was one of the earliest pioneers in historical research in Canada, an author, she was a loving mother and an excellent housekeeper, an advocate of Woman's Suffrage, her gracious presence showed the true lady, holding strong views on one side of politics, she antagonized none, with a frail frame she had a high courage enduring trials and difficulties of no ordinary character, she was not embittered by them but supported through all by strong Christian principle and faith in the unseen.

Born in England in 1833 she has lived in Toronto since 1862. In early years she wrote for various English magazines and afterwards in her adopted home, for the Canadian Monthly, The Week, Dominion Illustrated, Canadian Magazine etc. Her drama of Laura Secord may be said to have made the Canadian world acquainted with that heroine, and the course of historic research thus begun may be said to have been the origin of several historical Societies. For some time she was the co-editor of the Citizen and did much by her

pen to secure the right to women of a University education. She was also a strong advocate of Woman's Suffrage, to her was chiefly due the formation of the Woman's Historical Society, of which she was the first President. She was also an honorary member of the York Pioneers and the Woman's Art Assembly, and a member of the National Council of Women. "One of the cleverest, she was also one of the sweetest of women," are the appropriate words of a Toronto journalist. Another noted poet attributes to her a "virility of style, a strength and energy to be found in the work of no other Canadian woman." Another beautiful feature of character was the encouragement given by her to young writers, her example proving a strong incentive to many to follow in her steps. By birth and refinement a true gentlewoman in the highest sense of the term, she worked with wonderful energy for the rights, not only of her sex, but for the improvement of her adopted country, so that Canada has by her death sustained irreparable loss. Her lines on Queenston Heights show a grasp of thought, a sympathy, a patriotic fervor which recommend them to all lovers of poetry, as well as lovers of their country. Her modest signature S.A.C. will be much missed in the periodicals formerly graced by her ready pen.

At her funeral the different Societies to which she belonged, united to do her honor. Canon Bull represented Lundy's Lane Historical Society, Mr. and Mrs. Brant-Sero, Westworth Historical Society, J. H. Thompson, the York Pioneers, Lady Edgar and others, the Women's Historical Society, and many testified by their presence and their sorrow their appreciation of one who gave gratuitously and with no stinted hand, so much labor to the Canada she loved. J. C.



ANN VANSICKLE,  
Wife of D. W. Miller.



WILLIAM DUFF MILLER.



## WILLIAM DUFF MILLER

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It is the intention of the Society to publish from time to time as opportunity may offer short notices of early inhabitants of the town. There have been already more or less full accounts of several families in the township as Servos, Ball, Whitmore, Field, McFarland as found in our publications numbers five, eight, eleven, but there has been little mention of any of our chief townsmen such as Heron, Crooks, Grier, Dickson, Clench, Rogers, Muirhead, Lockhart. It is hoped that any who can help in this direction will do so. The name found at the head of this article may be seen again and again in early papers of the town and even down to a period in the memory of many now living, Col W. D. Miller is remembered as having filled many offices and always with honor as Secretary of many societies, Registrar for many years, Coroner, County Clerk, Merchant, Elder of St. Andrew's Church, as Militia Officer etc., all this shows in what esteem he was held and how trusted, and of his numerous descendants many have sustained the honor of the father's name.

Born in 1786 of Scottish parentage, nearly his whole life was spent in Canada. The name W. D. Miller appears as Ensign in the Lincoln Militia in 1812 and he afterwards reached the rank of Lt.-Colonel although from his retiring nature he never wished the title to be used in addressing him as so many do.

His youngest daughter, Mrs. Wilson, remembers distinctly that when a little girl she went with him on the 4th of June (Training Day) to Chippawa, as having lived there first he retained his position of Colonel of the regiment long after he had removed to Niagara. Mrs. Wynn, the eldest daughter who died at Niagara, aged 90, was born at Chippawa in 1809, while Richard Miller, another child was born in Niagara in 1817 in what is now called "The Wilderness" now occupied by W. H. J. Evans, then owned by Col. Wm Claus. Mrs. Wilson tells that while the residence on M'ry Street of her father was being built her mother planted trees chiefly willows, and that she was assisted by Col. Claus, the young trees being taken

from "The Wilderness." Immense willows still stand in the low ground of this picturesque spot, a tall Balm of Gilead also and many sycamores. Here Capt. Geale used to tell he remembered seeing the whole enclosure filled with Indians as Col. Claus was the Deputy Superintendent of Indians as Daniel Claus the son-in-law of Sir William Johnson had also held this position. In the map of the town in 1813 given in Lossing's War of 1812, the place is marked Claus property.

In the Gleaner Newspaper published at Niagara from 1817 to 1837 the name of W. D. Miller is frequently found, as in 1828 W. D. Miller advertises the Sunday School Union, and in 1830 he has received a number of S. S. books from the Depository at Montreal to be sold at prime cost, and in another issue a reward of £25 is offered for the discovery of the robber who has stolen £300 from the store of W. D. Miller, showing that an extensive business was carried on. The obituary notice in a Niagara paper, written probably by his pastor, the late Rev. Chas. Campbell, gives some interesting particulars.

"Died at Niagara Feb. 18th, 1859, aged 73, William Duff Miller, Inspector and Dep. Clerk of the Crown and Pleas, a resident of the frontier about 57 years and of the town upwards of 50 years. The office of Deputy Clerk he filled for over 30 years with great care and skill. Royalty and Loyalty were his guiding stars, to his church (the Auld Kirk) he has been a pillar for many years. Conciliatory and urbane in manner consistent in conduct, a pious member of the community, an efficient public officer both in a civil and military capacity, a firm friend, his memory will not soon fade. He delighted to relate the Great Napoleon's visit to Egypt, his warm reception by the British forces and his sudden departure. The deceased leaves a large family brought up to strict business habits, engaged in active and lucrative pursuits with distinction and honor."

In the old record book of St. Andrew's Church dating from 1794 the deceased is thus in stately periods recorded. "Who for the long period of half a century had been a most valuable member taking on all occasions a deep interest and acting a faithful part in the temporal and spiritual affairs of the church, being one of that little company of excellent men (himself the last survivor) that during a lengthened probation of trial and suffering arising chiefly from the want of regular ministerial services managed and kept together the Presbyterian congregation of Niagara when in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty nine, their laudable efforts were at last rewarded by the Church of Scotland's ordaining and inducting a minister to the pastorate; the deceased the following year on the completion of the ecclesiastical organization of the congregation to church



ordinances was ordained to the Eldership, which office he worthily and actively filled to the day he rested from his labors."

In the frame building which still stands in good preservation, a large family was brought up, the wife and mother as shown by St. Andrew's old Record Book of 1794, was Ann Vansickle, remembered as a notable housekeeper, there were seven sons and five daughters, the eldest born in 1809, the youngest in 1832. The obituary notices to several of the family have been found and these show how the careful training of the sons by the father and mother had had such excellent results.

"Died at Galt Judge Miller, in his 81st year, almost the last of seven sons who made their mark in the history of Canada. Born in 1810, no less than three of the brothers William, John and Richard studied law achieving distinction. He leaves W. A. Miller, Q.C., Toronto, Henry Miller, Galt, Mrs. Z. A. Lash, Mrs. J. B. Lash, Miss Carrie Miller. The bar of the County of Waterloo passed a resolution referring to his manly, upright character, his able, upright and painstaking conduct as judge which won the respect and confidence of the people."

"Died at Galt, John Miller, aged 56, born in the District of Niagara, in 1813, educated at Niagara Grammar School, at seventeen years of age he entered the office of Judge Campbell, Niagara, and went to Galt in 1835, where his business was large and remunerative and he gained the confidence and favor of the community. He was the pioneer lawyer of Galt.

"Died in St. Catharines, aged 56, Richard Miller, Q.C., born at Niagara 1817 in "The Wilderness". He studied law with the late Judge Campbell and became his partner, removed to St. Catharines in 1850, Mr. Boomer being his partner. In his long career at the bar he gained a reputation for probity second to none, his integrity was unquestioned, kind hearted and considerate he handled with care and prudence alike the estate of the poor man and that of a millionaire. Peace to his ashes. The members of the bar attended the funeral and there were 60 carriages in the cortege."

"Died aged 71, at Peoria, Ill., Duncan Miller, M.D., born in 1827 in Niagara, he was predeceased by his six brothers

Mrs Wynn died at Niagara aged 90.

A son of John Miller an M. D., died in California, the next son Judge Miller died in Winnipeg.

A son of Mrs Lash is a lawyer in Toronto and Prof. Miller of the University is the Judge's grandson.

Mr. Miller was a lover of books as shewn by the large collection he had gathered (many of them of a religious nature)

and his care in preserving these as well as the early newspapers of that time. Several volumes of the Gleaner newspaper for the years 1826 to 1833 are still in existence and these as well as other books show his methodical habits, his love of reading and his love of music. A very good water color portrait by Hoppner Meyer a noted artist of that date represents a younger man than does the picture which appears on page 41. Many interesting articles have been contributed to the Historical Room by Mrs. J. E. Wilson, Toronto, the youngest daughter and the only surviving child.

"Ducit Amor Patriæ"

# Niagara Historical Society

NO. 15



**SIR ISAAC BROCK  
THE COUNT DE PUISAYE**

**1907**



**PRICE 20 CENTS.**

**Times Print, Niagara.**

## PREFACE

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Our fifteenth publication is offered to the members of our Society and the general public in the belief that a favorable reception will be accorded it as these papers read before other Societies have been frequently asked for. It is well that we should honor the name of Sir Isaac Brock and we are glad that steps are being taken to keep before the youth of our country the names of our great men whether in arms, in art, in literature or in statesmanship. The Count de Puisaye, a notable character in French history as well as in our Canadian annals may be called the pioneer of literature in Niagara, indeed in Upper Canada, as he commenced writing his History of the French Revolution while living in his home on the banks of the Niagara river in 1801. It has been found since the printing of this publication that he married his first wife in 1788, she being the only daughter of Marquis de Manilles of large property in Normandy.

It is our sad duty to publish obituary notices of two esteemed contributors to our publications and members of our Society, our Patron, Wm. Kirby, F.R.S.C., and Mrs. Greene whose work may be found in pamphlets 8 and 13.





COCKED HAT OF GEN. BROCK.



SIR ISAAC BROCK.

# SIR ISAAC BROCK

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Paper Read Before York Pioneers, 1st May, 1906, and before  
Niagara Historical Society May 14th, by Janet Carnochan.

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The Hero of Upper Canada! His fame has been declared so often and in so many different ways. By the tears of the people he gave his life to save, by the pen of his biographers, by the honors paid by his sovereign, by the pages of history, by military despatches, by the column raised by the province and by the second still more stately column, overlooking the spot where he fell. But what shall we find fresh to say since so many have written and written, too, so well? The first Life and Correspondence, by his nephew, F. B. Tupper, written in 1845, the second edition in 1847 with additional material, the sketch by Dent in Canadian Portraits, the Life and Times, by our old friend, D. B. Read, and the last life by Lady Elgar with the various histories of Canada, by Christie, Kingsford, Hannay, from these you must all be familiar with the life of Sir Isaac Brock, and it would almost seem superfluous to try to say more. My paper will not be a history of his times and consequently of Canada during his life, nor will it be a technical and accurate account of the battles in which he engaged, but what I have been able to glean of Brock himself. I have always tried in an historical paper to introduce little personal items as a relief and thus avoid the deadly dullness which often tries the patience of those attending historical meetings. But after ninety years such personal items are not easy to find, yet a few have been gathered from far different sources. More attention has always been given to Brock as a soldier than in any other capacity, but I should like to dwell not only on the man of war, but the statesman, the friend, the brother, the athlete, the student, the man of the world, the Christian, for in all these he shines and never has the slightest word appeared against his character, in all his chequered career in many lands,

whether in his native Isle of Guernsey, in Barbadoes and Jamaica, in Holland, Denmark, in England or Canada, whether as general or administrator of the Government, always and everywhere brave and generous, gentle, stern, yet mild, a man of integrity, a thorough gentleman.

The Brocks may well be called a military family and many of them bravely met the fate of those who fight for their country either in the army or navy, and others met with violent or sudden deaths. It is very remarkable that of eight brothers of this family, no male descendant of the name is now in existence. The eldest brother, John, Colonel of the 81st Regiment, was killed in a duel at the Cape of Good Hope; the second brother, Ferdinand, lieutenant in the 60th Regiment, was killed at Baton Rouge; a nephew midshipman, Chas. Tupper, was drowned; Lt. E. W. Tupper, killed in action in Greece. One died of fever in Jamaica, another, Col. Tupper, slain in action in the Chilian service; another of the 5th Bengal Infantry, killed in action; still another died in Bermuda and John G. Tupper perished at sea.

Isaac Brock, born 6th Oct., 1769, at St. Peter's Port, Guernsey was the eighth son of John Brock and Elizabeth de Lisle. There were in the family ten sons and four daughters. The father had been a midshipman in the navy and died at the early age of 48, the eldest son, John, being only 17, but the family were left in affluent circumstances and at fifteen Isaac secured by purchase a commission as ensign in the 8th Regiment. In 1791 he exchanged into the 49th, becoming captain and with that regiment his name has always been identified. With the 49th he went to the West Indies, but returned to England to recruit from the effects of a fever, having been faithfully nursed by his servant, Dobson, his cousin dying from fever at the same time. Next by purchase he became major and at twenty-eight lieutenant-colonel. At the battle of Egmont-op Zee in Holland he was struck by a bullet in the neck and knocked senseless, but his life was wonderfully saved. In 1801 he was second in command of the land forces in Denmark in the attack on Copenhagen with Sir Hyde Parker and Nelson, and with the 49th and 500 seamen stormed the battery. In 1802 he was ordered to Canada where most of the rest of his life was spent, except one year in England in 1805 and 1806.

And first must be taken his military career. In the frank statement and glorification of the military life made by Lord Wolseley in his autobiography that he had set before himself the idea of reaching the highest point attainable as a military man, we find almost a parallel in the life of Brock, who seems



to have had a definite aim in life; in the years of what seemed to him inaction in Canada he was chafing for an active military career on the continent, while Britain was fighting almost alone in splendid isolation against the ambitious despot who conquered successfully country after country, placing his brothers or his marshals on throne after throne, Britain alone unconquerable in her island home protected by her navy under Collingwood and Nelson and giving the dictator to Europe many a sharp and heavy blow.

Brock all this time eager as a hound on leash to mingle in the fray, was reserved to save our homes to us and had his life been spared what reverses to our arms might have been averted; the war would have been brought to a more speedy conclusion. Had he been in power the cautious and timid policy of Prevost would not have given an armistice and time to the enemy to build boats and drill, the unnecessary retreat at Sackett's Harbor and Plattsburg (when British officers in despair and rage broke their swords) would not have taken place nor the disastrous retreat at Moravian Town, with the sacrifice of that noble red man Tecumseh, the war would have closed earlier, and the great loss of life in attempting an impossibility at New Orleans when the veterans of the British army met death and defeat would all have been avoided. The promptness to act, the ability to command, the skill to seize an opportunity, the tact in governing, the enthusiasm evoked by a successful and loved commander such as Brock, would have given another texture to the war of 1812, would have averted many hardships and saved many precious lives on both sides.

An explanation must be given of some expressions used by General Brock seeming to reflect on the loyalty of the people of Upper Canada. It must be remembered that while most of the inhabitants of Upper Canada were U. E. Loyalists, who might all be depended on, and partly from what they had suffered, were intensely eager to repel the invaders, there were many who by the solicitations and easy terms offered by Governor Simcoe had come in merely to obtain land and could not be depended on to fight against their former countrymen, nay, were utterly disloyal by speech and act. Against such persons only were the remarks of Brock levelled, and justly so. In another respect, too, Brock showed his appreciation of the Canadian people. While it was common for some officers of the regular army to sneer at the militia force of the country. Brock never withheld the generous word of praise to our militia. And, indeed, had it not been for the militia and volunteer force of

the country, it had been utterly impossible for the small force of the regular army to defend such an extensive frontier. The young farmers who with their fathers came forward leaving their fields unploughed and their crops unharvested, often tended only by the wives and daughters, the business men, law students and others who left their warehouses and offices neglected in order to repel the invader, to these as well as to the regular army, do we owe that when the war closed not a foot of our land was in possession of the enemy. Britain engaged in that Titanic struggle with Napoleon could send out but little help, and indeed when the struggle seemed ended and the despot safe in Elba and a force of 16,000 was sent, we blush to say that through mismanagement there were humiliating retreats.

It is not necessary here to enter into the reasons for the war of 1812, the orders-in-Council, the British right of search, the desire to possess Canada, or to show that while France was really the cause of much of the loss to the shipping of the United States, Britain alone was blamed. Suffice it to say that in spite of the opposition of the New England States, war was declared on the 17th June, 1812. Brock had been for some months Administrator of the Government in the absence of Governor Gore, and had been preparing for the expected invasion of the country, as far at least as the means at his command would allow. We cannot but admire his promptness and swiftness of movement, his decision of character, his apparent ubiquity. As the writer "Veritas" expressed it, "He appears to have flown, as it were." The writer of the first biography tersely expresses it: "To-day at York engaged in his civil and military duties, to-morrow at Fort George, superintending the defences of the Niagara frontier, or at Kingston reviewing and animating the militia; to-day at Fort George watching the enemy, the next at York dissolving the Legislature, and a fortnight later returning from the capture of Detroit; to-day at Fort George again, a few hours later at Fort Erie endeavoring to re-take the brigs 'Detroit' and 'Caledonia.' When war was declared Brock was at York, an extra session of the Legislature was called, and steps taken to prepare for this emergency. On the 12th July General Hull crossed the Detroit, sending out a bombastic proclamation Brock could not leave York till the 6th August, as he must meet the Legislature there. His small force reached Burlington Bay, thence by land to Long Point, calling at Mohawk village, on the Grand River; part went by water along the north shore of Lake Erie, while others marched by land. The weather was rainy and stormy. Five days and nights of incessant toil brought them to Amherstburg on the

13th, only to find that Hull had retreated to Detroit. The meeting with Tecumseh was a picturesque scene, and the admiration of each for the other shows the generous nature of both. The red warrior, with well-cut features, athletic form, alert, brave, was so struck with the soldierly appearance of Brock that he exclaimed, "Here is a man." The chief rapidly sketched the plan of the fort on a piece of birch bark, and the most feasible way of taking it. The council of officers was almost unanimous against risking an attack, but here again Brock's prompt decision settled the matter. "Gentlemen, I have decided on crossing, and instead of any further advice I entreat you to give me your cordial and hearty support." The audacity of this decision and the bold attack on the fort were rewarded with the astonishing surrender of the fortress with 2,500 men, valuable stores, and the whole of the territory of Michigan, and all without the sacrifice of a single drop of British blood. An American historian says: "In the short space of 19 days he had met the Legislature, arranged public affairs, travelled about 300 miles, returned the victor of a vast territory." The remaining six weeks of his life were crowded full of events. To his great mortification on his return with plans for active warfare—to seize Fort Niagara and attack Sackett's Harbor—he found Prevost had arranged for an armistice.

The period between the conquest of Detroit and the battle of Queenston Heights, gave opportunity to the enemy to prepare for another invasion and Brock's time was fully occupied. The problem was how to place his few soldiers so as to defend the Niagara frontier, as it was not known at what point the attack would be made, at Fort Erie, Chippawa, Queenston or Niagara, and night and day the force was on guard. Early on the morning of the 13th of October the sound of guns was heard and Brock arose, and leaving orders to follow him, rode away up the Queenston road to meet the rider on the pale horse. A small force at Brown's Point of York militia, another at Vrooman's Battery, a few in Queenston, and a still smaller number on the Heights,—these were all at hand to resist a large American force, and at first these seemed enough as many of their boats were sunk and taken prisoners, but a pilot had shown the way up the fisherman's path concealed from the view of our men and these soon had possession of the Heights. When Brock passed the York volunteers setting out from Brown's Point, he waved his hand and called out to them to push on. On reaching Queenston he boldly advanced up the heights with the troops there, his tall person and general's uniform being a sure target for the enemy.

A few words were all that could be heard ere his spirit took its flight. The body was carried to a stone house which still stands, and another attempt was made at 10 o'clock by the brave Macdonell, A.D.C. a young man of great promise; he, too, gave up his young life in the attempt to dislodge the enemy. Thus there were, we may say, three engagements. First, under Brock; second, Macdonell; third, under Sheaffe with additional forces from Fort George and Chippawa. This time a detour was made around the mountain and the American troops found themselves unexpectedly assailed on both sides. The appalling warwhoop of 150 Mohawk Indians under Norton, was heard. There were, besides, Merritt's troop of cavalry, part of the 41st Regiment and a company of colored troops (refugee slaves) York and Lincoln militia, part of the 49th Regiment; only half of the force consisted of regulars. Our forces, maddened by the death of their beloved leader, fought as never before and soon the enemy showed the white flag and nine hundred prisoners were taken. But, though victory crowned our arms, with what sad hearts did our men return bearing that form, majestic in death. The body was taken to Government House, where it lay for three days, and on the 16th, was committed to the grave in the Cavalier bastion of Fort George, lately constructed under the general's orders.

Our narrative might here end, but to few mortals is it given to have four burials. For twelve years the bodies lay at Fort George. During six months of that period the Americans had possession and the line describing the funeral of Sir John Moore is recalled "that the foe and the stranger will tread o'er his head." In 1824 a monument was raised on Queenston Heights, the money granted by provincial parliament and on the 13th October the bodies were re interred, 5,000 person being present. It was an impressive spectacle, the procession being two miles long and taking three hours to reach the Heights, the lengthened column winding slowly up the steep ascent. Alike were seen the striking garb of the red men and the picturesque dress of the Highlanders, the relatives of Macdonell being in Highland costume, and young Grant, from Grand River, in full Indian dress.

In 1840 a miscreant named Lett shattered the monument with gun-powder. Universal execration was meted out to this deed, and on the 30th July, 1840, an immense meeting of 8,000 persons was held on Queenston Heights producing one of the most remarkable scenic effects ever beheld in Canada. Ten steamers ascended the river headed by H. M. S. Traveller, a

procession on land at the same time and cheers were heard from ship to shore and shore to ship alternately. The presence of the Royal Artillery, the 93rd Highlanders and the burnished helmets of the Dragoon Guards added brilliancy to the scene. Eloquent speeches were made by many noted men of that day. There were eleven resolutions and as each gave opportunity for a speech from the mover and seconder, it was late before the meeting closed, and a legend exists in Niagara that the caterers who had provided generously and lavishly for hungry men, lost heavily, as little opportunity was given for the disposal of the viands provided.

Immediate steps were taken to replace the monument. This time the money was raised by subscription, all the military in the country giving a day's pay and subscriptions from all classes flowed in generously till \$50,000 was raised. It was not, however, till 1853 that the last burial took place, the body having meanwhile been placed for a year in the Hamilton family burying ground at Queenston. It may be questioned whether in any place in the world so grand a monument stands on so commanding a spot, giving so fair a view of river, lake, forest and plain, the varying colours of brown earth, golden grain, sombre pines, peach orchards, or "maple forests all aflame," the quiet village of Queenston with the beautiful river broad and blue, with its many points and bays, and far below the two forts on opposite sides, Mississagua and Niagara, and on a clear day forty miles distant may be seen the fair city of Toronto. Such a panoramic view we might go far to find, and turning the eye backward and upward to the height of 175 feet the figure of Brock with arm extended to the opposite shore as if in warning.

For the best short description of the battle we are indebted to the late Col. J. G. Currie, who tells an interesting story of what he saw as a boy at the meeting of 1840, of a young British tar from the Traveller climbing hand over hand up the lightning-rod of the shattered monument and amid the bated breath of the spectators placing a Union Jack at the top, while a tremendous cheer rent the air. The fullest and best from a military standpoint being absolutely and technically correct is the account by Col. Cruikshank.

On the 6th November, 1812, soon after the funeral of General Brock a council of condolence was held by the Indian Chiefs of the Six Nations, Hurons, Pottowatomies, etc., at the Council House, Niagara, and Little Cayuga, using the red man's beautiful figurative language, said:—"Brothers, we therefore now seeing you darkened with grief, your eyes dim with tears and your

throat stopped with the force of your affection. With these strings of wampum we wipe away your tears, we clear the passage in your throats that you may have free utterance for your thoughts and we wipe clear from blood the place of your abode. That the remains of your late friend and commander, General Brock, shall receive no injury, we cover it with this belt of wampum which we do from the grateful sensations which his friendship towards us inspired us with, also in conformity to the customs of our ancestors."

As a brother Sir Isaac Brock presents a no less pleasing picture, and the almost pathetic efforts to reconcile two of his brothers, offer a noble example to all. Just at the time when dangers were thickening around him and his mind was full of plans to meet the coming war, disaster met the Brock family. In June 1811 a firm of London bankers, of which William Brock was the senior member, having met with great losses, failed. Isaac Brock had obtained £3,000 to purchase his commissions, but William who had no family had never intended to ask for this sum, but unfortunately it appeared on the books as a loan and General Brock was thus on the list of debtors. Savery and Mr. Tupper also lost heavily, and coolness and estrangement arose between William and Irving which caused their brother in distant Canada much sorrow, and all this just as he entered on his duties as President of the Province. This indeed was a bolt from the blue, a stinging blow to one who was the soul of honor and scrupulous to a high degree in money matters. He writes a most pathetic sympathetic letter. "Poverty I was prepared to bear, but Irving, if you love me, do not by any action or word add to the sorrows of poor unfortunate William. Remember his kindness to me. Hang the world, it is not worth a thought, be generous, oh my dear boy forget the past and let us all unite in soothing the griefs of one of the best hearts heaven ever formed. Could tears restore him he would soon be happy. I sleep little, but am constrained to assume a smiling face through the day. Did it depend on myself how gladly would I live on bread and water. William writes that no unpleasant steps will be taken to enforce the debt, and says—"A Mr. Ellis, lately from Canada said that sooner than anything unpleasant should happen to you, so great is his esteem and friendship for you, that he would contrive to pay the debt himself. He also said you were so beloved in Canada that your friends would, if necessary assist you to any amount." What a relief this must have been in view of his despairing expression in another letter. "Why keep me in suspense? Are my commissions safe, or must they be

sold? Can I not retain out of the wreck my two or three hundred a year? They would save us all from want, and we might retire to some corner and still be happy. Yesterday was the first truly gloomy birthday I have ever passed."

Sir Isaac, however, prepared to face the difficulty by meeting the obligation by degrees. He says that his salary for his new office is £1,000, and this he hopes to give to pay the debt. His inflexible honesty says "I shall enclose a power of attorney, do with it what justice demands, pay as you receive," and then affection speaks, "unless, indeed, want among any of you calls for aid? in that case make use of the money and let the worst come." He had had, he said, to expend about £400 in outfits, and in his position he must entertain. In the hour of victory, on his return from Detroit, his thoughts turn to his family trouble and he writes—"When I returned Heaven thanks for my amazing success, I thought of you all. You appeared to me happy, your late sorrows forgotten. Let me know, my dear brothers, that you are all united. The want of union was nearly losing this province, and be assured it operates in the same way in families." It is pleasing to note that the urgent appeals of this noble brother were successful. On Oct. 13, the day that Sir Isaac Brock lay cold in death, Irving, his brother, received a letter from him—"Rejoice with me and join with me in prayers to heaven. Let me hear you are united and happy." Was it the mysterious power of mind over mind, in which we are beginning to believe, that caused the reconciliation which is thus referred to in a letter from William to Savery on the same day—"As I well knew that Isaac would not consider his good fortune complete unless a reconciliation took place between Irving and myself, I went up today, on seeing him, and shook hands. He then showed me two lines which he had just received from Isaac. I am glad that we shook hands before I saw the contents." The brothers were all greatly excited and pleased when the honor of K.B. was conferred upon him, the news of which only reached Canada after his death.

His kind heart is also shown by his sending two skins for muffs for his "two dear little girls," his nieces. Another pathetic incident referred to in the preface to the biography shows the deep feeling of the family for his loss. In 1844, over thirty years after the battle, the box of manuscripts and the trunks belonging to Sir Isaac, which had been sent to England soon after his death, and had remained in the possession of his brother Savery, unopened, he having shrunk from the sight of these belongings of his well beloved brother, were opened. The General's uni-

forms, including that in which he fell, were much moth-eaten, but the manuscripts were uninjured, and helped his nephew to prepare the biography.

As a friend, Sir Isaac was a good correspondent—but two incidents alone will be given showing his kindness of heart and benevolence, as well as his interest in a young soldier. At the time of his death there had been residing under his roof and protection for nearly two years a youth of nine years of age, it being the General's intention to provide for him. This was the son of a captain in the 49th, who had been drowned two or three years previously. Brock's relations had for him the warmest affection, and servants carefully preserved relics of their "dear master" as they called him. Col Bynes, in writing to him, thinking of the stern rules of military life, warns him, "the natural benevolence of your disposition may lead you into trouble." Five years after his death his brother Savery, visiting Canada, met many who testified to the esteem in which he was held and his many acts of kindness. The testimony of Col. FitzGibbon to the kindness shown him by Brock is, says his biographer, "as honorable to the one as to the other," for many in their advancement forget the hand that outstretched had raised them to a higher position. James FitzGibbon a private in the 49th, was with Brock in the battle of Egmont-op-Zee, and tells of the bravery of Savery there and of the delight of the soldiers in repeating the good-natured sparring between the two brothers.

FitzGibbon was soon promoted by Brock to be sergeant-major, and tells his story gratefully thus of his earliest and best benefactor:—"That I might do honor to the General's memory. I have ever striven to serve my country well. The poor uneducated private soldier raised up by Sir Isaac Brock until he held in turn his Majesty's commissions of ensign, lieutenant and captain in the army, has been promoted in the civil service of Canada to a silk gown. My writing, too, I owe to Sir Isaac—in York he told me he intended to recommend me to the adjutancy, adding, 'I not only desire to procure a commission for you, but I also wish that you qualify yourself to take your position among gentlemen. Here are my books; make good use of them.' He often dictated to me, while I wrote for him in the orderly room. His correcting my pronunciation of a word caused me to see my deficiencies, and I purchased a grammar and dictionary, and several lieutenants were my kind teachers."

As another act of kindness, we have the record of his interesting himself for the family of the deputy barrack-master in



Kingston, in indigent circumstances, with Col. Shank, to employ the eldest son as ensign on the recruiting service, so as to give a house for the relief of his mother with seven children. Col. Brock also ordered daily for her a ration and half a ration for the children.

As a student we must also enrol Brock. We read that, in spite of the jeers of his companions, he frequently locked himself up to study. He was a good French scholar and a letter to his companions tells how he passes his spare time at Fort George and the list of books in his library shows that besides technical military books he was a general reader and showed good taste in his selection, and his military dispatches as well as his letters, proclamations and speeches all show a well trained mind and command of language, a style vigorous, terse, pure. In a letter to his brother, Irving, dated Niagara, Jan. 10th, 1811, he says, "I hardly ever stir out and unless I have company my evenings are passed solus. I read much, but good books are scarce and I hate borrowing. Should I remain here I wish you to send me some choice authors in history, particularly ancient, with maps and the best translations of ancient works. I read in my youth Pope's translation of Homer, but till lately I never discovered its exquisite beauties. As I grow old I acquire a taste for study. In addition to the last daily paper, send me likewise the Observer or any other weekly. You who have passed all your days in the bustle of London can scarcely conceive the uninteresting life I am doomed to lead in this retirement." Brock was soon to exchange this quiet life for days and nights of action when every moment was filled for mind and body.

The inventory of Gen Brock's possessions came to light lately very strangely. In the cellar of the house of the late G. W. Allen, stuffed in the crevice of the wall, was found a roll containing several pages of foolscap, discolored and torn in some places, but containing a full inventory of the articles sold at the auction of his effects, to whom sold, and the prices, and by the kindness of Dr. Bain I was allowed to copy it. The list includes silver, cut glass, furniture, wines, provisions, kitchen utensils, carpets, even a cow and pigs, pickled mushrooms, champagne, claret, porter. Among those who bought are found the names of General Sheaffe, Major Gregg, Col. Bishop, Mr. Crookshank, Rev. Dr. Strachan, Major Givins, Dr. Powell, Major Allen, and Messrs Dickson, Small, Hamilton, Denison. Among the books are Johnson's works, 12 volumes, Rollins' ancient history, Siecle de Louis 14th, Regiment de l'Infanterie, Voltaire's Henriade,

Shakespeare, Telemique, Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, Court Martials, Expedition to Holland, Life of Conde, Walcheren Expedition. I wonder how many of these articles of furniture, silver and books are still in existence or in possession of the families who bought them. A Miss Selby bought a gig for \$150 and a sofa for \$21, the only lady purchaser mentioned. The sale was on the 12th November, 1812, at York. Perhaps many articles disappeared at the taking of York next year. Had Brock lived we may venture to say, that capture would never have taken place.

As a statesman and administrator, Brock would have taken a high rank had not his fame as a soldier dwarfed all other qualities. His letters to General Prevost, his report to the Duke of York as to the formation of a veteran battalion in Canada, his military dispatches, his address to Parliament, his proclamation to the people in reply to that of Hull, all showing great ability, sound common sense, patriotism, deep thought, are indeed models, whether of statesmanlike views, military brevity and accuracy, thoroughness and shrewdness in every detail, soldierlike commands—he himself was sometimes doubtful of the results, knowing his meagre resources, but a spirit of hopefulness and courage breathes through every utterance. In his address at the opening of the Legislature, Feb 4, 1812, he said in closing, "We wish and hope for peace, but it was nevertheless necessary to be prepared for war. The task imposed on you is arduous. This task, however, I hope and trust, laying aside every consideration but that of the public good, you will perform with that firmness, discretion and promptitude which a regard to yourselves your families, your country and your King call for at your hands." In opening the House on the 2<sup>th</sup> July he used these words: "When invaded by an enemy, whose avowed object is the entire conquest of the province, the voice of loyalty as well as of interest calls aloud for every person in the sphere in which he is placed to defend his country. Our militia have heard the voice and have obeyed it. They have evinced by the promptitude and loyalty of their conduct that they are worthy of the King whom they serve and of the constitution which they enjoy. We are engaged in an awful, an eventful contest. By unanimity and dispatch in our councils and by vigour in our operations we may teach the enemy this lesson—that a country defended by free men enthusiastically devoted to the cause of the King and Constitution cannot be conquered."

His readiness to give credit to the militia is shown in his dispatch, 16th August, 1812, after the capture of Detroit

"The steadiness and discipline of the 41st Regiment, and the readiness of the militia to follow so good an example, were highly conspicuous," and again in the following order: "The Major-General cannot forego the 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," and he requests Captains Heward, Robinson and others to assure the officers and men under their respective command "that their services have been duly appreciated and will never be forgotten." He had also previous to this expressed sympathy with those who were not able to attend to the harvesting of their crops.

To show that Brock was always ready for any emergency, the story of the deserters and the mutiny planned may be told, with other incidents, which show his alertness. In 1797, the year of the Mutiny of the Nore, the disaffection was spreading to the army, and Brock kept strict watch, did not retire to bed till daylight, and always slept with his pistols beside him. His rule was stern yet mild, and soon brought the unruly regiment to order. Sheaffe was his junior, and at that time was much disliked for his severity. The regiment cheered on one occasion when Brock returned, and for this offence, in a military point of view, they were rebuked by Brock and confined to barracks for a week. There were two occasions in which he showed his quick-wittedness in a serious difficulty, first when at York six deserters crossed the lake and landed on the American shore. At midnight Brock heard of it, and at once ordered a boat and started off. They rowed across the lake, a hard pull of over 30 miles, and then searched the shore till they found the men, brought them back, and sent them to prison cells at Fort George.

The next difficulty was a more serious one, a mutiny having been planned with the intention of murdering the commander, Sheaffe. The plot was accidentally discovered, word sent to Brock at York who lost no time, again crossed the lake, landed on the beach and walked to the Fort. Not a moment did he hesitate, the sergeant who happened to be on guard was one of the suspected ones and was sternly ordered to lay down his arms, handcuffed and marched off, the others in turn were put in irons, twelve in all, sent to York with the seven deserters, tried at Quebec and four of the mutineers and three of the deserters were shot. They said had they been under the command of Brock they would not so have acted. When the account was read to their companions at Fort George, Brock

spoke with much feeling. "Since I have had the honor to wear the British uniform I have never felt grief like this. It pains me to the heart to think that any members of my regiment should have engaged in a conspiracy which has led to their being shot like so many dogs." Here for a moment he was unable to speak and the soldiers who heard his faltering voice and saw the glistening tear had not a dry eye among them. From the time Brock assumed command at Fort George all trouble ceased. Many annoying restrictions were removed, as with regard to visiting the town, fishing, shooting, pigeons, etc. The four black holes, always before filled, were so no longer. Brock had been so profoundly moved by this sad event that in the report which he drew up and sent to the Duke of York, he made many wise recommendations.

Further examples of his firmness and bravery may be given. FitzGibbon tells that on one occasion when an order had been given by Brock, his reply was "it is impossible." "By the Lord Harry do not tell me it is impossible; nothing should be impossible to a soldier; the word impossible should not be in a soldier's dictionary." This reminds us of the story told of Lord Chatham when he lay swathed in flannels suffering agonies from gout. At a political consultation at his bedside he expressed an opinion of what should be done. The reply was "it is impossible." The veteran statesman rose from his bed, stalked across the room, saying, "thus I tread on impossibilities." When Col Nichol begged Sir Isaac not to expose himself he said: "Master Nichol I duly appreciate the advice you give me, but I feel that in addition to their sense of loyalty and duty, many follow me from personal regard and I will never ask them to go where I do not lead them." Tecumseh said to him: "I have heard much of your fame and am happy to shake by the hand a brave brother warrior; in crossing the river we observed you from a distance standing the whole time in an erect position and you were the first who jumped on land."

In personal appearance General Brock was an imposing figure; of fair complexion with light brown hair, with a very gentle, mild expression, regular features, six feet two in height, and in his last years portly in appearance, broad shoulders, strong, athletic; as a lad he was the best boxer and swimmer in his class, and an athlete of no mean order. When one of the boats on the way to Detroit stuck fast and no effort of oar or pole could dislodge it, Brock sprang into the water and, followed by others, the boat was soon free. There are several good pictures of him. The first, taken from one owned by the family, was obtained by

Dr. Ryerson for the Normal School. The present full length oil painting in the Parliament Buildings was painted by the well-known artist Forster, who told me he went to the Brock home in Guernsey, obtained from one member of the family the profile from which to copy, from another member of the family the coat he had on when shot, and, said Mr. Forster, "I got the biggest man on the island to put it on, and thus painted the portrait." A photo of this was kindly presented to our society by the artist. Another picture, a full face, a beautifully executed miniature, is owned by Miss Mickle, having been purchased by her from a distant relative of the family.

His cocked hat is in possession of our society, and has a curious history. It had come out shortly after his death and was given by his nephew to Mr George Ball, near whose residence his regiment was stationed. A reference occurs in one of his letters:—"All the articles arrived except the cocked hat, which I much regret, as owing to the enormous size of my head I find it difficult to supply my need." The hat measures 24 inches inside and was used at the funerals of 1824 and 1853 and many old soldiers came up and requested permission to try it on.

As a man of the world, mingling and taking part in its amusements, we find a few references. In a letter to his sister-in-law from Quebec, July 10th, he says: "Races, country and water parties have occupied our time. I contributed my share in a grand dinner to Mrs Gore, and a ball to a vast assemblage of all descriptions" Colonel Baynes writing to him from Quebec to Niagara, says: "I have just received a long letter from Mrs. Murray that you have found the means of enlivening the solitary scene that has so long prevailed at Fort George." In a letter from Col. Kempt, January, 1811, he says. I have just received a long letter from Mrs Murray giving me an account of a splendid ball given by you to the beau monde of Niagara and its vicinity, and the manner in which she speaks of your liberality and hospitality reminds me of the many pleasant hours I have passed under your roof." The poet Moore refers to the kindness shown to him by Col. Brock during two weeks spent with him at Fort George in 1804.

It is not often that doggerel verse finds a place in an historical paper, but, singularly enough, a copy of some written by one of the York Volunteers, in which Brock is referred to, has very lately come into my possession. They were sung many years ago by an old lady, and written out from memory by her daughter, Mrs. Alphaeus Cox. Kept in an old trunk

all these years, they are now read to the York Pioneers. There are twenty-one verses; I give eleven. \*Lines written by Private Flumerfeldt, one of the York Volunteers, after their arrival at Little York from Detroit, August, 1812.

\*Come all you brave Canadians,  
I'd have you lend an ear  
Unto a simple ditty  
That will your spirits cheer.  
\* \* \*

At length our bold commander,  
Sir Isaac Brock by name  
Took shipping at Niagara  
And unto York he came.

He said: "My valiant heroes,  
Will you go along with me  
To fight those Yankee boys  
In the west of Canada?"

"Oh, yes," we all replied,  
We'll go along with you,  
Our knapsacks on our backs,  
And make no more ado."

Our firelocks then we shouldered,  
And straight we marched away,  
With firm determination  
To show them British play.  
\* \* \*

Our town it is at our command,  
Our garrison likewise."  
They brought their arms and grounded them  
Right down before our eyes.

And they were all made prisoners  
On board of ship they went.  
And from the town of Sandwich  
To Quebec they were sent.

We guarded them from Sandwich  
Safe down into Fort George,  
And then within the town of York  
So safely we did lodge.

And now we're all arrived at home,  
Each man without a wound,  
And the fame of this great conquest  
Will through this province sound.

Success unto the volunteers  
Who thus their rights maintain,  
Likewise their bold commander,  
Sir Isaac Brock by name.

And being all united,  
This is the song we'll sing—  
Success unto Great Britain,  
And may God save the King.

Another picture of these prisoners from an American source may be given. In a letter from General Van Rensselaer's secretary: "I saw my countrymen, free-born Americans, stripped of their arms and marched into a strange land by hundreds, as black cattle for the market. Before and behind them, on right and left, their proud victors gleamed in arms; the line was half a mile long. The sensation produced in our camp was inexpressible — mortification, indignation, apprehension, suspicion, jealousy, rage, madness. It was a sad day."

A pretty story as a contrast to this is told by a daughter of Dr. West, surgeon at Fort Niagara. The officers of the Fort frequently came over to attend divine service at Niagara and were on friendly terms with the British officers there. It was related by this old lady that on the Sunday morning before the war was declared, Brock, after service at St. Mark's said, taking up the two little girls in his arms, (herself and her sister) 'Good-bye my rosy cheeked little Yankee girls,' and turning to the American officers, "I suppose when we meet again it will be as enemies."

The hero of Upper Canada was the title given by common consent. A memorial coin was issued from the Royal Mint in 1816, which passed current as a half penny. On one side the inscription around a funeral urn with two angels placing a laurel wreath, "Sir Isaac Brock, the hero of Upper Canada, fell Oct. 13th, 1812."

Another memorial of a more private nature I saw in Niagara not long ago, a sampler worked by Esther Borden Lippen-cott, wife of Col. Geo. Denison. it was worked during the winter of 1812-13, and a photo of it is in our possession. Within a wreath, surmounted by a crown are the words. "To the memory of General Brock, who gloriously fell as he was bravely defending his country at the battle of Queenston, the 13th October in the year of our Lord, 1812," and below "Push on brave York Volunteers."

The feeling shown for Brock, whether by his soldiers, by farmers who had fought with him and shed tears in speaking of him, the feeling shown by his Indian allies and by friend and foe alike; by Mrs. Powell and Mrs. Claus five years after, when visited by Savery Brock, who tells that they shed tears in speaking of him, by Mrs. Denison in working the sampler, by poor old Clibborne, who brought the news to Fort Erie of his death, he pallid and disordered in appearance, yet quite unconscious of the cannon balls ploughing up the ground as he advanced, the life-long constancy of the lady to whom he was engaged, all show

that, in the words of the noble Tecumseh, "Here was a man."

The historian Christie says of him: "He was one of those extraordinary men who mark the age in which they live. He blended the mildest of manners with the severity and discipline of the camp, and though his deportment was somewhat grave and imposing, the noble frankness of his character imparted at once confidence and respect to those who had occasion to approach his person. As a civil Governor he was firm, prudent and equitable. In fine, whether we view him as a man, statesman or soldier he equally deserves our esteem and respect."

Chief Justice Robinson said at a great meeting at Queenston Heights, in 1840, that he had seen his body carried off, had seen the interment, the grief of the militia and the faithful Indians. In answer to the charge that General Brock's courage was greater than his prudence that his attack at Detroit was injudicious and his rashness at Queenston was the cause of his death. "Those who lived in Upper Canada then can form a truer judgment, and what seemed rashness was, in fact, prudence. Brock was placed in almost desperate circumstances, with but a handful of men, most of whom had never been used to military discipline. He felt that if he could not impress upon the enemy this truth—that wherever a major-general of the British army with but a few gallant soldiers of the line and of the brave defenders of the soil could be assembled against them, they must retire from the land which they had invaded—his cause was hopeless." With what a fine touch did the Chief Justice refer to later defeats. "It was that cautious calculation which some supposed he lacked which decided the day against us at Sackett's Harbor. It was the same cautious calculation which decided the day at Plattsburg, but no monuments have been erected to record the triumphs of those fields. It is not thus trophies are won."

And who can calculate the result of a glorious death or of a death for a principle? The splendid audacity, the divine madness, which possessed Brock at Detroit and Queenston, which Nelson showed when, putting his glass to his blind eye, he said, "I really do not see, the signal to retire," and in disobedience to orders rushed on; the same quality was shown by our volunteers when, in defiance of orders, they rushed the rifle pits at Batoche.

Never shall I forget a sermon by the late Rev. D. J. Macdonell, in Peterboro', the Sunday after the assassination of D'Arcy McGee, from the text, "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die it abideth alone, but if it die it bringeth forth much fruit." D'Arcy McGee died as surely a martyr in his efforts to stop the Fenian movement and in loyalty to his adopted country,



and who will say his death bore no fruit?" The pathetic words of a young Canadian soldier wounded on the African veldt give the same thought, as pointing to the maple leaf in his helmet he said, "If I die it may help this to live."

I close with the words on a tombstone in St. Mark's cemetery, words by I know not whom: "The memory of a life nobly rendered is immortal."



# THE COUNT DE PUISAYE

*A Forgotten Page of Canadian History.*

BY JANET CARNOCHAN.\*

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Although the population of our Province of Ontario has been mainly recruited from the Mother Land (after the first settlement of the U. E. Loyalists), there have been, at different times, groups of settlers in particular spots, as of Highlanders in Glengarry under Bishop McDonell, of English agricultural laborers, of those who fled from the famine and fever in Ireland after the Repeal of the Corn Laws. There was, too, a German settlement in the year 1794 under Berczy, of sixty families settled near Markham; we also read of Governor Simcoe bringing from Russia men to teach the cultivation of hemp, and in the archives is a notice of a letter from the widow of one of these, her husband having died of a broken heart, his services being rejected when he reached London. And in our own day, though not in our province, the settlement at Gimli, Manitoba, of Icelanders, some of whom were remembered by Lord Dufferin, he having met them, described in his inimitable "Letters from High Latitudes"; and, later, the settlement of Doukhobors in the North-west. But it is not generally known that, after that frightful convulsion known as the French Revolution, when heads fell and blood flowed like water, there was an attempt to bring a colony of French refugees to find a home in Upper Canada, not far from this spot. That it failed is certain, and but few traces now remain.

Many years ago, when I heard the phrase used, "near the old French count's house," referring to a building about three miles from Niagara, on the river road to Queenston, the words conveyed nothing definite, little more than a legend or myth, with slight foundation in fact—little imagining that, at a later date,

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Face 1



COUNT DE PUISAYE.



COUNT DE PUISAYE'S HOUSE, BUILT 1799.

I should be engaged in tracing from various sources the history of the leader of this colonizing scheme, and the fate of his company of Frenchmen. The sources of information are fourfold: First, tradition; which, although having a substratum of fact, cannot always be relied upon, as from an unimportant circumstance a wonderful structure of mingled fact and fancy often rises. Second, actual history; references in works of that day relating to it. Third, original letters and documents preserved in the Archives of Canada, or in the possession of private individuals. Fourth, traces left; as of houses built, or pictures of that period.

We find that the Count de Puisaye was an historical character mentioned in Lumartine, Thiers, Carlyle, Allison, the Annual Register, in their account of the French Revolution, but it is from the Dominion Archives in Ottawa that we derive the most complete and accurate information of his connection with the history of our country.

When in Ottawa a few months ago, in that wonderful room, lined from floor to ceiling with bound volumes of original documents, public and private letters, containing the history of our country, I found references to the Count de Puisaye, and since then found, in the voluminous reports of several years, the history of the Count. From all these sources, we see a noble, pathetic and tragic figure, a man who had suffered much—had seen his friends of noble birth and his king and queen perish by the guillotine; in his command of the enemy in La Vendee had seen his force scattered and defeated; worse than all, was called a traitor by his own party, his name held in execration (unjustly, as we believe), his scheme in a foreign land fail, some of his party blaming him with misrepresentation, his last days in England sad and lonely, embittered with controversy, and he dying in obscurity.

The youngest son of a noble family, Count Joseph de Puisaye was born in 1755, intended for the Church, but entering the army at eighteen, soon had a command in the Swiss Guards. In the Convention of the States General, he was the representative of the nobles of La Perche, and at first took the popular side, advocated reforms, and supported the demands of the Tiers Etats, but, alarmed at the excesses of the ultras, was soon engaged in raising an army to secure the safety of the king in 1792. In 1792 he was obliged to flee, a price being set on his head, but he was the heart and soul of the rising in Brittany, and in 1794 was in communication with the British Government, and urged the landing of 10,000 men, with which he would answer for the re-establishment of the Royalist cause. Accordingly, a French corps of

6,000 *émigrés* in the pay of Great Britain, with a force of artillery from London and arms and clothing for 80,000 men to be raised in France, landed; one corps under command of the Count de Puisaye. From the first this seems to have been an ill fated expedition. The leaders quarrelled as to which was to have the chief command. On landing at Quiberon Bay, it was found that the force in the interior had received a check, orders were sent from the Royalist Commission in Paris to attempt no movement till the arrival of the fleet.

Notwithstanding the heroic bravery of the emigrants, the royal cause sustained a crushing defeat, and, after the capitulation at Quiberon, the Convention ordered a massacre of the prisoners, which inhuman order was carried out, as told most vividly in Allison's history of Europe. For this defeat De Puisaye was blamed, the absurd charge being believed that he had acted in complicity with the British Government and betrayed the cause of France, and his influence was completely destroyed, and, after attempting unsuccessfully to form another force, we find that in 1797 he applied to the British Government to form a Royalist settlement in Canada. For the description of the part he took in France, we are chiefly indebted to the lucid summary of our accomplished archivist, Dr. Brymner, but a few quotations may be made from European historians. Carlyle speaks of the Count in sneering terms, but we know that the strenuous Chelsea sage was sometimes unjust and intolerant. First, in 1793, when "he was roused from his bed and galloped away without his boots"; "and second, in 1795, at Quiberon, where "war thunder mingled with the war of the mighty main, and such a morning light as has seldom dawned, debarkation hurled back into its boats, or into the devouring billows with wreck and wail; in one word, a *ci-devant* Puisaye as totally ineffectual here as at Calvados" Lamartine, too, does scant justice, ranking De Puisaye as an adventurer rather than a hero, yet acknowledges that he was at once an orator, a diplomatist, and a soldier, but says that "he spent a whole year concealed in a cavern in the midst of the forests of Brittany," but we recall that many heroes of ancient and modern days have been compelled to hide in caves, whence they sometimes issued to the dismay and loss of their pursuers. Thiers, however, in his history of the French Revolution, does him more justice, as "with great intelligence and extraordinary skill in uniting the elements of a party, he combined extreme activity of mind and vast ambition," and "it was certain that Puisaye had done all that lay in his power." Allison says in his "History of Europe": "Puisaye, whose courage rose with the

difficulties with which he was surrounded, resolved to make an effort to raise the blockade. Full of joy and hope, he gave the signal for the assault, and the emigrant battalions advanced with the utmost intrepidity to the foot of the redoubts." And in a letter, 30th July, 1798, from Right Hon. Mr. Windham to President Russell, the first part of it is devoted to defending the character of the Count de Puisaye. This he does in the strongest terms, as he had known him through all the transactions: "On the whole of his conduct I can speak with a degree of knowledge that does not admit of the possibility of my being mistaken, and I would vindicate him from every shadow of imputation attempted to be fixed upon him, but in the strongest manner assert his merits, knowing the calumnies circulated against him are unfounded, and incurred by conduct which we must feel to be highly meritorious."

Bonnechose, in "Lazare Hoche," refers to De Puisaye, and defends his conduct at Quiberon: "Few men have shown more indefatigable activity, as much adaptability, as persevering a purpose, as great firmness, or were as well fitted to triumph over all obstacles. . . The most skilful was the Count, who, in London, where he had been for six months, held in his hands all the threads of the web woven so skilfully. . . His flight should not be considered as an act of treachery."

All this evidence must surely vindicate the Count, and show that he was innocent and, like many others, suffered the fate of the unsuccessful—to be blamed.

But we come now to his connection with Canada, and the history of his abortive attempt to found a military colony, which is little known.

Britain, that asylum of the exiles of all lands, was generous in material help, and we find this given as a reason for the colonizing scheme, that the country would thus be relieved of heavy payments to support the poor among the *emigres*. In the archives there is a sketch, "political and financial," of the proposed settlement, undated and unsigned, but it is believed that it was drawn up by De Puisaye. It is a well-written, business-like document, giving reasons for the formation, of what to consist, how denominated, when and by what means carried into execution, on what fund are first advances taken, how is the land to be cleared, how are requisite buildings to be constructed, where are the workmen to be found, of what number is the force to consist. "British generosity has already shown itself in a conspicuous light by providing, in a temporary manner, for the relief of those unfortunate victims of the French Revolution, to whom the British Government has granted an asylum. I am

ignorant of the precise number of emigrants now living on the generosity of Britain. I only know the sum allotted for their existence. The outline of the plan was to form in the southern part of Canada a settlement for French emigrants, sufficient means of subsistence granted them, and sufficient land to provide for their maintenance distributed among them, all expenses for the first three years advanced by Government, after that the proprietors to pay to the Governor of Canada one-seventh of their crops till full payment of the advance was made. The fund for the maintenance of the emigrants in Britain to be called on for the first advance of fifteen thousand pounds. The work of clearing the land to be done by soldiers, the force was to consist of two battalions, two hundred men to do military service, and the rest to clear the land and construct buildings, part of the force to be sent on ahead to construct barracks. Two hundred pounds to be provided for each farm for building, tools, furniture, clearing land (twenty acres), the priests under forty years might assist in their own buildings, and in the labor least fatiguing of husbandry. The emigrants were the first year not to exceed three or four hundred, The colonel of the regiment to be at the head of the colony under the Governor-General."

This plan reads well on paper, but like many such, the realization fell far short of the anticipation, as instead of three or four hundred, only forty-four embarked, and several of these soon dropped out, and many returned the next year.

In a letter from the Duke of Portland to President Russell, July 5th, 1798, is mentioned that M. de Puisaye, with about forty French Royalists, is about to embark, land is to be given them in the proportions granted to the American Loyalists, M. de Puisaye to be ranked as a field officer, others in proportion, and the rest as privates, they were to be furnished in Britain with the necessary funds. Another paper gives the regulations for the colony, the corps to consist of major, commandant, two captains, two lieutenants, four sub-lieutenants, one adjutant. All to have been field officers previous to 1798; one Q.M., one chaplain, one surgeon, one surgeon's mate, six sergeants, eight corporals, one hundred privates; the term of service to be three years. Two days' work for the officers in the colony, four days for each individual, one day for religious and military duty. The grant of lands specified for each, also for relatives, as father, mother, wife, child, sister, niece, nephew. The government to furnish tools, clothing, rations. Those who had served in the Royalist army to be chosen first. One object to be aimed at was to keep the settlement separate from any other body of French



In a letter from Russell to the Duke of Portland, York, November 3<sup>d</sup>, 1708: "Have this day received a letter from M. Puisaye, telling of his arrival in Quebec on 7th ult., with some general, field, and subaltern officers, a few soldiers, and two ladies, in all forty persons; have despatched a letter to meet him in Kingston, warning him of the impossibility of providing accommodation in this town for so large a number of respectable personages, requesting him to stop at Kingston, or send part to Newark, which, being older settlements, may lodge them better. I shall be happy to meet him here for consultation" In a letter from President Russell to the Duke of Portland, 21st November, 1798: "Have selected the vacant land, with De Puisaye's approbation, between this town and Lake Simcoe, as a situation equally distant from Lower Canada and the French settlements at the Detroit River. Have directed the Surveyor-General to lay out four townships north of Markham, Pickering, and Whitby." This region, a continuation of Yonge Street, was called Oak Ridges.

In the Archives is given:

"A list of the Royalists gone from London with Count Joseph de Puisaye for Canada: Lt.-Gen. Joseph de Puisaye; Count de Chalus, Major-General; D'Allegre, Col.; Marquis de Beauport, Col.; Viscount de Chalus, Col.; Coster de St. Victor, Col.; De Marseuil, Lt.-Col.; Bouton, Capt.; De Farcy, Capt.; De Poret, Capt.; Guy de Beauport, Lieut.; Lambert de la Richerie, Lieut.; Hippolyte de Beauport, Lieut.; Champagne, Nathaniel Thompson, John Thompson, John Ficerel (lost in Montreal), Thomas Jones (lost in Quebec), Joseph Donavant,\* Abraham Berne, Pardeveux, Farchard, Renoux, Segent, Bugle, Auguste (dead at Quebec), Polard, Letourneux, Langel, Bagot, Rene Fouquet (lost at Plymouth), Marchand, William Smithers (of the latter we shall hear hereafter). Women: Madam Marquise de Beauport, Viscountess de Chalus. Mrs. Smithers, Mary Donavant (lost at Quebec, replaced by Saly Robinson), Catharine Donavant (lost in Quebec, replaced by Catharina), Betsy (lost in Plymouth, replaced by Barbe), Francoise Letourneux (lost). Total, 44. Lost 10, leaving 34. Put in place of lost men, 4. Total, 38"

From a letter in de Puisaye's own hand we find that he reached Montreal in October, 1798, Kingston, October 29th. They had fine weather for travelling and orders had been given that every attention was to be paid to the emigrants on their arrival. Left Montreal on the 18th, and Lachine on the 20th of October, with twelve bateaux loaded with furniture. They were, says Commissary-Gen. Clark, as comfortably provided as possible, and went off, to all appearances, in good spirits and well satisfied, but they

had been tampered with on their way from Quebec, being told they had better stay there, as they were going to a sickly, bad country. Some stayed at Kingston, but others sailed from there on November 16th, and a letter 17th January, 1799, dated Windham, near York, from de Puisaye, says "the land is every day being cleared of the trees and that in the course of a month a village has been built," which he hoped would become a considerable town, and asks the General's leave to name it Hunter. Permission was also asked to use the name Windham in honor of these officials. In a postscript he acknowledged the receipt of a letter from Prince Edward, Duke of Kent, the father of our late lamented Queen. Meanwhile, for those who had been left at Kingston, application for boats to carry them to York was made in March, and Chalus reports the progress made by de Puisaye more fully than he himself had done: "On 14th February eighteen houses were built in Windham, but not finished inside. It was hoped twenty five would be ready by spring, and enough land cleared to give a small crop of wheat, potatoes, etc. De Puisaye had undertaken another settlement at the head of Lake Ontario at the mouth of a small river, navigable for boats, called the Riviere de Niagara." This was put in charge of De Chalus and all de Puisaye's letters after are so dated. In a letter from Gen. Hunter to the Duke of Portland, 16th of October, 1799, is another reference to Niagara. "The Count de Puisaye does not remain with the emigrants, but has purchased a farm near Niagara, where he, his housekeeper, the Count de Chalus, John Thompson and Marchand, their servant, reside. The Marquis de Beauvoir, having some misunderstanding with the Count de Puisaye, or not finding the enterprise suitable to his expectations, has decided to return to England with M. St. Victor. I enclose a statement from Mr. Angus McDonell, their friend and agent at York, from this it may be seen that only twenty-five men remain in Upper Canada, viz., five at Niagara, and twenty at Windham. The latter have cleared forty or fifty acres, but are totally destitute of funds, and have asked wheat and barley to sow the land, which I have given. There are also twenty-one Canadian artificers, laborers, etc., employed by them, to whom rations are given."

A statement of the actual situation of the French *emigres* :—  
Residing at Niagara, 5, to wit, Count de Puisaye, Lt.-General; Count de Chalus, Major General; Marchand, a private; Mrs. Smithers, housekeeper to Count de Puisaye; John Thompson, servant to Count de Puisaye.

Settled at Markham, M. d'Allegre, and Nos 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 13 of first list and Madame Viscountess de Chalus.

Abandoned the enterprise, 16, among whom are Marquis de Beauvoir and Madame la Marquise de Beauvoir. Betsy, the servant girl, and William Smithers, it is said, also returned, but we find their names again as still in Canada.

Notwithstanding the cheerful prospects in the letter of De Chalus, we see all were not satisfied, as a letter from the Marquis de Beauvoir asks permission to leave and come to Lower Canada, asking leave to go to Riviere du Loup, till he would exchange his wild land for a small piece of cleared land, or obtain money to take him to Europe. A letter from Coster St. Victor, 12th May, 1799, contained similar statements, which explain the reference by Gen. Hunter to a misunderstanding, but it appears from the plan laid down for the settlement, that de Puisaye was not to blame. The letter is robustly frank in tone: "You are fully aware, General that in this country the man brought up and inured to the labors of the field, is assured of obtaining his subsistence by his labors; that the rich man who brings capital may even, by paid labor, find means of support in agriculture; but 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 labor 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 heart-rending situation that we have experienced since we have been emigrants" We find from the Archives that passports were applied for by Hon. Richard Cartwright for Marquis de Beauvoir, St. Aulaire and M. Coster de St. Victor to return to Europe.

The grants of land in Windham were: Count de Puisaye, 850 acres; Count de Chalus, 650; D'Allegre, 450; Viscount de Chalus, 350; Marseuil, 300; Quetton St. George, 400; Farcy, 350; Renault, Capt., 150; Segent, 150; Fouchard, Feuron, Langel, Bugle, Marchand, 100 each.

John Ross Robertson, in his "Landmarks of Toronto," gives the position of the Land held by many of the *emigres*. On the map of 1798 a range of nine lots on each side of Yonge Street

is marked "French Royalists," and in one of the letters of Surveyor Jones the spot is marked as "Puisaye's Farm."

Of his life on the Niagara River only a glimpse here and there from the Archives could be obtained, but by one of the strange coincidences that are constantly occurring in our historical work, I have quite unexpectedly, within the last few days, been fortunate enough to obtain many interesting particulars. When asked a few weeks ago to read a paper to your honorable body, I was engaged in going systematically through the printed volumes of the Archives for anything relating to Niagara, and finding much that was new to me relating to the Count de Puisaye, said, "Here is my subject." Thinking it would be interesting to bring the picture of the house with me, I wondered if in any place in Canada could be found a picture of the Count. The very next day a gentleman called to say that he had seen the stone placed by our Historical Society, and had a picture of the Count and Countess, copies of which he would present to us, and by the kindness of Mr. G. S. Griffin you now see these, they being family portraits, I cannot tell the delight with which I welcomed these pictures, coming, as they do, so opportunely, and the information emanating from this source. Sir Richard Cartwright has lately placed in the Library of Queen's University, the letter-book of his grandfather, Hon. R. Cartwright, who was the banker or legal adviser of the Count de Puisaye, who placed in his hands four or five thousand pounds, drawing interest at five per cent., and apparently all his business was transacted through this agency, goods purchased, etc. These letters, by the kindness of Principal Grant, have been loaned to Mr. Justus Griffin, Secretary of the Wentworth Historical Society, and son of Mr. G. S. Griffin, and by the kindness of both of these gentlemen I am furnished with many interesting particulars. The letters extend from April, 1799; to November 4th, 1801; there are nearly a score of letters from Cartwright to the Count, most of them in French; also a number of letters to the Count de Chalus, who seems to have acted sometimes as his secretary, and in letters to Messrs. McGill, of Montreal, and to R. Hamilton, Queenston, are references to the Count's affairs. First comes the reference to buying the property at Niagara, May 16th, 1799: "The General, after staying for a month at the head of the lake, has bought Mr. Sheehan's place on the Niagara River between Queenston and the Fort." September 16th, 1799, R. Cartwright says: "I have sent to a milliner at Montreal the models and samples with an order to send the goods as soon as possible." The milliner's materials must have been for Mrs

Smithers, who presided over his household. "I have also written to Messrs. McGill to send for mares, donkeys, the harness and guinea hens. The sheep and turkeys I expect to get here." Another letter speaks of melon and other garden seeds, and of importing shrubs and trees. Again comes a reference that shows he had one or more negro slaves. Although the act of 1793 arranged for the doing away of slavery, children who were slaves were not to be free till a certain age. A letter of Cartwright speaks of having bought for him for "cent piastres," une petite negresse." Again he thanks de Puisaye for a present of peaches which were excellent, and which Madam Cartwright pronounced delicious. In connection with this, Mr. Warren, one of the late owners of the place, informs me that there were old pear trees with most delicious fruit; although skilled in fruit-culture, he did not know the name, and has never seen any similar varieties. The Count was very anxious to build a windmill; whether he succeeded is not known. Many passages in the letters speak of the machinery and other material, and abound in excuses for non-arrival, and difficulty of getting workmen to build it. There seems, too, to have been a great deal of difficulty about a large iron kettle, which finally arrived. One letter speaks of a young French-Canadian girl whom he had induced to go up on next ship as a servant, but next letter says she absolutely refused to go.

Several of the letters refer to the Marquis de Beauport, who must have visited Cartwright before leaving the country, and for whom he shows much commiseration, as "I have taken the liberty to give one of the boats to the Marquis de Beauport, so as to get down in time. The Commandant here will give us a King's boat in return, at all events the finances of the unfortunate gentleman will not admit of any other remuneration." And, "He left here several days ago with the intention to return to Europe, Madame and the son to remain in Lower Canada for a time. They left in my hands a bed of feathers all new, a large mattress little used, and a good white counterpane, the wood of the bed and the curtain complete, to sell; the whole valued at fifty-six pounds" In one letter the General directs Messrs. McGill, Montreal, to give the Count de Chalus five hundred pounds cy. credit, having gone into keeping a general store for the use of the colony.

In a very exhaustive paper by Miss Textor, "A colony of Emigres in Canada 1798-1816," published by the University of Toronto, it is stated that Mrs. Smithers was the sister of William Smithers alias Kent, but other information calls her the mother.

The descendants of Wm. Smithers are in Toronto, Dundas and Hamilton. It is believed that the first wife was of noble birth in France. He afterwards married Mrs. Smithers. Wm. Smithers came out at the age of seventeen and changed his name to Kent from his native county, and started business on his own account.

In a letter to Hon. R. Hamilton, Mr. Cartwright speaks of de Puisaye's young friend, Mr. Kent, and in another to the Count, of having supplied goods to Mr. Kent, and given instructions to him, as requested by the Count. The last of the letters to de Puisaye was written October 31st, 1801, in English, and apparently closes their business transactions, Mr. Cartwright having returned to the Count in cash and drafts all the balance due him. These letters give the little personal items which form a pleasing break in a dry historical paper.

In a letter from de Puisaye, in his own hand, dated Riviere de Niagara, May 24th, 1801, addressed to General Hunter, he says, "My plan is to leave towards the end of autumn for England; I will be occupied till then with the composition of a work of some extent which should be made public," supposed to be a history of the French Royalist party during the Revolution. Dr. Benjamin states, "The only work I can find traces of is one in six volumes published in London from 1803 to 1808, entitled *Memoires qui pourront servir a l'histoire du parti royaliste Francais durant la derniere revolution.*

A few more traces are found in the Archives. In 1799 a proposal by the Mississagua Indians through Brant, to cede five miles along the lake to make 69,120 acres, on condition that it is granted to de Puisaye to be paid for at one shilling and three pence, Halifax cy., per acre. This proposal was not accepted by the Government. In the minutes of the House is a request from the Count for the Government's tavern on the beach at the head of the lake. This had been pledged to Wm. Bates till next October, but he, de Puisaye, might deal privately with Bates or establish another tavern equally commodious, a request from Bates to extend his lease and renewed application from de Puisaye in 1799 and 1800, and later on it is seen that he bought the land on which the Government House stood, three hundred acres, on which were salt wells, from which his heirs sold salt during the war at \$10.00 per barrel. Mr. Griffin remembers that on the farm at the beech was a fine orchard of apple, peach, pear and plum trees, with delicious fruit. Whether the present house there was built by the Count or Mr. Kent is not known. In 1801 some trouble arose between the Count and Angus McDonell, and he was to attend at York with his

witnesses to sustain his charges against McDonell; evidence was taken and the dismissal of the latter was recommended.

A later letter in the Archives from de Puisaye in England, is dated 14th February, 1803, stating two volumes of his Memoires would be published that week, of which copies would be sent. He proposes to return to Canada, but not for another year; but it is not supposed this hope was realized. He speaks of detractors, even in Canada, M. de Chalus being of the number, but still begs the Government to continue its goodness to the emigrants.

Of his last days we know little. Not being allowed to return to France during the short peace of 1814, he became naturalized in England and died in 1827, at Blythe House, near Hammersmith, aged seventy-three. A pathetic reference is found in the Archives—the last we find from himself—dated June, 1818, to the Canadian Government: "Had waited eighteen months, so as to give time for information. At his age, and broken down in health, he had not expected to survive that time. The Government appropriated his place on the Niagara River for a hospital for the troops, and has occupied his house at York (which was burned) as public property. For neither of these has he been paid, nor any compensation made"

His property was willed to William Smithers Kent, and a brother who went to India. Mr. Kent went to England several times to see the Count after his return there, the last time being in 1827, and de Puisaye then gave him his heavily gold-mounted Damascus sword, which had been presented to him by his friend the great statesman, William Pitt. This valuable relic bears the following inscription, "Given by Wm. Pitt to General Count Joseph de Puisaye, 1794" The sword was exhibited at the Historical Loan Exhibit of 1897, by Rev. M. S Griffin, D.D., of Toronto.

The Count must have been possessed of considerable property, as besides the land in Windham, the farm of two hundred acres near Niagara, the three hundred acres bought from Augustus Jones, Prov. Land Surveyor, including the salt-wells at the beach, he also had a house in Toronto, as in the letter-book is an acknowledgement of thirty pounds, three shillings, and three pence from the Chief Justice, as rent for his house in York. And he owned besides a house in Hammersmith, all left to William Kent, who lived for some time on the farm near Niagara, as afterwards did his son, Joseph Kent. The will of the Count is in possession of Mr. G. S Griffin. In 1830, three years after his death, his heirs made a claim that five thousand acres had been given to

the Count in 1798, of which only 850 acres had been received by him, and asking for the remaining 4,150 acres. Referred to H. M. Government.

In the Annual Register of 1796 is found some reference to his personal appearance :

"Count Joseph de Puisaye was still less distinguished by high birth than by those advantages which he derived from nature and education. His natural talents, of no common order, had been cultivated with the greatest assiduity, and with a success proportioned to the care bestowed upon them. Well informed, capable of laborious application, master of a ready and powerful eloquence, full of resources, and never deserted by his presence of mind, he seemed destined to be the leader of a party. To these mental qualifications he added some corporeal ones which, though inferior, were highly useful. His manners were dignified, yet prepossessing; his person was graceful, his stature tall and commanding." With this description the portrait painted and engraved in Plymouth corresponds, and with the description sometimes given of a fine looking, courtly gentleman of the old school. These pictures—the Count, a steel engraving, and the Countess, an oil painting—are in the possession of Mrs. Horning, Dundas, a great-grand daughter of William Smithers Kent.

In the Jarvis letters, published in No. 8 of the Niagara Historical Society, there is a reference to his personal appearance. Mrs. Jarvis says: "Having entertained him at dinner in Niagara, January 31st, 1799, I like him very much. He is, I think, much like Governor Simcoe in point of size and deportment, and is, without exception, the finest looking man I ever saw."

A few references are found regarding some of the other members of the party. For most of these we are indebted to "Toronto of Old," by the venerated Dr. Scadding. As, "At the balls of the Governor and others at York, the jewels of Madame la Comtesse de Beauvoir created a great sensation, wholly surpassing everything of the kind that had been seen by the ladies of Upper Canada." A descendant of Count de Chalus retains property here, but resides in Montreal, and so far as known, the descendants of only one other family are now represented in Canada (besides those of Wm. Smithers). In St. Mark's Register in the Marriage notices is that of one member of the party: "December 6th, 1802, Ambroise de Farcy and Ellen Weymouth." Quetton St. George became a very successful merchant in York, returned to France when Louis XVIII. succeeded to the throne, and in 1860 his descendant returned to Canada, and, when Dr. Scadding



wrote, was exercising a refined hospitality at Glen Lonely. He says Quetton St. George was of the noblesse, as all officers in France were then obliged to be. The name was originally M. Quetton, but as an exile landing in England on St. George's Day, in gratitude he added the Saint's name, making his full name M. Quetton St. George. He traded with the Indians and had a post at Orillia. In the *Niagara Herald*, August 7th, 1802, his advertisement reads thus: "New store at the house of the French General between Niagara and Queenston. Messrs. Quetton St. George & Co. have goods from New York to be sold at the lowest prices for ready money, for from the uncertainty of their residing for any time in these parts they cannot open accounts with any person. Dry goods, groceries, tools, trunks, empty barrels, etc." "A similar assortment to the above may be had at their store at the French General's House, between Niagara and Queenston"—June 18th, 1803.

The "Co." was M. de Farcy. In 1811 there is a petition of De Farcy asking to have their grants given them, also a memorial of Quetton St. George in French, and another in English, and in August, 1812, the Count de Puisaye asks Commissioners to inquire into his claims, and those of other Royalists. A special charter of denization had to be given.

An advertisement in the *Upper Canada Gazette*, December 15th, 1804, unearthed by J. J. Murphy, Crown Lands Dept., to whom I am indebted for copying it.

"TAKE NOTICE.

"On the first day of February next will be sold at Public Sale by the Subscribers who are duly authorized to dispose of the same, at the House of the Count de Puisaye, the Household furniture and books belonging to that gentleman, a list of which will hereafter be given in this paper.

"DE FARCY.

"QUETTON ST. GEORGE."

In the issue of *Upper Canada Gazette*, January 12th, 1805, appears the list of furniture.

"List of Household Furniture which will be sold at the House of the Count de Puisaye at Niagara on the 1st Feb. next:

"Mahogany Chest of Drawers, Chairs, Sopha, do.; Large Looking Glasses, Middling size do. Pictures and Copper Plate; Turkey Carpets, Common do.; two clocks, one of which is a Chime Clock and plays twelve different tunes; Kitchen Utensils, Horses, Waggon, etc., etc.

"Books —Buffon's 'Natural History,' 54 vols.; (French); Rappin's 'Hist. of England,' 28 vols. (Eng.); Salmon's 'Traveller,' in folio, 2 vols., do.; 'Dictionary of Arts and Sciences,' 2 vols.; Pope, Shakespeare, 4-to., 2 vols.; 'Modern Architecture,' 4-to., 2 vols.; 10 vols. Du President, Du Thou, and a great number of Novels too tedious to mention."

We wonder who bought the Chime Clock, and if it is yet in existence.

All that remains is to give some slight description of the residence of the Count de Paisaya. What induced him to settle on the Niagara, we know not, except the beautiful situation. He certainly selected an ideal spot on which to build a house, which still stands, after a lapse of over a hundred years. To be exact, half of it stands, for some years ago half of it was taken down and the foundation stones can still be traced.

Originally a long, low building about eighty feet in length, by twenty-four in width, with dormer windows and steep, sharply sloping roof, as seen in Norman French houses, there are now two windows on each side of the door, and above are three dormer windows, back and front; so it is likely there were eight windows below and six dormer windows above in front. There are still two old fireplaces, and there had been probably three or four. Built against one end is a curious fire proof structure of brick, with walls three feet thick and at one side, supported by three stone buttresses. The vaulted interior has two divisions with no connection with each other, entered from opposite sides, and with a thick division wall of brick. Various are the opinions as to the use of this—what is generally called "the vault." A powder magazine, wine cellar, dairy, vegetable room, all have been mentioned, as well as a storehouse for goods when the building was a store. I give all, and a choice may be made, or other suggestions offered. Perhaps later investigation may make clear its use. A loft has been put on in modern times, which was there when Dr. Scadding visited it about 1870, but previous to that, it showed the round vaulted brick roof.

Various legends float about, as of fish-ponds, and that one room of the house was literally lined with mirrors. To the mind of the plain frugal settlers of those days, the abundance of mirrors in French houses would have a dazzling appearance. The ceilings are very low, as may be shown by the stairway of only seven steps. The building itself is frame, and is in excellent preservation, many repairs having been made at different times. During the war of 1812 it was used as a hospital.

The property has had many owners, but one can trace

almost, if not all, the occupants and owners—the Count de Chaius, Quetton St. George, Mr. S. Kent in the first half of the century. About 1850, it was bought by Captain Baxter, with two hundred acres of land adjoining it, from Col. Allen, of Toronto, the father of Senator G. W. Allen. Every year two barrels of a special kind of apples grown there, were sent to him by Capt. Baxter. The house had previously been occupied by Mr. McPherson. It next passed into the hands of Mr. Warren, by whom it was sold to Mr. Shickaluna, the famous boat builder of St. Catharines, who erected near it a house, many said, as much resembling a boat as could be done. In his turn, it was sold to Mr. Mills, still living in Toronto, who made great improvements in the house. Afterwards the property came into the hands of Capt. Geale Dickson, who erected the fine residence now standing, since improved by the present owner, Mr. Jackson, one hundred acres having been sold to Mr. Doyle. While in possession of Mr. Dickson, the half of the Count's house was taken down. This year the Niagara Historical Society has placed seven stones to mark historic spots, and one of these has been placed here with the inscription, "The building near was erected by the Count de Puisaye, a French Refugee, in 1799."

As we think of the exiles gradually returning to their own land, we cannot but heave a sigh when we think what must have been their feelings. Witnesses of all the horrors of the Reign of Terror; escaping to Britain; fed by the bounty of the Government there; crossing the ocean in the late fall when Atlantic waves are boisterous; landing in a foreign land, almost a wilderness, covered with winter snows; felling the monarchs of the forest; building rude dwellings, and facing the cold of our winter after the pleasant land of France. Think of the *mal de pays* from which they must have suffered when they thought of their sunny skies, not knowing, in that first sad winter, that this country, too, has its bright skies, and balmy air as well as its bracing breezes. Was it of these exiles that Burke wrote in his "Reflections on the French Revolution"? "I hear there are considerable emigrations from France, and that many, quitting that voluptuous climate and seductive Circean liberty, have taken refuge in the frozen regions of Canada." Writers a century later have not yet forgotten to make similar references to "Our Lady of the Snows."

To the patient investigator it will be found there is much unexplored territory in our history, and that the links are lying all around us concealed, or mayhap, open to every eye, but only those interested will be able to adapt and fit together the parts broken or separated into the complete chain.

We have within the brief space of one year to record serious losses to the membership of our Society, first by the death of a valued member, Mrs. Greene, who died on the 23rd Oct., 1905, and that of our Patron, Wm. Kirby, F.R.S.C., on 23rd June, 1906, and by the removal to Saskatchewan of our Vice-President, Henry Puffard. The President of the Society thus referred to the death of Mrs. Greene and Mr. Kirby in the Niagara and Toronto Press.

## Mrs. J. F. Greene

### A TRIBUTE

A very sad occurrence in our town last week was the death of Mary Hunter, daughter of the late Neil Hunter, and wife of Mr. Joseph F. Greene, after an illness of several months, borne with unflinching cheerfulness and rare courage. Born in the town she received her education first in the R. C. Separate School and afterwards in the High School; having honorably graduated she taught successfully in the Public School here. Her marked ability obtained for her the position of Assistant Secretary in the Head Office of the Foresters, which she held twelve years, till her marriage four years ago. By her amiability and sterling qualities of head and heart she gained many friends. A devoted member of St. Vincent de Paul's Church, a sweet singer in the choir there and also in St. Michael's Cathedral, Toronto, a member of the Historical Society, and of the Book Committee of the Public Library, and lately a member of a Literary Club, she took a deep interest in all these institutions. She lately wrote the history of her own Church here, which has been published by the Historical Society, and has elicited much praise for its careful research and graceful style. A touching tribute was paid her shortly before her death by her former companions in the I.O.F.

The funeral was largely attended, High Mass being performed by Rev. Father Bench, her former pastor, Rev. Father Harold, now of New York being present. The pall-bearers were Messrs. Miller, Randall, Healey, Brown, Sheppard and Flynn. Beautiful floral offerings from Toronto, Buffalo and Niagara, and the presence of the lady members of the Historical Society and Literary Club to pay the last mark of respect to their friend showed the esteem in which the deceased was held. Much sympathy is felt for her bereaved husband.



Face 37



WM. KIRBY, F.R.S.C.

## Wm. Kirby, F.R.S.C.

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William Kirby, F R S.C , Canada's oldest litterateur, born in 1817, and almost in his 90th year, died on Saturday, June 23. A native of Yorkshire, Eagland, he has always been known as a strong advocate for British connection. Leaving England in 1832 he received part of his education in Cincinatti from a highly educated Scot, Alexander Kinmount. Coming to Canada in 1839 he lived some years in St David's, and afterwards married Miss Whitmore, whose mother was a daughter of the noted United Empire Loyalist, Daniel Servos.

He next became editor and proprietor of the Niagara Mail, in 1853, and his first poem, "The U.E," was printed in the office of that paper, the greater part of the work, it is said, having been done by himself. On his retirement from The Mail he became Collector of Customs, which office he held for many years.

His greatest work, "Le Chien D'Or," perhaps the best Canadian historical romance ever written, has given its author deserved fame. The story of the writing and publishing, the loss of the manuscript for nearly three years, its finding in the Grand Trunk baggage room, Toronto, and its subsequent adventures is a romance in itself. His poems, Canadian Idylls, "Queen's Birthday," "Dead Sea Roses," "Kirby Wiske," "The Hungry Years," etc., give us many stirring incidents of Canadian history, all breathing an intense loyalty, while his translations of French and German poems show his linguistic as well as poetic powers.

His latest work, "Annals of Niagara," gives many almost forgotten stories of early days in the old capital.

He was made a fellow of the Royal Society, and though his reserve and modesty kept him from being as well known as he might have been, still by the highest in this and other lands his merits as a man and a poet have been, acknowledged. The Princess Louise, at Ottawa, conveyed to him the pleasure the late Queen Victoria had had in reading "The Golden Dog." Letters from Lord Tennyson, the Duke of Argyll and many noted persons attest the esteem in which he was held.

For many years reeve and magistrate of the town, he lived lately a quiet life of retirement.

He leaves a son, John Kirby, and three grandchildren in Toronto, and a grandson, Eric Kirby, now in England.

A good constitution enabled him to resist the disease which attacked him more than a year ago, and which was borne with patience and fortitude.

At the funeral there were present representatives of three Historical Societies, Miss FitzGibbon and Macallum of the Woman's Historical Society, Toronto; Canon Bull of Hamilton, his old friend of the Lundy's Lane His. So., and many ladies and gentlemen of the Niagara Historical Society of which he was the patron. The services were conducted by the Rev. J. C. Garrett and Rev. Canon Bull. The pall bearers were: Messrs Thonger, Ball, Eekersley, Servos. Ruthven and Blake. The mourners were: Mr. John Kirby and his two sons, Mr. Geo. Whitmore, Mr. P. Servos, Mr. L. Servos, Mr. James and Rev. A. Dawson. Flowers were sent by the Toronto and Niagara Historical Society. Mr. Kirby in accordance with his retiring character had expressed a wish that the funeral ceremonies should be of the simplest character.

The following inscription has been placed on a mural tablet in St. Mark's Church.

"In memory of Wm. Kirby, F.R.S.C. for twenty four years Collector of Customs for Niagara, the author of *Le Chien D'Or* (The Golden Dog) Canadian Idylls and other works of just repute. A true man with the loyalty, courage and spirit of his race. Born at Hull, Yorkshire, the 13th of October, 1817; died at Niagara, the 23rd of June, 1906 Also in memory of his dear wife, Elizabeth Magdalene Whitmore, U.E.L., born in Niagara Township the 11th of August, 1817; died at Niagara the fifth of June, 1891."





## APPENDIX

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Major Gregg gives a vivid picture of the ceremonies at the funeral of Gen. Brock. "No pen can describe the real scenes of that mournful day. A more solemn and affecting spectacle was never perhaps witnessed. As every arrangement fell to my lot, a second attack being hourly expected I anxiously endeavoured to perform the last tribute of affection in a manner corresponding to the elevated virtues of my departed patron. Recollecting the decided aversion of the General to ostentatious display I endeavoured to avoid this but there were military honors that could not be avoided." He gives the procession thus.

Fort Major Campbell, sixty men of 41st Regt., sixty of the Militia, two Six Pounders firing minute guns, remaining corps of Garrison and 200 Indians forming a street through which the procession passed from the Government House to the Garrison, Band of 41st Regt. Drums covered with black cloth and muffled. Late General's horse fully caparisoned led by four grooms, Servants of the General, The General's Body Servant, Surgeon Muirhead, Doctor Moore, Dr. Jarvis, Staff Surgeon Thorn, Rev. Mr. Addison. The body of Major Gen. Brock, Supporters Mr. Jas. Coffin, Capt. Vigoreux, R.E.; Capt. Derenzy 41st Regt., Capt. Dennis 49th, Capt. Holcroft, R.A. Brigade, Maj. Evans; Capt. Williams 49th Regt., Major Merritt, Lincoln Militia, Lt.-Col. Clark, Lincoln Militia, Lt.-Col. Butler, Col. Claus, Capt. Glegg, A.D.C., Chief mourners, Maj. Gen. Sheaffe, Ensign Coffin, Lt.-Col. Myers, Lt. Fowler, Civil Staff; Friends, Inhabitants.

A public monument was decreed by The Imperial Government and erected in St Paul's Cathedral at the cost of £1575. It was executed by Westmacott and shows the sword and helmet, his corpse reclining in the arms of a British soldier while an Indian stands close by.

A poster printed by Wm Lyon McKenzie at Queenston gives the arrangement for the funeral on 13th Oct., 1824, when the first monument was erected. The 1st and 4th regiments of Lincoln Militia the Royal Artillery, Grenadiers and 76th Regt. are mentioned as being present. The inscription on the monument is also preserved to us in another poster thus: "The Legislature of Upper Canada has dedicated this monument to the very eminent Civil and military services of the late Sir Isaac Brock, Knight commander of the most honourable order of the Bath, Provisional Lt. Governor and Major General commanding the forces of this province whose remains are deposited in the vault beneath.

Having expelled the North West Army of the United States. Achieved its capture. Received the surrender of Fort Detroit and the Territory of Michigan under circumstances which have rendered his name illustrious. He returned to the protection of this frontier and advancing with his small force to repel a second invasion of the enemy then in possession of the Heights. He fell in action on the 13th of Oct., 1812, in the 43 year of his age. Honored and beloved by the people whom he governed and deplored by his Sovereign to whose service his life had been devoted."

Another poster gives us the form of procession at the laying the foundation stone of the second monument, 13th Oct., 1853, in this order, Canadian Rifles, Band, Enrolled Pensioners, Funeral Car, Twelve Colonels or their officers as Pall-bearers, Col. Donald Macdonell, D. A. G. for Conada West, Lt.-Col. de Salaberry, D. A. G. for Canada East, Col. Tache, Lt.-Col. Irving, Survivors of 1812 and Indian chiefs as chief mourners, Military and Militia officers in uniform, Building Committee, Architect, Builder and Clerk of Work, Bar, Magistrates, Indian Band, Canadian Societies, National Societies, the procession to stretch from Grave yard and on King street opposite Col. Hamilton's, Col. Adams to act as Dep. Marshall; signed William Hamilton Merritt, Chairman; Hector Munro, Secretary.

With regard to Brock's cocked hat we have the following statement proving the genuineness of this valuable relic. Copy of extract from letter of the late John W. Ball, Esq., of Locust Grove, Niagara, to G. W. H. Ball, Esq., Barrister, Galt, Ont., "Sept. 5th, 1837.

General Brock's hat came out from England after his death to his nephew who with some troops was stationed at the time at Ball's Mills to protect a quantity of father's flour from the American Army. Capt. Brock in leaving the Mills presented the Hat to father the late Geo. Ball, Esq., of Locust Grove, Niagara.

It was in a good state of preservation until it was loaned to be placed on the coffin of the late General Brock when his remains were taken from Fort George to be placed in the first monument on Queenston Heights when it was completed, and again when the new monument was finished for the removal of the remains thereto. Instead of being cared for as promised by the Colonel in charge it was fingered and tried on by so many people as to leave it in its present shabby state. The hat was, I think, loaned a third time when the Prince of Wales visited the Monument and was again subjected to the same treatment by hundreds.

We send you the above statement as related by father.

Signed by { JOHN H. BALL.  
MARGARET BALL. "

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DUCIT AMOR PATRIAE

NIAGARA HISTORICAL  
SOCIETY

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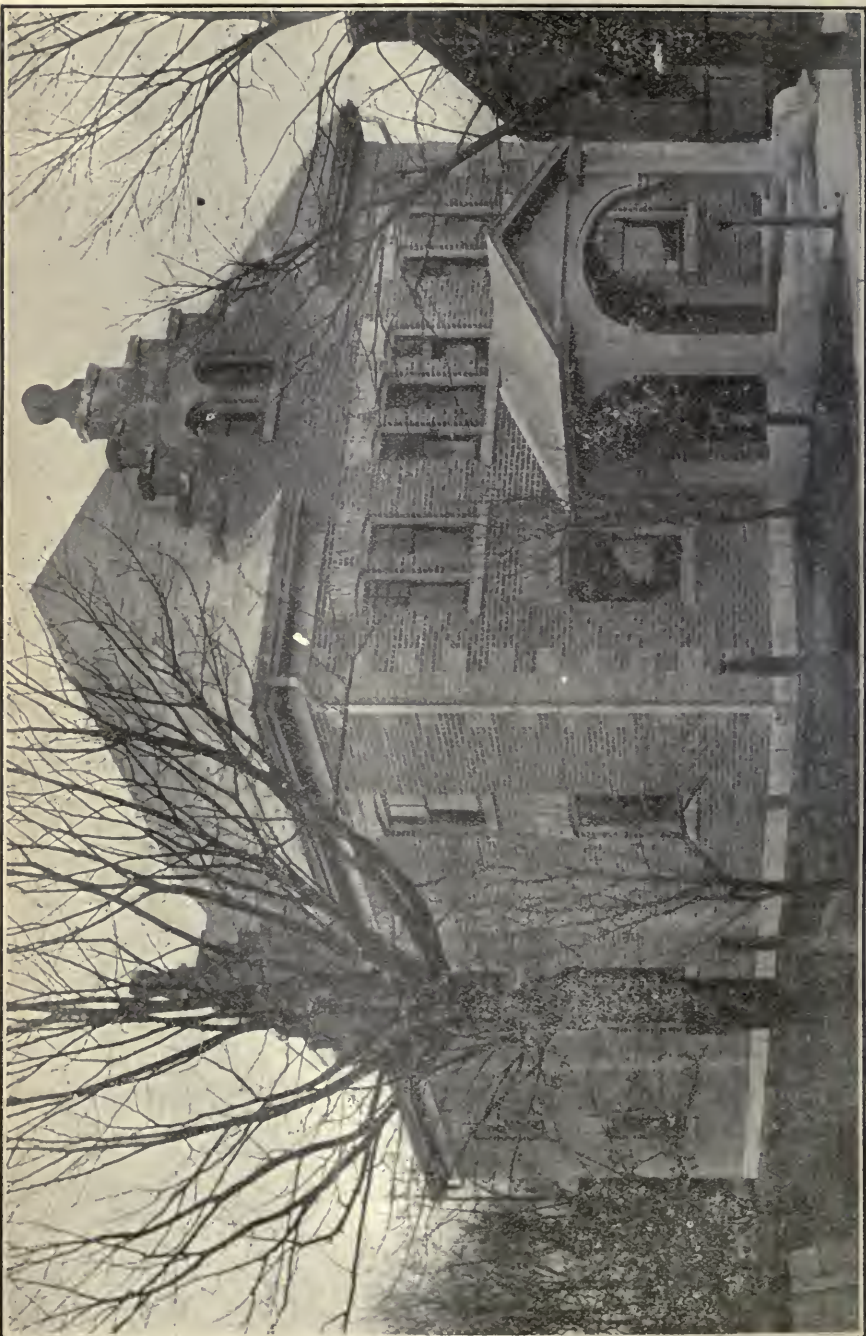
REPORT  
OF THE  
OPENING OF  
MEMORIAL HALL  
JUNE 4<sup>TH</sup>, 1907

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TIMES PRINT, 1908  
NIAGARA-ON-THE-LAKE, ONT.







MEMORIAL HALL, NIAGARA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Report of the  
OPENING OF MEMORIAL HALL  
JUNE 4th, 1907

It has been suggested by several members that the next publication of our Society should be a report of the opening of our building and that this should contain as far as possible the addresses given, the list of contributors to the building fund, the items of expense in the construction and furnishing and some account of the most interesting articles in the collection. It is to be regretted however that some of the addresses could not be obtained, being impromptu and not fully reported.

To begin at the beginning in the Evolution of the Building, but how reach by any method the beginning of anything, the environment of each person concerned, the circumstances which culminated in certain work done, all the thoughts maturing in many minds and at last crystallized into action. It is never possible to gather these together as the drops of all the tiny streamlets which trickle down uniting in the full grown river.

To begin at the beginning of the first public act which led ultimately to the erection of our Historical building - some reference must be made to the foundation of our Society. An article was sent to the local paper urging the formation of an Historical Society and shortly after the following invitation appeared: "A meeting will be held in the Public Library on Thursday evening, Dec. 12th, 1895 at 7.30 to take steps to organize an Historical Society for Niagara. A cordial invitation is given to all interested in the subject to be present." At the meeting Mr. Henry Paffard was called on to act as chairman and Mr. R. C. Burns as Secretary. It was decided to form a Society and the following officers were elected: Wm. Kirby, Patron; Miss Carnochan, President; H. Paffard, Vice-President; Alfred Ball, Secretary; Mrs. Alexander Servos, Treasurer. Committee - Rev. J. C. Garriett, Wm. Seymour, B.A.; W. R. McClelland and John D. Servos. Besides the officials appointed there were present Russel Wilkinson, Wm. Harrison, R. C. Burns, Mrs. B. Nash and the Misses Winterbottom, Baxter and Clement. The Rev. Dr. Scadding and Canon Bull were elected honorary members. A committee was appointed to draft a Constitution and By Laws before next meeting. An application to the Town Coun-

cil was sent, and the Grand Jury Room in the third story of the Court House was granted for meetings and to form an historical collection. It was decided that the Anniversary day should be 17th September, to celebrate the meeting of the Parliament of Upper Canada at Niagara then Newark in 1792, and that the annual meeting should be on 13th October to commemorate the battle of Queenston Heights 1812.

The card of Membership gives the motto. "The love of country guides." and states that "the objects of the Society are the encouragement of the study of Canadian History and Literature, the collection and safe preservation of Canadian Historical Records and Relics and the building up of Canadian Loyalty and Patriotism. Each member is asked to give or loan to the Society, documents or relics to add to the collection in the Historical Room or aid in any other way the aims of the Society."

The first anniversary was held in the Town Park, in 1896, the speakers and others were entertained at lunch at Long's Hotel and there was an Historical Exhibit in Rowley's block in the charge of John D. Servos to whose zeal in collecting, the utmost praise was due. The speakers were Rev. Canon Bull, Capt. Cruikshank (now Colonel) Mrs. Curzon, Miss FitzGibbon, Col. J. G. Currie, Jas. Hiscott, M.P.P., and Wm. Kirby, F.R.S.C. The band of the 39th Battalion was kindly furnished by Col. Otter, the Military Camp being held at that time, and the High School Glee Club sang, led by Wm. Seymour, B.A. After lunch St. Mark's Graveyard had been visited and many graves decorated.

It is not intended to give the history of the Society during the ten years since. The work went on regularly and the room was found to be too small to contain the articles but, as the next steps are referred to in a paper read June 4th, these need not be repeated. A committee was formed to arrange for the important day of opening. Mr. Chas Hunter kindly offered to entertain the Lieutenant Governor, whose presence we were fortunate enough to secure.

Mr. Chas. Hunter, Manager of the Standard Life Assurance Co., and Mrs. Hunter entertained at their beautiful summer home the Lt.-Governor, Major Macdonald, Mrs McDonald, Rev. J. C. Garrett, Mrs. J. C. Garrett and A. H. U. Colquhoun, while others were entertained by the Society at Doyle's Hotel. The visitors were met at the boat by the President of the Society, Mr Eckersley and W. J. Wright, M.A. Among those entertained were Dr. Bain, C. C. James, Rev. N. Smith, Miss Gilkison, Brantford, and other friends.

Among those who were present and registered were His Honor Sir Mortimer Clark attended by his official Secretary, Major McDonaid, Dr. Bain, Chief Librarian, Dr. A. H. U. Colquhoun, Dep. Min-



ister of Education, C. C. James, F.R.S.C., Dep. Minister of Agriculture, Mrs. J. F. Macdonald, Chas. Hunter, Mrs. Chas. Hunter, Rev. N. Smith, Mrs. H. Thompson, Rev. A. B. Sherk, Mrs. Miller, Miss Gray, T. M. Rowland, Mrs. Rowland, Mrs. Wilson, Miss Lawler, Mrs. Collins all of Toronto, Johnson Clench, Mrs. J. G. Currie, Dr. Jessop, M.P.P., R. Walker, C. A. Case, Mrs. Bixby, C. A. Wilson, A. R. Carnochan, Mrs. Clench of St. Catharines, Col. Cruikshank, F.R.S.C., Dr. and Mrs. Walker, C. A. Foulger, W. P. Gonder, F. H. Leslie, Mrs. Birdsall of Niagara Falls, Miss Gilkison, Brantford, Miss Gonder and Miss Durham, Black Creek, R. J. Davis, London, Miss McKay, Mimico, Mrs. Walker, Buffalo, Mrs. Walker, Glencoe, F. J. Arline, St. Thomas, J. M. Field, W. Crouch, Miss Crouch, Virgil, Mrs. Scott, Cincinnati, Mrs. Kowe, Cleveland, Mrs. McPherson, Ottawa, Mrs. F. Anderson, Chicago, Miss Fairbairn, Weston, Rev. J. C. Garrett, Mrs. Garrett, Rev. A. F. MacGregor, Rev. P. J. Bench, Major Hiscott, Dr. Anderson, Chas. A. F. Ball, Mrs. Ball, Mrs. Wood, Miss Joanna E. Wood, Mrs. McGaw, Miss Alma, Miss Winterbottom, J. de W. Randall, T. F. Best, J. Bottomley, Mrs. A. Servos, W. J. Wright, M.A., Mrs. Bottomley, J. H. Burns, Mrs. J. H. Burns, Miss Beavan, F. Wintthrop, C. Thonger, W. S. Lansing, Mrs. Lansing, A. W. Wright, Jos. Walker, H. Ruthven, Mrs. Jno. Carnochan, W. E. Lyall, F. J. Rowland, Mrs. Rowland, Miss Anderson, Miss M. Ball, Miss M. Servos, W. R. McClelland, Miss Follett, Miss Bernard, P. Librock, J. A. Black, Mrs. Geddes, Mrs. Billing and many others.

Besides these the Press was well represented as there were reporters from the Toronto Globe, News, Star and Telegram also St. Catharines' Standard and Niagara Fall's Review.

It had been decided that the speaking should be in a large marquee tent as on account of the number of upright cases in the room it was not adapted for a large crowd; a smaller tent was provided for the refreshments, but as on account of the rain the attendance was less than expected it was decided that the speaking should be in the building and that afterwards refreshments should be served to all present in the large tent.

On a platform covered with rich rugs kindly provided by Mrs. Miles, were seated the Lieutenant Governor, the President and Vice-President of the Society. The room was brilliant with flags and fragrant with flowers and altogether with the array in the cases of military accoutrements, pictures, flags and flowers a fine *tout ensemble* was presented. A handsome palm sent by the Niagara Navigation Company was conspicuous. The programme as printed was as follows but as some were unavoidably absent several in the audience were called upon to speak.

## Afternoon Meeting at 2.30 p.m. In Memorial Hall

OPENING PRAYER.....Rev. J. C. Garrett, Vice-Pres. of Society.  
BUILDING DECLARED OPEN.....by His Honor the Lieut.-Governor.

### In the Tent

ADDRESS.....His Honor the Lieut.-Governor.  
“ .....Hon. N. Monteith, Minister of Agriculture.  
“ .....John Ross Robertson  
“ .....A. H. U. Colquhoun, M.A.,  
Dept. Minister of Education.  
“ .....David Boyle, Supt. Archaeological Museum.  
“ ..... Alexander Fraser, M.A., Provincial Archivist.

### Afternoon Tea at 5 p.m.

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## Evening Meeting at 8 p.m.

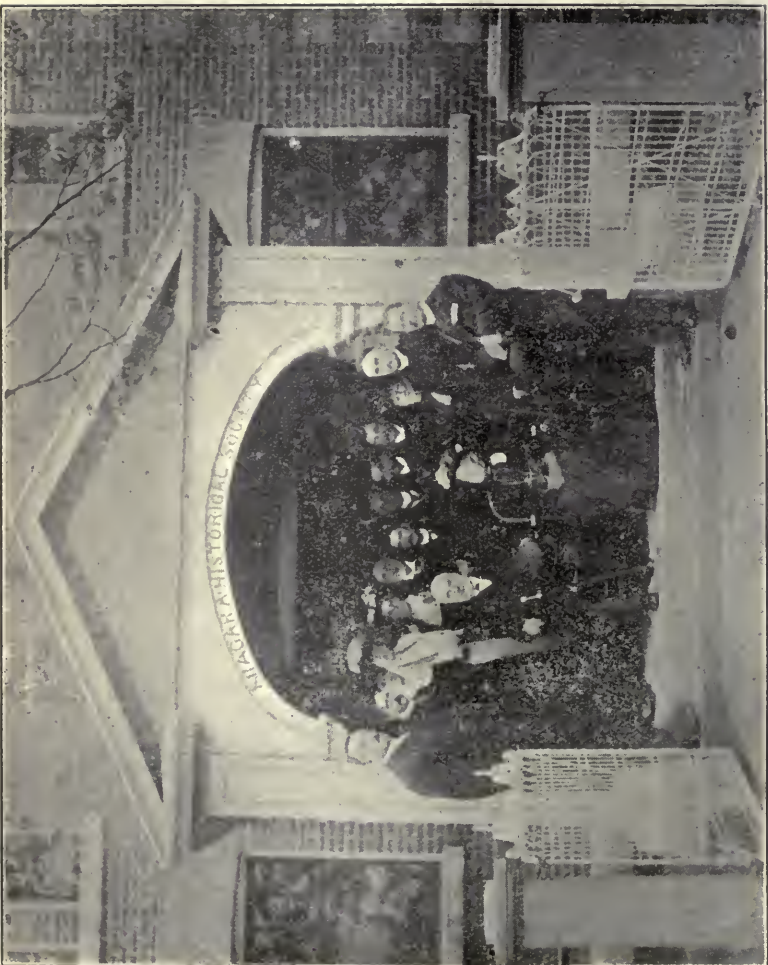
### In the Town Hall

INSTRUMENTAL DUET...Miss Louise Carnochan and Miss May Burns.  
ADDRESS .....The Military History of Niagara  
Col. Cruikshank, F.R.S.C.  
SONG.....Members of the High School Glee Club.  
PAPER.....The Early Legislators of Niagara  
C. C. James, Dept. Minister of Agriculture.  
SONG.....Canada..... Col. Galloway.  
PAPER .....The Evolution of our Historical Building.  
President of the Society.  
SONG.....Canada, God and our Land.  
Members of the High School Glee Club.  
ADDRESS.....Hon. Peter A. Porter, Niagara Falls, N.Y.

God Save the King.



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OPENING, JUNE 4TH, 1907

Major MacDonald, Dr. Colquhoun, Mrs. Hunter, Mrs. MacDonald, Mrs. Garrett, Dr. Bain,  
Mayor Randall, Chas. Hunter, W. J. Wright, M.A., Col. Cruikshank, F.R.S.C.,  
Mrs. Thompson, Rev. J. C. Garrett, C. C. James, F.R.S.C.,  
Sir Mortimer Clark, Miss Carnochan.

The opening prayer was made by the Rev. J. C. Garrett, the Vice President, after which His Honor, Sir Mortimer Clark, made an address first congratulating the Society on the building and its contents and briefly reviewed the events of the last fifty years in Canada showing how a feeling of loyalty had been developed and fostered by the events of the war of 1812, the Trent affair and the Boer war thus binding together Canada and the Mother Country. He emphasized the importance of historical societies and the value to the young of such an object lesson as the contents of this room would be. He spoke of the changes he had seen since coming to the country in 1859 and of the greater interest in historical research and of the stronger feeling of patriotism a new spirit seemed to control the people of to day and we were living in the midst of the awaking of a new life. Newcomers not understanding our government and knowing little of Canadian history were apt to overlook the work of those who had brought about the present condition of a settled country and people who were loyal subjects of the British Empire. Niagara was the Mecca for tourists. The Niagara peninsula had been made sacred by the blood of those who fought and died, whose brave deeds are an inspiration to all and who should be honored by all. The three places of greatest historic interest in Canada were Louisburg, Quebec and Niagara. Young people should be brought to Memorial Hall and there taught the history of their forefathers and that Canada was part of a great Empire. Imperialism spread the knowledge of British law which stood for civil liberty. An Imperialist was not one who was always "begging some one to tread on the tail of his coat." It was important to preserve all links with the past that the young should be brought in touch with it.

The Lieutenant Governor then declared the building open. A telegram was read from Hon. A. Nelson Monteith, the Minister of Agriculture, expressing his regret at not being able to be present. A letter was read by the President from John Ross Robertson expressing his kind wishes as follows:

Dear Miss Carnochan:—

I regret exceedingly that I am unable to be with you tomorrow afternoon at the opening of the new building, were it not for important business that detains me in Toronto I should have set aside every other consideration and taken part in doing honor to yourself and the friends who have so generously assisted in installing the new Historical Building in the old town of Niagara.

Let me assure you that although I am not present with you in person I am with you in spirit, and trust that your opening function

may be a successful one, and let me assure you that in whatever way you desire I shall only be too happy to assist you in not only making your collection more complete but in any other way that will advance the interests of so good a work.

Yours Sincerely,

J. ROSS ROBERTSON.

Mr. David Boyle the Superintendent of the Archaeological Museum was unfortunately absent when called upon. Dr. A. H. U. Colquhoun the Deputy Minister of Education congratulated the Society and the President who seemed to have "the happy knack of making money people do as she desired" as shown in her success in collecting money from governments, town and County Councils and individuals, stating that having seen numerous historical buildings he could say that Memorial Hall took a high rank among them.

A letter of apology was received from Alexander Fraser, M.A., the Provincial Archivist explaining that he was unexpectedly detained in Detroit.

Dr. Jessop, M.P.P. for Lincoln, gave a short enthusiastic address congratulating the Society, and Dr. Bain, the chief Librarian of Toronto, spoke of the valuable and rare books, pamphlets and papers in the room having discovered that the Niagara Historical possessed one of which the only other copy known to exist was in the Toronto Library, viz the first novel printed in Upper Canada which he had secured for a considerable price but was quietly told by Miss Carnochan that it had been obtained for nothing by this Society.

Major Hiscott, the former member for Lincoln recalled Niagara as a centre of business seventy years ago claiming that he was probably the oldest person present who had been born in the town, and paid a glowing tribute to the good and honorable men of the past in Niagara.

Johnson Clench the County Clerk from St. Catharines in congratulating Miss Carnochan and the Society, told that his two grandfathers had fought on opposite sides at Queenston Heights, one of them being Ralfe Clench, the first Judge. The Rev. A. F. McGregor also spoke for a few moments. His Honor then called for three cheers for Miss Carnochan, the President of the Society, who after thanking the speakers for their many kind words said "I hope none of you think I am foolish enough to believe all the complimentary things which have been said of me." Before the close of the meeting the President read a list of names, almost a hundred in number of those who had sent regrets and apologies for their absence showing kindly feeling and interest in our work. As His Worship the Mayor, J. de W. Randall, had declared a half holiday to honor the event an

opportunity was thus given to all to attend, but the heavy rain deprived many of the pleasure.

An adjournment was made to the tent where 5 o'clock tea was served and bountiful refreshments were dispensed by the ladies of the Society, the committee consisting of Mrs T. F. Best, Mrs. Goff, Mrs. A. Servos, Mrs. Ascher, Mrs. Thompson, Mrs. Rowe, Miss W. Servos, Mrs Ruthven, Mrs. Bottomley as Convener, and all deserve the highest praise for the manner in which their work was carried out having met with and conquered many difficulties. The young ladies who waited on the guests were all related to members of the Society viz Miss Kathleen Ball, Miss Flora Garrett, Miss Gladys Best, Miss Gertrude Carnochan, Miss Clara Eckersley, Miss Sarah Lansing, Miss McGregor, Miss Mildred Randall, Miss Catharine Creed, Miss Skelton, Miss May Burns, Mrs. Rowe. The gentlemen on the committee were Messrs. Ball, Eckersley, Wright and Winthrop.

In spite of the rain every one seemed happy and pleased. Many stayed in the room taking their refreshment in examining more closely the collection consisting of military clothing, weapons, documents, portraits of early inhabitants, early Niagara printing, rare books and pamphlets, women's work, clothing, churches, household articles grouped round an old mantel, old china, early boats, Indian remains, pictures, old furniture, papers, autographs, deeds, scrap books, miscellaneous.

The evening meeting was held in the Town Hall and was presided over by the Rev. J. C. Garrett. In spite of the pouring rain the room was full to the doors. The programme was carried out completely with the exception of one speaker, Hon. Peter Porter, Niagara Falls, N.Y., whose letter explained that the serious illness of his son prevented him coming. The kind letter closed thus.

"I wish you would present my personal regards to the Lieutenant Governor, Mr. James Coyne, Col. Cruikshank, Mr. Boyle, the Ontario Archivist and other friends, members of your Society to whose courtesies in the part I have been indebted for a most enjoyable time and with the wish that your meeting may be the great success which I know you are entitled to for the work you have done. Believe me

Yours very sincerely,

PETER A. PORTER."

His absence was a great disappointment as his rousing speech two years ago here was remembered. It is to be regretted that the address of Col. Cruikshank F.R.S.C. can not be given in full as it was spoken not written. It was strongly patriotic in tone and re-

ferred briefly to the different features of the military history of Niagara from the first settlement during and after the Revolutionary War, through the different invasions of our territory in the war of 1812 showing how the men, the women and even the children had helped in defending their country. The eminent historian of the Niagara peninsula than whom no one has equal knowledge on the subject, was listened to with great attention as his well known thoroughness, impartiality and powers of research are acknowledged by all and command respect. A song followed, by the High School Glee Club led by Miss Anderson one of the teachers, "Canada". Then followed a paper by C. C. James F.R.S.C. Deputy Minister of Agriculture on the Early Legislators of Niagara which was replete with much curious and interesting historic lore. This paper we are happy to be able to give in full. The audience was then delighted with the song "Canada" (which may become the Canadian anthem) by Col Galloway which was so heartily encored that another patriotic song was given 'John Bull'.

Then following "The Evolution of our Historical Building" by the President and this by special request is also given in full. The Glee Club gave another song "Canada, God and our land". The members of the Glee Club were the Misses L. Carnochan, L. Hartley, E. Redhead, C. Eckersley, H. Gordon, F. Lee, H. Stevens, N. Irvine, E. Doherty, M. Lynch, W. Taylor, the pianist being Miss May Burns. The meeting closed with God Save the King.

The list of those who sent kind letters in reply to the card of invitation is as follows:

Sir Wilfred Laurier, Sir Frederick Borden, Sir Randolph Lemieux, Hon. W. S. Fielding, Hon. S. A. Fisher, Hon. H. R. Emerson, Hon. Wm Gibson, Hon. Jas. Young, Hon J. Whitney, Hon. A. J. Matheson, Hon R. A. Pyne, Hon. N. Monteith, Hon J. Reaume, Hon. J. J. Foy, Hon J. S. Hendrie, Hon. G. W. Ross.

President Burwash, Principal Hutton, Dr. Goldwin Smith, Dr Withrow, Col. Merritt, Dr. Hodgins, Col. Stimson, Col. Davidson, Col. Galloway, Col. Denison, John Ross Robertson, David Boyle, Dr. Colquhoun, C. C. James, F.R.S.C., Rev. N. Smith, Nicol Kingsmill, K. C., N. W. Rowell K. C., Alexander Fraser M. A., Dr. Helen McMurchy, F. D. Smith, F. Nicholls, J. S. Carstairs, Mrs. Campbell, Mrs. Mills, F. Yeigh, W Rennie, S. W. Folger, Mrs Corley, M. G. Sherek, Miss Colquhoun all of Toronto, Canon Bull; Hamilton, Col. Woods; Quebec, Dr. Fletcher, Benj. Sulte F.R.S.C., S R. Sangster, Mrs. Richards; Ottawa, Hugh, J. Chisholm; New York, W. A. Clement C. E.; Vancouver, F. H. Severance; Buffalo, Barlow Cumberland; Port Hope, W. D. Lighthail, Mrs. Campbell; Montreal.



Jno. McIntyre, A. McLaren, Mrs Currie, Miss Ault, St. Catharines; G. H. Comer, Kingston; B. G Hamilton, Calgary; J. H. Coyne, St. Thomas; Mrs. Perry, Philadelphia; Miss Rankin, Detroit; Miss Quade, Ransomville, N.Y.; Miss Rye, England; Dr. Milroy, Ayr, Scotland; Mrs. Ross, Holland, Man; Henry Paffard, Lumsden, Sask.; Mrs. Burns, St. Thomas; Mrs. Hammett, Newbury; Miss Clement, Berlin; Mrs. Soule, Niagara Falls; Sir Jas. LeMoine, Quebec, Miss Joanna E Wood, Niagara.

The letter from the celebrated litterateur Goldwin Smith is certainly worthy of presentation. It was dictated, but signed by Dr. Goldwin Smith himself.

“The Grange,  
Toronto, May 22nd, 1907.

Dear Sir

I am very sorry that I am unable to leave home at present and must consequently forego the pleasure of attending the opening of your new building, I trust the study of history to which my own life has been mainly devoted may flourish under the roof of your new home.

yours truly

GOLDWIN SMITH.”

Dr. Hodgins the veteran Historiographer writes a personal letter of regrets and good wishes in his “86th year and 63rd of active service in the Education office.”

Mr. J Stewart Carstairs closes his letter of regret thus “The Society in this as in so many other respects has displayed marvellous energy and has accomplished marvellous results; with many thanks and a “semper floreat” I am sincerely yours

J. S CARSTAIRS.”

The Hon. G W. Ross closes his letter of regret with these words “Your Society has done splendid work for Canada, I hope you will not weary in well doing.”

Col. Matheson the Provincial Treasurer, “I wish your society much success in your patriotic work which is worthy of all encouragement.

yours faithfully

A. J. MATHESON.”

Barlow Cumberland the President of the Ontario Historical Society writes from Dunain, Port Hope, "I have to say too that your enterprise will be of much value to Niagara-on-the-Lake in attracting and prolonging the stay of visitors to your vicinity."

Mrs. W. R. Ross sent a telegram from Holland, Manitoba, "With you to-day in spirit. Success to Memorial Hall."

Sir Jas. LeMoine writes from Spencer Grange, Quebec, a very kind letter closing thus, "It must be most gratifying to yourself and the members of your society to have made a success of such a praiseworthy project seeing the innumerable obstacles you had to vanquish. Please accept for yourself and for the society my warm congratulations."

Many of the letters are of too personal a nature and too laudatory of our work to be quoted from, but for their kindly spirit we thank our friends cordially.

# The Early Legislators of Niagara District

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By C. C. James, F.R.S.C., Deputy Minister of Agriculture.

When the war of American Independence closed in 1783, the limits of western settlement, adjacent to what is now the Province of Ontario, were the Island of Montreal in Quebec and the valleys of the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers in the state of New York. West and north of these was the great lake region covered by its magnificent primeval forest. Here had been the homes, the hunting grounds and the battle grounds of the Algonquins, the Hurons, the Neutrals and the Iroquois. Trading posts had been established at various times at advantageous points and some of these had developed into strong military forts. Four of these may be referred to here, as they played important parts not only in the fortunes of war, but also in the subsequent settlement of what became known as Upper Canada. These four posts or forts were Oswegatchie on the St. Lawrence, located at Ogdensburg, Fort Catarauqui at Kingston, Fort Niagara on the east or New York bank of the Niagara River, and Detroit on the northwest or Michigan side of the Detroit River. It will be noted that they were well distributed along the great line of communication and transportation, the water line from Montreal to Lake Huron. This water line became the boundary between the British Province of Quebec and the new confederacy of States that had just established its independent position. Oswegatchie, Catarauqui, Niagara and Detroit then became four important points in connection with the settlement of the new district of Western Quebec. There were two other military posts, namely, Fort Ontario on the south shore of Lake Ontario, in the vicinity of Oswego, and Fort Mackinac at the entrance to Lake Michigan; but they played no part in the early settlement of Upper Canada, as may be readily understood on account of their situation.

As the British troops withdrew from the eastern and central states, and as the loyalist settlers and their families moved out of their old locations and sought refuge in British territory, they naturally were attracted towards these four protected posts on the boundary line, and thus we find that the earliest settlements of this Province began simultaneously in the vicinity of Ogdensburg, on the north bank of the St. Lawrence, from Kingston west along the shores of the Bay of Quinte, in the section at the head of Lake Ontario and

around to Fort Erie, and in the peninsula east and south of Detroit. In the early days, then, there were four distinct settlements of this western part of Quebec, each grouped about or lying adjacent to a fortified post. Three of these posts, Oswegatchie, Detroit and Niagara were within the recognized territory of the United States, but remained in possession of British garrisons until 1796, all through the years of early organization of the Province and down to the time when the capital was transferred from Niagara to York on Toronto Bay.

This western section remained a part of the Province of Quebec from 1783 down to the 26th of December, 1791, when, by formal proclamation at Quebec, it became the Province of Upper Canada. For judicial purposes, it had been divided into the four districts already referred to, bearing the utterly inappropriate names of Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Nassau and Hesse.

When the proclamation was issued at Quebec by the acting Governor General, the first Lieutenant Governor of the Province, Lt. Colonel John Graves Simcoe, had already arrived, and with the help of Thomas Talbot was gaining information as to the resources and requirements of his new field of operations. Early in the summer of 1792 he set out up the river from Quebec for the new Province. The first question that now arose was as to where he should establish his Government headquarters. One of the four districts must be chosen. For convenience, either Cataraqui or Niagara would be the choice. The first meeting of the Executive Council was held at Kingston, and, besides other business so necessary to a new Province, the four districts were divided into counties and a proclamation issued for the election of representatives and the calling together of the first legislature to meet at Newark, as the new settlement was then named, on the west bank of the Niagara River. It is interesting to note that this part of the business was concluded on Sunday, the 15th day of July.

The district of Nassau, of which Fort Niagara was the judicial headquarters, stretched from a line on the west running north and south through Longue Pointe to a line running north and south through the outlet of the River Trent on the east. The proclamation issued on Monday the 16th day of July, provided for four counties within this district, namely, Northumberland, Durham, York and Lincoln. The northern limit of the county of Lincoln at that time was the Indian trail or carrying place leading from Burlington Bay through the Mohawk Village to the River Thames. The western limit was the Grand River. It will be seen by a reference to the map that the first county of Lincoln was composed of the present county of Lincoln also of Welland and portions of the present count-

ies of Wentworth and Brant and Haldimand. By the same proclamation it was divided into four ridings.

The first riding formed the western portion, and was composed of the the present townships of Ancaster, Burton, Saltfleet, Glanford and Binbrook of Wentworth County, together with Grimsby, Clinton, Caistor and Gainsboro of Lincoln County.

The second riding included Louth, Grantham and Newark townships.

The third riding included Pelham, Thorold and Stamford.

The fourth riding included all south of Chippewa Creek the townships which now make up the County of Welland.

It was provided that the first riding of York and Durham should elect one representative; that the fourth riding, together with the County of Norfolk, should send one representative; and the second riding and third riding should each elect one representative. The representation was based on population as determined from the militia returns. Thus, we see that there was one representative for the townships of Louth, Grantham and Newark or Niagara, one representative; for Pelham, Thorold and Stamford, one for Welland County and the district as far west as Catfish Creek in Elgin County, and one representative for the district beginning near Jordan Harbor and extending around the lake as far as Port Hope.

Having disposed of the question as to the ridings, we next touch upon the location of the capital. A very interesting chapter could be written of this subject. The Governor General, Lord Dorchester, we understand, favored Kingston, but Simcoe at first thought it should be located inland,—for a time he was favorable to a town to be built at the forks of the Thames where London now stands. Meanwhile, he decided to make his temporary headquarters at Navy Hall, at the mouth of the Niagara River. Here were kept some of the naval stores and here were buildings where the Officers of His Majesty's Lake Ontario vessels made their winter quarters. Just across the river was Fort Niagara, which was still manned by British troops. Simcoe no doubt thought that the new members could as readily reach Niagara by boat as any other place in the Province, and so he gave orders for the various ridings to elect their representatives and for the latter to meet in session at Navy Hall in September, 1792.

Note the size of the two constituencies, the first riding and the fourth riding and the fact that there were no roads. But there were few settlers beyond Burlington Bay or the Grand River, so that practically it was simply the County of Lincoln in the Niagara Peninsula that elected the four representatives for the four ridings of Lincoln.

Who were the representatives? The proclamation provided for sixteen members. I shall not weary you with all the names; but perhaps as I have referred to the four districts I may note them as follows: - The eastern district on the St. Lawrence from Brockville to Cornwall elected five members; the Kingston and Bay of Quinte district elected four; the Niagara district four, and the Detroit River district three. The three stretches of the country between Brockville and Kingston, between Trenton and Hamilton, and between Fort Erie and Leamington were unrepresented because there were no residents in these areas between the four original groups of pioneer settlement.

Who were the first representatives for old Lincoln who were chosen to come to Navy Hall to make the first laws for the new Province?

|                 |                   |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| First Lincoln,  | Nathaniel Pettit. |
| Second Lincoln, | Benjamin Pawling. |
| Third Lincoln,  | Isaac Swayzie.    |
| Fourth Lincoln, | Parshall Terry.   |

Nathaniel Pettitt was one of the influential men of the first settlers in Grimsby. He came from Pennsylvania in 1787. He was a member of the first Land Board, and when the British Government was making selection of an Executive Council to assist the new Lieutenant Governor, his name was submitted by Lord Dorchester for consideration. He was familiarly known as Judge Pettit. His brother Andrew was the progenitor of the Pettit's of Lincoln County.

Benjamin Pawling also came from Pennsylvania. During the war he was an officer in Butler's Rangers. At the close of the war some of Butler's Rangers settled on the north shore of Lake Erie east of Amersburg, others settled in the Niagara District. His land was on the lake front east of Port Dalhousie. Along with Nathaniel Pettit he was a member of the Land Board in 1788 and continued as such for some years. Col. Benjamin Pawling of 12 Mile Creek was buried on the 16th of December, 1818, by the Rev. Mr. Addison of Niagara.

Col. Isaac Swayzie, representative for the third Lincoln, had played a very important part in the war of American Independence. He was born in New Jersey and during the war was most active as a scout and "Pilot of the New York Army". He settled on the Niagara River being a representative for one or other of the ridings of Lincoln during 20 years in all. He died in 1828, aged 77 years.

For many years there was doubt and uncertainty as to who represented the fourth riding. The standard works of history do not

give the complete list; some had a mysterious Mr. Young who could not be identified. Long continued search, however, revealed the man in Parshall Terry. A careless writing of the names Terry and Young will show how the one name might be mistaken for the other. The Quebec Magazine for December, 1792, makes the name Partial Jerry". Terry does not seem to have taken a very active part in early Niagara legislaion. He got contracts in connection with the new fort at Toronto Bay and moved to the valley of the Don.

When the elections were held for the second Parliament, four new men were elected to represent the four Lincoln Ridings, viz., Richard Beasley, David Wm. Smith, Samuel Street and Benjamin Hardison. Students of early Niagara District history will at once associate Richard Beasley with the early history of the Head of the Lake, Samuel Street with the early milling operations on the Niagara River, Benjamin Hardison with Fort Erie, and David Wm. Smith fits in with old Niagara and the adjoining townships. The name of David Wm. Smith is inseparably connected with early days in Niagara. He had served with his father at Detroit and sat in the first Parliament as the member for Essex and Suffolk. But he was transferred to Niagara in 1792 and his connection with land grants as Surveyor General made him well known to the electors of that section. During the years 1792 1804 there was probably no more influential person in Upper Canada than David William Smith. An enumeration of the public offices that he held in Upper Canada fills one page of an ordinary book. It may be interesting here to note that the man who represented the second Lincoln that part in which Niagara town is situated, presided as speaker over the second Parliament of Upper Canada. He seems to have fairly won his claim to knighthood which was conferred in 1821 after he had returned to England.

Five sessions of the first Parliament were held at Newark, as the settlement was then called, the first from 17th September to 15th October, 1792, and the fifth from 16th May to 3rd June, 1796. In August of the latter year the second election was held, the constituencies being the same as in 1792, and the first session of the second Parliament was held at York in the summer of 1797. Thus passed away the glory of old Niagara as the capital of the Province. It had been understood that it was merely the temporary capital. Just as soon as Fort Niagara should be evacuated it would be advisable to transfer the headquarters of Government elsewhere. This took place in 1796. In the same year Simcoe somewhat unexpectedly left Upper Canada and did not have the pleasure of opening his new Parliament in his new capital on Toronto Bay which he named York.

In naming the counties, Simcoe had endeavored to reproduce England. He began with Kent at the extreme west on the south shore of Lake St. Clair and had fixed in succession Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Lincoln, York, Durham and Northumberland, and when he desired to give the townships names, in place of the numbers by which they had been known, he chose the names of towns in the corresponding counties in England, hence Gainsby, Louth, Caistor and Newark.

The records of the old Nassau Land Board show us that they had given instructions to lay out a town adjoining Navy Hall and the Government reserve to be called Lennox, but Simcoe changed that to Newark, this in time to give way to Niagara.

A picture of Niagara during the four years of its legislative career would be exceedingly interesting. The Lieutenant Governor and his staff, the Executive Councillors, the civil servants more powerful and more consequential in those days than now, the members of the legislature, some in their homely homespun others in the courtly dress of the old world, the officers from the Fort across the river, officers and sailors from His Majesty's ships as they from time to time turned into the King's wharf, the Indian Chiefs from the neighboring reserves as they came to trade or make treaty, the U. E. loyalist in his best clothes saved from the wreck showing the signs of long wear but suggestive of better days in the years long gone by, and the Dutch farmers whose garb and speech both traced back to the Mohawk or the Susquehannah. Add to these the travellers from overseas who came to call upon the Governor in his capital in the wilderness on their way to the great Falls of Niagara, even then famous in Europe, and you have material for a sketch interesting and attractive. Those undoubtedly were the days of Niagara's greatness when within this old town were laid the foundation laws of our province. It is to the credit and the good fortune of your town and it will be an imperishable monument to the devotion and zeal of her who is to day your most worthy citizen, Miss Janet Carnohan, that there now stands a building that will gather together and preserve all that remains of that interesting story of early days — a building and a collection that should not only preserve the best things of the past but incite to the best things of the future.



# LINCOLN COUNTY

## MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURE OF UPPER CANADA 1792—1841.

### 1792—1796: FIRST PARLIAMENT.

|                             |                   |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| 1st Lincoln, York & Durham— | Nathaniel Pettit. |
| 2nd Lincoln,                | Benjamin Pawling. |
| 3rd Lincoln,                | Isaac Swayzie.    |
| 4th Lincoln & Norfolk,      | Partial Terry.    |

### 1797—1800: SECOND PARLIAMENT.

|                             |                      |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| 1st Lincoln, York & Durham— | Richard Beasley.     |
| 2nd Lincoln,                | David William Smith. |
| 3rd Lincoln,                | Samuel Street.       |
| 4th Lincoln & Norfolk,      | Benjamin Hardison.   |

### 1801—1804. THIRD PARLIAMENT.

|                                   |                    |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1st Lincoln, W. York & Haldimand, | { Robert Nelles.   |
|                                   | { Richard Beasley. |
| 2nd, 3rd, & 4th Lincoln,          | { Ralfe Clench.    |
|                                   | { Issac Swayzie.   |

### 1805—1808: FOURTH PARLIAMENT

|                                   |                  |
|-----------------------------------|------------------|
| 1st Lincoln, W. York & Haldimand, | { Solomon Hill.  |
|                                   | { Robert Nelles. |
| 2nd, 3rd & 4th Lincoln,           | { Ralfe Clench.  |
|                                   | { Isaac Swayzie. |

### 1809—1812: FIFTH PARLIAMENT.

|                          |                           |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1st Lincoln & Haldimand, | { Levi Lewis.             |
|                          | { Joseph Willcocks.       |
| 2nd Lincoln              | David Secord.             |
| 3rd Lincoln              | Samuel Street, (Speaker.) |
| 4th Lincoln              | Crowell Willson.          |

### 1813—1816: SIXTH PARLIAMENT.

|              |                 |
|--------------|-----------------|
| 1st Lincoln, | Robert Nelles.  |
| 2nd Lincoln, | Ralfe Clench.   |
| 3rd Lincoln, | Thomas Dickson. |
| 4th Lincoln. | Isaac Swayze.   |

1817—1820 : SEVENTH PARLIAMENT.

|              |                |
|--------------|----------------|
| 1st Lincoln, | Robert Nelles. |
| 2nd Lincoln, | Ralfe Clench.  |
| 3rd Lincoln, | David Secord.  |
| 4th Lincoln, | Isaac Swayze.  |

1821—1824 : EIGHTH PARLIAMENT.

|              |                  |
|--------------|------------------|
| 1st Lincoln, | John Clark.      |
| 2nd Lincoln, | W. J. Kerr.      |
| 3rd Lincoln, | Robert Hamilton. |
| 4th Lincoln, | Robert Randall.  |

1825—1828 : NINTH PARLIAMENT.

|                 |                                                               |
|-----------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| Lincoln County, | { John Clark.<br>Robert Randall.<br>Bartholomew C. Beardsley. |
| Niagara (Town)  |                                                               |

1829—1830 : TENTH PARLIAMENT.

King George IV, died June 25th, 1830.

|                  |                     |
|------------------|---------------------|
| Niagara (Town)   | Robert Dickson.     |
| Lincoln (County) | { Robert Randall.   |
|                  | { John J. Lefferty. |
|                  | { Wm. Terry.        |
|                  | { Wm. Woodruff.     |

1831—1834 : ELEVENTH PARLIAMENT.

|                  |                             |
|------------------|-----------------------------|
| Niagara (Town)   | Henry John Boulton.         |
| Lincoln (County) | { Robert Randall.           |
|                  | { Wm. Crooks.               |
|                  | { Bartholomew C. Beardsley. |
|                  | { John Clark.               |

King William IV died June 20th, 1837.

1835—1836 : TWELFTH PARLIAMENT.

|                |                    |
|----------------|--------------------|
| Niagara (Town) | Chas. Richardson.  |
| 1st Lincoln,   | Dennis Woolverton. |
| 2nd Lincoln,   | George Rykert      |
| 3rd Lincoln,   | David Thorburn.    |
| 4th Lincoln,   | Gilbert McMicking  |

1837—1840: THIRTEENTH PARLIAMENT

|                |                    |
|----------------|--------------------|
| Niagara (Town) | Chas. Richardson.  |
| 1st Lincoln,   | Richard Woodruff.  |
| 2nd Lincoln,   | George Rykert.     |
| 3rd Lincoln,   | David Thorburn.    |
| 4th Lincoln,   | Gilbert McMicking. |

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## The Evolution of Our Historical Building.

Since this, we believe is the first building erected in the province for purely historical purposes it may be worth while to follow out the steps taken in its inception, planning, providing funds, construction and now we hope to say its happy conclusion. When our Society was formed in Dec. 1895 the idea of an historical collection soon occurred to us and a room which is itself an historic room having been that of the Grand Jury was granted us by the Town Council in the third story of the Court House a long narrow room and however contracted its dimensions or however difficult of access still we were thankful to have a room and here we started our collection in the spring of 1896, the September Loan Exhibit being very helpful to us and gradually articles flowed in till our room was crowded, the wall covered with pictures and every available corner filled. During the summers of 1905, 1906 permission was granted by the Town Council to use the Town Hall, with the proviso that we must return to our own room in September, as the Town Hall would then be required for the Town and Township Fair. It may be imagined that the labor of moving was no slight thing and this has been done five times, twice in 1905, twice in 1906 and our final move in February 1907 and all with very little expense and with little breakage or loss. It may be imagined that the formation of an Historical Society, an historical collection and the erection of a building met with cold indifference, indeed with copious showers of cold water from many, but on the other hand we have always had a number of faithful members and constant friends whose sympathy and active help

have encouraged us. A word or two as to the formation of our Society. I may say that being a member first, of the Lundy's Lane Historical Society the example set by Canon Bull and the work done by that society were all powerful factors, indeed an inspiration in forming the dream of a similar society in Niagara. A few lines were inserted in our local paper asking those interested in such an object to meet in the Library on the evening of Dec. 12th 1895, Fifteen persons assembled and I had fully formed in my mind that Rev J. C. Garrett should be our President but to my astonishment and indeed dismay I was appointed to the office and have tried to discharge its duties ever since. One thing greatly in our favor has been the fact that we have had the same Secretary active and faithful through all these years and an efficient Secretary is a great support to any society. Also we have had only two Treasurers and these have given earnest work, the same Vice President, Henry Paffard, and our present Vice President, Rev. J. C. Garrett, has been on the Committee since the formation of the society. A constitution was framed and very few changes have been made in it. We began with ten members we now have 140, we have printed fifteen pamphlets, placed eight markers on historic spots, gathered over three thousand articles, collected money for this building which with its furniture and additions to be made will cost in the neighborhood of \$5000. We now owe three hundred and fifty dollars but have faith that the liberality of our friends is not yet exhausted.

The first printed reference to a building was in a circular issued by our society in 1898. Five hundred copies were sent out but I am sorry to say with little result but by little and little, step by step, the main idea expressed in that circular has been carried out. The opening words were: "Three years ago Canon Bull suggested in his report, the placing of a cairn or monument of some kind to commemorate the landing of the United Empire Loyalists on our shores." Since then at the meeting of the Provincial Historical Association here in June 1896 the proposition of the Niagara Historical Society in regard to this met with much approval and a grant of \$50 was given as the nucleus of the fund, from the surplus in the hands of the Association given by the Government at the Centennial of Upper Canada, July 1892. This was only to be given to us when we had started the work and as a matter of fact it only came into our hands in 1904. In the circular sent out in 1898 the closing words give the first idea of a building thus: "A late suggestion made is that in view of the increasing contents of the Historical Room (so many of those relating to the early settlers) the memorial take the form of a building for the historical collection."

Meanwhile as our cases were overflowing two difficulties stared

us in the face, 1st where to find space in the long narrow room for the articles given, it being impossible to classify them as we wished. 2nd was it safe to keep such valuable material much of which it would be impossible to replace if destroyed in the third story where it would be difficult to save anything in case of fire.

The next step was in the form of letters from the President of the society to the Cabinet Ministers of the Province in the year 1899. The replies to these were of the usual nature of careful and cautious Ministers of the Crown, "the matter would receive their very serious consideration." "they would bring the matter before their colleagues" etc, but the letter of Hon G. W. Ross was an encouraging one and gave the hint of what became our future action he said "a shaft or monument would cost but a small sum. However I think your larger scheme of a fire proof building for the safe deposit of your collection would be decidedly better and I would cheerfully lend my aid for the accomplishment of that object. If a considerable sum were contributed by yourselves it would be an inducement to us to add something to make your contribution more effective."

The next important step was taken on the 17th September, 1903, when a public meeting was called in the Court room and different friends were invited to be with us from Toronto, A Globe reporter, Mr McLean, was present and a very pleasant meeting resulted, A. W. Wright acted as chairman and C. C. James, David Boyle, Rev. A. Sherk, Wm. Kirby, Mayor Jas. Aikins and Mrs. Thompson spoke. Mr James and Mr. Boyle both strongly advised that instead of appealing to the Government, municipality or any other public organization that we begin with ourselves as a Society, our townspeople, and then appeal to other sources. A committee was formed consisting of C. C. James, John Ross Robertson, Dr. Withrow, D. Boyle, Mrs. Thompson, Toronto, and in town, Alfred Ball, Alexander Servos, H Paffard, R. E. Denison, F. J. Rowland, the Mayor, and the President of the Society was named the convener of the committee. At the first meeting a circular was presented and sent to the Toronto members for approval, five hundred copies were printed and distributed. It was decided these should be sent with a personal letter to all the members at a distance, to former residents of our town and others likely to help and that a canvass of the town should be made by the President and Treasurer of the Society following the sending out of the circular. We had to begin with, \$150 granted from the funds of the Society, the hope of the \$50 held in trust for us by the O.H.S. and a member promised \$50. The President undertook to write most of the letters to accompany the circulars and commenced by writing six letters each evening, for some time this was continued, afterwards four were written each evening and finally a

larger or smaller number as circumstances allowed. It may be said that the members in town in general responded heartily as well as the non-members, only a few refusals were met with. The waiting for answers and their receipt was the important event of the day and its exciting feature and when for a time the letter writing ceased it seemed that everything was stale, flat and unprofitable and that something had been taken out of our life. "The Post's Arrival in the Village" so graphically described by the poet was nothing to this. The varying replies, the failure to reply at all, the kind answers of some, the curt ones of a few, the large donations sometimes from unexpected sources, the smaller ones from people who might be expected to give large amounts all formed an interesting feature of life in the year 1904-5. These letters have been preserved and will be bound as the property of the Society. It should have been stated before that just as our circulars were being printed a proposal was brought forward that the town should give us the Town Hall on the payment of \$1000 to enable them to improve the Court Room, this was strongly urged by three of our members and very unwillingly agreed to by myself to whom as to many others the idea of a separate building appealed strongly. Some to whom circulars were sent disapproved and spoke in sending their contribution as if a larger one would have been given for a separate building. To these the way is now open for the liberality first thought of. However from special circumstances and difficulties which arose unexpectedly no steps were taken to carry out the plan of using the Town Hall and altering the Court Room. When the spring of 1904 was reached it was determined to ask assistance from the Provincial Government. While in Toronto a letter asked an interview with the Premier who was also the Treasurer, the answer appointing the day and hour only arrived two hours before the time fixed and the street cars taken to gather the delegation were numerous and when it was found that this very hour was also that appointed for the Premier to meet a delegation of hundreds of college graduates asking for a large grant for the University the dismay felt may be imagined, however a five minutes interview was granted and the promise of the Premier made in 1899 was recalled that if we helped ourselves, help might be given, then came the quick question, "And have you done so?" "Yes, we have now \$1000." No absolute promise was given but that of looking into the matter and when some time after the supplementary list came out it was found to our satisfaction that \$500 was given to us and now larger views dawned on us and the idea of a separate building was determined on. Many friends in Toronto helped us liberally on personal solicitation and the next spring a visit was paid to the Dominion Parliament to ask for a grant of \$1000. The

object now was to show that we were not local nor even merely provincial in our aims but that we had members in different parts of the Dominion, articles in our collection from distant points, that we exchanged publications with different States and Provinces. An interview was kindly arranged for, when almost despaired of, at nine in the evening the last day but one of Parliament, with Hon. C. S. Hyman, the Minister of Public Works, and when it was found that we had now on hand almost \$2000, a hope was extended that our prayer would be granted and when the supplementary list appeared our hearts were gladdened with the grant of \$1000 to be paid when the work was well under way.

We now called a meeting of the whole of our members by printed post card, and in Aug. 17th, 1905, we met to discuss the plan for a building, of which the celebrated young sculptor, Mr. Allward, gave us the first idea. We decided on certain salient features, the size, the material, the gallery, the portico, and then the plan was taken to the architect, W. B. Allan, St. Catharines, who made out specifications and drew a new plan, which, at a committee meeting, we approved of with certain alterations. Meanwhile an interview was obtained with the present Premier, Hon. J. S. Whitney, but that year we were informed "there was a deficit" no definite promise was given of assistance. but in April, 1906, an interview was granted with Hon. S. Whitney and Hon. A. J. Matheson, and a kind and courteous promise was given of further assistance.

It may be wondered at that we had the audacity to ask assistance from two Premiers of different political views but the result shewed that in this case politics did not enter into historical matters for when the supplementary estimates were published a grant of \$500 appeared. Our committee had already called for tenders by advertising in the St. Catharines and Niagara papers and in January 1906 four tenders were received but all far beyond our means, all reaching the sum of \$7,000. This certainly gave us pause. Again the committee met and revised the specifications trying to eliminate the most expensive features and still cause little alteration in the appearance or solidity of the structure.

Again we advertised and this time only one tender was received and this for slightly under four thousand dollars by Messrs. Carnochan and Doritty, and this was accepted on Feb. 10th, 1906, the work to be finished in September.

A very important matter has been referred to: viz., the obtaining a site for the building and this was almost as difficult as the selecting a site for Toronto Reference Library although it did not drag on through years as did the decision for the Toronto building. First the town promised a site and at a joint meeting of a committee from

members of the Society and the Town Council the grant of a site in the Town Park was recommended and afterwards confirmed by the council, but an editorial in the local paper opposed this and others joining in the cry, there being talk of the resolution being rescinded, we, not wishing to antagonize public feeling did not press the matter and at the next meeting of the Society when some were despairing of a spot on which to rest the sole of our foot the president offered to present a site on Main Street nearly opposite the R. C. Church. This was accepted but afterwards when examination showed that being on sloping ground additional expense would be incurred an offer was made by the President's brother to exchange the present site for the first one offered and this was agreed upon by the committee and confirmed at a meeting of the Society. Another cry of opposition was raised that "it was so far away," "that it should be on the main street" but it is generally conceded now that the building facing as it does an historical plain with such a beautiful prospect, is in just the proper place. The cry that it was so far away was met with the statement that the Buffalo Historical building is four miles from the centre of the city, that Dundurn Castle, the seat of the Wentworth His. Soc. is over a mile away as is also the Peterboro His. Soc. building. This change of site entailed the trouble of having three deeds made out, first, I gave one to my brother, second, he gave one to me, third, I gave one to the Historical Society. At last on April, 1906, the first sod was removed and the work at first progressed rapidly, but some delay occurred waiting for the masons, maple flooring being lost in the way, waiting for the arrival of many things, but notwithstanding all these delays by the fall of 1906 the building was finished except the portion which from the early frost could not be proceeded with.

With regard to the name the following words occurred in the circular sent out "Several names have been suggested "The U.E.L. Memorial," "Memorial of War of 1812," but a later suggestion is to call it simply Memorial Hall, it would thus be in memory of the U.E. Loyalists who landed here, and whose names may be inscribed on the walls, it may be in memory of regiments, British and Canadian which have fought here, whose names may also find a place on the walls, or it may be in memory of the early settlers of whatever kind, or of the business men who helped to make Niagara an important town, and in short it may be a memorial of whatever great or good has been done here in the past." And Memorial Hall it is. In the revolving case and on the wall are pictures of different kinds oil paintings, water colors, silhouettes, amrotypes of at least 300 of our early people, besides this another group of places. Buildings, military clothing from the Revolutionary War indeed from the



French occupation down to the Fenian Raid nay even to the Boer War, another group of woman's work and woman's wear, articles of household economy whose use is unknown to many of our young people, Indian weapons and wear, early printing especially that done in our town. The building itself has in it several pieces of historic material, some oak steps from Butler's Barracks, brick and stone from the Rogers' store which wholesale house in 1833 supplied the stores for forty miles around our town with goods. There is a colonial mantel, or rather two, from old houses. We are to have a gavel made from the old Parliament Oak. The outside brick was furnished by A. W. Wright, Mimico, the hard Maple flooring from Meaford, the Georgia pine railing and Mahogany posts from Cincinnati. The cases have been made from seasoned chestnut grown here, others obtained elsewhere are made of oak and walnut. Several cases have been contributed. The revolving case was made in England and presented to us.

When the amount of \$4000 was reached we received a cheque for \$500 from an old Niagara boy, Hugh J. Chisholm, New York which gladdened our hearts, as this would pay for the furnishing, Mr. Rittenhouse of Chicago also contributed \$100 and last the Town Council \$200. In writing letters asking for contributions it was found that our publications were of great assistance to us having awakened interest in our work. It must not be forgotten that the old boys of the High School have contributed generously. A registered letter containing \$50 in bills was a pleasant surprise to us from an old gentleman whom we had not seen and who had though a wealthy man been vainly solicited for contributions in his city to Y. M. C. A., Library, Hospital and other worthy objects

It is said it is well to have a friend at court and it seems that we have been particularly fortunate in this respect and have had not one but many who have given us hints how and when and to whom to apply for assistance. It may be told at some other time how many circulars were sent out, how many contributors, how much from members of Society, at home and abroad, Dominion, Province, County Council, Township, Town, other friends. Letters were written to the Colonels of the regiments which had fought or been stationed here and from three of these contributions were sent, the Royal Scots, the 70th Surrey and the 5th Fusiliers stationed respectively in Scotland, India and England.

A word may be said as to the members of the committee who made all the arrangements as to the building. It was proposed to appoint a building committee but the work was principally done by a few of the original committee and as many of these were in Toronto and could not attend it devolved on those here and at last from dif-

ferent reasons the number dwindled down to three, Messrs. Alfred Ball, F. J. Rowland and myself as Mr. Paffard removed to the Northwest and Mr. A. Servos has been long in ill health, both of whom had rendered efficient service, Mr. Kirby also was in poor health while the work was going on, but a small number on a committee can sometimes work together better than a large number. The only Toronto member who attended any of the committee meeting was Mrs. Thompson who has taken much interest in the work and given valuable advice. There were in all twelve committee meetings. The first sod was turned in April 1906 the building was finished all but the portico in October of that year. The cases were ready by February 1907 and we moved in Feb. 4th and the work of arrangement was commenced by Mrs. Thompson and myself the former having kindly offered help and to her we are deeply indebted for the assistance given during three weeks of the coldest weather of the winter. And again in May she has also by her taste in arrangement put us under heavy obligations. There are now over 4000 articles, the books and pamphlets themselves numbering 800 the newspapers 1000, the pictures 500, military 150, china 80, Indian 300, woman's wear 150, miscellaneous 200, furniture 20. Besides this a large scrap book of original documents, autographs and twelve other scrap books relating to family records, municipal matters, churches; numbering 1000 documents; many articles have a story and from our documents we have been able frequently to answer letters asking for information.

Our members and contributors are in Manitoba, Scotland, England, New York, Chicago, West Indies, Savannah, India, South Africa, Calgary, etc. most remarkable coincidences have occurred in obtaining or giving information and, in acknowledgement of this, valuable books and pictures have often been sent to us. We exchange with thirty historical societies and thus are accumulating a valuable library. Other societies are for States, or Counties and it seemed a daring thing for a town as small as ours to make such an attempt and indeed of our members only a fifth are in town and many of those absent in the winter when our meetings are held or are otherwise unable to attend so that if we have had many encouragements we have also had difficulties with which to contend.

A word must be said as to the work, the contract was let to Messrs. Carnochan and Doritty, the mason work was given to Bennett of St. Catharines, cases were made by Mr. Jno. Carnochan assisted by W. Richardson, the painting and graining by Albert Davey, the hardware mostly procured in town, the metallic roofing from Toronto. May the building continue to be in greater degree a receptacle for anything pertaining to the history of our country and





PORTICO, JUNE 1907.



INTERIOR OF MEMORIAL HALL.

while we acknowledge with gratitude the help given and the success which has crowned our efforts we hope for still greater things in the future. We cordially thank all who have in any way assisted either in money, articles for the collection, time given, or advice and solicit a continuation of such favors.

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## A few of the Most Interesting Articles in Memorial Hall

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The question is frequently asked, what do you consider the most valuable article in the collection? This is not an easy question to answer, for there are so many valuable articles in the various divisions, military, literary, artistic, useful, and the answer of different individuals would vary with the varying taste of the person interrogated. Whether General Brock's cocked hat, the first novel published in Upper Canada, or the first poem; the American sword given up in 1813, the powder horn of Chief Brant, muster roll of Butler's Rangers, 1782, Library record book 1800-1820, key of powder magazine, mahogany looking glass brought in 1784, the Empire dress, old flags, etc., in such an "embarrassment of riches" it is indeed difficult to decide. And then so many of the articles have a story connected with them. In our number 5 is a short article the "Evolution of an Historical Room. This is now out of print but when reprinted much may well be added as instead of the thousand articles then there are now over 4000.

How little valued generally is the common poster, and yet here are several which have fortunately been preserved and often settle some disputed point. Here on the wall facing General Brock's cocked hat, is the poster framed, printed by Wm. Lyon McKenzie in Queenston of the arrangements for the re-interment of Brock in 1824 under the first monument, the body having lain twelve years at Fort George, also after the arrangements for the final burial under the new monument in 1853. The cocked hat we must confess was never worn by the General as it came out shortly after his death and was given by the nephew to George Ball and is now placed here by a great grand son. Had it arrived earlier and been worn by the

General we should not be its fortunate possessors as all the clothing was sent home to the island of Guernsey. A letter may be read in the life of the hero referring to the non-arrival of the cocked hat and the General's disappointment. Near this is the American sword given up at the capture of Fort Niagara in December 1813 after Niagara had been burned; this is loaned by A. Servos, Lake Road, a great-grandson of Lt. D. K. Servos to whom the sword was handed; a powder horn with Indian hieroglyphics given by chief Brant to the Interpreter Jean Baptiste Ronsseaux; a pewter platter part of the camp equipage of Col. Johnson killed at the siege of Fort Niagara 1759 and buried in the chapel with General Prideaux after the capture of the French by Sir Wm Johnson; the coat worn by Fort Major Campbell who surrendered with Cornwallis at Yorktown in 1781; the poster proclamation issued by Wm. Lyon Mackenzie from Navy Island in 1838 and another offering a reward for the capture of Morrean who was hanged at Niagara the same year; a collection of military buttons framed, which may be said to give the military history of Niagara, they representing nearly all the regiments, British, United States or Canadian, which fought or were stationed here. The coat, sash, powder horn, belt buckle of a member of that noted regiment the King's Dragoon Guards here in 1838; various views of Niagara in 1794, 1813, 1824, 1846, nearly all being the original pencil sketch; a plan drawn for Mrs. Curzon shewing the path of Laura Secord in her remarkable walk of twenty miles to warn the British at Beaver Dams; several valuable water color portraits by the celebrated Hoppner Meyer and several good oil paintings of early settlers; the pocket book of Captain Marten McClellan who was killed at the capture of Fort George 27th May 1813; copies of the Upper Canada Gazette or American Oracle printed at Niagara then Newark 1794, a pamphlet also printed there in 1799; the first volume of the Gleaner 1817; the first novel printed in Upper Canada, in 1824 at Kingston which is a very rare book; also the first poem, Wonders of the West or a day at the Falls of Niagara, printed at York in 1825, almanac printed at Rochester by W. L. Mackenzie when a prisoner in jail; Anti-Masonic almanacs of 1828-9 after the abduction of Morgan; sermons preached in Boston 1760 in thanks giving for the victories of the British over the French in Canada and India; the Record book of the first library of Upper Canada at Niagara 1800-1820 with the signature of proprietors; the hat worn by Ralfe Clench at the opening of Parliament here 17th September 1792; pictures of two steamboats built for Hon. Jno Hamilton one, the "Queenstown", at Queenston 1824 the other the "Great Britain" at Prescott in 1830, another famous old steam boat the "Chief Justice Robinson" which used to sail all winter crossing from Toron-

to to Niagara; a beautiful banner made for the Grimsby Loyal and Patriotic Society for the inauguration of Brock's Monument in 1853, two flags presented by the Misses Nelles in 1818 to the 3rd Lincoln of which Robert Nelles was the Colonel. Also there was lent us for the summer the little silk Union Jack which was placed at the summit of the old monument in 1840 by a sailor lad who climbed by the lightning conductor of the tottering monument while thousands of spectators stood with bated breath fearing to see him fall, at the Indignation meeting after the malicious shattering of the monument with gunpowder. The old mantel with the ancient crane, waffle iron, warming pan, tinder box, foot warmer to take to church, or the Colonial mantel of 1812 opposite, the revolving case of pictures of early settlers copied from silhouettes ambrotypes, water colors, oil paintings, Secord, Servos, Ball, Whitmore, Clench, Field, Cooper etc. and in more modern times the doctors, clergyman, mayors, judges members of Parliament of the town. Hanging in the gallery is the figure of an angel blowing a trumpet, which was the weather vane of St. Andrew's church in 1831, but when a tornado took off the roof in 1854 the vane was twisted and lay in a painter's shop for nearly fifty years and finally was brought here. A round table in two parts belonged to the Secord family for over a hundred years, a wicker work chair was owned by Rev. Jno. Burns one of the first ministers of St. Andrew's a century ago. A high post bedstead, house fire engine, cannon balls which came over in 1812-13 not as messengers of love. A bound volume of the Gleaner for 1831-2, another has specimens from fourteen of the twenty newspapers published in the town from 1793 to the present time.

Quite the oldest things in the room are some beautifully shaped flint arrow heads used by the Britons before the Saxons came, also a Roman battle axe found in an Ayrshire bog. A Sepoy sword also a Waterloo sword, a cavalry bit is a relic of the American occupation in 1813 as also a canteen with the letters U.S. Philadelphia. A large scrap book has many interesting documents a list of Indian Sacrems and warriors who presented 15000 acres of land to Col. Wm. Claus, an elopement letter of 1801 and a love letter of 1824, a curious list of burial expenses in Queenston 1817 the amount and variety of liquor used is astounding, port wine, brandy, gin, Stout, Madeira wine, Fenriffie wine amounting in all with digging the grave to £12. 2s. The list of Sunday School scholars who gave 7½, 1s. 3d, 2s. 6d respectively to provide a chair for the old clerk who had served for fifty years in St Marks; the petition to the Queen from heads of families in St. Andrew's in 1842 re-Clergy Reserves, a beautiful water color of roses executed by Mrs. Moodie the author of *Roughing it in the Bush*. A sampler with the words *God save the King G. R. III* by Margaret

Stewart in 1812; the photo of a sampler worked in the winter of 1812-13 by Mrs Denison nee Lippincott in memory of Sir Issac Brock with the words "push on York Volunteers" showing that this is not a modern story as some have asserted, A tuning box made in 1847 for St. Andrew's church, Embroidery done in 1815 by a daughter of Dominic Henry the Light House Keeper, original letters of Sir Allan MacNab, Samuel Street, Alexander McLeod, Jas. Crooks, etc. beautiful pieces of ancient china and also embroidery, autographs of Secretary Jarvis, Governor Simcoe, Ralfe Clench, Isaac Swayzie, Col. Butler, Judge Hamilton, etc.

Military commissions of Robert Nelles, Jas. Clement, Cortlan lt Secord with signatures of governors as Peregrine Maitland, Colborne, Gore, Russell. An old gun called the Indian Chief, a flintlock of 1812, a Fenian Raid gun and our latest contribution a Boer gun with its original owner's name

A word must be said as to the largest contributors to the collections and indeed without whose aid our room would not present the appearance it fortunately does, Charles A. F. Ball has been very generous in documents, old newspapers, books, household articles, also Alfred Ball, Mrs. J. E. Wilson, Toronto; Mrs. J. G. Currie, St. Catharines, Mrs. Alfred Ball, Mrs. Camidge, Mrs. Chas. A. F. Ball, Miss Gilkison, Brantford; Alexander Servos, John A. Blake, John Carnochan, Mrs. Geo. A. Clement, Herbert Blake, Miss E. Campbell, Toronto; Colin Milloy, Miss Minnie Ball, John Ross Robertson, Toronto; Johnson Clench, St. Catharines; M. G. Scherk, Toronto, Miss Claus, Miss Creen, Mrs. John Secord, Richard Taylor, David Boyle, Toronto, Henry Paffard, Dr. Milroy, Scotland; Miss Flanigan, Mrs. Newton, Miss Emma Ball Mrs. John Carnochan, Miss Stewart, Toronto; Mrs. W. Richardson; Miss Crouch, Virgil; Mrs. Peckham, Toledo; Miss Cathline, Miss Dreger, Mrs. Radcliff, Miss Miller, Newbury; the Educational Department in discarded cases and many others.



# RECEIPTS

## Contributions to the Building Fund

|                                                 |           |
|-------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| Dominion Government, 1905.....                  | \$1000 00 |
| Provincial Government, 1904...\$500 }           | 1000 00   |
| “ “ 1906...\$500 }                              |           |
| Hugh J. Chisholm, New York.....                 | 500 00    |
| Grant from Town Council, Niagara .....          | 200 00    |
| “ Society's funds, 1904...\$ 150 }              | 300 00    |
| “ “ “ 1905... 50 }                              |           |
| “ “ “ 1906... 100 }                             |           |
| “ “ “ 1907... 50 }                              |           |
| M. F. Rittenbouse, Chicago.....                 | 100 00    |
| Ontario Historical Society (held in trust)..... | 50 00     |
| S. D. Woodruff, St. Catharines.....             | 50 00     |
| Miss Carnochan, Niagara.....                    | 50 00     |
| Mrs. and Miss Manning, Niagara.....             | 25 00     |
| Chas. A. F. Ball, .....                         | 25 00     |
| John Ross Robertson, Toronto.....               | 25 00     |
| T. M. and Mrs. Rowland, “ .....                 | 25 00     |
| E. B. Osler, “ .....                            | 25 00     |
| B. E. Walker, “ .....                           | 25 00     |
| Mrs. Chas. Baur, Terre Haute, Ind.....          | 25 00     |
| County Council, Lincoln.....                    | 25 00     |
| Queen's Hotel Concert (half of proceeds).....   | 36 75     |
| E. R. Thomas, Buffalo.....                      | 25 00     |
| Jas. Wilson, C.E., Niagara Falls South.....     | 20 00     |
| J. D. Larkin, River Road and Buffalo .....      | 20 00     |
| Æ. Jarvis, Toronto.....                         | 15 00     |
| W. K. Jackson, Buffalo.....                     | 15 00     |
| Alfred Ball, Niagara.....                       | 15 00     |
| N. W. Rowell, K.C., Toronto.....                | 15 00     |
| C. M. Greiner, Buffalo .....                    | 11 50     |
| F. J. Rowland, Niagara.....                     | 10 00     |
| J. H. Burns, “ .....                            | 10 00     |
| W. R. McClelland “ .....                        | 10 00     |

\$ 3653 25

|                                                  |        |    |
|--------------------------------------------------|--------|----|
| Brought Forward.....                             | \$3653 | 25 |
| Wm. Kirby, F.R.S.C. Niagara.....                 | 10     | 00 |
| Jas. Aikins, ".....                              | 10     | 00 |
| Robt. Warren, ".....                             | 10     | 00 |
| St. John & Ferguson ".....                       | 10     | 00 |
| Miss Alma, ".....                                | 10     | 00 |
| Wm. Miller, ".....                               | 10     | 00 |
| Major Hiscott, ".....                            | 10     | 00 |
| Niagara Township Council.....                    | 10     | 00 |
| Mrs. J. D. Larkin, River Road and Buffalo.....   | 10     | 00 |
| Hon. Wm. Gibson, Beamsville.....                 | 10     | 00 |
| R. C. Burns, Brantford.....                      | 10     | 00 |
| A. E. Rowland, Winnipeg.....                     | 10     | 00 |
| Col. E. Cruikshank, F.R.S.C., Niagara Falls..... | 10     | 00 |
| J. B. McIntyre, St. Catharines.....              | 10     | 00 |
| A. R. Carnochan, ".....                          | 10     | 00 |
| Mrs. W. R. Ross, Holland, Man.....               | 10     | 00 |
| Judge Hamilton, Kingston.....                    | 10     | 00 |
| C. C. James, F.R.S.C., Toronto.....              | 10     | 00 |
| C. D. Warren, ".....                             | 10     | 00 |
| Wm Briggs, D.D., ".....                          | 10     | 00 |
| Niagara Navigation Co. ".....                    | 10     | 00 |
| Sir Jno. A. Boyd ".....                          | 10     | 00 |
| Chas Hunter, ".....                              | 10     | 00 |
| 10th Regt. Royal Grenadiers".....                | 10     | 00 |
| 2nd Queen's Own Rifles ".....                    | 10     | 00 |
| 48th Highlanders, ".....                         | 10     | 00 |
| Mrs. Christopher Robinson ".....                 | 10     | 00 |
| Hon. Robt. Jaffrey, ".....                       | 10     | 00 |
| C. D. Massey, ".....                             | 10     | 00 |
| Fred Nicholls, ".....                            | 10     | 00 |
| A. W. Wright, ".....                             | 10     | 00 |
| Mrs. A. W. Wright, ".....                        | 10     | 00 |
| Miss Crouch, Virgil.....                         | 10     | 00 |
| Col. Pearce, 70th Surrey India.....              | 10     | 00 |
| Col. Douglas, Royal Scots, England.....          | 10     | 00 |
| Johnson Clench, St. Catharines.....              | 9      | 00 |
| Col. Lambton, 5th Fusiliers, Scotland.....       | 5      | 00 |
| Miss C. Rye, England.....                        | 5      | 00 |
| Jas. Doyle, Niagara.....                         | 5      | 00 |
| Jos. F. Greene, ".....                           | 5      | 00 |
| Miss Minnie Ball, ".....                         | 5      | 00 |

|                       |                      |           |
|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------|
|                       | Brought Forward..... | \$4037 25 |
| Miss Emma Ball,       | Niagara.....         | 5 00      |
| Miss Marion Ball,     | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| Mrs. Ruthven,         | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| Miss Bayley,          | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| Miss Beavan,          | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| G. W. Miles,          | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| P J. O'Neil,          | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| Mrs. Rowley,          | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| Dr. Anderson,         | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| Rev. J. C. Garrett    | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| G W. Ogilvie,         | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| Mrs T F. Best,        | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| Jos. Healey,          | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| Wm. Gray,             | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| G. F. Fleischmann,    | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| Mrs. Lawder,          | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| W. J. Wright, M.A.,   | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| Jos. Walker,          | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| Miss Nanna Wright     | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| Mrs. W. S. Lansing,   | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| Miss Fell,            | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| Mrs. McGaw,           | Toronto.....         | 5 00      |
| Miss Gordon,          | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| Rev. A. Sherk,        | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| Col. Merritt,         | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| A. E. Paffard,        | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| J. C. Black,          | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| W. H. Withrow, D.D.   | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| Mrs. Z. A. Lash,      | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| Mrs. J. E. Wilson,    | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| Alex. Niven, C.E.     | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| Mrs. Beecher,         | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| A W. Campbell,        | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| Col. J. Mason,        | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| Nicol Kingsmill, K.C. | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| F. D. Smith,          | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| Major H. M. Mowat,    | K.C., Toronto.....   | 5 00      |
| W. A. Warren,         | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| T. K. Thomson, C.E.,  | New York.....        | 5 00      |
| B. E. Hostetter,      | “ .....              | 5 00      |
| C. C. Prést,          | “ .....              | 5 00      |

|                                                  |           |
|--------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| Brought Forward.....                             | \$4242 25 |
| R. E. Biggar, Clifford.....                      | 5 00      |
| N. J. Ker, C.E., Ottawa.....                     | 5 00      |
| Mrs. Ahearn, ".....                              | 5 00      |
| Mrs. A. Bertram, Dundas.....                     | 5 00      |
| W. A. Clement, C.E., Vancouver, B.C.....         | 5 00      |
| G. E. Burns, Montreal, Que.....                  | 5 00      |
| D. K. Goodfellow, Beanharnois, Que.....          | 5 00      |
| Chas. Kennedy, Chicago.....                      | 5 00      |
| Miss A. Miller, Newbury.....                     | 5 00      |
| W. W. Ireland, M.A., St. Catharines.....         | 5 00      |
| Mrs. Larkin, ".....                              | 5 00      |
| A. W. Marquis, ".....                            | 5 00      |
| C. A. Case, ".....                               | 5 00      |
| Hugh McSloy, ".....                              | 5 00      |
| E. J. Lovelace, ".....                           | 5 00      |
| McLaren & Co., ".....                            | 5 00      |
| Jas. Monroe, ".....                              | 5 00      |
| Rev. A. F. MacGregor, Niagara.....               | 4 00      |
| Miss Winterbottom, ".....                        | 3 00      |
| Miss McIntyre, ".....                            | 3 00      |
| W E. Lyall, ".....                               | 3 00      |
| F. Winthrop, ".....                              | 3 00      |
| Mrs. Ascher, ".....                              | 3 00      |
| Mrs. P. Roe, ".....                              | 3 00      |
| Judge Ermatinger and Mrs. Ermatinger, St. Thomas | 3 00      |
| G. W. Boxall, Buffalo.....                       | 2 50      |
| Miss Stewart, Toronto.....                       | 2 70      |
| J. R. Stratton, Brantford.....                   | 2 00      |
| Jas. Bain, LL.D., Toronto.....                   | 2 00      |
| Miss Chrysler, Niagara.....                      | 2 00      |
| Mrs. T. Elliott, ".....                          | 2 00      |
| Jno. Sando, ".....                               | 2 00      |
| Mrs. Jas. McFarland, River Road.....             | 2 00      |
| Richard Taylor, Niagara.....                     | 2 00      |
| C. S. Watson, ".....                             | 2 00      |
| F. Best, Chicago.....                            | 2 00      |
| Dr. Comfort, St. Catharines.....                 | 2 00      |
| G. M. Hodgétts, ".....                           | 2 00      |
| Mrs. C. Campbell, Toronto.....                   | 2 00      |
| H. C. Secord, ".....                             | 2 00      |

|                                     |                       |           |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------|
|                                     | Brought Forward.....  | \$4383 45 |
| A. Friend,                          | Toronto .....         | 2 00      |
| Mrs. Miller,                        | “ .....               | 2 00      |
| Mrs. R. A. Campbell,                | Montreal.....         | 2 00      |
| H. M. Atwell,                       | Philadelphia.....     | 2 00      |
| Miss Ganderton,                     | England.....          | 2 00      |
| F. B. Geddes,                       | Essex.....            | 2 00      |
| Mrs. L. J. Kinsman,                 | Fonthill.....         | 2 00      |
| Mrs. Perry,                         | Philadelphia.....     | 2 00      |
| Miss Quade,                         | Ransomville, N.Y..... | 2 00      |
| Mrs. Quinlan,                       | Barrie .....          | 2 00      |
| Miss Rankin,                        | Detroit.....          | 2 00      |
| Miss A. M. Simpson,                 | Ottawa.....           | 2 00      |
| H. Seymour, C.E., and Miss Seymour, | Ottawa.....           | 2 00      |
| Mrs. Witmer,                        | Bathgate, Dak.....    | 2 00      |
| Dr. E. Wilson,                      | Niagara Falls.....    | 2 00      |
| Mrs. McPherson,                     | “Ottawa.....          | 1 50      |
| Miss Bolton,                        | Ottawa .....          | 1 00      |
| R. W. Allen,                        | Niagara .....         | 1 00      |
| Wm. Acton,                          | “ .....               | 1 00      |
| Mrs. Jas. Brown,                    | “ .....               | 1 00      |
| Miss Baxter,                        | “ .....               | 1 00      |
| Mrs. R. Best,                       | “ .....               | 1 00      |
| Rev. A. A. Bowers,                  | “ .....               | 1 00      |
| J. W. Bishop,                       | “ .....               | 1 00      |
| Capt. Cuddaback,                    | “ .....               | 1 00      |
| S. Callory,                         | “ .....               | 1 00      |
| J. J. Devoe,                        | “ .....               | 1 00      |
| Mrs. Bottomley,                     | “ .....               | 1 00      |
| H. Doyle,                           | “ .....               | 1 00      |
| Mrs. J. Ellison,                    | “ .....               | 1 00      |
| Mrs. M. Field,                      | “ .....               | 1 00      |
| Miss Fizette,                       | “ .....               | 1 00      |
| Mrs. Goff,                          | “ .....               | 1 00      |
| Geo. Goff,                          | “ .....               | 1 00      |
| Wm. H. Harrison                     | “ .....               | 1 00      |
| Mrs. Henley,                        | “ .....               | 1 00      |
| Miss Kennedy,                       | “ .....               | 1 00      |
| P. Librock,                         | “ .....               | 1 00      |
| T. Mulholland,                      | “ .....               | 1 00      |
| J. McKimrie,                        | “ .....               | 1 00      |
| Wm. Ryan,                           | “ .....               | 1 00      |

|                         |                         |        |      |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------|------|
|                         | Brought Forward.....    | \$4439 | 95   |
| Geo. Reid,              | Niagara.....            |        | 1 00 |
| Miss W. Servos,         | “ .....                 |        | 1 00 |
| Jno. Simpson,           | “ .....                 |        | 1 00 |
| Mrs. Swift,             | “ .....                 |        | 1 00 |
| A. H. Walsh,            | “ .....                 |        | 1 00 |
| Mrs. Walker,            | “ .....                 |        | 1 00 |
| Miss Waters,            | “ .....                 |        | 1 00 |
| Mrs Jas. Brown,         | Niagara River Road..... |        | 1 00 |
| Mrs. Chittenden,        | “ “ .....               |        | 1 00 |
| Mrs. Mason,             | “ “ .....               |        | 1 00 |
| Mrs. Skelton,           | “ “ .....               |        | 1 00 |
| Mrs. T. H. Watt,        | “ “ .....               |        | 1 00 |
| F. E. Coy,              | St. Catharines.....     |        | 1 00 |
| B. C. Fairfield,        | “ .....                 |        | 1 00 |
| J. Henderson, M.A.      | “ .....                 |        | 1 00 |
| M. Y. Keating,          | “ .....                 |        | 1 00 |
| Dr. Jory,               | “ .....                 |        | 1 00 |
| W. J. Robertson, M.A.   | “ .....                 |        | 1 00 |
| W. W. Tyrrell,          | “ .....                 |        | 1 00 |
| D. Boyle,               | Toronto.....            |        | 1 00 |
| Mrs. Ball,              | “ .....                 |        | 1 00 |
| J. S. Carstairs, B.A.   | “ .....                 |        | 1 00 |
| C. J. Campbell,         | “ .....                 |        | 1 00 |
| Miss Hunter,            | “ .....                 |        | 1 00 |
| Mrs. O. Jones,          | “ .....                 |        | 1 00 |
| Mrs. Long,              | “ .....                 |        | 1 00 |
| Mr. Laidlaw,            | “ .....                 |        | 1 00 |
| Miss Meneilly,          | “ .....                 |        | 1 00 |
| Mrs. Mills,             | “ .....                 |        | 1 00 |
| Mrs. Milne,             | “ .....                 |        | 1 00 |
| C. W. Nash,             | “ .....                 |        | 1 00 |
| Miss Rankin             | “ .....                 |        | 1 00 |
| Miss I Thompson,        | “ .....                 |        | 1 00 |
| F. Yeigh,               | “ .....                 |        | 1 00 |
| P. C. MacGregor, LL.D., | Almonte.....            |        | 1 00 |
| Mrs. I. Cockburn,       | Winnipeg.....           |        | 1 00 |
| Miss Gilkison,          | Brantford.....          |        | 1 00 |
| Miss Curtis,            | Hamilton.....           |        | 1 00 |
| Mrs. W. Richards,       | Pembroke.....           |        | 1 00 |
| Mrs. A. B. Thom,        | Goderich.....           |        | 1 00 |
| A Friend,               | “ .....                 |        | 1 00 |

|                                                                                     |           |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| Brought Forward.....                                                                | \$4480 95 |
| Dr. Gregg, Pittsburg.....                                                           | 1 00      |
| P. McArthur, New York.....                                                          | 1 00      |
| Rev. R Keefer, Jordon Station.....                                                  | 1 00      |
| B. G. Hamilton, Calgary.....                                                        | 1 00      |
| Miss J. E. Walsh, Savannah Geo.....                                                 | 1 00      |
| Mrs. P Mills, Nevis, West Indies.....                                               | 1 00      |
| R. W. Slack, St. Davids.....                                                        | 1 00      |
| W. Ellis, ".....                                                                    | 1 00      |
| J. H. Gilmour, Niagara Falls.....                                                   | 1 00      |
| Error in printing page 31 grant from Society's<br>funds \$300 instead of \$350..... | 50 00     |
| Miss Lockwood, Niagara.....                                                         | 3 00      |
| A Friend, Toronto.....                                                              | 2 00      |
| A Friend,.....                                                                      | 50        |
| Interest on money in bank till used.....                                            | 104 33    |
|                                                                                     | <hr/>     |
|                                                                                     | 4649 78   |
| Borrowed from Bank.....                                                             | 275 00    |
|                                                                                     | <hr/>     |
|                                                                                     | 4924 78   |

### IN ADDITION TO CASH GIVEN

|                                                                 |        |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| Site by the President of Society.....                           | 200 00 |
| Front fence and gates, Jno. Carnochan.....                      | 50 00  |
| J. S. Clarke, Printing 900 circulars.....                       | 10 00  |
| Work on Scrap books, Mrs. Thompson.....                         | 10 00  |
| Also Valuable Visitors book, " Panel<br>for Laura Secord "..... | 3 50   |

Table, Mrs. McGaw, which would reach the sum of about \$5200.

In Feb 1907 \$300 was borrowed to pay indebtedness, of this \$275 remains unpaid and it is hoped that the members who have not yet contributed and any who wish to add to their subscriptions will help to clear off the deficit.

Out of the whole sum subscribed of \$4699 all was paid except \$49 which is a remarkably small shrinkage during three years.

## EXPENDITURES

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|                                                                                      |            |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| To amount of contract.....                                                           | \$ 4097 00 |
| W. B. Allan, Architect \$200 less Donation \$75 .....                                | 125 00     |
| To Extras, Attic floor, Brick mantel, moulding for hanging pictures.....             | 75 68      |
| To Extras, Iron rod, shelving, brackets, glass, lumber firewood, cupboard, work..... | 50 30      |
| Four chestnut show cases upright at \$35 .....                                       | 140 00     |
| 24 drawers at 50c.....                                                               | 12 00      |
| 8 tables, supports for cases.....                                                    | 25 00      |
| 4 stands for upright cases at \$8.....                                               | 32 00      |
| Fence 155ft at 40c.....                                                              | 62 00      |
| W, Miller, two showcases (one upright).....                                          | 46 00      |
| Canadian Showcase Co., one case second hand.....                                     | 15 00      |
| Knox & Ward showcase for china.....                                                  | 19 50      |
| A. Davey, Graining, varnishing, old cases.....                                       | 35 00      |
| "    Lettering the Portico.....                                                      | 4 50       |
| E. Allen, Hardware, window fixings, glass.....                                       | 24 06      |
| "    Paint oil, varnish.....                                                         | 14 18      |
| "    .....                                                                           | 2 87       |
| T. G. Rice, Window Guards .....                                                      | 29 00      |
| Langley, Pavement.....                                                               | 6 20       |
| Vokes & Co. Locks for cases.....                                                     | 6 99       |
| Legg Bros., Tablet at door.....                                                      | 8 00       |
| Colonial Mantel.....                                                                 | 10 00      |
| Work at locks and knobs.....                                                         | 6 20       |
| E. Richardson, work, hanging pictures etc.....                                       | 4 35       |
| A. Hoskins, Teaming and moving etc.....                                              | 3 60       |
| W. R. McClelland, hardware .....                                                     | 2 18       |
| J. R. Robertson, card for 3000 labels.....                                           | 2 80       |
| F. J. Rowland, sundries.....                                                         | 2 92       |
| "    window shades.....                                                              | 15 00      |
| Miss Dreger, Table.....                                                              | 3 30       |
| Mrs. Tomlinson, for pattern for panels 3.50, express 25c.                            | 3 75       |

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\$4884 38



|                                                      |            |
|------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Brought Forward.....                                 | \$ 4884 38 |
| Mrs. Thompson, travelling expenses and sundries..... | 5 85       |
| Express charges.....                                 | 75         |
| E. Allen, hardware.....                              | 4 63       |
| Miscellaneous paid by President.....                 | 3 78       |
| Discount on cheques.....                             | 1 35       |
| Interest on \$300 borrowed Feb. 1907.....            | 17 50      |
|                                                      | <hr/>      |
|                                                      | \$4918 24  |
| In Bank.....                                         | 6 54       |
|                                                      | <hr/>      |
|                                                      | \$4924 78  |

Leaving a deficit of \$275.

We the undersigned have examined the book of subscriptions, vouchers and bank book and find the same correct.

Oct. 8th, 1907  
March 2nd, 1907

F. J. ROWLAND }  
ALFRED BALL } Auditors.

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Additional received since printing above.

|                                |        |
|--------------------------------|--------|
| Rev. P. J. Bench, Niagara..... | \$5 00 |
| Dr. S. P. Ford, Norwood.....   | 1 00   |

20



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v.9-16

Niagara Historical Society,  
Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont.  
Records of Niagara

CALL NO.:

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Niagara Historical  
Society.

TITLE:

Records of Niagara

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