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"Ducit Amor Patria"

NIAGARA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

No. 26

**Notes on the History of the
District of Niagara**

1791-1793

BY

COLONEL E. A. CRUIKSHANK.

PRICE 25 CENTS

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NIAGARA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Its objects are the encouragement of the study of Canadian History and Literature, the collection and preservation of Canadian Historical Relics, the building up of Canadian loyalty and patriotism, and the preservation of all historical landmarks in this vicinity.

The annual fee is fifty cents.

The Society was formed in December, 1895. The Annual Meeting is held on October 13th. Since May, 1896, nearly six thousand articles have been gathered in the Historical Room—twenty-three pamphlets have been published, eight historical sites have been marked, an Historical Building erected at a cost of over \$5,000, and a catalogue published.

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PREFACE

We are pleased to be able to offer another publication, No. 26, by Col. E. Cruikshank, F.R.S.C., to our members and the public generally. To Col. Cruikshank we are highly indebted for several of our publications. No. 1, "The Battle of Fort George," has been reprinted with additions, as No. 12. No. 3, "The Blockade of Fort George," is now out of print. Of No. 9, "Campaigns of 1812-14," the edition is exhausted. No. 17, "Ten Years of the Colony of Niagara," is now followed by "Niagara Colony 1791-3, which will no doubt be well received, Col. Cruikshank being acknowledged as the greatest authority and the most reliable historian of the Niagara Peninsula, and especially of the War of 1812-14, having consulted authorities in all directions with zeal "according to knowledge."

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE DISTRICT OF
NIAGARA. 1791—1793.

By Colonel E. A. Cruikshank.

On May 3, 1791, an important meeting of the Land Board was held at Niagara, at which the Hon. Robert Hamilton, John Warren, John McNab, John Burch and Robert Kerr were present. A letter from Henry Motz was read, enclosing an Order in Council authorizing the augmentation of the Board by the appointment of the four latter gentlemen as new members and its continuance from May 1, 1791, to June 1, 1793. The following resolution was then passed with reference to the river road:

"The Board having observed that the intention of the Government, in keeping roads along the river from the Landing to Chippawa Creek, has not been attended to by the inhabitants occupying those lands and who cannot be ignorant of a chain being left by the surveyors for that purpose, the Board order that as soon as the present crops are got in the people do then move their fences and open the road to the breadth of the chain of which the clerk is directed to give them notice."

On the 9th of August the Governor General referred to the Committee for Inland Navigation and Commerce, the proposals which had been received for the carriage of Government stores from the new landing place to Chippawa Creek by this road from Philip Stedman, Jr., who had been the contractor for some time past for the same service on the right bank of the river, and from Robert Hamilton, George Forsythe, John Burch and Archibald Cunninghame. Stedman offered to transport all kinds of stores and provisions over "the carrying place of Niagara" at the rate of one shilling

and eight pence, New York currency, per gross hundredweight out of which he would agree to pay two pence per hundred weight towards defraying the expenses of keeping up the roads and bind himself to keep a sufficient number of horses, oxen, &c., to carry over ten tons a day, and a carriage to convey forty hundredweight or a large bateau. He stated that during the last two years he had sustained considerable losses by the death of cattle, for which he had received no compensation and asserted that he was in a position to transport the government stores more expeditiously than any other person, as he possessed a large stock of cattle and waggons and a farm conveniently situated for the purpose, on the west side of the river. He was warmly recommended by his uncle, Philip Stedman, Sr., a survivor of the massacre at the Devil's Hole, who said in his letter: "I shall not urge our family's long services in time of imminent danger to the life and property of the person who undertook it, tho' it is natural to suppose a preference would be given to an old servant of the public who had always given satisfaction to the officers who have at different times commanded at Niagara."

Hamilton and his associates presented the following statement:

"For these two years the merchandise and peltries of the Upper Country have all been transported by the inhabitants on this side without the least delay, with advantage to the undertakers and with satisfaction to their employers. The plan adopted was allowing every person who thought proper, if of respectable character, and who had taken an oath of trust, to join in this business, only securing at all times, when wanted, the services of those who thus joined. In no one instance has it yet been found necessary to complain of want of attendance. The encouragement afforded the settlement by this has been so great that two teams are this season in employ for every one of last year and more are preparing. If not constantly employed, still what little they gain assists them much, and the oxen they must necessarily keep for this purpose enables them to go on in their farms with spirit and advantage. To increase this encouragement

the subscribers having fully secured themselves in the portage of double the quantity daily required by the advertisement, now make the following offer:—

“We will adopt a similar plan to the one at present established of employing every inhabitant of a fair character, who shall offer his services regularly in their turn. To render the good as general as possible, we will not permit any person to employ more than two teams at any one time, unless the hurry of business shall absolutely require it.”

For the transportation of government stores over the portage for a term of three years, they asked a rate of one shilling and nine pence, New York currency, per gross quintal of 112 pounds, subject to a reduction of two pence per quintal for repair of the roads.

On the 20th of June of the same year, a petition signed by Adam Vrooman, Thomas Cummings, James Forsythe, Timothy Skinner, Charles Wilson, Henry Weishuhn, John McEwan, Benjamin Canby, David Secord, Irish John Wilson and Adam Kreisler, “inhabitants of the Niagara District, situated near the portage,” was presented to the Land Board, praying that body to support the latter tender because of “the essential advantages that will arise to the settlement from having this business made a general and public good compared with having it monopolized by any individual or even by a set of men.” The Board received the petition and examined several witnesses, after which they unanimously concurred in a recommendation to the Governor General “to grant the preference to the settlement over any individual or set of men on the same terms and the performance equally well secured.”

The committee reported that they were unanimously of the opinion that the proposal made by Hamilton and his associates was more in the public interest than that received from Stedman and the contract was subsequently let to them at a rate of one shilling and eight pence, New York currency, per quintal of 112 pounds.

A comparatively rare volume, entitled “Travels in the interior inhabited parts of North America in the years 1791

and 1792 by P. Campbell," published in Edinburgh in 1793, contains much interesting information respecting the settlements in Upper Canada at that time. The author, who had served as an officer in the 42nd Highlanders during the war in America, visited all of them in turn, arriving at Niagara on the 8th of December, 1791.

"The fort of Niagara," he wrote, "is built on the south side and within the American lines on a point of land at the foot of the river where it disembogues itself into Lake Ontario, and has the sole command of the entry to that river. It is a pretty strong stuccade fort with regular bastions, palisades, pickets, and a dry ditch sufficient against the attack of any irregular army. On that side of the river there are no settlements nearer than Genesee country, distant about 100 miles. I crossed the river to the north side to see the fishing and saw 1008 caught at one haul of a seine net, mostly what is here called whitefish and a few herrings, the former weighs at an average above two pounds.....I saw several other kinds caught here particularly sturgeon..... The fishing here continues from the middle of October to the middle of May and I have been told that 6000 have been caught in one day. This is a great benefit to the troops and inhabitants who have staid days in the week to fish during the season.

"Opposite the fort of Niagara, on a large flat point on the Canadian side of the river is a town laid out and lots given gratis to such as will undertake to build on it agreeably to a plan laid down by the government, which to me seems a good one; half an acre is allowed for the stance of each house and garden, and eight acres at a distance for enclosures, besides a large common reserved for the use of the town. Several people have taken lots here already and no doubt, as the country advances in population, so will the town in building. In the event of the fort on the opposite side being given up, it is said there is one to be erected on this side, and the ground is already marked out for that purpose.

"On the opposite side of the lake, at a place called Toronto, fifteen miles across from Niagara, there is a fine bay and safe anchorage, where some people suppose the seat of

the new government will be erected. From thence round about the head of the lake westward to Niagara is all settled and in some parts several concessions deep. The land low; the soil a deep sandy clay upon the coast, but farther back clay and loam, mixed with a few inches of rich black loam a-top owing to the fallen leaves enriching the soil annually since the creation. The wood lofty and chiefly oak of different kinds, interspersed with chestnut, hickory, maple or sugar tree, ash, pine, a few cedar and a variety of others. The point on which Niagara is built is between twenty and thirty feet deep, solid earth and clay mixed, which is easily seen and ascertained from the perpendicular banks of the river and lake adjoining to the fort and for a considerable way along the coast on both sides of the river. No wonder then that such an amazing deepness of soil, when assisted by the powerful rays of a clear and unclouded sun in latitude 43, should bring to maturity every vegetable common to temperate climes, sown or planted therein, which is really the case not only here but in general all over this extensive tract of country.

“Wheat is rarely left here above a day on the ground after reaping, and often carried home to the barn on the very day it is cut; the ground is no sooner cleared of one crop than it may be and often is immediately plowed down and sown with another, without using any sort of manure. The richness of the soil and salubrity of the air make all sort of stimulus totally unnecessary.

“I had hardly put up at the public house here, as already observed, when Captain Colin McNab and Captain Campbell of the Twenty-sixth regiment came to call on me, and invited me to their respective houses, with whom, and their genteel families, I had the honor of being on an intimate footing during my stay at Niagara. Some short time thereafter Mr. Robert Hamilton, a gentleman of the first rank and property and one of the Governor’s Council, came also to wait on me and invited me to his house—an honour I readily embraced. He and Mrs. Hamilton were so very obliging as to go along with me in their own slea to see the Grand Falls of Niagara.....

.....“In this neighbourhood live a set of religionists called Moravians, with long beards, originally from Germany; they emigrated to this place from Pennsylvania. They are a very innocent, inoffensive, industrious people that have many peculiarities in their manner of worship and mode of living, though of the Lutheran persuasion. In one settlement in that province they have all sorts of trades and manufactures and have everything in common.....There are as yet not above a score of them in this neighbourhood, but many more are expected. I have heard several people say they would like them well as neighbours, and the Quakers are particularly fond of them, on account of their mild and inoffensive dispositions.

“On the 9th of February, (1792), I set out with a party of gentlemen in two sleas for the Grand River. Put up the first night at Squire McNab's, and next day dined at the house of one Henry, who had only been here for six years, and, though he had no subject to begin with, by great attention and industry has acquired considerable property and now associates with the first people of the district. He has cleared seventy-five acres of the first quality and has stock and cattle in proportion. Put up for the night at the house of one Smith, who came from the colonies two years ago, from whence he brought a good stock of cattle, which all perished the following winter for want of provender, the general scarcity that prevailed all over America that year having affected this quarter, although one of the most fertile in it.

He told me that he regretted the loss of his team of oxen and two fine breeding mares more than all the rest of his stock and said that, poor as he was, he hoped to become richer and happier on his own property than ever he was or could be on that of another. When he resided in the colonies he possessed 200 acres, of which only twenty-five were cleared, at 11 pounds rent and 3 pounds taxes, and could only procure a lease of two years' endurance, which obliged him to remove every third year, this, joined with the heavy rent and taxes, induced him to look for lands where he knew he would meet with no such encumbrances. The lands, as we came along,

seemed extremely good, heavy timbered, consisting of oak, chestnut, butternut, hickory, maple or sugar wood, ash, pine and a variety of others, all lofty of their kind, particularly in that space which lies between the long stretch of precipices called the *mountain* and the *side of the lake*. This space is from one to four miles broad and from fifty to sixty miles long from Niagara to Lake Geneva; it is in general a deep clay soil with black and fat mold of some inches on the top. The lands on the top of the stretch of precipices called the Mountain is of a much lighter soil intermixed with sand, thinly timbered and all of oak, but produces heartier wheat than the lands below, but not in such quantities. I remarked that the top of the Mountain would make good pasture in its present state for sheep, could they be preserved from the wolves. The foxes here are of various colors, black, red and gray. I have seen skins of each kind. They are caught in traps and I have been told of a man who, since fall, had taken about sixty in that manner. This Mountain begins in the Genesee country and stretches along until it crosses the river Niagara at the Grand Falls; from thence in a serpentine form to the head of the small lake called by the Indians Ouilqueton, and known to the white people by the name of Geneva, and from thence to the Bay of Toronto opposite to the fort of Niagara, a stretch of between two and three hundred miles. Though it is called the mountain, it is no more than a ridge of rising ground about 300 feet higher than the flat lands below it. The lands on the mountain appear to be the fittest I have yet seen for a poor man to begin upon, as it requires scarcely any clearing, there being no more wood upon it than a sufficiency for rails, inclosures, and the necessary purposes of farming, so that, if he chooses, he may plow down the land the moment he acquires possession of it. Clearing land of heavy timber is both expensive and tedious, but if one has any sufficient stock and patience to go through with it, he may be assured of being amply repaid in the end.

On the 10th we set out early from Smith's house and passed through many fine farms and rich land, keeping all along close to the foot of the mountain, the timber, the same as the

day before, extremely lofty and of equal variety. A little before we came to the head of the Grand Lake we met a man with a slea and a train of oxen. I asked him if he had come from the head of the lake. He answered, in a twang peculiar to the New Englanders, "I viow niew, you may depen. I's just a comin'." "And what distance may it be from hence" said I. "I viow niew, I do no'. I guess niew, I do no,—I swear niew, I guess it is three miles." He swore, vowed and guessed alternately, and was never likely to come to the point, though he had but that instant come from it. Mr. McNab damned him for an old Yanky rascal that never gave a direct answer in his lifetime, and was sure that he had come from New England that or but the preceding year at farthest. They rarely answer in any other way.

"We proceeded on our jouney and in about half an hour we fell down on the Grand Lake and drove along a fine beach until we came to the neck of land which separates the two lakes, the Grand Ontario from the Geneva. This makes a fine dry beach, five miles long and from two to three hundred yards broad; on this neck there grows very long grass which the neighbouring inhabitants cut down for hay and it is extremely useful to them.

"We now entered upon the Lake Geneva and drove along it on the ice. This lake is a fine small sheet of water of a triangular form, six miles one way and five the other. The snow was about ten inches deep on the ice. Here I saw several Indians of the Missassauga nation fishing for pickerel, mas-kinonge and other kinds of fish, inhabitants of and peculiar to this and other Canadian waters. The Missassagoë nation of Indians rarely cultivate any land and wholly subsist by hunting and fishing, at which they are more expert than their neighbours, with whom they frequently, as well as with the white inhabitants, barter fish and venison for their provisions. How soon I saw them, I requested Mr. McNab, in whose slea I was to drive towards them. Their manner of fishing appears to be somewhat curious. The Indian provides himself with a small spear of two prongs about six inches long with a shaft of light wood about ten feet long. A little

false or artificial fish is made of wood so exactly formed and colored that it is impossible to conceive it to be any other thing than a real fish, without handling it; when in the water the deception is not to be discovered. A little lead is put into the body of this image to make it sink; a hole is made in the ice into which the fisherman drops the image suspended by a small piece of twine of about a fathom or two long, so exactly fitted in the middle as to make it balance; he then lays himself flat on his face at the side of the hole which, as well as himself, he covers with his blanket so close that no light can get in from above, holding the twine in one hand and his spear in the other, he tugs and works the thread to make his little fish play as if alive in the water, which, being observed by a ravenous fish, he makes at it to snap it up, and the others, who are not so, come from curiosity to see what it is that makes this little fish so sportive and playful, and continue for some time swimming about, which gives a fair opportunity to the Indian, who is ever watchful, to strike them with his spear. In this way they catch a great many fish of different kinds. I saw one man with about a score lying by his side of his hole of whom we bought or bartered a few of the largest kind for a loaf of bread; they seemed to weigh from two to eight pounds each and were as delicious in taste as any I have ever met with. I looked through one of these holes and when covered with the blanket could easily perceive the bottom, where I supposed it to be twenty feet deep.

“On the borders of Lake Ontario, and I suppose on all the other great lakes of Canada, a great deal of different kinds of fish are caught in freshets in the spring of the year which the frost of the winter confine to the body of the lake and from which they seem anxious to be relieved; how soon the small brooks are open from ice for their reception they push out in such numbers that one would be apt to suppose that none of certain kinds stay behind, the one striving to get ahead of the others. The inhabitants in the neighbourhood are provided with small nets, such as we call in Scotland or *bag hose* nets, with three or four hoops in the body of each to keep them open, the small end which is close, is fixed to a

stake uppermost in the middle of the stream, the wider end stretched down in the water is open with a wing extending from each side to the opposite bank, which prevents the fish from passing any way but through the hoops and body of the net, a contrivance is made within that allows the fish easily through to the upper end, out of which they cannot find their way back. The nets are generally set at night and raised in the morning, often full of fish. I am of opinion that nets of the same construction, but on a larger scale, might be used to advantage in Scotland for catching salmon on small rivers. How soon the Indian got the loaf, as before mentioned, he sliced the greater part of it down with a knife and shared it with his neighbours. After satisfying myself of everything worth remarking of the Indian method of fishing, we mounted our sleas and drove on to the house of a Mr. Beasley, who keeps a shop at the head of Lake Geneva and trades much with the Indians in peltry. He showed me a great many skins of different kinds, among the rest that of a black fox, whose fur was extremely soft and beautiful and of high value, supposed to be worth five guineas. The foxes in Lower Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are chiefly red, few black or grey to be met among them, but in this part of the country they are of all these colours. I have seen some speckled red and grey. The real black is very rare. We staid that night with Mr. Beasley, who entertained us with the highest hospitality. Here I was told of a phenomenon which surprises everybody in the neighbourhood, supposed to be a volcano which makes at certain times a loud report, resembling a great gun at a distance.

“The Indians only know the spot in which it is and from a foolish notion or tradition among them, will not discover it; they suppose it is occasioned by the Great Spirit and how soon the white people find it, they are to be extirpated the land if not from the face of the earth, and an end put to their race. As this opinion prevails among them, no inducement will make them discover it. Dr. Kerr of the Indian Department told me he meant to search for it next summer, and flattered himself he would find it out. Whatever is the cause

of this singular phenomenon it must be very deep in the bowels of the earth, as no smoke issues from it and no crevice or opening to be seen about it.

"February 11. We set out from Mr. Beasley's. For several hours on the way towards the Grand River the lands are so open as to have scarce a sufficiency of wood for inclosures and the necessary purposes of farming, but towards the mountain the wood becomes thick and lofty, as is common in this country. For several miles along the mountain the wood again thinned like that which we entered this morning. I, however, observed by the girding of the trees in several parts that the land was granted away though few settlements were to be seen and as we had plenty of provisions along with us we stopped and dined at a mill, the water was supplied from a fountain in the hill, its source but a short space from thence. The mill was built at the foot of a small precipice over which the water poured on the head of the wheel, which was greatly admired by my fellow travellers who protested it to be one of the finest contrivances they had ever seen and worth going 100 miles to see, requested I should take particular notice of it in my journal, but I told them it was not new to me, though so to them, as scarce a mill in my country but was served by water in the same manner. Here we saw a beautiful young woman, seemingly of exquisite shape and form, going on crutches occasioned by rheumatic pains in her haunches. After refreshing ourselves and horses, we proceeded on our journey through the mountain. The snow was deep and no beaten track; our carriages dragged heavily on. Towards evening we fell down on a gentleman's farm where we stopped to warm ourselves and bait our horses. The weather being windy, accompanied by cold showers of snow, we no sooner entered the house and standing by the fireside, than our travelling companion, a little French captain, looked up and swore it was the finest place for smoked meat he had ever seen in all his life, and that he was sure that piece which he now held in his hand must eat very well, at the same time he handled several pieces which hung near it. Our honest landlord took the hint and told

us if we would have a little patience, he would order venison steaks, (of which he and every person in that neighbourhood had plenty). We apologized for what our friend said but to no purpose, the hint was too broad to be parried. The steaks came in, on which we feasted most sumptuously and dined for the second time that day. No sooner our repast was over than we bade adieu to the family, mounted our sleas and drove on to the Indian village, alighted about night-fall at the house of the famous Indian chief and warrior, Captain Joseph Brant. This renowned warrior is not of any royal or conspicuous progenitors, but, by his ability in war and political conduct in peace, has raised himself to the highest dignity of his nation and his alliance and friendship is now courted by sovereign and foreign states. Of this there are recent instances, as he has had within the last three weeks several private letters and public despatches from Congress, soliciting his attendance at Philadelphia on matters of high importance, but, after consulting Colonel Gordon, commandant of the British troops in this place and all Upper Canada, he excused himself and declined to accept of the invitation. He just now enjoys a pension and captain's half pay from the British Government and seems quite staunch by it, but a person of his great political talents ought to be looked after; at the same time, I am convinced he bears no good will to the American states and seems to be much rejoiced at the drubbing their troops got on the 4th of last November, when, by the Indians' account, 1300 of them were killed on the spot, but, by the American, only 800; the former is nearest the truth and gains most credit here. By comparing the numbers brought to the field with those that remained after the action, which is the surer way to judge, their loss must have exceeded 1600. I saw a muster roll and returns of some of the companies and examined them, if there were any Scotch names, and could find none, but one Campbell, which, it would appear by their orderly book, was among those that deserted, of whom there were a great many. My reason for examining this so particularly was I was informed that the American army were

mostly made up of Scotch and Irish emigrants, to whom Congress promised free lands at the end of the war, in the event they would engage in it. Captain Green of the Twenty-sixth Regiment, who held the order book, made the same remark in regard to the names, so I am happy that report is ill founded.

“Captain Brant, who is well acquainted with European manners, received us with much politeness and hospitality. Here we found two young ladies with their husbands on a visit to the family, both of them very fair complexioned and well looking women. But when Mrs. Brant appeared, superbly dressed in the Indian fashion, the elegance of her person, grandeur of her looks and deportment, her large, mild black eyes, symmetry and harmony of her expressive features, though much darker in the complexion, so far surpassed them as not to admit of the smallest comparison between the Indian and the fair European ladies. I could not, in her presence, so much as look at them without marking the difference. Her blanket was made of silk and the finest English cloth bordered with a narrow stripe of embroidered lace, her sort of jacket and scanty petticoat of the same stuff, which came down only to her knees; her garters or leggins of the finest scarlet, fitted close as a stocking, which showed to advantage her stout but remarkably well formed limbs; her mogazines, (Indian shoes), ornamented with silk ribbons and beads. Her person, about five feet nine or ten inches high, as streight and proportionable as may be, but inclining to be jolly or lusty. She understands, but does not speak English. I have often addressed her in that language, but she always answered in the Indian tongue.

“They have a fine family of children. I remarked of one fine looking boy, about eight years old, that he was very like his mother; his father said he was so, and he was glad of it; that he had already shot several pheasants and other birds; that he and two other boys of the same age had recently been in the woods with their guns, that they supposed they had found the track of a deer which they followed too far, got wet and turned cold; that, however, young as they

were, they put up a fire, warmed themselves and returned home; that before they arrived their toes were frost bitten, of which he was not then quite recovered. Another instance of their being bred early to war is that I myself saw a rifled barreled gun taken by an Indian boy from an American, whom he shot dead, in the action of the 4th of November last, and was allowed to keep on account of his gallant behavior.

"Tea was on the table when we came in, served up in the handsomest china; plate and every other furniture in proportion. After tea was over, we were well entertained with the music of an elegant hand organ on which a young Indian gentleman and Mr. Clench played alternately. Supper was served in the same genteel stile. Our beverage, rum, brandy, port and Madeira wines. Captain Brant made several apologies for his not being able to sit up with us so long as he wished, being a little out of order, and we, being fatigued after our journey, went timeously to rest. Our beds, sheets and English blankets equally fine and comfortable.

Next day being Sunday we, the visitors, went to church. The service was given out by an Indian, in the absence of the minister, who was indisposed, and I never saw more decorum or attention paid in any church in all my life. The Indian squaws sang most charmingly, with a musical voice I think peculiar to themselves. After sermon, I went to the school house to converse with the master, an old Yanky. As it was Sunday, the scholars were not convened, so that I had not the pleasure of seeing them. He teaches English and arithmetic only. He told me he had sixty-six on his list, some of whom had excellent capacities for learning and read distinctly and fluently. After this, I visited several houses in the village and found the inhabitants had abundance of the necessaries of life to supply their wants and are better and more comfortably lodged than the majority of farmers in my country. Few of the houses I saw but had two apartments, deal floors and glass windows. They have a deal of crop and excellent cattle, inferior to none I have seen in the Province. The old people attend farming while

the young men range the woods for different kinds of game and supply the family with venison, of which they generally have more than suffices, the' overplus they sell to the white inhabitants of the neighbourhood. I have seen many loads of venison come in to the market of Niagara, and it is rare to find in the season a house without some. Here I fell in with Mr. Aaron Hill, a young Indian gentleman of very agreeable looks and mild manners. He is the eldest son of the renowned chief, Captain David, whom every one that knew him allowed to be the handsomest and most agreeable Indian they had ever seen; he died about two years ago, and, what would be deemed very hard by many, the son does not succeed to the honours and titles of the family, but they go in the female line to his aunt's son. Captain Brant did all he could to get the son, who seems worthy of his gallant and distinguished father, to enjoy the titles, but it would not do, the ancient laws and customs and manners of the nation could not be departed from. This young Indian was the best scholar at the University of Cambridge in New England when he was there. He writes a remarkably fine hand, both in the Roman characters and German text, a specimen of which he gave me and I now have in my custody. I remarked of the Indians of this part of the Continent that they never speak in a hasty or rapid manner, but in a soft, musical, and harmonious voice. I am charmed with the mildness of their manners, when friendly, but when enemies, their ferocity has no bounds. Dinner was just going on the table in the same elegant stile as the preceding night when I returned to Captain Brant's house, the servants dressed in their best apparel. Two slaves attended the table, the one in scarlet, the other in colored clothes, with buckles in their shoes and ruffles and every other part of their apparel in proportion. We drank pretty freely after dinner, Port and Madeira wines, as already observed, but were not pressed to more than we chose. Our first toasts were King, Queen, Prince of Wales and all the royal family of England, and next to the brave fellows who drubbed the Yankees on the 4th of last November, all given by the landlord in regular

progress. After dinner Captain Brant, that he might not be wanting in doing me the honours of his nation, directed all the young warriors to assemble in a certain large house to show me the war dance, to which we all adjourned about nightfall. Such as were at home of the Indians appeared superbly dressed in their most showy apparel, glittering with silver in all the variety, shapes and forms of their fancies, which made a dazzling appearance; the pipe of peace, with long white feathers, and that of war, with red feathers equally long, were exhibited in their first war dance with shouts and war whoops resounding to the skies. The chief himself held the drum, beat time, and often joined in the song with a certain cadence to which they kept time. The variety of forms into which they put their bodies and agility with which they changed from one strange posture to another was really curious to an European eye not accustomed to such a sight. Several warlike dances were performed, which the chief was at particular pains to explain to me, but still I could not understand nor see any affinity except in the eagle attack which indeed had some resemblance. After the war dances were over, which took up about two hours as the whole exhibition was performed in honour of me as the only stranger, who, they were told by my fellow travellers, meant to publish my travels on my return home, which they judged by the notes I took of everything I saw, though in reality I had no such thing then in view, I was desired by Mr. Clench to make a speech and thank them for their handsome performances. As this could not be declined without giving offence, I was obliged to get up and told them I would address them in the Indian language of my country and said in Gaelic, "That I had fought in many parts of Europe, killed many men and, being now in America, I did not doubt but that I would fight with them yet, particularly if the Yankees attacked us." My worthy friend, Captain McNab, explained in English my speech, as did Captain Clench in the Indian tongue, at which they laughed very heartily.

"No sooner the war dances were over than they began their own native and civil ones, in which Captain Brant and

I joined; he placed me between two handsome young squaws and himself between other two, in this way we continued for two hours more without coming off the floor, dancing and singing. He himself sang to keep time all along, which all the rest followed in the same cadence.

"The serpentine dance is admirably curious; one takes the lead, representing the head, and the others follow one after the other, joined hand in hand, and before the close of the dance we put in all the forms and folds a serpent can be in. After this dance and every other dance peculiar to their nation, we began Scotch reels, and I was much surprised to see how neatly they danced them. Their persons are perfectly formed for such exercise. The men, from the severity of their hunting excursions, are rather thin, but tall, streight and well proportioned, extremely agile and supple. The women, much fairer in complexion, plump and inclined to be lusty.

"Here we continued until near daylight. I told Captain Brant that in my country, at all country weddings, and frolics, it was customary to kiss before and after every dance. He said it was a strange though agreeable custom, but that it would never do here, I suppose owing to the jealousy of the men. I had brought two gallons of rum to entertain them, and he ordered six gallons of Madeira wine from his own house and would hardly allow the other gentlemen and myself to touch any other liquor. By my being, in a manner, under the necessity of often drinking grog with the young Indians and squaws, I got tipsy, though I and one young Indian were the only persons present in the least affected. As for the squaws, I could hardly get them to taste however warm they might be with dancing.

"Whenever Captain Brant observed the young Indian affected with what he had drank he requested I should give him no more, taxed him with being drunk and said he must turn out of the company if he did not take better care of what he was about. On the whole I do not remember that I ever passed a night in all my life, I enjoyed more; everything was new to me and striking in its manner; the old chief entered

into all the frolics of the young people, in which I was also obliged to join; but the other gentlemen to whom none of these things were new, looked on and only now and then engaged in the reels. After passing the night in this agreeable manner and I being a good deal fatigued in drinking and dancing, we retired to rest.

"Captain Brant showed me a brace of double barrelled pistols, a curious gun and a silver hilted dagger he had got in presents from noblemen and gentlemen in England, when he was in that country on an embassy from his own and other Indian nations. Each of the double barrelled pistols had but one lock, the hammer of which was so broad as to cover the two pans and the two touch holes so that both shots would go off at once and when he had a mind to fire but one barrel at a time there was a slip of iron which, by a slight touch, covered one of the pans so that the one only, which was not covered, would go off.

"The gun, once being sufficiently charged would fire fifteen shots in the space of half a minute. The construction of this curious piece was, as nearly as I can describe it, as follows: There was a powder chamber or magazine adjoining to the cock which would hold fifteen charges, another cavity for as many balls and a third for the priming and by giving a twist round to a sort of handle on the left hand side opposite to the lock, the gun would be loaded from these magazines, primed and cocked so that the fifteen charges might be fired one after another in the space of half a minute. At the same time he might fire but one or two shots, less or more of them as he chose. He said there was something of the work within wrong, so that he could not get it to fire more than eight shots without stopping. He tried it at a mark and said it shot very well. Of the dagger he said it was the most useful weapon in action he knew; that it was far better than a tomahawk; that he was once obliged to strike a man four or five times with a tomahawk before he killed him, owing to hurry and not striking him with a fair edge, whereas he never missed a stroke with a dagger. Others told me they knew him to not to be over scrupulous or sparing on these occasions. An-

other instance, he said, was that he had seen two Indians with spears or lances attack a man one on each side; that just as they pushed to pierce him through the body, he seized on the spears, one in each hand; they tugged and pulled to no purpose until a third person came and despatched him. This could not be done to a dagger, of course, it was by odds the better weapon.

“Mr. Clench, who is a young man of liberal education, had served all the last war in the Indian Department and was on many expeditions along with Captain Brant; they put one another in mind of many strange adventures, among others that of their having once brought boys and a number of women and girls prisoners to Detroit and so served the whole settlement, which was much in want of females. Their description of the consequences gave me a lively idea of the rape of the Sabine women by the first settlers of Rome, for here the former husbands and lovers had been killed. A tailor in this place told me that he was one of the boys captured on that occasion, that his eldest brother and father had been killed the latter after he had been taken prisoner and brought a great part of the way, had got fatigued and could not travel on, when he was tomahawked by the Indians.

“Another story of Captain Brant’s relating to hunting was that he, Captain Brant, and another, being on an expedition with a large party to the south had nearly run out of provisions, and, dreading the consequences, had gone hunting on horseback; that they had preferred small game as the small would be the exclusive property of them who killed it, whereas the great game must be equally divided among the party. That they rode on through the woods and at last fell in with a large flock of turkeys and galloped after them as hard as they could until they obliged the turkeys to take wing and get upon trees when the party alighted off their horses and shot seventeen fine turkeys, after which they returned to camp. They all shot with rifles. Lieutenant Turner of the First Regiment of Continental troops was the only officer taken prisoner by the Indians in the action of the 4th November, 1791, who survived the slaughter of

his countrymen. He told me that when he was a prisoner among the Indians, he was one day permitted to go along with them to the woods on a shooting party, that how soon they fell in with turkies, the Indians pursued on foot as fast as they could run, bawling and hallowing all the time to frighten the birds, and when they had thus got them upon trees, they shot many of them.

“With Captain Brant I had a conversation upon religion, introduced by him, indeed, and not by me. He said we were told that everyone who was not a Christian would go to hell. If so, what would become of the miserable souls of many Indians who never heard of Christ? Asked if I believed so and what I thought of it. I told him very frankly that if all the Saints and priests on earth were to tell me so, I would not believe them.....He spoke of the Virgin Mary and her husband, Joseph, and even of our Saviour in a way that induced me to wave the subject.....

“But before I take leave of this charming country and the honours done me by this renowned chief and his warlike tribe of handsome young warriors, all of the Mohawk nation, I must not omit to say that it appears to me to be the finest country I have yet seen and by every information I have had, none are more so in America. The plains are very extensive with a few trees here and there interspersed and so thinly scattered as not to require any clearing and hardly sufficient for the necessities of the farmer; the soil rich and a deep clay mold. The river is about 100 yards broad and navigable for large battoes to Lake Erie, a space of sixty miles, except for about two miles of what is called here rapids, but in Scotland would be termed fords, and in which the battoes are easily poled up against any little stream there may be. Abundance of fish are caught here in certain seasons, particularly in spring, such as sturgeon, pike, pickerel, maskinonge, and others peculiar to this country, and the woods abound in game. The habitations of the Indians are pretty close on each side of the river as far as I could see, with a very few white people interspersed among them, married to squaws, and others of half-blood, their offspring. The

church in the village is elegant, the school house commodious, both built by the British Government, who annually order a great many presents to be distributed among the natives; ammunition and warlike stores of all the necessary kinds, saddles, bridles, kettles, cloth blankets, tomahawks with tobacco pipes in the end of them; other things and trinkets innumerable, provisions and stores; so that they may live and really be, as the saying is, as happy as the day is long.

"February 13.—When Captain Brant found that we would be away, he ordered his slea to be got ready and after breakfast he and Mrs. Brant accompanied us the length of ten or twelve miles to the house of an Indian who had a kitchen and stove room, deal floors and glass windows, crop and cattle in proportion, where we put up to warm ourselves. Captain Brant brought some rum, wine and cold meat for the company; after refreshing ourselves, we bade adieu to our hospitable and renowned host and elegant squaw and proceeded on our journey along the banks of the Grand River. The land seemed extremely good as we came along; the first village of Indians, the next of white people, and so on alternately as far as I have been, and for all I know to the side of the lake. The Indians on this part of the country seem to be of different nations, Mohawks, Cherokees, Tuskarous, and Missassagoes.

"I called at different villages or castles as they are called here and saw the inhabitants have large quantities of Indian corn in every house a-drying and suspended in the roofs and every corner of them. We put up at the house of a Mr. Ellis, who treated us very hospitably.

"February 14.—We went a-visiting for several miles down the river-side and dined at the house of a Mr. Young, who had served last war as a lieutenant in the Indian Department, married to a squaw, sister to one of the Chiefs of the Mohawk nation, who succeeded Captain David. This gentleman of Dutch extraction used me with marked attention and hospitality. Messrs. Clench, Forsyth and I staid with him that night, playing whist, cribbage, and other games.

"Here for the first time I played cards with a squaw. Next morning he conducted us in his own slea the length of Mr. Allen's. He told us a few days ago a wolf killed a deer on the ice near his house and showed us the remains of a tree which, before it was burnt, measured twenty-eight feet in circumference.

"February 15.—We set out from Mr. Young's, crossed a forest of about twenty miles, without any settlements, with Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Butler, a Mr. Henry and his wife and some sleas loaded with grain going to mill. Here we all stopped to bait our horses at the side of a stream or creek, put up a fire and dined on such victuals as we brought along with us, in a shade put up by some travelling Indians. I saw the track of deer as we came along and where one of them was dragged on a slea or toboggan on the snow. Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Butler invited our company to their house to which we cheerfully agreed. Mrs. Butler is a very well looking, agreeable young lady and he, himself, a good, plain sort of man.

"We arrived about nightfall and after refreshing ourselves with some tea and some port and Madeira wine, card tables were produced on which we played till supper time. In this, as indeed, every place we had been in, we were very genteelly and hospitably entertained.

"The woods through which we passed for the last three days much the same with that formerly described, thick and lofty in the valleys but thin, short and scattered along the mountain. The land is also the same clay with a black mold on the surface.

"This gentleman's farm lies on a spacious broad point bordering on the Grand Lake about thirty miles from Niagara. A creek runs along one side of it which, in the spring and fall is swarming with wild fowl, geese and ducks innumerable. The wood duck which is the most beautiful of the aquatic kind, is frequently to be met with here; they are so called from their perching on trees.

"My friend, Captain Colin McNab, on whose veracity I can depend, told me that he and others had once, in the

spring of the year, gone a-shooting to this creek and the head of the lake, where they staid ten or fourteen days; that notwithstanding their living mostly on wild fowl, they brought home about 100; each of them had two fowling pieces which they fired away as fast as they could be charged.

“February 16.—After breakfast we set out from Mr. Andrew Butler’s and bade adieu to him and his amiable wife. Called at Major Tinbrook’s and dined at Squire John McNab’s. Here we were told that a party of pleasure had gone from Niagara and the barracks to meet us at a place called the Cheapway, (Chippawa), three miles above the Grand Falls, and have a dance there that night, which would disappoint them very much in the event we did not appear. Captain McNab insisted on my being there in particular for reasons he said I could not well dispense with. I therefore agreed and my particular friend, the Squire, was good enough to furnish me with his cariole and a couple of good horses. This Mr. John McNab is a gentleman of genteel and independent property—is a justice of the peace, which gives him the title of Squire, and a member of the Land Board. After dinner we all set out. I, with Mr. Johnson Butler, called at his father’s, the Colonel of that name, thence to Captain Clench’s on Missassagoe Point opposite to the Niagara Fort, from thence again in one carriage to the Cheapway, where we arrived about eight o’clock at night, two or three and twenty miles from the place we had dined in. Here we drank tea, supped, played cards, and danced till daylight. In the morning I took Mr. Forsyth, Lieutenants Daniel and McKenzie of the Twenty-sixth Regiment, into my slea. Breakfasted at Mr. Burch’s house, who has some saw and grist mills on a small stream cut out from the side of the Great River. Stopped at the Grand Falls and saw them for the second time. Called at Mr. Hamilton’s and arrived in the evening at Niagara.....

“March 4th, 1792.—The weather now becoming fine and the snow fast wearing away by the heat of the sun in all exposed places, and the fields and open ground totally clear of it, I prepared for my journey through the Genesee

country, bought a couple of horses and everything I judged necessary for the occasion.

"On the 10th of March I set out from this place, after bidding farewell and thanking my friends good on either side of the river.

"Before I take leave of Niagara, I must not omit to express my obligations and acknowledgments to my very particular friends, the McNabs, Mr. Hamilton and family, Mr. Dickson, merchant, Drs. More and Kerr, Messrs. Crooks and Forsyth, Mr. Clark, storekeeper, Mr. Farquharson, commissary, Mr. Johnston, Indian interpreter, Mr. Clench, Captain Law and his son and young Mr. Alexander McNab. Did I particularize every mark of attention and hospitality of these gentlemen to strangers which I, myself, experienced to a very high degree and how many happy nights I spent with them in that place at assemblies, entertainments and card parties, I should make a diffuse narration of it; let it, therefore, suffice to say that I am extremely sensible of their kindness and will always make grateful acknowledgments.

"I must also express my obligations to Captain Campbell of the Twenty-sixth Regiment, and family, Colonel Gordon, Captains Bygrave and Hope, Lieutenants Daniel, Doyres, Duke, and to my travelling companion and fellow sufferer on the lakes, Lieutenant William McKay."

"At Tonawanda," he relates that "he" met two men driving a parcel of cattle to Niagara, also met a Dr. Allan, whom I had seen at Niagara, going with a letter from Congress to Captain Brant, requesting him to go to Philadelphia on matters of considerable importance regarding the Indian War." (pp. 218-9.)

After arriving at the settlements on the Genesee river he remarked that "some of those that have purchased lands here are now desirous to sell them and go for Canada, totally owing to the great distance from market." (pp. 224.)

"The American land of Canaan to which they emigrate in great numbers yearly is supposed to be in the south, Kentucky; in the middle provinces, the Genesee country; and in the north, the river St. John in New Brunswick, and from

all these, excepting Kentucky, they fly to Upper Canada, which is now deemed the paradise of the New World." (p. 330.)

On the 18th of November, 1791, Lieutenant Governor Alured Clarke issued a proclamation designating the boundary line between the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada as established by the recent act of the British Parliament.

Early in that month Colonel John Graves Simcoe, favourably known to many loyalists as the gallant and skilful leader of the Queen's Rangers during the war, who had been appointed Lieutenant Governor of the new province, arrived at Quebec, where he remained until the following summer, being unable to "act in a civil or military capacity" until the arrival of Chief Justice Osgoode and Justice Powell with further instructions.

The magistrates and principal inhabitants of Niagara lost no time in drafting and forwarding to him a congratulatory address, which was dated the 30th of February, 1792, and signed by John Butler, Robert Hamilton, J. Burch, J. Warren, Jacob Ball, Robert Kerr, J. McNab, P. Ball, Ralfe Clench, J. Muirhead, Colin McNab, Thos. Butler, Wm. Dickson, W. Johnson, Jno. Crooks, Arch. Cunningham, J. Edwards, Joseph Clement, Josh. Clement, W. B. Sheehan, John Powell, Jacob Servos, B. Brady, Geo. Forsyth, W. Ball, G. Ball, D. Servos, P. Ten Broeck, Roger Bradt, Peter Bradt, Aug. Jones, Ben. Canby, Jacob Ten Broeck, Geo. Lawe, Ad. Vrooman, Isaac Vrooman, Philip Duck, Peter McMicking, Ben. Pawling, Robert Nelles, And. Bradt, Nat. Pettit, W. Dunbar, Thos. McMicking, David Ross, Geo. Chisholm, David Seacord, Peter Seacord, Jacob Jonedick, John Hainer, John Reid, and John McEwen. This was accompanied by an address from John Butler and Robert Hamilton, the Justices of the Common Pleas, in which they informed him that the last crops had been abundant to their utmost expectations and that "peace and plenty promise to reside among us." They added that the Courts of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions, as established by the Governor General, continued to perform their duties, but owing to peaceable

department of the people and attention of the magistrates there had been but few causes.

In Simcoe's first despatch to Henry Dundas, Secretary for War and the Colonies, dated the 16th of February, 1792, he reported that he had received information from a correspondent in Pennsylvania that a number of persons were disposed to emigrate to Upper Canada and he had encouraged them, and that he had also seen people from Connecticut who assured him that the ecclesiastical establishment which he had already recommended to the Minister would be likely to promote emigration from that State, although he remarked that "the delay of Great Britain in giving a free constitution to Upper Canada has made a sensible alteration in the disposition of the loyalists there. It had been understood that all persons who were natural born subjects of Great Britain, prior to the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, should be admitted to all privileges of British subjects, upon taking the oath of allegiance, but that their children would not." He desired to know how such children might become British subjects.

About a month later he transmitted a return from the preventive officer at Oswego, which was still held as a British post, showing that between May 1st, 1789, and November 1st, 1791, eight hundred and seventeen persons from the United States had entered themselves as settlers, of whom two hundred and sixty-three had gone on to Niagara. John Munro of the district of Lunenburg had written him that "emigrants are flocking in with all their property from the United States." On the 7th of February, 1792, Simcoe issued a proclamation addressed to "such as are desirous to settle on the lands of the Crown in Upper Canada," informing them that townships would be laid out of which one-seventh would be reserved for the support of a Protestant church, and another seventh for the future disposition of the Crown. The remainder would be available for settlement. Inland townships were to be ten miles square and townships on navigable water would have a front of nine miles and a depth of twelve. No farm lot would be granted to any one per-

son containing more than two hundred acres, but the Lieutenant-Governor might grant to any person or persons a further quantity of land not exceeding one thousand acres.

In a letter dated the 28th of April, 1792, he referred to the great services the loyalist clergymen expelled from Connecticut might render if they were sent out to Upper Canada, by inducing future immigration from that State whence many young men were annually removing to other parts of the country. He remarked that the loyalist corps enlisted in that province (Connecticut) had been chiefly Episcopalians. Having learned also that a large body of Quakers intended to emigrate from Pennsylvania, he proposed to send an agent to negotiate with them.

The advisability of introducing a quantity of small coin into the new province had already become apparent, as the farmers had no other means of obtaining necessary articles than by bartering produce with the peltry merchants "who were enabled to fix the price of both articles." The price of merchandise was accordingly progressive, being fifty per cent. higher at Detroit than at Montreal. Before sailing from England he had asked that the battalion of Queen's Rangers enlisted for employment in Upper Canada should receive part of their pay in copper coin; he now requested that a quantity of sixpences should be added.

Suitable provision for higher education was a matter of extreme importance, "as otherwise the gentlemen of Upper Canada will have to send their children to the United States where by habit, intercourse and assiduous design in their instructors, their British principles will be perverted and the loyalty which glories in the honest pride of having withstood all the tempests of rebellion will be totally subverted." For the present, primary education must be left to their parents and relatives, but he strongly recommended an annual grant of 1,000 pounds for buildings and salaries to establish a grammar school at Kingston and another at Niagara and the foundation of an university at the capital, with a staff of professors, all of whom should be clergymen of the Church of England except perhaps the professor of medicine.

Dundas, however, showed little disposition to favour Simcoe's ambitious projects for encouraging immigration from the United States.

"With respect to great emigration," he wrote, (July 12, 1792,) "I am of the opinion that in the very infancy of the province such emigration would not be productive of all the good results your mind would suggest. Population is often the effect, but never the cause, of prosperity, especially such an ingrafted population, outrunning all laws, regulations and usages which govern and go hand in hand with a progressive and regular population. I have said this, not to check emigration from the United States, but that there is every appearance of sufficient numbers coming in from there of their own accord without going out of your way to entice or allure them. If care is taken to render the situations settled under your care comfortable, their fame will naturally spread and attract a sufficient emigration. Nothing could be more offensive to other nations, and especially the neighbouring States, than to make the emigration of their subjects a proposed and avowed object of our government."

To this Simcoe instantly replied that he had never entertained the idea that the British Government should encourage immigration by any overt act "which might offend that government, which, he was convinced, lay in wait to take advantage of such conduct," but unless the province was peopled, it would be unable to pay its way for many years. "The settlers coming in from the United States," he added, "were well aware that they must be industrious to succeed, and, judging from his experience, were generally superior to Europeans in their ability to take care of themselves." He continued to report from time to time that there was every prospect of a large immigration and stated that he had promised to the Quakers, Tunkers and Mennonites, the same exemptions from military service that they had formerly enjoyed in other British colonies in North America.

As regards higher education, he soon came to the conclusion that the establishment of two grammar schools would give ample accommodation for some years.

A proclamation dividing the province into counties and ridings for the election of representatives in the Legislative Assembly was published on July 16, 1792, and the boundaries of the county of Lincoln were defined as follows:—

“That the fifteenth of the said counties be hereafter called by the name of the county of Lincoln; which county is to be divided into four ridings. The first riding is to be bounded on the west by the easternmost line of the county of York, on the south by the Grand River, to be called the Ouse, thence descending the said river until it meets an Indian road leading to the forks of the Chippawa creek, which creek is to be called the Welland, thence descending said creek until it meets the continuation of the easternmost boundary of the late township No. 5, thence north along the said boundary until it intersects Lake Ontario, thence along the south shore of Lake Ontario until it meets the southeast boundary of the county of York. The second riding is to be bounded on the west by the easternmost line of the first riding, on the north by Lake Ontario, on the east by the river Niagara, and on the south by the northern boundary of the late townships No. 2, No. 9 and No. 10. The third riding is to be bounded on the east by the river Niagara, on the south by the Chippawa or Welland, on the west by the easternmost boundary of the first riding, and on the north by the southern boundary of the second riding. The fourth riding is to be bounded on the east by the river Niagara, on the south by Lake Erie, to the north of the Grand River or Ouse, thence up the said river to the road leading from the said Grand river or Ouse to the forks of the Chippawa or Welland, and on the north by the said road until it strikes the forks of the Welland, thence down the said Welland to the Niagara river, the said fourth riding to include the islands comprised within the easternmost boundaries of the river Niagara.”

The road leading from the Grand river to the forks of the Welland is consequently still known as the Indian line.

A sample of water from a salt spring on an island in the river Trent had been sent to Simcoe while still at Quebec, of which he ordered an analysis, with the intention of having

salt manufactured by the troops in the event of a favourably report being received. The average price of salt in Montreal in the year 1788 had been 2s. 6d. per bushel, while at Kingston it was 15s. and at Detroit 40s. If this spring could be successfully utilised, he hoped to reduce the price of salt to such an extent as to enable the settlers to supply the garrisons with salted meat.

The Government of the United States was then vigorously urging the evacuation of the frontier posts within their territory as defined by the treaty of 1783. Captain Gother Mann, the senior officer of the Royal Engineers in Canada, was again required to make a report, which is dated the 29th of October, 1792.

After describing the military posts on the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario at some length, he continued:—

“Proceeding now on the great communication of the Upper Country between the Lakes Ontario and Erie, I shall, as concisely as possible, just describe the nature of it with the mode of carrying on the business of transport upon it.

“There are three military posts on this communication, viz.: Niagara standing on the *east* shore at the entrance of the river into Lake Ontario, Fort Schlosser, between fourteen and fifteen miles above Niagara, on the same side of the river and about a mile and a half above the falls, and Fort Erie, about eighteen miles further on *west* shore of the river at the entrance of Lake Erie, so that the whole length of the communication between the two lakes is about thirty-three miles. The river is navigable without interruption for about seven miles above Niagara and so far loaded vessels may go up, but a strong leading wind being necessary to stem the current, they are not unfrequently discharged at Niagara or Navy Hall on the opposite shore and the goods conveyed up from thence in boats; they are then, on account of the rapids below the falls, obliged to be landed and carried in wagons to Fort Schlosser, where they are again put in boats and carried to Fort Erie and from that place are taken in vessels to the posts of Detroit and Michilimackinac or wherever else it may be requisite on the Lakes Erie, Huron and

Michigan. Such has been the method of conducting the business between Lakes Ontario and Erie partly on one side of the river and partly on the other, until Your Lordship ordered a new management to be formed and carried into execution by which the whole transport would be transferred to the west side, and as the necessary wharves, storehouses and other buildings to be erected for this purpose were in great forwardness when I left Canada last year, I have no doubt that before this time the new system has been fully established much to the convenience of government and the trade and settlers in general, notwithstanding the portage is somewhat longer this way than other side of the river. The river in its course is of various breadths, at Niagara it is about seven hundred yards wide, it is less at the landing place below the falls, and at Fort Erie it is two thousand two hundred yards. It is widest at Fort Schlosser. Above this place there are islands, one a very large one.

“The post of the first importance in this quarter is Niagara, which commands the entrance of the communication from Lake Ontario. Concerning the actual state and condition of this post as to defence I shall only observe that nothing was omitted under Your Lordship’s orders to render it as respectable as its capacity and circumstances would admit of without breaking new ground and going into the labour and expense of a new system, but the works have been originally constructed on too contracted a scale for the importance of the post, and its capacity has been also for some years in a continual course of diminution owing to the depredations of the lake which annually carries away a part of the ground so that at present there is not left a sufficient interior space for all the necessary purposes of storeroom and the accommodation of the garrison. A better post for a solid defence may, however, I think, be constructed on the opposite side of the river on the high ground over Navy Hall and which will be distant from the Niagara about thirteen hundred yards and will be higher than it by about nine feet.

“Fort Schlosser, being merely a picketed enclosure, never was a post of much defence and was only of consequence

as a convenient station at the head of the portage for a temporary deposit of the goods on their passage and for such troops as were necessary for protecting and forwarding the transport each way; its principal object will, therefore, now be superseded by the new position taken at the Chippeway Creek on the opposite side of the river. Fort Erie is not in a more defensible state than Fort Schlosser, every part of it, both works and buildings, are nearly in ruins except the new wharf and storehouse lately erected for the accommodation of the transport of Government effects. I think, however, that the situation of this place, being at the head of the communication between the two lakes, having a tolerable harbour and as vessels cannot conveniently go much lower down the river, that, under all these circumstances, it certainly has a degree of importance and will, therefore, demand some attention whenever the system to be established for the security of the frontiers and the necessary protection to the trade and settlements shall be under consideration. With respect to any works of defence which it may be proper to construct here, they ought to be placed on the rising ground at the back of the present fort.

“A slight view only of the nature of the communication I have been describing between the Lakes Ontario and Erie seems sufficient to show that it must always be an object to claim a great share of attention, but its importance will more fully appear on considering that it is in the heart of what must be a well settled and populous country and that the convenience of water carriage throughout the Great Lakes and to Lower Canada, is this way interrupted on account of the Falls of Niagara by one portage only, these circumstances together will of course make it the vortex to which the bulk of the carrying trade must be drawn as well ascending from thence, as in its descent from the upper country, whether proceeding from the Mississippi by the Wabash and Miami rivers, the Illinois river and Lake Michigan, or from the great northwestern country down the Grand Portage and the Lakes Superior, Huron and Erie and it is not improbable, should the States of America participate in the navigation of the

lakes, that their portion of the trade of the Upper Country would centre chiefly in New York and that this might also be found the most convenient channel of communication for them. To this account of the importance of the communication I am speaking of in respect to the trade with the Indian countries and supplies of the posts must be added the necessary intercourse of the settlers themselves on these lakes with the lower country. But the degree of consequence in which the passage between Lakes Erie and Ontario may be regarded should not perhaps be confined to what merely relates to the convenience of the trade and settlements; something is due to the consideration of it in a military view, in which, besides their convenience, the protection and safety may also be materially affected as well as that of the frontier in general. And in this respect I conceive it must be looked upon as a pass of very considerable importance, and by which we may hereafter be open to invasion unless it is guarded against with every necessary precaution. It is true the present state of the country does not seem to leave room for any very serious apprehensions of being immediately exposed to it; at least a force could not suddenly be collected to act against us by surprise, but in making arrangements for forming any durable system of security the future must be looked to. At present Great Britain possesses all the navigation of the lakes and their communications with the posts thereon, and there are few settlers on the shores but what are British subjects, but should a boundary be run along the middle of these waters, what would be thus separated from the British territory and which is at present scarce at all inhabited, would soon be filled with people whose government and interests might have views inimical to us, and in the full establishment of their country, they must in this quarter have the superior advantages on their side as they will in general possess better harbours, a better soil and climate, and a more compact territory uniting their old and new settlements together. These are some of the circumstances unfavorable to us which would attend the separation of territory by a boundary which should be run in the manner already described. By this

boundary we should lose two of the posts we possess on the communication we have been speaking of, viz:—Niagara and Fort Schlosser, but having already described the nature of those places, I shall now only add a few words by way of assisting to show what our own security would in this case necessarily demand; to this end the command of the entrances of the river must be attended to. Niagara at present effects this towards Lake Ontario, but it may also be as well done on the opposite side of the river. Batteries must therefore be erected there in the event of Niagara being transferred to other hands with a participation of the navigation, &c., and for a place of arms or post of substantial defence in which the general safety of the frontier will be more immediately concerned as I have already remarked above Navy Hall seems preferable; a work, therefore constructed here in a permanent way and on good principles with the subordinate batteries towards the river will be more respectable than anything which could be done at Niagara, even was that place to be constructed on a more comprehensive plan; still, however, in respect to the passage of the river that post in the hands of an enemy would have the means of annoying us as much as our works could annoy them; and this is a circumstance which must happen almost throughout this as well as most of the other communications in this country where the opposite shores shall be in the hands of different powers. As to the other entrance of this pass, the situation of Fort Erie is much preferable and more secure for vessels to come to than any place on the opposite shore. With a proper fort, therefore, here and the post at Navy Hall we shall, without mentioning inferior arrangements, have all the security independent of naval force which the nature of the communication will allow. I might add that the Chippeway creek lying between those posts may also in time afford some resource of strength in the number of inhabitants who will, it is natural to suppose, be led there by the advantages of navigation in almost still water for forty miles into the country.”

Two men, Price Hunnewell and Cromwell Thirby, had been arrested in the township of Augusta on a charge of con-

spiring to burn the fort at Oswegatchie (Oswego) and to raise men for the overthrow of the government of Upper Canada. The evidence taken was to the effect that Hunnewell had been heard to declare that he could raise a hundred men for this purpose. It was surmised that they had been employed by Colonel Cochran of New York. After their arrest, two other men had fled the country.

The question of the settlement of the boundary was naturally considered to be of the utmost importance and Simcoe was specially instructed to co-operate with and assist Mr. George Hammond, the British envoy recently despatched to Philadelphia, in adjusting this in the most advantageous manner. "You are already aware," Dundas wrote, "that the great object to be attended to, is to secure such a barrier against the American States by the intervention of the Indians or, where they are more thinly scattered, by the strength and situation of the country as may render encroachments on either side very difficult at least, if not impracticable."

Before the arrival of the Lieutenant Governor of the new province Sir John Johnson had been requested to submit a list of persons suitable for appointment to the Legislative and Executive Councils. Robert Hamilton, Nathaniel Pettit and Robert Kerr of the district of Nassau were among those thus recommended by him. After the appointments had been made Sir John bitterly complained that "an ill-advised and partial selection had been made from these lists, leaving out almost all the principal characters, particularly those who distinguished themselves in the late war."

Simcoe frankly wrote to Dundas:—"I consider the present situation of Great Britain and the United States truce with this great essential difference that Great Britain is anxiously disposed to convert this truce into all the confidence and advantage which discriminate a truce from a perfect peace and a cordial alliance. I conceive that the Government of the United States, and facts have hitherto proved, it, means otherwise. If it is the policy of Great Britain under any arrangement of compromise to give up the barrier forts, she will do it on the principle of seeking to obliterate all traces of

past animosity and would give just cause for suspicion in erecting new fortifications to prevent vessels from passing from Detroit into Lake Erie." (Simcoe to Dundas, Quebec, April 28, 1792.)

Mr. Hammond wrote in rather an alarming strain that "the anxiety of this country, (the United States,) for the posts upon the lakes is so universal and the probability of any amicable arrangement upon the subject previous to the opening of next campaign is so remote that it would not be a matter of great surprise should that army be successful against its Indian enemies, if a desire of gaining possession of these posts should be either artfully inspired into these troops or spontaneously conceived by them. In either of these cases, the discretion or rashness of the commander-in-chief would finally decide the attempt and I must acknowledge that in the character of General Wayne, the latter quality seems most likely to predominate." (Hammond to Simcoe, Philadelphia, April 21, 1792.)

Simcoe's comments on this letter were highly characteristic. "I doubt not," he wrote, "that the same principles of profligate policy would actuate Mr. Washington to maintain his power, by which he acquired it, and that the active talents of Mr. Mifflin, who governs Philadelphia, and the ardent ambition of Mr. Lee, the Governor of Virginia, would involve both those gentlemen in the zealous support of Wayne, should he attack our posts, an object, which in the general belief of all the people of the States, is necessary to the success of their Indian warfare, in which, if the person who commanded their army should be successful, he might look up eventually to become the successor of Mr. Washington. In this situation His Majesty's Ministers may rely on my most perfect obedience, both in form and substance, to their instructions and that I will lose my character rather than give any possible reason to the subjects of the United States to justify a war with Great Britain. At the same time I know their leaders too well and have too many proofs that they are totally destitute of public or private morality to believe that the most temperate conduct can ensure my country from

the greatest of all calamities, a war, if it be necessary to the preservation of the power of these men who now govern the United States." (Simcoe to Dundas, Montreal, June 21, 1792.)

He requested that a company of military artificers might be stationed in Upper Canada, and that declared that the presence of another regiment of infantry was more necessary there at that moment than in any other British Colony, as its appearance might reasonably avert war.

After a conference with Alexander McKee, the deputy-superintendent of Indian affairs for Upper Canada, he concurred with him in submitting proposals of a settlement of the disputed boundary on the following terms:—

1. The Indian territory to form a line separating British territory from the United States.

2. The posts of Niagara, Oswego and Detroit to be demolished and not held by either and included in the Indian territory.

3. Mackinac to be evacuated.

4. The Genesee country to be continued to the United States, but no post is to be established there, and as a balance, Great Britain to possess the following:

5. From the rapids of the Miami or from the river St. Clair on the west and two leagues deep to the south. By this the settlers at Detroit would be amenable to British jurisdiction, otherwise they would become lawless vagabonds. The settlements extended to the rapids of the Miami. This arrangement would probably perpetuate a peace between the different nations.

Dundas replied that he feared that popular feeling in the American States was not so favourable to British mediation as had been anticipated and wished. "The pacific disposition and state of this country and the consequent reduction of the forces in aid of revenue," he added, "are strong objections to an increase of force in Canada, not absolutely necessary. Two regiments have already been withdrawn from Nova Scotia and sent to Jamaica, nor is it intended to replace them." (August 15, 1792:)

On his arrival at Niagara, one of Simcoe's first measures was to continue the jurisdiction of the existing courts of justice and magistrates until new arrangements could be made. The battalion of Queen's Rangers were temporarily quartered at the "new landing on the Niagara river," (Queenston, in huts built by the men themselves. It was his ultimate intention to establish military posts at Toronto, Long Point and some suitable position on the Thames. He made an investigation of some salt springs between Niagara and the head of the lake, which had been already worked and considered then worth developing. Scarcely had the rangers taken possession of their camp site at Queenston, than possession of the land was disputed by Samuel Street, a well known trader in the vicinity. The Attorney General was promptly instructed to defend and judgment was given for the Crown. It was ascertained at the same time that many other Crown reserves were occupied by squatters.

Of the three residents of the district named by Sir John Johnson for appointment to the Legislative Council only Robert Hamilton had been selected. At the elections for the Legislative Assembly, the following members were returned:—Nathaniel Pettit for Durham, York and the 1st riding of Lincoln; Benjamin Pawling, for the 2nd riding of Lincoln; Isaac Swayze for the 3rd riding, and Parshall Terry for the 4th riding. All of them had borne arms in the service of the Crown during the revolution.

During the session, a bill for the prevention of smuggling seems to have become the subject of considerable debate and on the 29th of September a motion was passed "that Mr. Colin McNabb, as Preventative Officer, be ordered to attend at the Bar of the House to-morrow to give information respecting the Contraband Trade carried on in this district as far as the same has come to his knowledge." His evidence was apparently not very conclusive as on the 1st of October, the bill to prevent smuggling was read a second time and committed. The report of the committee that further consideration of the bill should be postponed for three months was then adopted without a division.

Reviewing the proceedings of the Legislature, in an official letter Simcoe remarked that "His Majesty service had been promoted by Mr. (D. W.) Smith, son of Major Smith, who for the last two years has commanded at Detroit, being elected for that district, owing to his proceedings as clerk of the Land Board." The House of Assembly was composed of the "most active characters in their several counties." Many of the members were not averse to "parliamentary wages." A bill was passed for the imposition of a duty of sixpence per gallon on rum and other spirits passing through the province which was expected to produce a revenue of —1500£ per annum. All the members were land owners and they opposed the smallest tax on real estate on the ground that it would discourage immigration. The bill imposing this duty was rejected by the Legislative Council, on the second reading, chiefly on the argument that three-fourths of all the spirits in transit were the property of merchants residing in Montreal. This was the only subject on which the two branches of the legislature had disagreed. "The members," he wrote, "seemed to have a stronger attachment to the elective principle in all town affairs than may be thought advisable." The bill for municipal organization had therefore been postponed. The favourite measure in the Legislative Council was a bill to validate "the irregular marriages that had been contracted in the province, two of the members and almost all the province being in that predicament. A hasty and ill-digested measure was brought forward by a leading character, (Hon. Richard Cartwright,) personally interested and only withdrawn on a promise that a bill should be prepared and sent home during the winter for the opinion of the government. "This required immediate attention. A report prepared by Mr. Cartwright, dated at Niagara, October 12, 1792, was enclosed which stated that from the year 1777 many families belonging to Butler's Rangers, the Royal New Yorkers, the Indian Department and other corps had come into the country and many young women of those families were contracted in marriage which could not legally be solemnized, there being no clergymen at the posts or in the

whole country above Montreal. The practice in such cases was usually to go before the officer commanding the post, who publicly read the service in the book of common prayer, using the ring and observing the other forms, or, if he declined it, by the adjutant of the corps. After the peace this was done by the justices of the peace till clergymen were established in the country. Each of the two lower districts have had resident Protestant clergymen since 1786; the Nassau District, one only for the past few months, while the Western District is still without one. The immigrants from the United States, it was expected, would be for the most part "sectaries or dissenters." In the Eastern District there was no Anglican clergymen, but a Presbyterian and a Lutheran, and a Roman Catholic priest at St. Regis. There were also many Dutch Calvinists in that part who had made many attempts to procure a minister of their own sect, but so far without success. In the Midland District there were two Anglican clergymen and many itinerant Methodist preachers, the followers of whom were numerous, and many of the inhabitants having the greatest property were Dutch Calvinists who had been trying to get a minister. In the Home District there was one Anglican, (the Reverend Robert Addison,) established since the preceding July. The Scotch Presbyterians were numerous and had built a meeting house and raised a subscription for the support of a minister who was expected to arrive soon. There were many Methodists and Dutch Calvinists among the settlers. In the Western District there was no clergyman except a Roman Catholic priest. Most of the Protestants residing there were Presbyterians.

"In order to promote an aristocracy, most necessary in this country," Simcoe added, "I have appointed lieutenants to the most populous counties, which I mean to extend from time to time and give them recommendatory powers for the militia and the magistracy, as is usual in England. The Hon. Robert Hamilton, being the largest landowner and wealthiest resident, was accordingly appointed Lieutenant of the county of Lincoln.

Simcoe concluded his despatch by saying, "I am much at a loss for a proper subject for taxation."*

The continuance of the war between the United States and a formidable confederacy of the western Indians, in which the latter had so far been victorious, naturally caused the Lieutenant Governor much anxiety. On August 30, 1792, he wrote a lengthy letter to Alexander McKee, instructing him "to impress on the Indians now meeting from the farthest parts of Canada *of themselves* to solicit the King's good offices. It is to be extremely desired that the solicitation should be the result of their spontaneous reflections. In all cases it will be advisable after the repeated assurances of our neutrality which we have given to Congress that there should appear on our part nothing like collusion or any interference to inspire them with such a sentiment. A suspicion of that tendency could infallibly tend to defeat the accomplishment of our object. It is also essential that all the Indian tribes bordering on the British possessions should concur in this solicitation, not only as so numerous a confederacy would present to the Americans the appearance of an increase of hostile force, but also a consolidation of the Indian territorial claims and rights is necessary to the formation of so extensive a barrier as we have in contemplation. You will no doubt be persuaded, as well as myself, that it is neither the interest nor the intention of His Majesty's Government to commence offensive hostilities against the United States; it will therefore be highly proper to guard against any expectation of that sort. In the event of the Congress refusing to admit our mediation on this ground, my only reason for supposing the solicitation of the Indians to be a mode of opening negotiations more practicable than our open offer arises from the apprehension that the latter would appear to be an interposition not invited by either party, whereas the former would only be compliance with the wishes of nations in alliance and in whose existence and preservation we have a clear, decided and permanent interest. The change of Govern-

* Simcoe to Dundas, Navy Hall, November 4, 1792.

ment from Great Britain to the United States has put it out of the power of the Indians to procure any documents except from the United States themselves or from Great Britain, which has only a general interest in preventing a war, it is therefore with peculiar propriety that they can apply to Great Britain for copies of such. For an explanation of my opinions I send an extract from a letter of Sir William Johnson to the Board of Trade in 1763, from which you will see the defined claims of the Canada Indians and those of the Six Nations. The Indians seem very ignorant of the extent of their own claims. I also send a letter from Mr. Knox to Joseph Brant, which speaks of that Chief having a right of soil in the Western Territory. I have desired Colonel Butler to endeavour to impress on the Indians of Buffalo Creek, who leave soon for the Council, with those opinions, and if I see Mr. Brant, will state them to him. I believe his conduct at Philadelphia has been in all respects upright and proper. I have directed Mr. Johnson, the Indian interpreter, to be sent by Colonel Butler, to assist you by his influence over the Buffalo Creek Indians. I am sorry they are not on good terms with those of Grand River. Washington's address to the Buffalo Indians is much the same as that to Brant. The Indians may justly name the place of treaty.* If the United States agree to the second article of Mr. Knox's letter that the United States require no Indian lands but those which have been ceded by treaties made with full understanding and free consent of the chiefs, we shall be certain of that very useful boundary to the northward which we projected. Your task is difficult, but I hope it will meet with the fullest success and that the claiming of the intervention of Great Britain will seem but a natural reply to the message sent by Congress to Brant and the Buffalo Indians. Captain Bunbury will bear this despatch."

In reply to a letter from George Hammond, dated July 11, 1792, he said that nothing could be more judicious than his delay in offering the mediation as to which he had been

*Henry Knox, Secretary of War for the United States.

directed to use his own discretion. In the event of another defeat of the American troops he believed that the generosity shown by the cessation of the western posts might induce the people of the United States to agree to the adjustment of a satisfactory boundary, but observed that owing to the increase of their western settlements Great Britain would surely lose the peltry trade. The valuable fur trade with the North-west, could not be acquired by the United States in any event. The results of permitting the Indians to conclude a treaty with the United States without intervention would be most serious. As soon as the frontier forts were occupied by the Americans there would be nothing to prevent the Indians from attacking the Canadian settlements. Brant had already informed him that the Senecas residing at Buffalo Creek had threatened him and his people with vengeance if the western Indians were crushed and he thought it probable that this quarrel would be fomented by subjects of the United States.*

Writing to Mr. Dundas, Simcoe reiterated his opinion that the increase of the military force in Upper Canada would be the means of preventing a war with the United States, but should the mediation of Great Britain be "accepted by them to procure a permanent peace with the Indians so that we should preserve a national consequence with those people and not let our connexion or command rest upon the personal tenure of the frail lives of Butler and McKee, as I believe it does at present, I should deem it unnecessary."**

William Johnson, the interpreter detailed to accompany the deputation of chiefs and warriors of the Five Nations, living at Buffalo appointed to attend the council in the west, kept a record of his journey in the form of diary which has been preserved.

"August 29, 1792.—Left Niagara with Captain Bunbury. On the 30th arrived at Fort Erie; remained for two days, and then set sail for Detroit on the Chippawa, Captain Harrow,

* Simcoe to Hammond, Niagara, September 27, 1792.

** Simcoe to Dundas, Navy Hall, November 4, 1792.

having 55 of the Five Nations on board. Arrived there on the 4th. On the 5th left with Captain Bunbury and the Indians on a small vessel for the Miami. On the 9th all the Indians landed and crossed the bay in canoes. On the 10th we went up the river to the rapids where we found Colonel McKee. On the 11th McKee met the Indians in council and told them that two days before the confederate nations had departed for the Glaize, sixty miles up the river, where they intended to convene a Grand Council on account of alarms of the approach of the Americans, some having been seen about the former field of battle and it being suspected that they intended to surprise some of their villages. On the 15th, Captain John, a Shawanee chief, with five Shawanees and three Senecas, came and congratulated the Five Nations on their safe arrival. On the 17th, the Five Nations in council met Captain Pipe, a Delaware chief, respecting the murder of two Delawares by some of the Five Nations and a party of Americans near Mango on the Alleghany. Cowkiller explained that, unknown to their chiefs, some of their young men had been persuaded by the Americans to go on service with them, and he hoped the Delawares would not blot their offence out of their memories. The Delawares in a body rose and shook hands. 18th—The Delawares met the Five Nations in council, blotted out their offence formally and opened the way to the council fires, explaining that they could not go thither owing to sickness. 21st—The Five Nations proceeded on their way to Glaize and met a number of the Seven Nations returning to Detroit, on their way to Lower Canada. 23rd.—McKee received a message from the Indians at the Glaize requesting his attendance there. I was ordered there immediately and arrived there on the 24th. Met a number of Ottawas, tired with waiting for the council, going home. Was told that 30 Hurons and other nations had gone to war. The Five Nations arrived the same day. 27th—Colonel McKee and Captain Bunbury arrived. 28th—Farmer's Brother arrived. 30th—All the nations met in general council. Oct. 2.—All the nations met in council and welcomed the Five Nations. A Shawanese chief said that all people of their color

should cement themselves together in one body and speak with one voice. 4th.—Five Hurons arrived with two scalps taken near Fort Jefferson. The Five Nations addressing the nations of the confederacy said they had come in consequence of the many invitations they had received; that the King, their father, had all along strongly recommended that they should remain peaceable, and they now advised them that if they could make an advantageous peace, to do so. They were pleased that the western Indians had so nobly defended their country. The Ohio was an excellent natural boundary and they recommended them at the risk of their lives to abide by it. They advised them to hold a treaty with the Americans and have some of the King's officers present, lest they should be taken advantage of. Oct. 5th—The Five Nations put in written speeches of the Americans that some of the King's people may explain them. The western Indians say written speeches are unintelligible to them and ask the Five Nations verbally to explain. The Shawanese and other chiefs remark to Colonel McKee that there was a great similarity between the speeches of the Five Nations and the United States, as they are constantly vibrating peace in their ears. 6th.—A private meeting was held with the Five Nations on account of the bad construction put on their words and a better understanding arrived at. 7th.—General Council. The Five Nations received the thanks of the Confederates. It was resolved that the Ohio should be the boundary and that they should in May following meet the commissioners of the United States and that some of the King's officers should be present and that the Americans should remove all their forts built in their country. Colonel McKee, Captain Bunbury, Mr. Selby and myself left the Glaize on our way to the rapids. In about five miles we met Brant with five of his men going to the Glaize, and on the 11th, Simon Girty, the interpreter, informed McKee that a party of 30 Hurons had gone reconnoitering. 13th.—Captain Brant returned to the rapids and seemed disappointed at the proceedings of the council. 14th.—Capt. Bunbury, Capt. La Mothe and myself, with the Five Nations and several nations of Lower Canada leave the rapids

for Detroit. Capt. Brant, with 40 of his men, remain behind, ten others went out reconnoitering with the Hurons. 15th.—We arrive at Detroit. 18th.—We leave Detroit on the Ottawa. 23rd.—We arrive at Fort Erie. The following nations were represented at the Glaise: Shawanees, Delawares, Connoyos, Ottawas, Chippawas, Cherokees, Saukies, Ouiatomies, 7 Nations of Canada, Wyandots, Miamis, Nantikikos, Mohegans, Potawatomes, Creeks, Renards, Six Nations.

The Secretary for War and the Colonies seldom neglected an opportunity of emphasizing his former instructions that every precaution should be exercised to prevent any just cause of complaint be given to the people of the United States during the course of these negotiations. On the 6th of December, 1792, he wrote:—"It is almost unnecessary to add that too much care cannot be taken, (consistent with the protection of His Majesty's subjects and the security of the posts in our possession,) that in all matters in dispute between His Majesty's subjects and those of the United States the conduct of His Majesty's government in Canada should be such as to preclude the possibility of a spirit of ill humor and discontent existing at the time when propositions for the completion of so desirable an object are likely to be brought forward."*

A general council of the Six Nations was held in Buffalo on the 13th and 14th of November, 1792. Lieut. Colonel Butler, Brigade Major Littlehales, Lieut. Thomas Talbot of the 24th Regiment, Lieut. Grey of the 7th Regiment, and Walter Butler Sheehan and William Johnson, two interpreters of the Indian Department, were present to represent the government of Upper Canada. The Department of Indian Affairs of the United States was represented by Mr. Chapin, a son of the superintendent-general, and Jasper Parish, an influential interpreter. It was attended by many chiefs and warriors of the Senecas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Tuscaroras and Delawares, most of whom still resided within the boundaries of the United States, as established by the treaty of 1783. The delegates who had returned from the council of

* Dundas to Simcoe, White Hall, Dec. 6, 1792.

the western nations held at the river Au Glaize reported its proceedings and the Indians present declared that they would not attend the proposed council to be held at Sandusky next May, unless Butler and Simcoe would agree to be present and bring with them copies of the ancient treaties. Captain Littlehales announced that he would convey their invitation to the Lieutenant Governor and assured them of his interest in their welfare and desire to promote peace. Mr. Chapin stated that he would send an express to the Board of War, with an accurate report of the proceedings and their decision as to attending the meeting at Sandusky. Simcoe was evidently much pleased at the result and wrote to Mr. Hammond without delay, asking him what reply he should give "these people, our ancient allies and true friends, who have declared they shall construe a refusal on my part to be present at Sandusky as an evidence that the British do not wish for peace, a doctrine in direct contradiction to the views of the government, which self-interested traders may have taught them."*

The prolonged existence of the war between the western Indians and the United States had virtually ruined the fur trade at Detroit and its effects were generally disastrous to the commerce of the province, and the amount of goods and peltry conveyed over the Niagara portage dwindled to insignificant dimensions.

Some indication of the growth of the local settlements may be gained from a return of mills in the district of Nassau, dated November 7, 1792, made by D. W. Smith, the Surveyor General. The sites of several of these mills are still marked by ruins of buildings or remains of dams. A portion of No. 18 was in fair condition, not many years ago.

1. A Saw and Grist Mill near the falls of Niagara on the west side of the River Saint Lawrence in Township No. 2, on Lot No. 174, by John Burch, Esqr., in the year 1786, by permission of Major Campbell, then Commandant at Niagara. Mr. Burch says that he was bound in the sum of two hundred pounds currency to build in the term of two years

* Simcoe to Hammond, Nov. 17, 1792.

from that date, but no other conditions named, only supposed to be held on the same terms the mills were in Lower Canada.

2. A Saw and Grist Mill on a creek called the 12 Mile in Township No. 3, on Lot No. 23, in the 10th Concession, by Duncan Murray, Esquire, in the year 1786, but he dying before they were completed, they were transmitted to Robert Hamilton, Esqr., who finished them in the year following by permission, as the other.

3. A Saw Mill on a creek called the Forty Mile Creek, in the Township No. 6, Lot No. 11, 3rd Concession, by John Green, in the year 1788, without permission, the lands were granted him as only fit for husbandry.

4. A Grist Mill on the aforesaid creek, on Lot No. 10, in the 1st Concession, in the year 1789, by John Green, the lands were granted to Nathaniel Petit, Esqr., as only fit for husbandry; but he sold them to the said Mr. Green as a mill site, who erected a mill thereon.

5. A Grist Mill on a creek called the Four Mile, in Township No. 1, on Lot No. 2, in the 4th Concession, in the year 1789, by Peter Secord, Senior, on the verbal promise made him by Lord Dorchester at the house of the late Major Tice, in presence of Mr. Burch and others.

6. A Saw Mill on a creek called the 15 Mile, in Township No. 3, Lot No. 9, in the 10th Concession, by Street and Butler, in 1789, now transferred to Colonel Butler.

7. A Saw and Grist Mill on a creek called the 30 Mile, in Township No. 5, Lot No. 22, in the 4th Concession, in 1790, by William Kitchen, the lands were granted him as only fit for husbandry.

8. A Saw Mill on Black Creek, about seven miles back of Fort Erie, in the year 1791, by Philip Stedman, Senr.

9. A Grist Mill on a branch of a creek called the 12 Mile, in Township No. 10, Lot No. 5, 4th Concession, in the year 1791, by David Secord, the lands were granted him as only fit for husbandry.

10. A Grist Mill on a creek called the 4 Mile, near the King's Mills, in the year 1791, by Daniel Servos, on ungranted lands.

11. A Saw Mill on a creek called the Four Mile, by David Secord, in the year 1791.

12. A Saw Mill on a small creek called the Muddy Run, near the Whirlpool, in Township No. 2, in the year 1791, by John Donaldson.

13. A Saw Mill on one of the branches of the Twelve Mile Creek, in Township No. 9, Lot No. 23, in 8th Concession, in the year 1792, by Benjamin Canby, the lands were granted to him as only fit for husbandry.

14. A Saw Mill now erecting on one of the branches of a creek called the Twelve Mile, in Township No. 9, Lot 16, in 5th Concession, by John Decow, the lands were granted to him as only fit for husbandry.

15. A Grist Mill now erecting near Fort Erie on the west shore of the River St. Lawrence, at the rapids, (on a lot of John Gardener's,) by William Dunbar.

16. A Saw Mill now erecting on a creek called the Forty Mile, in Township No. 6, Lot No. 10, in the 2nd Concession, on lands granted to the deceased Henry Nelles, as only fit for husbandry, now building by his sons, Robert and William Nelles.

17. A Saw Mill on a creek called the Four Mile, in Township No. 1, Lot No. 89, in 4th Concession, in 1792, by Sampson Lutes.

18. A Grist Mill on a creek near the Sugar Loaf Hill, Lake Erie, by Christian Savitz, unsurveyed.

19. A Saw and Grist Mill on a creek that empties into the head of Burlington Bay, near the road leading from said bay to the Mohawk village, by Bazely & Willson, in 1791.

20. A mill site on a creek called Smith's Creek, on the north shore of Lake Ontario, in township Hesse, Lot No. 6, in front at the head of a small pond.

The mills constructed at Fort Erie, St. Davids, Grimsby and Burlington formed the nucleus of small villages which soon grew up around them and became centres for a considerable local trade and exchange of produce.