

"DUCIT AMOR PATRIÆ"

NIAGARA
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

No. 15

Sir Isaac Brock
The Count de Puisaye

1913

Second Edition

Price 25 Cents

Times Print

PREFACE

Our fifteenth publication is offered to the members of our Society and the general public in the belief that a favorable reception will be accorded it as these papers read before other Societies have been frequently asked for. It is well that we should honor the name of Sir Isaac Brock and we are glad that steps are being taken to keep before the youth of our country the names of our great men whether in arms, in art, in literature or in statemanship. The Count de Puisaye, a notable character in French history as well as in our own Canadian annals may be called the pioneer of literature in Niagara, indeed in Upper Canada, as he commenced writing his History of the French Revolution while living in his home on the banks of the Niagara River in 1801. It has been found since the printing of this publication that he married his first wife in 1788, she being the only daughter of Marquis de Manilles of large property in Normandy.

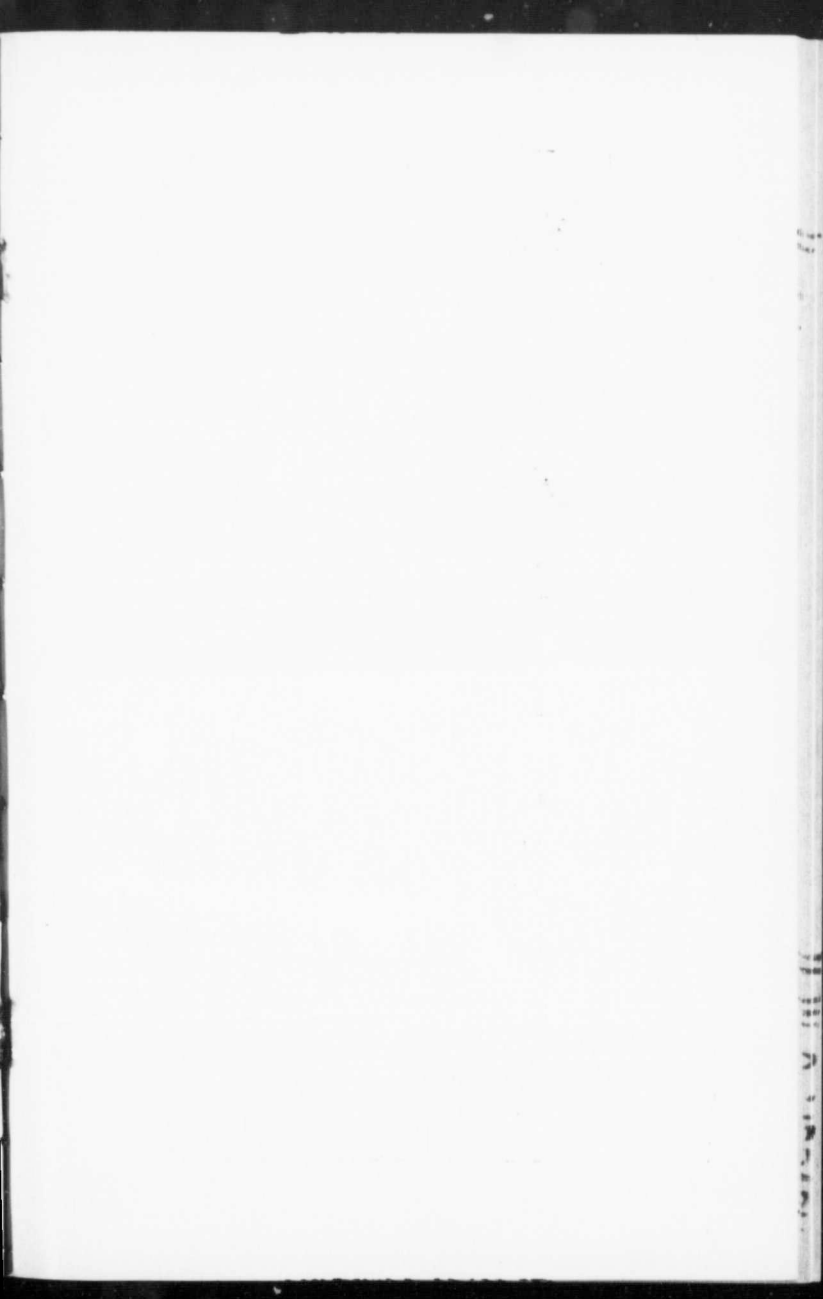
It is our sad duty to publish obituary notices of two esteemed contributors to our publications and members of our Society, our Patron, Wm. Kirby, F.R.S.C., and Mrs. Greene whose work may be found in pamphlets 8 and 13.

Preface to Second Edition

It is thought well in this centennial year of the war of 1812-14 to republish this sketch of the life of Brock which was received with so much favor, and since the edition has been exhausted so many requests have been made for its republication.

The ceremony of Queenston Heights, 13th of October, 1912, so impressive in its every feature and in which so many took part, different Historical Societies, descendants of those who had fought there a century ago, military of different regiments, representatives of the Six Nation Indians whose ancestors took no insignificant part in gaining the signal victory, all formed a unique sight on that lovely autumn day, gathered around the monument decorated with wreaths from so many sources, even the Isle of Guernsey, the birth-place of Sir Isaac, being represented—all showed that the memory of Sir Isaac Brock is yet green in the minds of Canadians.

J. C.





SIR ISAAC BROCK



COCKED HAT OF GEN. BROCK

SIR ISAAC BROCK

Paper Read before York Pioneers, 1st May, 1906, and before
Niagara Historical Society, May 14th, by Janet Carnochan.

The Hero of Upper Canada! His fame has been declared so often and in so many different ways. By the tears of the people he gave his life to save, by the pen of his biographers, by the honors paid by his sovereign, by the pages of history, by military despatches, by the column raised by the Province and by the second still more stately column, overlooking the spot where he fell. But what shall we find fresh to say since so many have written and written, too, so well? The first Life and Correspondence, by his nephew, F. B. Tupper, written in 1845, the second edition in 1847 with additional material, the sketch by Dent in Canadian Portraits, the Life and Times, by our old friend, D. B. Read, and the last life by Lady Edgar, with the various histories of Canada by Christie, Kingsford, Hannay, from these you must all be familiar with the life of Sir Isaac Brock, and it would almost seem superfluous to try to say more. My paper will not be a history of his times and consequently of Canada during his life, nor will it be a technical and accurate account of the battles in which he engaged, but what I have been able to glean of Brock himself. I have always tried in an historical paper to introduce little personal items as a relief and thus avoid the deadly dullness which often tries the patience of those attending historical meetings. But after ninety years such personal items are not easy to find, but a few have been gathered from far different sources. More attention has always been given to Brock as a soldier than in any other capacity, but I should like to dwell not only on the man of war, but the statesman, the friend, the brother, the athlete, the student, the man of the world, the Christian, for in all these he shines, and never has the slightest word appeared against his character, in all his chequered career in many lands, whether in his native Isle of Guernsey

in Barbadoes and Jamaica, in Holland, Denmark, in England or Canada, whether as general or administrator of the government, always and everywhere brave and generous, gentle, stern, yet mild, a man of integrity, a thorough gentleman.

The Brocks may well be called a military family, and many of them bravely met the fate of those who fight for their country either in the army or navy, and others met with violent or sudden deaths. It is very remarkable that of eight brothers of this family no male descendant of the name is now in existence. The eldest brother, John, Colonel of the 81st Regiment, was killed in a duel at the Cape of Good Hope; the second brother, Ferdinand, Lieutenant in the 60th Regiment, was killed at Baton Rouge; a nephew midshipman, Charles Tupper, was drowned; Lieut. E. W. Tupper, killed in action in Greece. One died of fever in Jamaica; another, Colonel. Tupper, slain in action in the Chilian service; another of the 5th Bengal Infantry, killed in action; still another died in Bermuda, and John G. Tupper perished at sea.

Isaac Brock, born 6th October, 1769, at St. Peter's Port, Guernsey, was the eighth son of John Brock and Elizabeth de Lisle. There were in the family ten sons and four daughters. The father had been a midshipman in the navy, and died at the early age of 48, the eldest son John being only 17, but the family were left in affluent circumstances, and at 15 Isaac secured by purchase a commission as ensign in the 8th Regiment. In 1791 he exchanged into the 49th, becoming captain, and with that regiment his name has always been identified. With the 49th he went to the West Indies, but returned to England to recruit from the effects of a fever, having been faithfully nursed by his servant, Dobson, his cousin dying from fever at the same time. Next by purchase he became Major and at twenty-eight Lieutenant-Colonel. At the battle of Egmont-op Zee in Holland he was struck by a bullet in the neck and knocked senseless, but his life was wonderfully saved. In 1801 he was second in command of the land forces in Denmark in the attack on Copenhagen with Sir Hyde Parker and Nelson, and with the 49th and 500 seamen stormed the battery. In 1802 he was ordered to Canada, where most of the rest of his life was spent, except one year in England in 1805 and 1806.

And first must be taken his military career. In the frank statement and glorification of the military life made by Lord

Wolseley in his autobiography that he had set before himself the idea of reaching the highest point attainable as a military man, we find almost a parallel in the life of Brock, who seems to have had a definite aim in life; in the years of what seemed to him inaction in Canada he was chafing for an active military career on the continent, while Britain was fighting almost alone in splendid isolation against the ambitious despot who conquered successfully country after country, placing his brothers or his marshals on throne after throne, Britain alone unconquerable in her island home, protected by her navy under Collingwood and Nelson and giving the dictator to Europe many a sharp and heavy blow.

Brock all this time eager as a hound on leash to mingle in the fray, was reserved to save our homes to us, and had his life been spared what reverses to our arms might have been averted; the war would have been brought to a more speedy conclusion. Had he been in power, the cautious and timid policy of Prevost would not have given an armistice and time to the enemy to build boats and drill, the unnecessary retreat at Sackett's Harbor and Plattsburg (when British officers in despair and rage broke their swords) would not have taken place nor the disastrous retreat at Moravian Town, with the sacrifice of that noble red man Tecumseh, the war would have closed earlier and the great loss of life in attempting an impossibility at New Orleans, when the veterans of the British army met death and defeat would all have been avoided. The promptness to act, the ability to command, the skill to seize an opportunity, the tact in governing, the enthusiasm evoked by a successful and loved commander such as Brock, would have given another texture to the war of 1812, would have averted many hardships and saved many precious lives on both sides.

An explanation must be given of some expressions used by General Brock seeming to reflect on the loyalty of the people of Upper Canada. It must be remembered that while most of the inhabitants of Upper Canada were U. E. Loyalists, who might all be depended on, and partly from what they had suffered, were intensely eager to repel the invaders, there were many who by the solicitations and easy terms offered by Governor Simcoe had come in merely to obtain land and could not be depended on to fight against their former countrymen, nay, were utterly disloyal by speech and act. Against such

persons only were the remarks of Brock levelled, and justly so. In another respect, too, Brock showed his appreciation of the Canadian people. While it was common for some officers of the regular army to sneer at the militia force of the country, Brock never withheld the generous word of praise to our militia. And, indeed, had it not been for the militia and volunteer force of the country, it had been utterly impossible for the small force of the regular army to defend such an extensive frontier. The young farmers who with their fathers came forward, leaving their fields unploughed and their crops unharvested, often tended only by their wives and daughters, the business men, law students and others who left their warehouses and offices neglected in order to repel the invader, to these as well as to the regular army, do we owe that when the war closed not a foot of our land was in possession of the enemy. Britain engaged in that Titanic struggle with Napoleon could send out but little help, and indeed when the struggle seemed ended and the despot safe in Elba and a force of 16,000 was sent, we blush to say that through mismanagement there were humiliating retreats.

It is not necessary here to enter into the reasons for the war of 1812, the orders-in-Council, the British right of search, the desire to possess Canada, or to show that while France was really the cause of much of the loss to the shipping of the United States, Britain alone was blamed. Suffice it to say that in spite of the opposition of the New England States, war was declared on the 17th June, 1812. Brock had been for some months Administrator of the Government in the absence of Governor Gore, and had been preparing for the expected invasion of the country, as far at least as the means at his command would allow. We cannot but admire his promptness and swiftness of movement, his decision of character, his apparent ubiquity. As the writer "*Veritas*" expressed it 'He appears to have flown, as it were.' The writer of the first biography tersely expresses it: "Today at York engaged in his civil and military duties, tomorrow at Fort George superintending the defences of the Niagara frontier, or at Kingston reviewing and animating the militia; today at Fort George watching the enemy, the next at York dissolving the Legislature, and a fortnight later returning from the capture of Detroit; today at Fort George again, a few hours later at Fort Erie endeavoring to re-take the brigs 'Detroit' and 'Caledonia.'

When war was declared Brock was at York, an extra session of the Legislature was called, and steps taken to prepare for this emergency. On the 12th July General Hull crossed the Detroit, sending out a bombastic proclamation. Brock could not leave York till the 6th August, as he must meet the Legislature there. His small force reached Burlington Bay, thence by land to Long Point, calling at Mohawk village, on the Grand River; part went by water along the north shore of Lake Erie, while others marched by land. The weather was rainy and stormy. Five days and nights of incessant toil brought them to Amherstburg on the 13th, only to find that Hull had retreated to Detroit. The meeting with Tecumseh was a picturesque scene, and the admiration of each for the other shows the generous nature of both. The red warrior, with well cut features, athletic form, alert, brave, was so struck with the soldierly appearance of Brock that he exclaimed: "Here is a man." The chief rapidly sketched the plan of the fort on a piece of bark, and the most feasible way of taking it. The council of officers was almost unanimous against risking an attack, but here again Brock's prompt decision settled the matter. "Gentlemen, I have decided on crossing, and instead of any further advice I entreat you to give me your cordial and hearty support." The audacity of this decision and the bold attack on the fort were rewarded with the astonishing surrender of the fortress with 2,500 men, valuable stores, and the whole of the territory of Michigan, and all without the sacrifice of a single drop of British blood. An American historian says: "In the short space of 19 days he had met the Legislature, arranged public affairs, travelled about 300 miles, returned, the victor of a vast territory." The remaining six weeks of his life were crowded full of events. To his great mortification on his return with plans for active warfare—to seize Fort Niagara and attack Sackett's Harbor—he found Prevost had arranged for an armistice.

The period between the conquest of Detroit and the battle of Queenston Heights, gave opportunity to the enemy to prepare for another invasion and Brock's time was fully occupied. The problem was how to place his few soldiers so as to defend the Niagara frontier, as it was not known at what point the attack would be made, at Fort Erie, Chippawa, Queenston or Niagara, and night and day the force was on guard. Early on the morning of the 13th of October the

sound of guns was heard and Brock arose, and leaving orders to follow him, rode away up the Queenston road to meet the rider on the pale horse. A small force at Brown's Point of York militia, another at Vrooman's Battery, a few in Queenston, and a still smaller number on the Heights—these were all, at hand to resist a large American force, and at first these seemed enough as many of their boats were sunk and taken prisoners, but a pilot had shown the way up the fisherman's path concealed from the view of our men and these soon had possession of the Heights. When Brock passed the York volunteers setting out from Brown's Point, he waved his hand and called out to them to push on. On reaching Queenston he boldly advanced up the Heights with the troops there, his tall person and general's uniform being a sure target for the enemy. A few words were all that could be heard ere his spirit took its flight. The body was carried to a stone house, which still stands, and another attempt was made at 10 o'clock by the brave Macdonell, A.D.C., a young man of great promise; he, too, gave up his young life in the attempt to dislodge the enemy. Thus there were, we may say, three engagements. First, under Brock; second, Macdonell; third, under Sheaffe, with additional forces from Fort George and Chippawa. This time a detour was made around the mountain, and the American troops found themselves assailed unexpectedly on both sides. The appalling warwhoop of 150 Mohawk Indians under Norton, was heard. There were, besides, Merritt's troop of cavalry, part of the 41st Regiment and a company of colored troops (refugee slaves) York and Lincoln militia, part of the 49th Regiment; only half of the force consisted of regulars. Our forces, maddened by the death of their beloved leader, fought as never before and soon the enemy showed the white flag and nine hundred prisoners were taken. But, though victory crowned our arms, with what sad hearts did our men return bearing that form, majestic in death. The body was taken to Government house, where it lay for three days, and on the 16th was committed to the grave in the Cavalier bastion of Fort George, lately constructed under the General's orders.

Our narrative might here end, but to few mortals is it given to have four burials. For twelve years the bodies lay at Fort George. During six months of that period the Americans had possession and the line describing the funeral of Sir John Moore is recalled "that the foe and the stranger will

tread o'er his head." In 1824 a monument was raised on Queenston Heights, the money granted by Provincial Parliament, and on the 13th October the bodies were reinterred, 5000 persons being present. It was an impressive spectacle, the procession being two miles long and taking three hours to reach the Heights, the lengthened column winding slowly up the steep ascent. Alike were seen the striking garb of the red man and the picturesque dress of the Highlanders, the relatives of Macdonell being in Highland costume, and young Brant, from Grand River, in full Indian dress.

In 1840 a miscreant named Lett shattered the monument with gunpowder. Universal execration was meted out to this deed, and on the 30th July, 1840, an immense meeting of 8,000 persons was held on Queenston Heights producing one of the most remarkable scenic effects ever beheld in Canada. Ten steamers ascended the river, headed by H.M.S. Traveller, a procession on land at the same time, and cheers were heard from ship to shore and shore to ship alternately. The presence of the Royal Artillery, the 93d Highlanders and the burghers added brilliancy to the scene. Eloquent speeches were made by many noted men of that day. There were eleven resolutions, and as each gave opportunity for a speech from the mover and seconder, it was late before the meeting closed, and a legend exists in Niagara that the caterers who had provided generously and lavishly for hungry men, lost heavily, as little opportunity was given for the disposal of the viands provided.

Immediate steps were taken to replace the monument. This time the money was raised by subscription, all the military in the country giving a day's pay and subscriptions from all classes flowed in generously till \$50,000 was raised. It was not, however, till 1853 that the last burial took place, the body having meanwhile being placed for a year in the Hamilton family burying ground at Queenston. It may be questioned whether in any place in the world so grand a monument stands on so commanding a spot, giving so fair a view of river, lake, forest and plain, the varying colors of brown earth, golden grain, sombre pines, peach orchards or "maple forests all aflame," the quiet village of Queenston with the beautiful river broad and blue, with its many points and bays, and far below the two forts on opposite sides, Mississagua and Niagara, and on a clear day forty miles distant, may be seen the

fair city of Toronto. Such a panoramic view we might go far to find, and turning the eye backward and upward to the height of 175 feet the figure of Brock with arm extended to the opposite shore as if in warning.

For the best short description of the battle we are indebted to the late Col. J. G. Currie, who tells an interesting story of what he saw as a boy at the meeting of 1840, of a young British tar from the Traveller climbing hand over hand up the lightning rod of the shattered monument and amid the bated breath of the spectators placing a Union Jack at the top, while a tremendous cheer rent the air. The fullest and best, from a military standpoint being absolutely and technically correct, is the account by Col. Cruikshank.

On the 6th November, 1812, soon after the funeral of General Brock, a council of condolence was held by the Indian Chiefs of the Six Nations, Hurons, Pottowattomies, etc., at the Council House, Niagara, and Little Cayuga, using the red man's beautiful figurative language, said: — "Brothers, we therefore now seeing you darkened with grief, your eyes dim with tears and your throat stopped with the force of your affection. With these strings of wampum we wipe away your tears, we clear the passage in your throats that you may have free utterance for your thoughts and we wipe clear from blood the place of your abode. That the remains of your late friend and commander, General Brock, shall receive no injury, we cover it with this belt of wampum which we do from the grateful sensations which his friendship toward us inspired us with, also in conformity to the customs of our ancestors."

As a brother Sir Isaac Brock presents a no less pleasing picture, and the almost pathetic efforts to reconcile two of his brothers, offer a noble example to all. Just at the time when dangers were thickening around him and his mind was full of plans to meet the coming war, disaster met the Brock family. In June, 1811, a firm of London bankers, of which William Brock was the senior member, having met with great losses, failed. Isaac Brock had obtained £3,000 to purchase his commissions, but William, who had no family, had never intended to ask for this sum, but unfortunately it appeared on the books as a loan and General Brock was thus on the list of debtors. Savery and Mr. Tupper also lost heavily, and coolness and estrangement arose between William and Irving which caused their brother in distant Canada much sorrow, and all this just as

he entered on his duties as President of the Province. This indeed was a bolt from the blue, a stinging blow to one who was the soul of honor and scrupulous to a high degree in money matters. He writes a most pathetic sympathetic letter. "Poverty I was prepared to bear, but Irving if you love me, do not by any action or word add to the sorrows of poor unfortunate William. Remember his kindness to me. Hang the world, it is not worth a thought, be generous, oh my dear boy forget the past and let us all unite in soothing the griefs of one of the best hearts heaven ever formed. Could tears restore him he would soon be happy. I sleep little, but am constrained to assume a smiling face through the day. Did it depend on myself, how gladly would I live on bread and water. William writes that no unpleasant steps will be taken to enforce the debt and says — "A Mr. Ellis lately from Canada said that sooner than anything unpleasant should happen to you, so great is his esteem and friendship for you, that he would contrive to pay the debt himself. He also said you were so beloved in Canada that your friends would, if necessary, assist you to any amount." What a relief this must have been in view of his despairing expression in another letter. "Why keep me in suspense? Are my commissions safe, or must they be sold? Can I not retain out of the wreck my two or three hundred a year? They would save us all from want, and we might retire to some corner and still be happy. Yesterday was the first truly gloomy birthday I have ever passed."

Sir Isaac, however, prepared to face the difficulty by meeting the obligations by degrees. He says that his salary for his new office is £1,000, and this he hopes to give to pay the debt. His inflexible honesty says: "I shall enclose a power of attorney, do with it what justice demands, pay as you receive," and then affection speaks, "unless, indeed, want among any of you calls for aid? in that case make use of the money and let the worst come." He had had, he said, to expend about £400 in outfits, and in his position he must entertain. In the hour of victory, on his return from Detroit, his thoughts turn to his family troubles and he writes — "When I returned Heaven thanks for my amazing success, I thought of you all. You appeared to me happy, your late sorrows forgotten. Let me know, my dear brother, that you are all united. The want of union was nearly losing this province, and be assured

it operates in the same way in families." It is pleasing to note that the urgent appeals of this noble brother were successful. On Oct. 13, the day that Sir Isaac Brock lay cold in death, Irving, his brother, received a letter from him — "Rejoice with me and join with me in prayers to Heaven. Let me hear you are united and happy." Was it the mysterious power of mind over mind, in which we are beginning to believe, that caused the reconciliation which is thus referred to in a letter from William to Savery on the same day — "As I well knew that Isaac would not consider his good fortune complete unless a reconciliation took place between Irving and myself, I went up today, on seeing him, and shook hands. He then showed me two lines which he had just received from Isaac. I am glad that we shook hands before I saw the contents." The brothers were all greatly excited and pleased when the honor of K.B. was conferred upon him, the news of which only reached Canada after his death.

His kind heart is also shown by his sending two skins for muffs for his "two dear little girls," his nieces. Another pathetic incident referred to in the preface to the biography shows the deep feeling of the family for his loss. In 1844, over thirty years after the battle, the box of manuscripts and the trunks belonging to Sir Isaac, which had been sent to England soon after his death, and had remained in the possession of his brother Savery, unopened, he having shrunk from the sight of these belongings of his well beloved brother, were opened. The General's uniforms, including that in which he fell, were partly moth-eaten, but the manuscripts were uninjured, and helped his nephew to prepare the biography.

As a friend, Sir Isaac was a good correspondent — but two incidents alone will be given showing his kindness of heart and benevolence, as well as his interest in a young soldier. At the time of his death there had been residing under his roof and protection for nearly two years a youth of nine years of age, it being the General's intention to provide for him. This was the son of a captain in the 49th, who had been drowned two or three years previously. Brock's relations had for him the warmest affection, and servants carefully preserved relics of their "dear master" as they called him. Col. Baynes, in writing to him, thinking of the stern rules of military life, warns him, "the natural benevolence of your disposition may lead you into trouble." Five years after

his death his brother Savery, visiting Canada, met many who testified to the esteem in which he was held and his many acts of kindness. The testimony of Col. FitzGibbon to the kindness shown him by Brock is, says his biographer, "as honourable to the one as to the other," for many in their advancement forget the hand that outstretched had raised them to a higher position. James FitzGibbon, a private in the 49th, was with Brock in the battle of Egmont-op-Zee, and tells of the bravery of Savery there and of the delight of the soldiers in repeating the good-natured sparring between the two brothers.

FitzGibbon was soon promoted by Brock to be sergeant-major, and tells his story gratefully thus of his earliest and best benefactor: — "That I might do honor to the General's memory, I have ever striven to serve my country well. The poor uneducated private soldier raised up by Sir Isaac Brock until he held in turn His Majesty's commissions of ensign, lieutenant and captain in the army, has been promoted in the civil service of Canada to a silk gown. My writing, too, I owe to Sir Isaac — In York he told me he intended to recommend me to the adjutancy, adding, 'I not only desire to procure a commission for you, but I also wish that you qualify yourself to take your position among gentlemen. Here are my books; make good use of them.' He often dictated to me while I wrote for him in the orderly room. His correcting my pronounciation of a word caused me to see my deficiencies, and I purchased a grammar and dictionary, and several lieutenants were my kind teachers."

As another act of kindness, we have the record of his interesting himself for the family of the deputy barrack master in Kingston, in indigent circumstances, with Col. Shank, to employ the eldest son as ensign on the recruiting service, so as to give a house for the relief of his mother with seven children. Col. Brock also ordered daily for her a ration and half a ration for the children.

As a student we must also enroll Brock. We read that, in spite of the sneers of his companions he frequently locked himself up to study. He was a good French scholar, and a letter to his companions tells how he passes his spare time at Fort George, and the list of books in his library tells that besides technical military books he was a general reader and showed good taste in his selection, and his military despatches,

as well as his letters, proclamations, and speeches, all show a well trained mind and command of language, a style vigorous, terse, pure. In a letter to his brother, Irving, dated Niagara, Jan. 10th, 1811, he says: "I hardly ever stir out, and unless I have company my evenings are passed solus. I read much, but good books are scarce and I hate borrowing. Should I remain here I wish you to send me some choice authors in history, particularly ancient, with maps and the best translations of ancient works. I read in my youth Pope's translation of Homer, but till lately I never discovered its exquisite beauties. As I grow old I acquire a taste for study. In addition to the last daily paper, send me likewise the Observer or any other weekly. You who have passed all your days in the bustle of London can scarcely conceive the uninteresting life I am doomed to lead in this retirement." Brock was soon to exchange this quiet life for days and nights of action, when every moment was filled for mind and body.

The inventory of Gen. Brock's possessions came to light lately very strangely. In the cellar of the house of the late G. W. Allen, stuffed in the crevice of the wall, was found a roll containing several pages of foolscap, discolored and torn in some places, but containing a full inventory of the articles sold at the auction of his effects, to whom sold, and the prices, and by the kindness of Dr. Bain I was allowed to copy it, the list includes silver, cut glass, furniture, wines, provisions, kitchen utensils, carpets, even a cow and pigs, pickled mushrooms, champagne, claret, porter. Among those who bought are found the names of General Sheaffe, Major Glegg, Col. Bishop, Mr. Crookshank, Rev. Dr. Strachan, Major Givins, Dr. Powell, Major Allen, and Messrs. Dickson, Small, Hamilton, Denison. Among the books are: Johnson's works, 12 volumes, Rollins' ancient history, Siecle de Louis 14th, Regiment de l'Infanterie, Voltaire's Henriade, Shakespeare, Telemaque, Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, Court Martials, Expedition to Holland, Life of Conde, Walcheren Expedition. I wonder how many of these articles of furniture, silver and books are still in existence or in possession of the families who bought them? A Miss Selby bought a gig for \$150 and a sofa for \$21, the only lady purchaser mentioned. The sale was on the 12th November, 1812, at York. Perhaps many articles disappeared at the taking of York next year. Had Brock lived we may venture to say that capture would never have taken place.

As a statesman and administrator, Brock would have taken a high rank had not his fame as a soldier dwarfed all other qualities. His letters to General Prevost, his report to the Duke of York as to the formation of a veteran battalion in Canada, his military despatches, his address to Parliament, his proclamation to the people in reply to that of Hull, all showing great ability, sound common sense, patriotism, deep thought, are indeed models, whether of statesmanlike views, military brevity and accuracy, thoroughness and shrewdness in every detail, soldierlike commands — he himself was sometimes doubtful of the results, knowing his meagre resources, but a spirit of hopefulness and courage breathes through every utterance. In his address at the opening of the Legislature, Feb. 4, 1812, he said in closing: "We wish and hope for peace, but it was nevertheless necessary to be prepared for war. The task imposed on you is arduous. This task, however, I hope and trust, laying aside every consideration but that of the public good, you will perform with that firmness, discretion and promptitude which a regard to yourselves, your families, your country and your King call for at your hands." In opening the House on the 27th July he used these words: "When invaded by an enemy, whose avowed object is the entire conquest of the province, the voice of loyalty as well as of interest calls aloud for every person in the sphere in which he is placed to defend his country. Our militia have heard the voice and have obeyed it. They have evinced by the promptitude and loyalty of their conduct that they are worthy of the King whom they serve and of the constitution which they enjoy. We are engaged in an awful, an eventful contest. By unanimity and despatch in our councils and by vigor in our operations we may teach the enemy this lesson — that a country defended by free men enthusiastically devoted to the cause of the King and constitution cannot be conquered."

His readiness to give credit to the militia is shown in his despatch, 16th August, 1812, after the capture of Detroit "The steadiness and discipline of the 41st Regiment, and the readiness of the militia to follow so good an example, were highly conspicuous," and again in the following order: "The Major-General cannot forego the opportunity of expressing his admiration at the conduct of the several companies of militia who so handsomely volunteered to undergo the fatigues

of a journey of several hundred miles," and he requests Captains Heward, Robinson and others to assure the officers and men under their respective command "that their services have been duly appreciated and will never be forgotten." He had also previous to this expressed sympathy with those who were not able to attend to the harvesting of their crops.

To show that Brock was always ready for any emergency, the story of the deserter and the mutiny planned may be told, with other incidents, which show his alertness. In 1797, the year of the Mutiny of the Nore, the disaffection was spreading to the army, and Brock kept strict watch, did not retire to bed till daylight, and always slept with his pistols beside him. His rule was stern yet mild, and soon brought the unruly regiment to order! Sheaffe was his junior, and at that time was much disliked for his severity. The regiment cheered on one occasion when Brock returned, and for this offence, in a military point of view, they were rebuked by Brock and confined to barracks for a week. There were two occasions in which he showed his quick wittedness in a serious difficulty, first when at York six deserters crossed the lake and landed on the American shore. At midnight Brock heard of it and at once ordered a boat and started off. They rowed across the lake, a hard pull of over 30 miles, and then searched the shore till they found the men, brought them back and sent them to prison cells at Fort George.

The next difficulty was a more serious one, a mutiny having been planned with the intention of murdering the commander, Sheaffe. The plot was accidentally discovered, word sent to Brock at York, who lost no time, again crossed the lake, landed on the beach and walked to the fort. Not a moment did he hesitate. The sergeant who happened to be on guard was one of the suspected ones and was sternly ordered to lay down his arms, handcuffed and marched off; the others in turn were put in irons, twelve in all, sent to York with the seven deserters, tried at Quebec, and four of the mutineers and three of the deserters were shot. They said had they been under the command of Brock they would not so have acted. When the account was read to their companions at Fort George, Brock spoke with much feeling: "Since I have had the honor to wear the British uniform I have never felt grief like this. It pains me to the heart to think that any members of my regiment should have engaged in a conspiracy

which has led to their being shot like so many dogs." Here for a moment he was unable to speak, and the soldiers who heard his faltering voice and saw the glistening tear had not a dry eye among them. From the time Brock assumed command at Fort George all trouble ceased. Many annoying restrictions were removed, as with regard to visiting the town, fishing, shooting pigeons, etc. The four black holes, always before filled, were so no longer. Brock had been so profoundly moved by this sad event that in the report which he drew up and sent to the Duke of York, he made many wise recommendations.

Further examples of his firmness and bravery may be given. FitzGibbon tells that on one occasion when an order had been given by Brock, his reply was "it is impossible." "By the Lord Harry do not tell me it is impossible; nothing should be impossible to a soldier; the word impossible should not be in a soldier's dictionary." This reminds us of the story told of Lord Chatham when he lay swathed in flannels, suffering agonies from gout. At a political consultation at his bedside he expressed an opinion of what should be done. The reply was "it is impossible." The veteran statesman rose from his bed, stalked across the room saying, "Thus I tread on impossibilities." When Col. Nichol begged Sir Isaac not to expose himself he said: "Master Nichol, I duly appreciate the advice you give me, but I feel that in addition to their sense of loyalty and duty, many follow me from personal regard, and I will never ask them to go where I do not lead them." Tecumseh said to him: "I have heard much of your fame and am happy to shake by the hand a brave brother warrior; in crossing the river we observed you from a distance standing the whole time in an erect position and you were the first who jumped on land."

In personal appearance General Brock was an imposing figure; of fair complexion, with light brown hair, with a very gentle, mild expression, regular features, six feet two in height, and in his last years portly in appearance, broad shoulders, strong, athletic; as a lad he was the best boxer and swimmer in his class, and an athlete of no mean order. When one of the boats on the way to Detroit stuck fast and no effort of oar or pole could dislodge it, Brock sprang into the water, and, followed by others, the boat was soon free. There are several good pictures of him. The first, taken from one owned by

the family, was obtained by Dr. Ryerson for the Normal School. The present full length painting in the Parliament Buildings was painted by the well known artist, Forster, who told me he went to the Brock home in Guernsey, obtained from one member of the family the profile from which to copy, from another member of the family the coat he had on when shot, and, said Mr. Forster, "I got the biggest man on the Island to put it on, and thus painted the portrait." A photo of this was kindly presented to our society by the artist. Another picture, a full face, a beautifully executed miniature, is owned by Miss Mickle, having been purchased by her from a distant relative of the family.

His cocked hat is in possession of our society, and has a curious history. It had come out shortly after his death and was given by his nephew to Mr. George Ball, near whose residence his regiment was stationed. A reference occurs in one of his letters: — "All the articles arrived except the cocked hat, which I much regret, as owing to the enormous size of my head I find it difficult to supply my need." The hat measures 24 inches inside and was used at the funerals of 1824 and 1853, and many old soldiers came up and requested permission to try it on.

As a man of the world, mingling and taking part in its amusements, we find a few references. In a letter to his sister-in-law from Quebec, July 10th, he says: "Races, country and water parties have occupied our time. I contributed my share in a grand dinner to Mrs. Gore and a ball to a vast assemblage of all descriptions." Colonel Baynes, writing to him from Quebec to Niagara, says: "I have just received a long letter from Mrs. Murray that you have found the means of enlivening the solitary scene that has so long prevailed at Fort George." In a letter from Col. Kempt; January, 1811, he says: "I have just received a long letter from Mrs. Murray giving me an account of a splendid ball given by you to the beau monde of Niagara and its vicinity, and the manner in which she speaks of your liberality and hospitality reminds me of the many pleasant hours I have passed under your roof." The poet Moore refers to the kindness shown to him by Col. Brock during two weeks spent with him at Fort George in 1804.

It is not often that doggerel verse finds a place in an historical paper, but, singularly enough, a copy of some writ-

ten by one of the York Volunteers, in which Brock is referred to, has very lately come into my possession. They were sung many years ago by an old lady, and written out from memory by her daughter, Mrs. Alphaeus Cox. Kept in an old trunk all these years, they are now read to the York Pioneers. There are twenty-one verses; I give eleven. *Lines written by Private Flumerfeldt, one of the York Volunteers, after their arrival at Little York from Detroit, August, 1812:

*Come all you brave Canadians,
I'd have you lend an ear
Unto a simple ditty
That will your spirits cheer.

At length our bold commander,
Sir Isaac Brock by name,
Took shipping at Niagara
And unto York he came.

He said: "My valiant heroes,
Will you go along with me
To fight those Yankee boys
In the west of Canada?"

"Oh, yes," we all replied,
We'll go along with you,
Our knapsacks on our backs,
And make no more ado."

Our firelocks then we shouldered,
And straight we marched away,
With firm determination
To show them British play.

Our town it is at our command,
Our garrison likewise."
They brought their arms and grounded
them
Right down before our eyes.

And they were all made prisoners
On board of ship they went.
And from the town of Sandwich
To Quebec they were sent.

We guarded them from Sandwich
Safe down into Fort George,
And then within the town of York
So safely we did lodge.

And now we're all arrived at home,
 Each man without a wound,
 And the fame of this great conquest
 Will through this province sound.

Success unto the volunteers
 Who thus their rights maintain.
 Likewise their bold commander,
 Sir Isaac Brock by name.

And being all united,
 This is the song we'll sing—
 Success unto Great Britain,
 And may God save the King.

Another picture of these prisoners from an American source may be given. In a letter from General Von Rensselaer's secretary: "I saw my countrymen, free-born Americans, stripped of their arms and marched into a strange land by hundreds, as black cattle for the market. Before and behind them, on right and left, their proud victors gleamed in arms; the line was half a mile long. The sensation produced in our camp was inexpressible — mortification, indignation, apprehension, suspicion, jealousy, rage, madness. It was a sad day."

A pretty story, as a contrast to this, is told by a daughter of Dr. West, surgeon at Fort Niagara. The officers of the Fort frequently came over to attend divine service at Niagara and were on friendly terms with the British officers there. It was related by this old lady that on the Sunday morning before the war was declared, Brock, after service at St. Mark's said, taking up the two little girls in his arms (herself and her sister), "Good-bye, my rosy-cheeked little Yankee girls," and turning to the American officers, "I suppose when we meet again it will be as enemies."

The hero of Upper Canada was the title given by common consent. A memorial coin was issued from the Royal Mint in 1816, which passed current as a half-penny. On one side the inscription around a funeral urn with two angels placing a laurel wreath, "Sir Isaac Brock, the hero of Upper Canada, fell Oct. 13th, 1812."

Another memorial of a more private nature I saw in Niagara not long ago, a sampler worked by Esther Borden Lippencott, wife of Col. George Denison; it was worked during the winter of 1812-13, and a photo of it is in our posses-

sion. Within a wreath, surmounted by a crown, are the words, "To the memory of General Brock, who gloriously fell as he was bravely defending his country at the battle of Queenston, the 13th October, in the year of our Lord 1812," and below "Push on brave York Volunteers."

The feeling shown for Brock, whether by his soldiers, by farmers who had fought with him and shed tears in speaking of him, the feeling shown by his Indian Allies and by friend and foe alike; by Mrs. Powell and Mrs. Claus five years after, when visited by Savery Brock, who tells that they shed tears in speaking of him, by Mrs. Denison in working the sampler, by poor old Clibborne, who brought the news to Fort Erie of his death, he pallid and disordered in appearance, yet quite unconscious of the cannon balls ploughing up the ground as he advanced, the life-long constancy of the lady to whom he was engaged, all show that, in the words of the noble Tecumseh, "Here was a man."

The historian Christie says of him: "He was one of those extraordinary men who mark the age in which they live. He blended the mildest of manners with the severity and discipline of the camp, and though his deportment was somewhat grave and imposing, the noble frankness of his character imparted at once confidence and respect to those who had occasion to approach his person. As a civil Governor he was firm, prudent and equitable. In fine, whether we view him as a man, statesman or soldier he equally deserves our esteem and respect."

Chief Justice Robinson said at a great meeting at Queenston Heights, in 1840, that he had seen his body carried off, had seen the interment, the grief of the militia and the faithful Indians. In answer to the charge that General Brock's courage was greater than his prudence, that his attack at Detroit was injudicious and his rashness at Queenston was the cause of his death: "Those who lived in Upper Canada then can form a truer judgment, and what seemed rashness was, in fact, prudence. Brock was placed in almost desperate circumstances, with but a handful of men, most of whom had never been used to military discipline. He felt that if he could not impress upon the enemy this truth — that wherever a major-general of the British army with but a few gallant soldiers of the line and of the brave defenders of the soil could be assembled against them, they must retire from the land which

they had invaded — his cause was hopeless." With what a fine touch did the Chief Justice refer to later defeats. "It was that cautious calculation which some supposed he lacked which decided the day against us at Sackett's Harbor. It was the same cautious calculation which decided the day at Plattsburg, but no monuments have been erected to record the triumphs of those fields. It is not thus trophies are won."

And who can calculate the result of a glorious death or of a death for a principle? The splendid audacity, the divine madness, which possessed Brock at Detroit and Queenston, which Nelson showed when, putting his glass to his blind eye, he said: "I really do not see the signal to retire," and in disobedience to orders rushed on; the same quality was shown by our volunteers when, in defiance of orders, they rushed the rifle pits at Batoche.

Never shall I forget a sermon by the late Rev. D. J. Macdonell, in Peterboro', the Sunday after the assassination of D'Arcy McGee, from the text, "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die it abideth alone, but if it die it bringeth forth much fruit." D'Arcy McGee died as surely a martyr in his efforts to stop the Fenian movement and in loyalty to his adopted country, and who will say his death bore no fruit?" The pathetic words of a young Canadian soldier, wounded on the African veldt, give the same thought, as, pointing to the maple leaf in his helmet, he said: "If I die it may help this to live."

I close with the words on a tombstone in St. Mark's cemetery, words by I know not whom: "The memory of a life nobly rendered is immortal."

APPENDIX

Major Gregg gives a vivid picture of the ceremonies at the funeral of Gen. Brock. "No pen can describe the real scenes of that mournful day. A more solemn and affecting spectacle was perhaps never witnessed. As every arrangement fell to my lot, a second attack being hourly expected, I anxiously endeavored to perform the last tribute of affection in a manner corresponding to the elevated virtues of my departed patron. Recollecting the decided aversion of the Gen-

eral to ostentatious display, I endeavored to avoid this, but there were military honors that could not be avoided." He gives the procession thus:

Fort Major Campbell, sixty men of 41st Regt., sixty of the Militia, two Six Pounders firing minute guns, remaining corps of Garrison and 200 Indians forming a street through which the procession passed from the Government House to the Garrison, Band of 41st Regt. Drums covered with black cloth and muffled, Late General's horse, fully caparisoned, led by four grooms, Servants of the General, The General's body Servant, Surgeon Muirhead, Doctor Moore, Dr. Jarvis, Staff Surgeon Thörn, Rev. Mr. Addison, The body of Major-Gen. Brock, Supporter, Mr. Jas. Coffin, Capt. Vigoreux, R.E.; Capt. Derenzy, 21st Regt., Capt. Dennis, 49th; Capt. Hoi-croft, R. A. Brigade; Maj. Evans; Capt. Williams, 49th Regt.; Major Merritt, Lincoln Militia; Lt.-Col. Clark, Lincoln Militia;; Lt.-Col. Butler, Col. Claus, Capt. Glegg, A. D. C., Chief mourners, Maj.-Gen. Sheaffe, Ensign Coffin, Lt.-Col. Myers, Lt. Fowler, Civil Staff, Friends, Inhabitants.

A public monument was decreed by the Imperial Government and erected in St. Paul's Cathedral at the cost of £1575. It was executed by Westmacott and shows the sword and helmet, his corpse reclining in the arms of a British soldier while an Indian stands close by.

A poster printed by Wm. Lyon McKenzie at Queenston gives the arrangement for the funeral on 13th Oct. 1824, when the first monument was erected. The 1st and 4th Regiments of Lincoln Militia, the Royal Artillery, Grenadiers and 76th Regt. are mentioned as being present. The inscription on the monument is also preserved to us in another poster thus: "The Legislature of Upper Canada has dedicated this monument to the very eminent civil and military services of the late Sir Isaac Brock, Knight commander of the most honourable order of the Bath, Provisional Lt.-Governor and Major-General commanding the forces of this province, whose remains are deposited in the vault beneath. Having expelled the North West Army of the United States, Achieved its capture. Received the Surrender of Fort Detroit and the Territory of Michigan under circumstances which have rendered his name illustrious. He returned to the protection of this frontier and advancing with his small force to repel a second invasion of the enemy then in possession of the Heights. He

fell in action on the 13th of Oct., 1812, in the 43 year of his age. Honored and beloved by the people whom he governed and deplored by his Sovereign to whose service his life had been devoted.

Another poster gives us the form of procession at the laying of the foundation stone of the second monument, 13th Oct., 1853, in this order: Canadian Rifles, Band, Enrolled Pensioners, Funeral Car, Twelve Colonels or their officers as Fall-bearers, Col. Donald Macdonell, D.A.G. for Canada West, Lt.-Col. de Salaberry, D.A.G. for Canada East, Col. Tache, Lt.-Col. Irving, Survivors of 1812 and Indian chiefs as chief mourners, Military and Militia officers in uniform, Building Committee, Architect, Builder and Clerk of Work, Bar, Magistrates, Indian Band, Canadian Societies, National Societies, the procession to stretch from graveyard and on King street opposite Col. Hamilton's, Col. Adams to act as Dep. Marshall; signed William Hamilton Merritt, Chairman; Hector Munro, Secretary.

With regard to Brock's cocked hat we have the following statement proving the genuineness of this valuable relic. Copy of extract from letter of the late John W. Ball, Esq., of Locust Grove, Niagara, to G. W. H. Ball, Esq., Barrister, Galt, Ont., Sept. 5th, 1887:

"General Brock's hat came out from England after his death to his nephew, who with some troops was stationed at the time at Ball's Mills to protect a quantity of father's flour from the American Army. Capt. Brock in leaving the Mills presented the Hat to father, the late Geo. Ball, Esq., of Locust Grove, Niagara.

It was in a good state of preservation until it was loaned to be placed on the coffin of the late General Brock when his remains were taken from Fort George to be placed in the first monument on Queenston Heights when it was completed, and again when the new monument was finished for the removal of the remains thereto. Instead of being cared for as promised by the Colonel in charge it was fingered and tried on by so many people as to leave it in its present shabby state. The hat was, I think, loaned a third time when the Prince of Wales visited the Monument and was again subjected to the same treatment by hundreds.

We send you the above statement as related by father.

Signed by

JOHN H. BALL
MARAGARET BALL."

THE COUNT DE PUISAYE

A Forgotten Page of Canadian History

By Janet Carnochan*

Although the population of our Province of Ontario has been mainly recruited from the Mother Land (after the first settlement of the U. E. Loyalists), there have been, at different times, groups of settlers in particular spots, as of Highlanders in Glengarry under Bishop McDonell, of English agricultural laborers, of those who fled from the famine and fever in Ireland after the Repeal of the Corn Laws. There was, too, a German settlement in the year 1794, under Berczy, of sixty families settled near Markham; we also read of Governor Simcoe bringing from Russia men to teach the cultivation of hemp, and in the archives is a notice of a letter from the widow of one of these, her husband having died of a broken heart, his services being rejected when he reached London. And in our own day, though not in our province, the settlement at Gimli, Manitoba, of Icelanders, some of whom were remembered by Lord Dufferin, he having met them, described in his inimitable "Letters from High Latitudes"; and, later, the settlement of Doukhobors in the Northwest. But it is not generally known that after that frightful convulsion known as the French Revolution, when heads fell and blood flowed like water, there was an attempt to bring a colony of French refugees to find a home in Upper Canada, not far from this spot. That it failed is certain, and but few traces now remain.

Many years ago, when I heard the phrase used, "near the old French count's house," referring to a building about three miles from Niagara, on the river road to Queenston, the words contained nothing definite, little more than a legend or myth, with slight foundation in fact — little imagining that at a later date I should be engaged in tracing from various sources the history of the leader of this colonizing scheme, and the

*Read at a General Meeting of the Ontario Historical Society, in Toronto, August 30th, 1901 and reprinted by the permission of the Society from Vol. V. Also read before the Niagara Historical Society.

fate of his company of Frenchmen. The sources of information are fourfold: First, tradition; which, although having a substratum of fact, cannot always be relied upon, as from an unimportant circumstance a wonderful structure of mingled fact and fancy often rises. Second, actual history; references in works of that day relating to it. Third, original letters and documents preserved in the Archives of Canada, or in the possession of private individuals. Fourth, traces left; as of houses built, or pictures of that period.

We find that the Count de Puisaye was an historical character mentioned in Lamartine, Thiers, Carlyle, Allison, the Annual Register, in their account of the French Revolution, but it is from the Dominion Archives in Ottawa that we derive the most complete and accurate information of his connection with the history of our country.

When in Ottawa a few months ago, in that wonderful room, lined from floor to ceiling with bound volumes of original documents, public and private letters, containing the history of our country, I found references to the Count de Puisaye, and since then found, in the voluminous reports of several years, the history of the Count. From all these sources we see a noble, pathetic and tragic figure, a man who had suffered much — had seen his friends of noble birth and his king and queen perish by the guillotine; in his command of the army in La Vendee had seen his force scattered and defeated; worse than all, was called a traitor by his own party, his name held in execration (unjustly, as we believe), his scheme in a foreign land fail, some of his party blaming him with misrepresentation, his last days in England sad and lonely, embittered with controversy, and he dying in obscurity.

The youngest son of a noble family, Count Joseph de Puisaye was born in 1755, intended for the church, but entering the army at eighteen, soon had a command in the Swiss Guards. In the Convention of the States General, he was the representatives of the nobles of La Perche, and at first took the popular side, advocated reforms, and supported the demands of the Tiers Etats, but, alarmed at the excesses of the ultras, was soon engaged in raising an army to secure the safety of the king in 1792. In 1792 he was obliged to flee, a price being set on his head, but he was the heart and soul of the rising in Brittany, and in 1794 was in communication with the British government, and urged the landing of ten



COUNT DE PUISAYE



COUNT DE PUISAYE'S HOUSE, BUILT 1799

三、四、五、六、七、八、九、十、十一、十二、十三、十四、十五、十六、十七、十八、十九、二十、二十一、二十二、二十三、二十四、二十五、二十六、二十七、二十八、二十九、三十、三十一、三十二、三十三、三十四、三十五、三十六、三十七、三十八、三十九、四十、四十一、四十二、四十三、四十四、四十五、四十六、四十七、四十八、四十九、五十、五十一、五十二、五十三、五十四、五十五、五十六、五十七、五十八、五十九、六十、六十一、六十二、六十三、六十四、六十五、六十六、六十七、六十八、六十九、七十、七十一、七十二、七十三、七十四、七十五、七十六、七十七、七十八、七十九、八十、八十一、八十二、八十三、八十四、八十五、八十六、八十七、八十八、八十九、九十、九十一、九十二、九十三、九十四、九十五、九十六、九十七、九十八、九十九、一百。

thousand men, with which he would answer for the re-establishment of the Royalist cause. Accordingly a French corps of 6000 emigres in the pay of Great Britain, with a force of artillery from London and arms and clothing for 80,000 men to be raised in France, landed; one corps under command of the Count de Puisaye. From the first this seems to have been an illfated expedition. The leaders quarrelled as to which was to have the chief command. On landing at Quiberon Bay, it was found that the force in the interior had received a check, orders were sent to the Royalist Commission in Paris to attempt no movement till the arrival of the fleet.

Notwithstanding the heroic bravery of the emigrants, the royal cause sustained a crushing defeat, and, after the capitulation at Quiberon, the Convention ordered a massacre of the prisoners, which inhuman order was carried out, as told most vividly in Allison's history of Europe. For this defeat de Puisaye was blamed, the absurd charge being believed that he had acted in complicity with the British government and betrayed the cause of France, and his influence was completely destroyed, and, after attempting unsuccessfully to form another force, we find that in 1797 he applied to the British government to form a Royalist settlement in Canada. For the description of the part he took in France, we are chiefly indebted to the lucid summary of our accomplished archivist, Dr. Brymner but a few quotations may be made from European historians. Carlyle speaks of the Count in sneering terms, but we know that the strenuous Chelsea sage was sometimes unjust and intolerant. First, in 1793, when he "was roused from his bed and galloped away without his boots"; and, second, in 1795, at Quiberon, where "war thunder mingled with the war of the mighty main, and such a morning light as has seldom dawned, debarkation hurled back into its boats, or into the devouring billows with wreck and wail; in one word, a *ci-devant* Puisaye as totally ineffectual here as at Calvados." Lamartine, too, does scant justice, ranking de Puisaye as an adventurer rather than a hero, yet acknowledges that he was at once an orator, a diplomatist, and a soldier, but says that he spent a whole year concealed in a cavern in the midst of the forests of Brittany," but we recall that many heroes of ancient and modern days have been compelled to hide in caves, whence they sometimes issued to the dismay and loss of their pursuers. Thiers, however, in his

history of the French Revolution, does him more justice, as "with great intelligence and extraordinary skill in uniting the elements of a party, he combined extreme activity of mind and vast ambition," and "it was certain that Puisaye had done all that lay in his power." Allison says in his "History of Europe": "Puisaye, whose courage rose with the difficulties with which he was surrounded, resolved to make an effort to raise the blockade. Full of joy and hope, he gave the signal for the assault, and the emigrant battalions advanced with the utmost intrepidity to the foot of the redoubts." And in a letter, 30th July, 1798, from Right Hon. Mr. Windham to President Russell, the first part of it is devoted to defending the character of the Count de Puisaye. This he does in the strongest terms, as he had known him through all his transactions: "On the whole of his conduct I can speak with a degree of knowledge that does not admit of the possibility of my being mistaken, and I would vindicate him from every shadow of imputation attempted to be fixed upon him, but in the strongest manner assert his merits, knowing the calumnies circulated against him are unfounded, and incurred by conduct which we must feel to be highly meritorious."

Bonnechose, in "Lazare Hoche," refers to de Puisaye, and defends his conduct at Quiberon: "Few men have shown more indefatigable activity, as much adaptability, as persevering a purpose, as great firmness, or were as well fitted to triumph over all obstacles. . . The most skilful was the Count, who, in London, where he had been for six months, held in his hands all the threads of the web woven so skilfully. His flight should not be considered as an act of treachery."

All this evidence must surely vindicate the Count, and show that he was innocent and, like many others, suffered the fate of the unsuccessful — to be blamed.

But we come now to his connection with Canada, and the history of his abortive attempt to found a military colony, which is little known.

Britain, that asylum of the exiles of all lands, was generous in material help, and we find this given as a reason for the colonizing scheme, that the country would thus be relieved of heavy payments to support the poor among the emigres. In the archives there is a sketch, "political and financial," of the proposed settlement, undated and unsigned, but it is believed that it was drawn up by de Puisaye. It is a well writ-

ten business-like document giving reasons for the formation, of what to consist, how dominated, when and by what means carried into execution, on what fund are first advances taken, how is the land to be cleared, how are requisite buildings to be constructed, where are the workmen to be found, of what number is the force to consist. "British generosity has already shown itself in a conspicuous light by providing, in a temporary manner, for the relief of those unfortunate victims of the French revolution, to whom the British government has granted an asylum. I am ignorant of the precise number of emigrants now living on the generosity of Britain. I only know the sum allotted for their existence. The outline of the plan was to form in the southern part of Canada a settlement for French emigrants, sufficient means of subsistence granted them, and sufficient land to provide for their maintenance distributed among them, all expenses for the first three years advanced by Government, after that the proprietors to pay to the Governor of Canada one-seventh of their crops till full payment of the advance was made. The fund for the maintenance of the emigrants in Britain to be called on for the first advance of fifteen thousand pounds. The work of clearing the land to be done by soldiers. The force was to consist of two battalions, two hundred men to do military service, and the rest to clear the land and construct buildings, part of the force to be sent on ahead to construct barracks. Two hundred pounds to be provided for each farm for building, tools, furniture, clearing land (twenty acres), the priests under forty years might assist in their own buildings and in the labor least fatiguing of husbandry. The emigrants were for the first year not to exceed three or four hundred. The colonel of the regiment to be at the head of the colony under the Governor-General."

This plan reads well on paper, but like many such, the realization fell far short of the anticipation, as instead of three or four hundred, only forty-four embarked, and several of these soon dropped out, and many returned the next year.

In a letter from the Duke of Portland to President Russell, July 5th, 1798, is mentioned that M. de Puisaye, with about forty French Royalists, is about to embark, land is to be given them in the proportions granted to the American loyalists. M. de Puisaye to be ranked as a field officer; others in proportion, and the rest as privates. They were to be fur-

nished in Britain with the necessary funds. Another paper gives the regulations for the colony, the corps to consist of major, commandant, two captains, two lieutenants, four sub-lieutenants, one adjutant. All to have been field officers previous to 1798; one Q. M., one chaplain, one surgeon, one surgeon's mate, six sergeants, eight corporals, one hundred privates; the term of service to be three years. Two days' work for the officers in the colony, four days for each individual, one day for religious and military duty. The grant of lands specified for each, also for relatives, as father, mother, wife, child, sister, niece, nephew. The government to furnish tools, clothing, rations. Those who had served in the Royalist army to be chosen first. One object to be aimed at was to keep the settlement separate from any other body of French.

In a letter from Russell to the Duke of Portland, York, November 3rd, 1798: "Have this day received a letter from M. Puisaye, telling of his arrival in Quebec on 7th ult., with some general, field, and subaltern officers, a few soldiers, and two ladies, in all forty persons; have despatched a letter to meet him in Kingston, warning him of the impossibility of providing accommodation in this town for so large a number of respectable personages, requesting him to stop at Kingston, or send part to Newark, which, being older settlements, may lodge them better. I shall be happy to meet him here for consultation." In a letter from President Russell to the Duke of Portland, 21st November, 1798: "Have selected the vacant land, with de Puisaye's approbation, between this town and Lake Simcoe, as a situation equally distant from Lower Canada and the French settlements at the Detroit river. Have directed the Surveyor-General to lay out four townships north of Markham, Pickering and 'Whitby.'" This region, a continuation of Yonge street, was called Oak Ridges.

In the Archives is given:

A list of the Royalists gone from London with Count Joseph de Puisaye for Canada: Lt.-Gen. Joseph de Puisaye; Count de Chalus, Major-General; D'Allegre, Col.; Marquis de Beauport, Col.; Viscount de Chalus, Col.; Coster de St. Victor, Col.; De Marseuil, Lt.-Col.; Bouton, Capt.; De Farcy, Capt.; De Poret, Capt.; Guy de Beauport, Lieut.; Lambert de la Richerie, Lieut.; Hippolyte de Beauport, Lieut.; Champagne, Nathaniel Thompson, John Thompson, John Ficerel (lost in Montreal), Thomas Jones (lost in Quebec), Joseph Donovan,

Abraham Bérne, Pardeveux, Farchard, Renoux, Segent, Bugle, Auguste (dead at Quebec), Polard, Letourneux, Langel, Bagot, Rene Fouquet (lost at Plymouth), Marchand, William Smithers (of the latter we shall hear hereafter). Women: Madam Marquise de Beauvoir, Viscountess de Chalus, Mrs. Smithers, Mary Donovan (lost at Quebec, replaced by Saly Robinson), Catharine Donovan (lost in Quebec, replaced by Catharina), Betsy (lost in Plymouth, replaced by Barbe), Francoise Letourneux (lost). Total, 44. Lost 10, leaving 34. Put in place of lost men, 4. Total 38."

From a letter in de Puisaye's own hand we find that he reached Montreal in October, 1798, Kingston, October 29th. They had fine weather for traveling and orders had been given that every attention was to be paid the emigrants on their arrival. Left Montreal on the 18th, and Lachine on the 20th of October, with twelve bateaux loaded with furniture. They were, says Commissary-Gen. Clark, as comfortably provided as possible, and went off, to all appearances, in good spirits and well satisfied, but they had been tampered with on their way from Quebec, being told they had better stay there, as they were going to a sickly, bad country. Some stayed at Kingston, but others sailed from there on November 16th, and a letter, 17th January, 1799, dated Windham, near York, from de Puisaye, says: "The land is every day being cleared of the trees and that in the course of a month a village has been built," which he hoped would become a considerable town, and asks the General's leave to name it Hunter. Permission was also asked to use the name Windham, in honor of these officials. In a postscript he acknowledged the receipt of a letter from Prince Edward, Duke of Kent, the father of our late lamented Queen. Meanwhile, for those who had been left at Kingston, application for boats to carry them to York was made in March, and Chalus reports the progress made by de Puisaye more fully than he himself had done: "On 14th February eighteen houses were built in Windham, but not finished inside. It was hoped twenty-five would be ready by spring, and enough land cleared to give a small crop of wheat, potatoes, etc. De Puisaye had undertaken another settlement at the head of Lake Ontario at the mouth of a small river, navigable for boats, called the Riviere de Niagara." This was put in charge of De Chalus, and all de Puisaye's letters after are so dated. In a letter from Gen.

Hunter to the Duke of Portland, 16th of October, 1799, is another reference to Niagara. "The Count de Puisaye does not remain with the emigrants, but has purchased a farm near Niagara, where he, his housekeeper, the Count de Chalus, John Thompson and Marchand, their servant, reside. The Marquis de Beauport, having some misunderstanding with the Count de Puisaye, or not finding the enterprise suitable to his expectations, has decided to return to England with M. St. Victor. I enclose a statement from Mr. Angus McDonell, their friend and agent at York, from this it may be seen that only twenty-five men remain in Upper Canada, viz., five at Niagara and twenty at Windham. The latter have cleared forty or fifty acres, but are totally destitute of funds, and have asked wheat and barley to sow the land, which I have given. There are also twenty-one Canadian artificers, laborers, etc., employed by them, to whom rations are given."

A statement of the actual situation of the French emigres:—Residing at Niagara, 5, to wit, Count de Puisaye, Lt.-General; Count de Chalus, Major General; Marchand, a private; Mrs. Smithers, housekeeper to Count de Puisaye; John Thompson, servant to Count de Puisaye.

Settled at Markham, M. d'Allegre, and Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 13 of first list and Madame Viscount de Chalus. Abandoned the enterprise, 16, among whom are Marquis de Beauport, Betsy, the servant girl, and William Smithers, it is said, also returned, but we find their names again as still in Canada.

Notwithstanding the cheerful prospects in the letter of De Chalus, we see all were not satisfied, as a letter from the Marquis de Beauport asks permission to leave and come to Lower Canada, asking leave to go to Riviere du Loup, till he would exchange his wild land for a small piece of cleared land, or obtain money to take him to Europe. A letter from Coster St. Victor, 12th May, 1799, contained similar statements, which explain the reference by Gen. Hunter to a misunderstanding, but it appears from the plan laid down in the settlement, that de Puisaye was not to blame. The letter is robustly frank in tone: "You are fully aware, General, that in this country the man brought up and inured to the labors of the field is assured of obtaining his subsistence by his labors; that the rich man who brings capital may even, by paid labor, find means of support in agriculture; but he who has neither

strength nor money, if he borrow to clear the land, certain of never repaying, has no other prospect than that of losing his time, his land, his liberty, his family, and his probity. When the Count de Puisaye proposed to me to come with him to Canada, he told me that there would be a military corps in which I should command the gentlemen emigrants who were to come there; that the Royalists who would arrive to form it would labor in common for the officers as for themselves; and he required from me only a letter of request to be his authority in applying to the Minister. But the military corps in which I should have found a salary, those peasants of Brittany whose arms were to assist me were but a chimerical hope; it is only here I have obtained proof of this. 'This deception places me, with my family, in the most heartrending situation that we have experienced since we have been emigrants.' We find from the Archives that passports were applied for by Hen Richard Cartwright for Marquis de Beaupoil, St. Aulaire and M. Coster de St. Victor to return to Europe.

The grants of land in Windham were: Count de Puisaye, 850 acres; Count de Chalus, 650; D'Allegre, 450; Viscount de Chalus, 350; Marseuil, 300; Quetton St. George, 400; Farcy, 350; Renault, Capt., 150; Segent, 150; Fouchard, Feuron, Langel, Bugle, Marchand, 100 each.

John Ross Robertson, in his "Landmarks of Toronto," gives the position of the land held by many of the emigres. On the map of 1798 a range of nine lots on each side of Yonge street is marked "French Royalists," and in one of the letters of Surveyor Jones the spot is marked as "Puisaye's Farm."

Of his life on the Niagara River only a glimpse here and there from the Archives could be obtained, but by one of the strange coincidences that are constantly occurring in our historical work, I have quite unexpectedly, within the last few days, been fortunate enough to obtain many interesting particulars. When asked a few weeks ago to read a paper to your honorable body, I was engaged in going systematically through the printed volumes of the Archives for anything relating to Niagara, and finding much that was new to me relating to the Count de Puisaye, said, "Here is my subject." Thinking it would be interesting to bring the picture of the house with me, I wondered if in any place in Canada could be found a picture of the Count. The very next day a gentleman called to say that he had seen the stone placed by our Histor-

ical Society, and had a picture of the Count and Countess, copies of which he would present to us, and by the kindness of Mr. G. S. Griffin you now see these, they being family portraits. I cannot tell the delight with which I welcomed these pictures, coming, as they do, so opportunely, and the information emanating from this source. Sir Richard Cartwright has lately placed in the Library of Queen's University, the letter book of his grandfather, Hon. R. Cartwright, who was the banker or legal adviser of the Count de Puisaye, who placed in his hands four or five thousand pounds, drawing interest at five per cent., and apparently all his business was transacted through this agency, goods purchased, etc. These letters, by the kindness of Principal Grant, have been loaned to Mr. Justus Griffin, Secretary of the Wentworth Historical Society, and son of Mr. G. S. Griffin, and by the kindness of both of these gentlemen I am furnished with many interesting particulars. The letters extend from April, 1799, to Nov. 4th, 1801; there are nearly a score of letters from Cartwright to the Count, most of them in French; also a number of letters to the Count de Chalus, who seems to have acted sometimes as his secretary, and in letters to Messrs. McGill of Montreal, and to R. Hamilton, Queenston, are references to the Count's affairs. First comes the reference to buying the property at Niagara, May 16th 1799: "The General, after staying for a month at the head of the lake, has bought Mr. Sheehan's place on the Niagara River, between Queenston and the Fort." September 16th, 1799, R. Cartwright says: "I have sent to a milliner at Montreal the models and samples with an order to send the goods as soon as possible." The milliner's materials must have been for Mrs. Smithers, who presided over his household. "I have also written to Messrs. McGill to send for mares, donkeys, the harness and guinea hens. The sheep and turkeys I expect to get here." Another letter speaks of melon and other garden seeds, and of importing shrubs and trees. Again comes a reference that shows he had one or more negro slaves. Although the act of 1793 arranged for the doing away of slavery, children who were slaves were not to be free till a certain age. A letter of Cartwright speaks of having bought for him for "cent piastres," une petite negresse. Again he thanks de Puisaye for a present of peaches which were excellent, and which Madame Cartwright pronounced delicious. In connection with this, Mr.

Warren, one of the late owners of the place, informs me that there were old pear trees with most delicious fruit; although skilled in fruit culture, he did not know the name, and has never seen any similar varieties. The Count was very anxious to build a windmill; whether he succeeded is not known. Many passages in the letters speak of the machinery and other material, and abound in excuses for non-arrival, and difficulty of getting workmen to build it. There seems, too, to have been a great deal of difficulty about a large iron kettle, which finally arrived. One letter speaks of a young French Canadian girl whom he had induced to go up on next ship as a servant, but next letter says she absolutely refused to go.

Several of the letters refer to the Marquis de Beauport, who must have visited Cartwright before leaving the country, and for whom he shows much commiseration, as "I have taken the liberty to give one of the boats to the Marquis de Beauport, so as to get down in time. The Commandant here will give us a King's boat in return, at all events the finances of the unfortunate gentleman will not admit of any other remuneration." And, "He left here several days ago with the intention to return to Europe, Madame and the son to remain in Lower Canada for a time. They left in my hands a bed of feathers, all new, a large mattress, little used, and a good white counterpane, the wood of the bed and the curtain complete, to sell; the whole valued at fifty-six pounds." In one letter the General directs Messrs. McGill, Montreal, to give the Count de Chalus five hundred pounds by credit, having gone into keeping a general store for the use of the colony.

In a very exhaustive paper by Miss Textor, "A colony of Emigres in Canada, 1798-1816," published by the University of Toronto, it is stated that Mrs. Smithers was the sister of William Smithers, alias Kent, but other information calls her the mother. The descendants of Wm. Smithers are in Toronto, Dundas, and Hamilton. It is believed that the first wife was of noble birth in France. He afterwards married Mrs. Smithers. Wm. Smithers came out at the age of seventeen and changed his name to Kent, from his native county, and started business on his own account.

In a letter to Hon. R. Hamilton, Mr. Cartwright speaks of Count de Puisaye's young friend, Mr. Kent, and in another to the Count, of having supplied goods to Mr. Kent, and

given instructions to him, as requested by the Count. The last of the letters to de Puisaye was written October 31, 1801, in English, and apparently closes their business transactions, Mr. Cartwright having returned to the Count in cash and drafts all the balance due him. These letters give the little personal items which form a pleasing break in a dry historical paper.

In a letter from de Puisaye, in his own hand, dated Riviere de Niagara, May 24th, 1801, addressed to General Hunter, he says: "My plan is to leave towards the end of autumn for England; I will be occupied till then with the composition of a work of some extent which should be made public," supposed to be a history of the French Royalist party during the Revolution. Dr. Brymner states: "The only work I can find traces of is one in six volumes published in London from 1803 to 1808, entitled 'Memoires qui pourront servir a l'histoire du parti royaliste Francais durant la derniere revolution.'"

A few more traces are found in the Archives. In 1799 a proposal by the Mississagua Indians through Brant, to cede five miles along the lake to make 69,120 acres, on condition that it is granted to de Puisaye to be paid for at one shilling and three pence Halifax, cy., per acre. This proposal was not accepted by the government. In the minutes of the House is a request from the Count for the government tavern on the beach at the head of the lake. This had been pledged to Wm. Bates till next October, but he, de Puisaye, might deal privately with Bates or establish another tavern equally commodious, a request from Bates to extend his lease and renewed application from de Puisaye in 1799 and 1800, and later on it is seen that he bought the land on which the government house stood, three hundred acres, on which were salt wells, from which his heirs sold salt during the war at \$10.00 per barrel. Mr. Griffin remembers that on the farm at the beach was a fine orchard of apple, peach, pear and plum trees, with delicious fruit. Whether the present house there was built by the Count or Mr. Kent is not known. In 1801 some trouble arose between the Count and Angus McDonell, and he was to attend at York with his witnesses to sustain his charges against McDonell; evidence was taken and the dismissal of the latter was recommended.

A later letter in the Archives from de Puisaye in Eng-

land is dated 14th February, 1803, stating two volumes of his *Memoires* would be published that week, of which copies would be sent. He proposes to return to Canada, but not for another year; but it is not supposed this hope was realized. He speaks of detractors, even in Canada, M. de Chalus being of the number, but still begs the Government to continue its goodness to the emigrants.

Of his last days we know little. Not being allowed to return to France during the short peace of 1814, he became naturalized in England and died in 1827, at Blythe House, near Hammersmith, aged seventy-three. A pathetic reference is found in the Archives—the last we find from himself—dated June, 1818, to the Canadian government: "Had waited eighteen months so as to give time for information. At his age, and broken down in health, he had not expected to survive that time. The government appropriated his place on the Niagara River for a hospital for the troops, and has occupied his house at York (which was burned) as public property. For neither of these has he been paid nor any compensation made."

His property was willed to William Smithers Kent, and a brother who went to India. Mr. Kent went to England several times to see the Count after his return there, the last time being in 1827, and de Puisaye then gave him his heavily gold-mounted Damascus sword, which had been presented to him by his friend, the great statesman, William Pitt. This valuable relic bears the following inscription: "Given by Wm. Pitt to General Count Joseph de Puisaye, 1794." This sword was exhibited at the Historical Loan Exhibit of 1897, by Rev. M. S. Griffin, D.D., of Toronto.

The Count must have been possessed of considerable property, as besides the land in Windham, the farm of two hundred acres near Niagara, the three hundred acres bought from Augustus Jones, Prov. Land Surveyor, including the salt wells at the beach, he also had a house in Toronto, as in the letter book is an acknowledgement of thirty pounds, three shillings, and three pence from the Chief Justice, as rent for his house in York. And he owned besides a house in Hammersmith, all left to Wm. Kent, who lived for some time on the farm near Niagara, as afterwards did his son, Joseph Kent. The will of the Count is in possession of Mr. G. S. Griffin. In 1830, three years after his death, his heirs made a

claim that five thousand acres had been given to the Count in 1798, of which only 850 acres had been received by him, and asking for the remaining 4150 acres. Referred to H. M. Government.

In the Annual Register of 1796 is found some reference to his personal appearance:

"Count Joseph de Puisaye was still less distinguished by high birth than by those advantages which he derived from nature and education. His natural talents, of no common order, had been cultivated with the greatest assiduity, and with a success proportioned to the care bestowed upon them. Well informed, capable of laborious application, master of a ready and powerful eloquence, full of resources, and never deserted by his presence of mind, he seemed destined to be the leader of a party. To these mental qualifications he added some corporeal ones which, though inferior, were highly useful. His manners were dignified, yet prepossessing; his person was graceful, his stature tall and commanding." With this description the portrait painted and engraved in Plymouth corresponds, and with the description sometimes given of a fine-looking, courtly gentleman of the old school. These pictures—the Count, a steel engraving, and the Countess, an oil painting—are in the possession of Mrs. Horning, Dundas, a great-granddaughter of William Smithers Kent.

In the Jarvis letters, published in No. 8 of the Niagara Historical Society, there is a reference to his personal appearance. Mrs. Jarvis says: "Having entertained him at dinner in Niagara, January 31st, 1799. I like him very much. He is, I think, much like Governor Simcoe in point of size and deportment, and is, without exception, the finest looking man I ever saw."

A few references are found regarding some of the other members of the party. For most of these we are indebted to "Toronto of Old," by the venerated Dr. Scadding. As, "At the balls of the Governor and others at York, the jewels of Madame la Comtesse de Beaupoil created a great sensation, wholly surpassing everything of the kind that had been seen by the ladies of Upper Canada." A descendant of Count de Chalus retains property here, but resides in Montreal, and so far as known the descendants of only one other family are now represented in Canada (besides those of Wm. Smithers). In St. Mark's Register, in the marriage notices, is that of one

member of the party: "December 6th, 1802, Ambroise de Farcy and Ellen Weymouth." Quetton St. George became a very successful merchant in York, returned to France when Louis XVIII succeeded to the throne, and in 1860 his descendant returned to Canada, and, when Dr. Scadding wrote, was exercising a refined hospitality at Glen Lonely. He says Quetton St. George was of the noblesse, as all officers in France were then obliged to be. The name was originally M. Quetton, but as an exile landing in England on St. George's Day, in gratitude he added the Saint's name, making his full name M. Quetton St. George. He traded with the Indians and had a post at Orillia. In the Niagara Herald, August 7th, 1802, his advertisement reads thus: "New store at the house of the French General between Niagara and Queenston. Messrs. Quetton St. George & Co. have goods from New York to be sold at the lowest prices for ready money, for from the uncertainty of their residing for any time in these parts they cannot open accounts with any person. Dry goods, groceries, tools, trunks, empty barrels, etc." A similar assortment to the above may be had at their store at the French General's House, between Niagara and Queenston."—June 18th, 1803.

The "Co." was M. de Farcy. In 1811 there is a petition of De Farcy asking to have their grants given them, also a memorial of Quetton St. George in French, and another in English, and in August, 1812, the Count de Puisaye asks Commissioners to inquire into his claims, and those of other Royalists. A special charter of denization had to be given.

An advertisement in the Upper Canada Gazette, December 15th, 1804, unearthed by J. J. Murphy, Crown Lands Dept., to whom I am indebted for copying it:

"TAKE NOTICE

"On the first day of February next will be sold at Public Sale by the Subscribers, who are duly authorized to dispose of the same, at the House of the Count de Puisaye, the Household furniture and books belonging to that gentleman, a list of which will hereafter be given in this paper.

"DE FARCY.

"QUETTON ST. GEORGE."

In the issue of Upper Canada Gazette, January 12th, 1805, appears the list of furniture

"List of household Furniture which will be sold at the House of the Count de Puisaye, at Niagara, on the 1st Feb. next."

"Mahogany Chest of Drawers, Chairs, Sopha, do.; Large Looking Glasses, Middling size do.; Pictures and Copper Plates; Turkey Carpets, Common do; two clocks, one of which is a Chime Clock and plays twelve different tunes; Kitchen Utensils, Horses, Waggon, etc., etc.

"Books—Buflon's 'Natural History' 54 vols.; (French); Rappin's 'Hist. of England,' 28 vols. (Eng.); Salmon's 'Traveller,' in folio, 2 vols., do.; 'Dictionary of Arts and Sciences,' 2 vols.; Pope, Shakespeare, 4-to 2 vols.; 'Modern Architecture,' 4-to, 2 vols.; 10 vols. Du President, Du Thou, and a great number of Novels too tedious to mention."

We wonder who bought the Chime Clock and if it is yet in existence.

All that remains is to give some slight description of the residence of the Count de Puisaye. What induced him to settle on the Niagara we know not, except the beautiful situation. He certainly selected an ideal spot on which to build a house, which still stands, after a lapse of over a hundred years. To be exact, half of it stands, for some years ago half of it was taken down and the foundation stones can still be traced.

Originally a long, low building, about eighty feet in length, by twenty-four in width, with dormer windows and steep, sharply sloping roof, as seen in Norman French houses, there are now two windows on each side of the door, and above are three dormer windows, back and front, so it is likely there were eight windows below and six dormer windows above in front. There are still two old fireplaces, and there had been probably three or four. Built against one end is a curious fireproof structure of brick, with walls three feet thick and at one side, supported by three stone buttresses. The vaulted interior has two divisions with no connection with each other, entered from opposite sides, and with a thick division wall of brick. Various are the opinions as to the use of this—what is generally called "the vault." A powder magazine, wine cellar, dairy, vegetable room, all have been mentioned, as well as a storehouse for goods when the building was a store. I give all, and a choice may be made, or other suggestions offered. Perhaps later investigation may make clear its use. A loft has been put on in modern times, which was there when Dr. Scadding visited it in 1870, but

previous to that it showed the round, vaulted brick roof.

Various legends float about as of fish ponds,, and that one room of the house was literally lined with mirrors. To the mind of the plain frugal settlers of those days, the abundance of mirrors in French houses would have a dazzling appearance. The ceilings are very low, as may be shown by the stairway of only seven steps. The building itself is frame, and is in excellent preservation, many repairs having been made at different times. During the war of 1812 it was used as a hospital.

The property has had many owners, but one can trace almost, if not all, the occupants and owners—the Count de Chalus, Quetton St. George, Mr. S. Kent in the first half of the century. About 1850 it was bought by Captain Baxter, with two hundred acres of land adjoining it, from Col. Allen of Toronto, the father of Senator G. W. Allen. Every year two barrels of a special kind of apples grown there, were sent to him by Captain Baxter. The house had previously been occupied by Mr. McPherson. It next passed into the hands of Mr. Warren, by whom it was sold to Mr. Shickluna, the famous boat builder of St. Catharines, who erected near it a house, many said, as much resembling a boat, as could be done. In his turn it was sold to Mr. Mills, still living in Toronto, who made great improvements in the house. Afterwards the property came into the hands of Capt. Geale Dickson, who erected the fine residence now standing, since improved by the present owner, Mr. Jackson, one hundred acres having been sold to Mr. Doyle. While in possession of Mr. Dickson, the half of the Count's house was taken down. This year the Niagara Historical Society has placed seven stones to mark historic spots, and one of these has been placed here with the inscription, "The building near was erected by the Count de Puisaye, a French Refugee, in 1799."

As we think of the exiles gradually returning to their own land, we cannot but heave a sigh when we think what must have been their feelings. Witnesses of all the horrors of the Reign of Terror; escaping to Britain; fed by the bounty of the Government there; crossing the ocean in the late fall, when Atlantic waves are boisterous; landing in a foreign land, almost a wilderness, covered with winter snows; felling the monarchs of the forest; building rude dwellings and facing the cold of our winter after the pleasant land of France. Think of the mal de pays from which they must have

suffered when they thought of their sunny skies, not knowing, in that first sad winter, that this country, too, has its bright skies and balmy air as well as its bracing breezes. Was it of these exiles that Burke wrote in his "Reflections on the French Revolution"? "I hear there are considerable emigrations from France, and that many, quitting that voluptuous climate and seductive Circean liberty, have taken refuge in the frozen regions of Canada." Writers a century later have not yet forgotten to make similar reference to "Our Lady of the Snows."

To the patient investigator it will be found there is much unexplored territory in our history, and that the links are lying all around us, concealed, or mayhap, open to every eye, but only those interested will be able to adapt and fit together the parts broken or separated into the complete chain.

We have within the brief space of one year to record serious losses to the membership of our Society, first by the death of a valued member, Mrs. Greene who died on the 23rd Oct., 1905, and that of our Patron, Wm. Kirby, F. R. S. C., on 23d June, 1906, and by the removal to Saskatchewan of our Vice-President, Henry Paffard. The President of the Society thus referred to the death of Mrs. Greene and Mr. Kirby in the Niagara and Toronto Press:

MRS. J. F. GREENE

A TRIBUTE

A very sad occurrence in our town last week was the death of Mary Hunter, daughter of the late Neil Hunter, and wife of Mr. Joseph F. Greene, after an illness of several months, borne with unfailing cheerfulness and rare courage. Born in the town, she received her education first in the R. C. Separate School and afterwards in the High School; having honorably graduated, she taught successfully in the Public School here. Her marked ability obtained for her the position of Assistant Secretary in the head office of the Foresters, which she held twelve years, till her marriage four years ago. By her amiability and sterling qualities of head and heart she gained many friends. A devoted member of St. Vincent de Paul's Church, a sweet singer in the choir there, and also in St. Michael's Cathedral, Toronto, a member of the Historical Society, and of the Book Committee of the Public Library, and lately a member of a Literary Club, she took a deep interest in all these institutions. She lately wrote the history of her own Church here, which has been published by the Historical Society, and has elicited much praise for its careful research and graceful style. A touching tribute was paid her shortly before her death by her former companions in the I. O. F.

The funeral was largely attended, High Mass being performed by Rev. Father Bench, her former pastor, Rev. Father Harold, now of New York, being present. The pallbearers were Messrs. Miller, Randall, Healey, Brown, Sheppard and Flynn. Beautiful floral offerings from Toronto, Buffalo and Niagara, and the presence of the lady members of the Historical Society and Literary Club to pay the last mark of respect to their friend showed the esteem in which the deceased was held. Much sympathy is felt for her bereaved husband.

WM. KIRBY, F.R.S.C.

William Kirby, F.R.S.C., Canada's oldest litterateur, born in 1817, and almost in his 90th year, died on Saturday, June 23. A native of Yorkshire, England, he has always been known as a strong advocate for British connection. Leaving England in 1832, he received part of his education in Cincinnati from a highly educated Scot Alexander Kinmount. Coming to Canada in 1839, he lived some years in St. Davids, and afterwards married Miss Whitmore, whose mother was a daughter of the noted United Empire Loyalist, Daniel Servos.

He next became editor and proprietor of the Niagara Mail, in 1853, and his first poem, "The U. E.," was printed in the office of that paper, the greater part of the work, it is said, having been done by himself. On his retirement from The Mail he became Collector of Customs, which office he held for many years.

His greatest work, "Le Chien D'Or," perhaps the best Canadian historical romance ever written, has given its author deserved fame. The story of the writing and publishing, the loss of the manuscript for nearly three years, its finding in the Grand Trunk baggage room, Toronto, and its subsequent adventures is a romance in itself. His poems, "Canadian Idylls," "Queen's Birthday," "Dead Sea Roses," "Kirby Wiske," "The Hungry year," etc., give us many stirring incidents of Canadian history, all breathing an intense loyalty, while his translations of French and German poems show his linguistic as well as poetic powers.

His latest work, "Annals of Niagara," gives many almost forgotten stories of early days in the old capital.

He was made a fellow of the Royal Society, and though his reserve and modesty kept him from being as well known as he might have been, still by the highest in this and other lands his merits as a man and a poet have been acknowledged. The Princess Louise, at Ottawa, conveyed to him the pleasure the late Queen Victoria had had in reading "The Golden Dog." Letters from Lord Tennyson, the Duke of Argyll and many noted persons attest the esteem in which he was held.



WM. KIRBY, F. R. S. C.

iii n . m . m .

For many years reeve and magistrate of the town, he lived lately a quiet life of retirement.

He leaves a son, John Kirby, and three grandchildren in Toronto, and a grandson, Eric Kirby, now in England.

A good constitution enabled him to resist the disease which attacked him more than a year ago and which was borne with patience and fortitude.

At the funeral there were present representatives of three Historical Societies, Miss FitzGibbon and McCallum of the Woman's Historical Society, Toronto; Canon Bull of Hamilton, his old friend of the Lundy's Lane His. So., and many ladies and gentlemen of the Niagara Historical Society, of which he was the patron. The services were conducted by the Rev. J. C. Garrett and Rev. Canon Bull. The pall bearers were: Messrs. Thonger, Ball, Eckersley, Servos, Ruthven and Blake. The mourners were: Mr. John Kirby and his two sons, Mr. George Whitmore, Mr. P. Servos, Mr. L. Servos, Mr. James and Rev. A. Dawson. Flowers were sent by the Toronto and Niagara Historical Societies. Mr. Kirby, in accordance with his retiring character, had expressed a wish that the funeral ceremonies should be of the simplest character.

The following inscription has been placed on a mural tablet in St. Mark's Church:

"In memory of Wm. Kirby, F.R.S.C., for twenty-four years Collector of Customs for Niagara, the author of *Le Chien D'Or* (The Golden Dog) Canadian Idylls, and other works of just repute. A true man, with the loyalty, courage and spirit of his race. Born at Hull, Yorkshire, the 13th of October, 1817; died at Niagara, the 23rd of June, 1906. Also in memory of his dear wife, Elizabeth Magdalene Whitmore, U.E.L., born in Niagara Township the 11th of August, 1817; died at Niagara the fifth of June, 1891."