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The
United Empire Loyalists
Association
OF ONTARIO.

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*Annual Transactions.*

MARCH 9, 1899.

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## The United Empire Loyalists' Association.

"United Empire Loyalists" are "those persons who remained faithful to the British Crown during and after the revolutionary war in America," or, to be more precise, 1—"the families who adhered to the Unity of the Empire and joined the Royal Standard in America before the Treaty of Separation in the year 1783." [*Order of Council passed at Quebec 9th November, 1789.*]

2.—"Those who, both at and after the revolution, were, in consequence of their loyalty, driven out of the revolted States, or found continued residence in those States to be intolerable by reason of the persecutions to which they were subjected, or voluntarily withdrew therefrom in order to reside under the flag to which they desired that they and their children should remain forever loyal;" and 3, "Their posterity." [*Order in Council above referred to.*]

The eldest or adult members of United Empire Loyalist families who settled in Canada, for the most part passed away in the next few succeeding years after their arrival.

It was their sons mainly who preserved this country to the British Crown in the War of 1812-14.

The grandchildren of the original U.E. Loyalists are becoming fewer in number year by year. The fourth generation are the men and women of the present day.

The descendants of the U.E. Loyalists are now widely dispersed, some are building up new provinces in what but a few years ago was the illimitable wilderness of the North West, whilst others are scattered throughout the world.

Some few (a very few, it is to be feared), still retain the original homestead granted by the Crown to their forefathers.

But few records of the first U.E. Loyalists, their previous homes and histories, their individual experiences, and the circumstances attending their settlement in Canada, having been preserved by their families, so far as is known, such things being gradually dispersed and lost in various ways, it was felt that unless some systematic effort was made to gather together the fragments, which might yet be found, every trace of them would in time be lost, excepting such as are fortunately preserved in the public archives—and which are for the most part meagre and inadequate fitly to represent and illustrate the inner life, if such an expression may be used, of the U.E. Loyalist emigration, as an historical event without precedent or parallel.

With the object, therefore, of organizing the means of preserving such historic records, with also that of keeping bright the spirit of loyalty in the inheritors of so noble an ancestry, the formation of this association was resolved upon, and the initial steps towards that end were taken at a meeting, called by Mr. William Hamilton Merritt and others, and held in the Canadian Institute, February 28th, 1896.

Mr. Allan McLean Howard was appointed Chairman, and Mr. Merritt, Secretary, pro tem.

The following Committee was also appointed to draft a Constitution:

Mr. McLean Howard, Mr. Merritt, Mrs. Hicks, Miss Merritt, Mr. S. C. Biggs, Mr. H. H. Cook, Lt.-Col. George A. Shaw, Mr. Charles E. Ryerson, and Dr. George S. Ryerson, and thus was formed "The United Empire Loyalist Association of Ontario," the first general meeting of which was held at the same place May 11th, 1896. The Honourable John Beverley Robinson was unanimously elected President, and Mr. William Hamilton Merritt, Secretary. Much was expected from Mr. Robinson in this position, because of the prominence of his official and social position, his long experience of public life, and because he was known to be well versed in matters appertaining to the early history of this country, and took a keen interest in everything connected therewith. But it was otherwise ordered, and under circumstances of an almost tragic nature, whilst preparing to speak at a great public meeting. Mr. Robinson died, June 19th, 1896. In him the Association lost an unselfish and patriotic friend, and an eminent President. Dr. George Sterling Ryerson was elected President in his place, and continued in office until March, 1898, when he was succeeded by Mr. Herman Henry Cook, now in office.

An interesting circumstance connected with the formation of the Association and the election of its officers is worthy of special mention. It was ascertained that at this late date, one hundred and thirteen years after the close of the revolutionary war, there still survived several sons and daughters of U.E.

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Loyalists who served in that war. It was felt that the Association would be honouring itself by appropriately recognizing these men and women, and they were accordingly elected honorary vice-presidents of the Association.

A branch of the U.E. Loyalist Association has been formed at Virgil, of which Capt. John D. Servos is the President.

It has been decided that the Six Nations Indians of the Grand River and Tyendinaga (Bay of Quinte) Reserve, whose migration to Canada was under the same circumstances, and simultaneous with that of the U.E. Loyalists, shall be considered as branch associations. Chief Jacob Salem Johnson, Kahnokwenyah, of the former; and Chief Samson Green, Annosothkah, of the latter, have been elected honorary vice-presidents as representatives in each case of such branches, and presented by the general association with commemorative silver medals to be worn by them and their successors in office.

The Association is not only non-political, as its constitution declares, but it is also wholly untrammelled by social considerations, and differs from the principal hereditary or historical associations elsewhere, in that it makes no requirement of social status as a condition of membership.

The constitution and by-laws as now printed, embracing certain further amendments since made, were revised in April, 1897, by a special committee consisting of the President, Dr. Ryerson; the Vice-President, Mr. Allan McLean Howard; the Secretary, Mr. William Hamilton Merritt; the Honorary Legal Adviser, Mr. E. M. Chadwick; the Executive Committee: Messrs. H. H. Cook, Stephen M. Jarvis, Eugene A. Maclaurin, Charles E. Ryerson, Lt.-Col. Shaw, the Rev. W. S. Ball, the Rev. C. E. Thomson, with the addition of Mr. William Roaf.

The Order in Council above referred to is as follows:—

Whereas it is recorded that at the Council Chambers at Quebec, on Monday, 9th November, 1789, His Excellency the Right Honourable Lord Dorchester intimated to the Council that it was his wish to put a mark of honour upon the families who had adhered to the unity of the Empire, and joined the Royal Standard in America before the Treaty of Separation in the year 1783, the Council concurring with His Lordship, it is accordingly ordered, 'That the Several Land Boards take course

for preserving a registry of the names of all persons falling under the description aforementioned, to the end that their posterity may be discriminated from the future settlers, in the parish registers and rolls of the militia of their respective districts and other public remembrances of the Provinces, as proper objects, by their persevering in the fidelity and conduct so honourable in their ancestors, for distinguished benefits and privileges.

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# Constitution and By-Laws.

## Name and Chief Seat

I. The organization shall be known as the "United Empire Loyalist Association of Ontario," hereinafter referred to as the General Association, and its chief seat shall be at Toronto.

## Branches.

II. Branches of the Association may be established at any place in the Province of Ontario, where, in the opinion of the Executive Committee, it is deemed advisable, and the President of such branch shall be *ex officio* a Vice-President of the General Association.

Members of such branches shall be entitled to the same privileges as Associate Members of the General Association.

## Objects.

III. The objects of the Association shall be—

(a) To unite together, irrespective of creed or political party, the descendants of those families who, during the American Revolutionary War of 1775 to 1783, sacrificed their homes in retaining their loyalty to the British Crown, and to perpetuate this spirit of loyalty to the Empire.

(b) To preserve the history and traditions of that important epoch in Canadian history, by rescuing from oblivion the history and traditions of the Loyalist families before it is too late.

(c) To collect together in a suitable place the portraits, relics, and documents relating to the United Empire Loyalists, which are now scattered throughout the Dominion.

(d) To publish an historical and genealogical journal, or annual transactions.

## Qualification for Membership.

IV. All persons of either sex resident in Ontario, or in any province or elsewhere where there is no United Empire Loyalist Association, who can trace their lineal descent, by either male or female line from the United Empire Loyalists, shall be eligible for ordinary membership. The wives or husbands of ordinary members, who are not otherwise qualified for membership, may be elected Associate members, but are not entitled to vote.

Members under the age of 17 are not entitled to vote. Charter members shall be those members who joined prior to and including the regular meeting in April, 1897. They shall have the letter "C" placed after their names on the roll of members.

Members of branches become *ipso facto* Associate Members of the General Association, but will not be entitled to notice of meetings. They may become Ordinary Members on payment of fifty cents to the General Association, after their application has been approved of by the Investigating Committee.

#### Election of Members.

V. A form of recommendation for admission, signed by two members, shall be forwarded to the Secretary, and by him laid before the committee appointed for the purpose of investigating the qualifications of applicants for membership.

If at the next or any subsequent regular meeting the report of this committee is satisfactory the person shall be declared elected, unless a ballot is called for, and a majority shall elect.

The Association shall have power at a Special General Meeting called for that purpose to expel any member, for cause shown, by a three-fourths majority of those present.

#### Fees.

VI. The annual membership and associate membership fee shall be one dollar. A family—viz., husband, wife and children residing at home—shall pay two dollars per annum; non-resident membership fee, fifty cents, payable in advance.

The annual fees shall be due on the second Thursday in March in each year.

Any member or associate member being one year in arrear may be struck off the list of members by the Executive Committee.

No member shall be entitled to vote at election of officers who is more than one year in arrear for dues.

Any person eligible may become a life member by paying the sum of \$15, and shall be exempt from further payments.

#### Officers.

VII. The office-bearers shall consist of a President, five Vice-Presidents, one of whom shall be a lady elected by the Ladies' Committee as their presiding officer, and the Presidents of Branches, who are *ex-officio* Vice-Presidents, Secretary-Treasurer, and Assistant Secretary, who may be a lady.

#### Honorary Vice-Presidents and Members.

VIII. (a) All sons and daughters of United Empire Loyalists now living shall be Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Association.

(b) Distinguished men and women, descendants of United Empire Loyalists, non-resident in the Province, may be elected by a majority of those present at a meeting, as Honorary Vice-Presidents; such Vice-Presidents shall not be liable for the annual fee.

(c) Members of the Association, gentlemen or ladies, who, in the opinion of a two-third majority of the meeting, have rendered distinguished service to the Association may be elected Honorary Members. The name of such member or Honorary Vice-President must be proposed and seconded at a regular meeting at least four weeks before the date of election.

### The Executive Committee

IX. Shall consist of seven members, to be elected at the annual meeting, three of whom shall form a quorum, and shall manage the affairs of the Association. The President and Vice-Presidents (actual and *ex-officio*) and Secretary-Treasurer shall be *ex-officio* members of this committee.

The two members of this Executive Committee and the four members of the Ladies' Committee whose names appear first (right and left) in the list shall retire annually, but shall be eligible for re-election at the next following meeting.

### The Investigating Committee

X. Shall consist of three members, two of whom shall form a quorum. All persons nominated for membership shall be favourably reported upon by them before being elected to membership by the Association.

### The Ladies' Committee

XI. Shall consist of twelve members, five of whom shall form a quorum. They shall arrange all matters submitted to them by the Association or by the Executive Committee, to whom they shall respectively report.

### Election of Officers and Committees.

XII. All Officers and Standing Committees of the Association shall be elected at the annual meeting, or as soon thereafter as conveniently may be, if for any reason such election cannot take place at the annual meeting. And such officers and Committees shall hold office until the next annual meeting, or until their successors are elected; vacancies occurring during the year may be filled by election as may be required. Special Committees may be appointed at any regular or special general meeting. Where it is not otherwise stated the officers and members of Committees shall be gentlemen.

The Past President shall be an *ex-officio* member of the Execu-

tive Committee, and the past Lady Vice-President shall be an *ex-officio* member of the Ladies' Committee for one year after they cease to hold their offices.

Nominations for all Offices and the Standing Committees of the Association shall be made one month prior to the annual meeting. All Officers and Standing Committees of the Association shall be elected by ballot at the annual meeting, but where only one name for any office, or only the required number to compose any Standing Committee have been placed in nomination, a ballot shall not be taken, but the person or persons so nominated shall be declared duly elected.

The President may be re-elected for one additional term, but he cannot retain office for more than two years in succession.

#### Duties of Officers.

XIII. The President shall be chairman of all meetings at which he shall be present, and in his absence, one of the Vice-Presidents shall take the chair.

In the absence of the Vice-Presidents, the members present shall elect a chairman for the meeting.

XIV. The Secretary-Treasurer shall hold in trust the funds of the Association, which shall be deposited in the name of the Association in a bank approved by the Committee. He shall receive all moneys, pay all accounts that are properly certified as correct, and shall present, when required, from time to time a statement of accounts.

XV. The Secretary-Treasurer or the Assistant Secretary shall attend all meetings, shall take the minutes of the proceedings, shall be responsible for the safe custody of all papers, books, and other property, and under the direction of the Executive Committee shall conduct the general business of the Association.

#### Meetings.

XVI. The annual general meeting for the election of office bearers, and the transaction of the business of the Association, shall be held in the city of Toronto, on the date of the regular meeting in March in each year.

The regular meetings shall be held on the second Thursday in every month, except during such summer months as may be thought desirable not to meet by the members present at the regular meeting in May.

Meetings may be held at such an hour and place as the Executive Committee appoints, of which due notice shall be sent to every member.

XVII. General meetings other than the regular monthly meetings may be called for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the transaction of business.

The business or subject for discussion shall be specified in the special notice convening such a meeting, which shall be sent to every member. Such a special meetings may be called at any time by the President, or in his absence by the Executive Committee.

XVIII. Extraordinary or urgent business may be transacted at any meeting without special notice, when considered absolutely necessary by a three-fourths majority of those present.

XIX. At all general meetings, whether special or annual, fifteen members shall form a quorum.

#### Papers.

XX. Papers on subjects relating to the objects of the Association, and to cognate subjects, may be read by members, or by others who may be requested to do so, at any regular meeting, or any special meeting, called for this purpose.

Papers shall not exceed twenty minutes in length, but the time for reading may be extended by vote of the members.

All papers read shall become the property of the Association.

#### Order of Business.

- XXI. 1. Reading of Minutes.
2. Reading of Correspondence.
3. Passing of Accounts.
4. Propositions for Membership.
5. Reports of Committees.
6. Election to Membership.
7. Notices of Motion.
8. General Business.
9. Election of Officers.
10. Reading of Papers.

#### Amendments to the Constitution and By-laws.

XXII. The foregoing Constitution and By-laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote of any meeting, but notice of motion for such amendment must be given at least four weeks previous to the discussion of the same, of which notice the Secretary shall duly inform every member.

## Officers for the year ending March 9th, 1899.

### President.

HERMAN HENRY COOK, ESQ

### Vice-Presidents.

|                                                |                     |
|------------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| ALLAN MCLEAN HOWARD, ESQ.                      | HON. DAVID TISDALE. |
| JOHN A. MACDONELL, Q.C., Alexandria.           | LIEUT.-COL. SHAW    |
| JOHN D. SERVOS, ESQ., President Virgil Branch. | LADY EDGAR.         |

### Honorary Vice-Presidents

(Distinguished Descendants of U. E. Loyalists)

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF CARNWATH.  
 THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR HUGH GUION MACDONELL, K.C.M.G.,  
 C.B., H. B. M. Minister to Portugal.  
 THE HONOURABLE SIR CHARLES H. TUPPER, K.C.M.G., Q.C., M.P.  
 THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD HALIBURTON, of Windsor, in Nova  
 Scotia.  
 MAJOR-GENERAL CHARLES W. ROBINSON, C.B.  
 SIR RODERICK W. CAMERON.  
 LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES CRUTCHLEY (late Scots Guards) D.A.A.G.,  
 War Office, London.  
 CHIEF JACOB SALEM JOHNSON, KAHNONKWENYAH.  
 CHIEF SAMSON GREEN, ANNOSOTHKAH.  
 MRS. ST. GEORGE LITTLEDALE.  
 LADY DILKE.

### Honorary Vice-Presidents.

(Surviving Sons and Daughters of Original U. E. Loyalists)

PEREGRINE OTWAY PAGE, Esq, Ridgeway.  
 GRANT POWELL, Esq., Ottawa.  
 ALEXANDER MACDONELL, Esq., Toronto.  
 CLARKE GAMBLE, Esq., Q.C., London, Ont  
 THOMAS C. KEEFER, Esq., C.M.G., Rockcliffe, Ottawa.  
 ALEXANDER MAITLAND SECOR, Esq, Toronto.  
 MRS. J. Y CAMERON, Toronto.    MRS. SEYMOUR, Ottawa.  
 MISS SEYMOUR, Ottawa.        MRS. MACKELLAR, North Bay.  
 MRS. JOHN RIDOUT, Toronto.    MRS. J. THORBURN, Ottawa.  
 MRS. JOHN MACDONALD, Gananoque.

**Honorary Secretary-Treasurer.**

WILLIAM HAMILTON MERRITT, 15 Toronto Street.

**Honorary Assistant Secretary.**

MRS. CLARKSON, 131 Beverley Street.

**Executive Committee.**

MESSRS. E. A. MACLAURIN.

DAVID KEMP.

C. E. RYERSON.

REV. C. THOMSON.

WILLIAM ROAF.

C. C. ROBINSON.

ALFRED WILLSON.

**Investigating Committee**

MESSRS. A. McLEAN HOWARD. W. H. EAKINS. JOHN McBEAN.

**Honorary Legal Adviser.**

E. M. CHADWICK, Esq.

**Ladies' Committee.**

LADY EDGAR, Vice-President.

MRS IRELAND.

MRS. MONTGOMERY BRERETON.

" LAW.

" HENRY CAWTHRA.

" RYERSON.

" DUNN.

MISS L. CLARKE.

" FORSYTH-GRANT.

" DICKSON.

" GRANT MACDONALD.

" MERRITT.

**Officers for the present year are as follows :****President.**

HERMAN HENRY COOK, ESQ.

**Vice Presidents.**

ALLAN McLEAN HOWARD, ESQ.

HON. DAVID TISDALE.

JOHN A. MACDONELL, Q.C.,

LIEUT.-COL. SHAW.

Alexandria.

MRS. GRANT MACDONALD.

CAPTAIN JOHN D. SERVOS, President Virgil Branch.

**Honorary Secretary-Treasurer.**

WM. HAMILTON MERRITT, Esq., 15 Toronto Street.

**Honorary Assistant Secretary.**

MRS. CLARKSON, 131 Beverley Street.

**Executive Committee.**

MESSRS. R. E. A. LAND.      The REV. C. E. THOMSON.  
 WILLIAM ROAF.              DR. NEVILLE PARKER.  
 ALFRED WILLSON.          DAVID KEMP.  
 E. A. MACLAURIN.

**Investigating Committee.**

MESSRS. ALLAN McLEAN HOWARD. W. H. EAKINS. JOHN McBEAN.

**Ladies' Committee.**

MRS. HENRY CAWTHRA.      MRS. RYERSON.  
 " DUNN.                      MISS CLARKE.  
 " FORSYTH GRANT.          " DICKSON.  
 " GRANT MACDONALD.      " MERRITT.  
 " DIGNAM.                    MRS. HICKS.  
 " BRERETON.                 " IRELAND.

and the past Vice-President, LADY EDGAR.

The following report was presented at the annual meeting, held March 9th, 1899, in the public hall of the Educational Department:

Your Committee reports that this Association has increased in membership for this, the second year of its existence, in a most satisfactory manner, whereas 165 members were reported at the last annual meeting, the membership has now increased to 317.

The certificates of membership, designed by the Honorary Legal Adviser, Mr. Chadwick, and approved of by the General Association at the meeting held April 14th, 1898, are now issued to all members upon payment of their first annual membership fee.

Some discussion having taken place as to the right of some members of this Association to belong to it, your Committee reports that from its formation the utmost care and formality have been observed upon this point.

No member possesses a certificate of membership whose application form has not been passed by the Investigating Committee. This Committee has met shortly before each monthly meeting, and only those proposed members declared elected, whose application forms have been signed by its chairman, Mr. Allan McLean Howard.

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The "Constitution and By-laws" as amended were formally adopted by the General Association at the meeting held April 14th, 1898.

A deputation from this Association waited upon His Worship, the Mayor of Toronto, April 19th, 1898, to request that flags might be displayed upon the public buildings on May 18th, this Association having decided to join with those in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Quebec in celebrating the landing of the U.E. Loyalists upon that anniversary in St. John, New Brunswick, then called "Parr Town, Nova Scotia," in 1783.

A deputation also waited upon the Honourable the Minister of Education, to request that flags might be displayed on Public School buildings on that day. Both requests were granted, consequently on May 18th, the flags were hoisted on these buildings and many citizens joined in the celebration, showing their approval of the movement by having their own flags put up.

Through the courtesy of the President and members of the Canadian Institute, from the formation of the Association, February 26th, 1896, until May, 1898, the meetings were held in the building belonging to them.

Having outgrown the accommodation afforded there, by kind permission of the Minister of Education, the meetings since May, 1898, have been held in the Public Hall of the Educational Department.

In pursuance of a resolution, carried by the Association, a communication was sent to the Honourable the Minister of Agriculture requesting that in the next general census for the Dominion of Canada, a special column might be placed wherein those of U.E. Loyalist descent may enter the fact. An answer has been received that the matter will receive most careful consideration.

That the loyalty of the Indians might be fully recognized by this Association, and in accordance with a resolution moved by the Secretary, Mr. W. Hamilton Merritt, that Chief Johnson, Kahnonkwenyah, be elected Honorary Vice-President to represent the Six Nations Indians of the Grand River Reservation, and Chief Samson Green, Annosothkah, be elected Honorary Vice-President to represent the Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte of the Tyendinaga Reserve, and carried, in May silver medals were presented to these Chiefs by the General Association to be worn by them and their successors in office.

By a clause in the Constitution admitting "all who have done the Association distinguished service" to honorary membership, this distinction has been offered to Sir John G. Bourinot, K.C.M.G., and Dr. Canniff, of Gravenhurst, and by them accepted.

This Association acting in connection with the various His-

torical Societies throughout the Province passed a resolution protesting against the erection of a monument in Quebec to General Richard Montgomery.

A resolution was passed approving of the introduction of the Imperial Penny Postage at Christmas, 1898. Copies were sent to Mr. Henniker Heaton; the Duke of Norfolk, Postmaster General of Great Britain; and the Hon. William Mulock, Postmaster General of the Dominion of Canada.

Resolutions of congratulation upon the honours conferred upon them by Her Majesty on the occasion of her birthday, May 24th, were sent to Lord Haliburton of Windsor in Nova Scotia; Sir John G. Bourinot, K.C.M.G.; Lady Edgar; and Dr. Parkin, C.M.G.

On June 18 and 19 an excursion to Deseronto and Adolphustown took place, an account of which will be found amongst the papers published in the "Annual Transactions" for 1898. Addresses of welcome were presented by the members of the Mohawk Band of Indians of the Bay of Quinte and by the U.E. Loyalists of Adolphustown and the surrounding district. Since then the Association has been presented by the Rev. R. S. Forneri, Rector of St. Alban's U.E. Loyalist Memorial Church at Adolphustown, with three framed photographs of the church, and as a result of the visit, Mr. Forneri reports orders received by him for twelve new memorial tablets, to be erected in that church by descendants of U.E. Loyalists, not as yet represented therein.

In accordance with an invitation extended by the Royal Society to send a delegate to the meeting held in Ottawa May 24th, the Executive Committee appointed the Secretary, Mr. Wm. Hamilton Merritt, to represent the Association. He had the honour of presenting a paper; this paper has been printed in the "Annual Transactions of the Royal Society," a volume which is sent to every library of any note throughout the world. By this means the working and aim of the U.E. Loyalists' Associations in Canada will be made known to descendants of U.E. Loyalists who may now be scattered in many remote parts of the habitable globe.

The first volume of Annual Transactions was issued in December, 1898, presenting the papers read at the meetings to all the members. The appearance of the pamphlet has been approved of and in addition to those issued free to members—one copy with each paid subscription, and six extra copies to all who have contributed a paper—many have been sold by the Assistant Secretary, in whose hands this matter has been left.

In Ottawa, on May 10th, the President, Mr. H. H. Cook, and the Secretary, Mr. Wm. Hamilton Merritt, were received by a member of the Government, and, through his instrumentality had an interview with Lord Aberdeen, then Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada, who appeared to be in sympathy with

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the movement as to the matter of the recommendation by the Government of the accordance of a right to wear a distinctive badge by the members of the Association, but as yet no definite information concerning its favorable consideration by Her Majesty has been received.

On December 16th, being the first occasion of a visit to Toronto by His Excellency the Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada, and the Countess of Minto, who had previously accepted honorary membership in the Association in most gracious terms, the President, Mr. H. H. Cook, was received by their Excellencies at Government House. They were also pleased to inscribe their autographs in the Roll Book of the Association.

Whilst so many members have been added to the lists, your Committee desires to announce with regret that in the death of an Honorary Vice-President, Mrs. McBean, and of Mrs. Edward Harris of Port Dover, and Mr. D. G. Macdonald of Massey Station, Algoma District, the Association has lost three of its first and most esteemed members.

Interest in the Association has been sustained, and many new members thereby added to its list, by the practice of sending the Toronto daily newspaper containing the best account of the monthly meeting to all the non-resident members, after each meeting has taken place.

The papers read for the year are as follows:—

"Some Loyalist Homes," and "Our First Excursion," by Mrs. Forsyth Grant.

"Some incidents in the life of an early settler in the Niagara Peninsula," by Surgeon-Major Keefer.

"Memoir of Captain Samuel Anderson," by Mrs. Rowe.

"Sketch of the life of the Honourable Henry Ruttan," by the Rev. C. E. Thomson.

"Character of the United Empire Loyalists and their place in Canadian History," by the Honourable the Minister of Education, Dr. G. W. Ross.

"Sketch of the Secord family, 1775 to 1866," by Mrs. Dunn.

A gift to the Association of the genealogy of his family by Judge Pringle, of Cornwall, has been made; the book, "Country Life in Canada, fifty years ago," by Canniff Haight, has been presented by Mr. R. E. Kingsford; a handsome donation from Lady Dilke, 76 Sloane St., London, England, has been received by your Committee with much gratitude; the "Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada," for 1897 have been received; and a purchase has been made of the following books for the library of the Association, "Proceedings of Public Meetings;" by Sir John G. Bourinot; "The People of the Long House," by E. M. Chadwick; "The Parliamentary Companion," "The Canadian Magazine," for the current year containing the articles entitled "Makers of the Dominion," by Sir John G. Bourinot.

Contribution to the Royal Society of Canada on the  
United Empire Loyalist Associations in Canada.

BY MR. WM. HAMILTON MERRITT.

The formation of societies composed of the descendants of United Empire Loyalists should be viewed with favour by Canadians, whether from a purely Canadian or from an Imperial point of view.

Though the immediate object of the formation of these societies may be to preserve records and interesting information which otherwise must be forgotten, yet purely loyal and patriotic societies of this character might well be felt at times of national peril.

A great many people do not know who United Empire Loyalists are, except that they were people who left the United States at the time of the Revolutionary War, and received grants of land in Canada.

The charter of United Empire Loyalists may be said to lie in a certain Order in Council suggested by His Excellency the Right Hon. Lord Dorchester, and passed at the Council Chamber in Quebec, on Monday, November 9th, 1789. The following is the authentic record of part of the minutes of Council:—

“His Lordship intimated to Council that it was his wish to put a mark of honour upon the families who had adhered to the unity of the Empire, and joined the Royal Standard in America before the Treaty of Separation in the year 1783.”

The Council concurring with His Lordship, it is accordingly ordered:—

“That the several Land Boards take course for preserving a registry of the names of all persons falling under the description aforementioned, to the end that their posterity may be discriminated from future settlers in the Parish Registers, and Rolls of the Militia of their respective districts, and other public remembrances of the Province, as proper objects by their persevering in the fidelity and conduct so honourable to their ancestors, for distinguished benefits and privileges.”

The lists which were prepared, and which are still in existence, are taken as authentic lists of United Empire Loyalists, for, owing to the fact that a free grant of land was given, it is unlikely that there were many entitled to it who did not accept the gift from the Crown.

The various United Empire Loyalist societies have copies of the lists issued in their part of the country, and investigating committees in connection with these societies determine whether applicants are entitled to membership through their descent from United Empire Loyalists.

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There are four United Empire Loyalist societies at present in Canada, viz. :—

1. The New Brunswick Loyalist Society, for the Province of New Brunswick.

2. The United Empire Loyalist Association of Nova Scotia, for the Province of Nova Scotia.

3. The United Empire Loyalist Association of Montreal, for the Province of Quebec.

4. The United Empire Loyalist Association of Ontario, for the Province of Ontario.

A feature of the United Empire Loyalist Associations is that female as well as male descendants transmit the United Empire Loyalist strain ; therefore, provision is made for representation by ladies and gentlemen. In the Ontario Association each have their own separate committees, and this arrangement is found to work very satisfactorily.

The Government of Ontario has wisely recognized the value of preserving records, and has put \$150.00 in the estimates for this purpose. If the liberality of the Government is continued year by year, it is hoped that a creditable annual publication will be made by the society.

Should each of the other societies obtain like assistance from their Provincial Governments, a valuable compilation of United Empire Loyalist subjects will be effected.

The New Brunswick Society has four quarterly meetings (exclusive of the anniversary meeting), held on first Tuesday in February, May, August, and November. The Nova Scotia Society meets quarterly. The Quebec Society has monthly meetings, held on the first Monday of each month except June, July, August, and September.

The meetings of the Ontario Association are held monthly from October until June. They have always been largely attended. The papers read at these meetings are of unusual interest, and, when printed, will form a valuable addition to the history of this country.

The 18th of May has been adopted by the United Empire Loyalist societies as United Empire Loyalist day. On that day, in 1783, the Loyalists, to the number of three thousand and more, who were brought by British warships to Parrtown, Nova Scotia, (now St. John, New Brunswick), met together on shore for general thanksgiving and worship, it being the first Sunday after their arrival.

The descendants of the Loyalists in New Brunswick have ever since observed this anniversary, and as it has been adopted by the other societies, it may now be considered the United Empire Loyalist Day throughout Canada. On this day the flags are hoisted on public buildings and on the schools. In Ontario, the Minister of Education has consented to the afternoon of that day

being devoted in the schools to appropriate recitations and readings, and, in order to impress it upon the youngest mind present, instructions have been given that the schools can be dismissed one hour earlier.

It is understood that if the 18th of May falls upon a Sunday, that the celebration shall take place on the Monday following.

On June 16th, the Ontario Association proposes to visit Adolphustown; that day being the anniversary of the landing of the United Empire Loyalists at that place in 1784.

*New Brunswick.*

The Province of New Brunswick Society was formed in May, 1883; re-organized May 13th, 1889, and consists of 150 members.

Its officers are:—

President, William Bayard, M.D. Edin.

Vice-Presidents, Alfred A. Stockton, D.C.L., LL.D., Q.C., M.P.P.; William Stennett Harding, M.R.C.S. Eng.; William P. Dole, M.A.

Chaplain, Rev. William Odbur Raymond, M.A.

Historian, James Hannay.

Corresponding Secretary, David Hoyt Waterbury, J.P.

Recording Secretary, Charles Abner McDonald, B.A.

Treasurer, Isaac Hanford Northrop.

Marshals, Jacob Day Underhill, Lieut.-Colonel (retired); William Cunard, Lieut.-Colonel (retired).

Executive Committee, A. O. Earle, Esq.; J. O. Belyea, Esq.; Judson Fowler, Esq.; D. J. Seeley, Esq.; J. S. Flaglor, Esq.; W. E. Vroom, Esq.; J. Drake, Esq.; Jas. Anderson, Esq.; W. S. Fisher, Esq.

*Nova Scotia.*

The Province of Nova Scotia Society was formed on May 11th, 1897, and comprises 30 members.

Its officers consist of the following:—

President, Hon. Alfred Gilpin Jones.

Vice-Presidents, Hon. William T. Almon, Senator; Mrs. Anne McCauley, William Chamberlain Silver, Esq., Rev. Dr. T. Watson Smith.

Corresponding Secretary, Miss Amelia Fitch.

Secretary-Treasurer, Harry Piers, Esq.

Executive Committee, Charles F. Fraser, R. J. Wilson, Lt.-Col. James D. Irving, D. A. G., C. Sydney Harrington, Q.C.

Investigating Committee, Mrs. W. H. Harrington, Charles F. Fraser, Esq.

Ladies' Committee, Mrs. Albert Hensley, Mrs. T. Forbes, Mrs. James S. Thompson.

Legal Adviser, C. S. Harrington, Esq., Q.C.

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*Quebec.*

The Province of Quebec Association was formed May 1st, 1895, and consists of 35 members.

Its officers are:—

Hon. Presidents, Sir Wm. Johnston, Bart.; Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière, K.C.M.G.

President, Hon. Jonathan Saxton Campbell Wurtele, Judge of the Court of Queen's Bench, Officer of the Legion of Honour in France.

1st Vice-President, George Durnford.

2nd Vice-President, James Alexander Lawrason Strathy, A.D.C., Lieut.-Colonel 5th Royal Scots of Canada.

Treasurer, Frederick Albert Lawton Lockhart, M.D.

Secretary, John Charles Alison Heriot, Lieutenant 6th Fusiliers, Active Militia.

Archivist, Rev. John Burke Pyke, M.A.

Council—Ladies: Mrs. W. Mussen, Mrs. F. W. May, Mrs. H. G. Frost, Miss Branchaud, Miss Durnford; Gentlemen: Robert C. Wilkins, L. J. Skaife, W. Chase Thomson, Dr. J. M. Mount, D. Augevine.

*Ontario.*

The United Empire Loyalist Association of Ontario was formed in Toronto, February 28th, 1896. It has been incorporated. The present membership is 250.

The present officers are mentioned elsewhere in this publication.

[Report presented May 23, 1898.]

## LIST OF MEMBERS.

### Honorary Members.

His Excellency the Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada  
and the Countess of Minto.

The Right Honourable the Earl of Aberdeen and the  
Countess of Aberdeen.

Sir John G. Bourinot, K.C.M.G., LL.D., D.C.L., D.L.

Miss Jane H. Jarvis.

Dr. Canniff, Gravenhurst.

The Honourable A. S. Hardy, Attorney-General.

### Life Member.

Mr. Wm. Hamilton Merritt.

### Members.

- |                                                        |                                               |
|--------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| The Hon. Geo. W. Allan, c<br>Moss Park.                | Dr. Horatio C. Burritt,<br>86 Wellesley St.   |
| Mr. D. O. Brooke, c<br>260 Jarvis St.                  | Mrs. H. C. Burritt,<br>86 Wellesley St.       |
| Mrs. Brereton, c<br>208 Dovercourt Rd.                 | Miss Florence B. Burritt,<br>86 Wellesley St. |
| Mr. Frederick A. Brereton, c<br>208 Dovercourt Rd.     | Miss Georgina M. Burritt,<br>86 Wellesley St. |
| Mr. Herbert C. Brereton, c<br>208 Dovercourt Rd.       | Mr. Horace W. Burritt,<br>86 Wellesley St.    |
| Miss Louise V. Brereton, c<br>208 Dovercourt Rd.       | Mr. M. Stanley Boehm,<br>284 Wellesley St.    |
| Miss M. M. Brereton,<br>208 Dovercourt Rd.             | Mr. Charles A. Boehm,<br>187 College St.      |
| Mrs. Harry Brock, c<br>216 Beverley St.                | Mr. Jesse F. Byam,<br>87 Homewood Ave.        |
| Miss Bethune,<br>184 College St.                       | Mrs. Constantine C. Brough,<br>68 D'Arcy St.  |
| Mrs. J. H. Burnham, c<br>132 St. George St.            | Mrs. Henry Cawthra, c<br>Yeadon Hall.         |
| The Rev. Arthur Baldwin, c<br>114 Pembroke St.         | Miss Grace Cawthra, c<br>Yeadon Hall.         |
| Mrs. H. C. R. Becher, c<br>Sylvan Towers,<br>Rosedale. | Mr. Victor Cawthra, c<br>Yeadon Hall.         |
| Mrs. S. J. Brett,<br>30 Bloor St. e.                   | Miss Laura Clarke, c<br>32 Division St.       |
| Miss H. E. Bastedo,<br>Manning Arcade:                 | Mr. H. H. Cook, c<br>Ardnacloich.             |
|                                                        | Mrs. H. H. Cook,<br>Ardnacloich.              |

Mr. W  
Mrs. J  
Mrs. J  
Mr. C  
Miss M  
Miss F  
Mrs. C  
Miss I  
Miss L  
Miss A  
Mr. Sy  
Mr. Al  
Mr. Ce  
Mr. G.  
Miss H  
Mr. Ke  
Mr. Ric  
Mrs. Ca  
Mr. Fra  
Mr. F. J  
Miss Ma  
Miss Zo  
Miss Lil  
Mr. Alex

- Mr. W. H. Canniff.  
 Mrs. James Y. Cameron, c  
 497 Church St.  
 Mrs. B. R. Clarkson, c  
 131 Beverley St.  
 Mr. Cyril J. Clarkson, c  
 131 Beverley St.  
 Miss Nina Clarkson, c  
 131 Beverley St.  
 Miss Hilda Clarkson, c  
 131 Beverley St.  
 Mrs. Curran, c  
 75 Bellevue Place.  
 Miss Ida Caroline Curran,  
 75 Bellevue Place.  
 Miss Lillian Louise Curran,  
 75 Bellevue Place.  
 Miss Alma Hortense Curran,  
 75 Bellevue Place.  
 Mr. Sydney Edward Curran,  
 75 Bellevue Place.  
 Mr. Alfred James Curran,  
 75 Bellevue Place.  
 Mr. Cecil Nelson Batoche Curran,  
 75 Bellevue Place.  
 Mr. G. A. Chase,  
 36 Maitland St.  
 Miss Hanna Chase,  
 36 Maitland St.  
 Mr. Kenneth A. Chisholm,  
 Parliament Buildings.  
 Mr. Richard H. Coleman,  
 Canada Company.  
 Mrs. Carey,  
 454 Markham St.  
 Mr. Frank W. Carey,  
 454 Markham St.  
 Mr. F. Bruce Carey,  
 454 Markham St.  
 Miss Maud C. Carey,  
 454 Markham St.  
 Miss Zoe C. Carey,  
 454 Markham St.  
 Miss Lily A. S. Carey,  
 454 Markham St.  
 Mr. Alexander Clarke Casselman,  
 36 St. James Ave.
- Mrs. A. C. Casselman,  
 36 St. James Ave.  
 Mrs. Dunn, c  
 246 Bloor St. w.  
 Miss Florence Dunn, c  
 246 Bloor St. w.  
 Lt.-Col. George T. Denison, c  
 Heydon Villa.  
 Mrs. M. E. Dignam, c  
 284 St. George St.  
 Miss Frances Lillian Dignam,  
 284 St. George St.  
 Mr. William S. Trevelyan Dignam,  
 284 St. George St.  
 Mr. Hugh Molyneux Dignam,  
 284 St. George St.  
 Mrs. W. A. Douglas,  
 220 Wellesley St.  
 Lady Edgar, c  
 113 Bloor St. w.  
 Mr. W. H. Eakins, c  
 12 Madison Ave.  
 Mr. W. G. Eakins, c  
 102 Martland St.  
 Dr. W. S. Fraleigh,  
 596 College St.  
 Mr. Alexander Fraser, c  
 27 Harbord St.  
 Mrs. Forsyth Grant, c  
 Binscarth Rd.  
 Captain W. Forsyth Grant,  
 Binscarth Rd.  
 Miss Amy Grant, c  
 Peter St.  
 Mr. Columbus H. Greene, c  
 Mrs. Griffin, c  
 77 D'Arcy St.  
 Mr. Scott Griffin, c  
 77 D'Arcy St.  
 Mr. Clarke Gamble, c  
 Mrs. C. Brodie Glass,  
 24 Starr Ave.  
 Mr. Allan McLean Howard c  
 192 Carlton St.  
 The Rev. J. Scott Howard, c  
 192 Carlton St.

- Mr. A. McL. Howard, jr., c  
192 Carlton St.
- Miss Elizabeth Howard, c  
192 Carlton St.
- Miss Lucy Howard, c  
192 Carlton St.
- Mrs. Frederick Hills, c  
27 Bedford Rd.
- Mrs. Hicks, c  
57 Wilson Ave.
- Mr. Stephen A. Heward, c  
38 Peter St.
- Mr. Canniff Haight.
- The Hon. Richard Harcourt, c  
Parliament Buildings.
- Mrs. Hills, c  
340 Crawford St.
- Mr. Benjamin Hobart Hills,  
340 Crawford St.
- Miss Sarah Chapman Hills,  
340 Crawford St.
- Mr. Thomas Hills,  
11 Spencer Ave.
- Miss Jessie I. Hills,  
11 Spencer Ave.
- Miss Marjorie Elgin Hills,  
11 Spencer Ave.
- Mr. John Hills,  
11 Spencer Ave.
- Mr. Frederick Hills,  
11 Spencer Ave.
- Mrs. M. P. Home,  
73 Robert St.
- Mrs. J. Arthur Hetherington,  
68 Alexander St.
- Mrs. Alexander Ireland, c  
71 Bloor St. e.
- Mr. Alexander Lee Ireland, c  
71 Bloor St. e.
- Mr. Guy O'Neil Ireland, c  
71 Bloor St. e.
- Miss Harriette Rosamond Phillippa  
Ireland, c  
71 Bloor St. e.
- Miss Laura O'Neil Ireland,  
17 Prince Arthur Ave.
- Mr. Stephen M. Jarvis, c  
131 Beverley St.
- Mrs. Stephen M. Jarvis, c  
131 Beverley St.
- Miss Jane H. Jarvis, c  
154 Gerrard St. e.
- Dr. Ogden Jones, c  
Carlton St.
- Rev. William Jones, c  
Trinity College.
- Mr. Silas James, c  
77 Victoria St.
- Mr. Æmilius Jarvis, c  
Hazelburn.
- Mr. William Dummer Powell Jarvis,  
Hazelburn.
- Mr. Æmilius Irving Jarvis,  
Hazelburn.
- Miss Mary Powell Jarvis,  
Hazelburn.
- Miss Bertha Margaret Jarvis,  
Hazelburn.
- Miss Augusta Louisa Jarvis,  
Hazelburn.
- Mr. David Kemp, c  
31 St. Vincent St.
- Mrs. David Kemp,  
31 St. Vincent St.
- Mr. Edward Augustine Kemp, c  
31 St. Vincent St.
- Mr. John Colborne Kemp, c  
St. George St.
- Mrs. George Kerr, c  
14 Madison Ave.
- Mrs. Kingsmill,  
4 Grange Rd.
- Miss Sydney Kingsmill,  
4 Grange Rd.
- Miss Phyllis Kingsmill,  
4 Grange Rd.
- Mr. A. H. F. Lefroy, c
- Mrs. H. C. Lee, c  
71 Bloor St. e.
- Mrs. Law, c  
504 Sherbourne St.
- Mr. R. E. A. Land,  
138 Bedford Rd.

Miss C  
Miss V  
Mrs. I  
Miss F  
Miss C  
Mrs. M  
Mrs. S  
Mr. E  
Mrs. M  
Mr. H  
Mr. Ne  
Mrs. M  
Mr. Her  
Mrs. J.  
Mr. Ale  
Mr. Joh  
Mrs. Joh  
Miss Eli  
Mr. E. A  
Miss Mau  
Mr. Norm  
Miss Clar  
Mrs. Gran  
Dr. Overt

- Miss Charlotte E. Langmuir,  
116 Tyndall Ave.
- Miss Violet Langmuir,  
116 Tyndall Ave.
- Mrs. Merritt, c  
40 St. George St.
- Miss Emily Merritt, c  
40 St. George St.
- Miss Catherine Nina Merritt, c  
40 St. George St.
- Mrs. Murison, c  
23 Surrey Place.
- Mrs. Street Macklem, c  
Mr. Edmund Morris, c  
598 Spadina Ave.
- Mrs. Morris, c  
598 Spadina Ave.
- Mr. Harold Morris, c  
598 Spadina Ave.
- Mr. Nehemiah Merritt, c  
42 Cecil St.
- Mrs. Mack,  
187 St. Patrick St.
- Mr. Herbert M. Mowat,  
Government House.
- Mrs. J. H. Millar,  
119 Dowling Ave.
- Mr. Alexander Macdonell, c  
123 Huron St.
- Mr. John McBean, c  
163 Dowling Ave.
- Mrs. John McBean, c  
163 Dowling Ave.
- Miss Elizabeth McBean,  
161 Dowling Ave.
- Mr. E. A. Maclaurin, c  
713 Spadina Ave.
- Miss Maude Gwendolen Maclaurin,  
713 Spadina Ave.
- Mr. Norman Tempest Maclaurin, c  
713 Spadina Ave.
- Miss Clare Frances Maclaurin, c  
713 Spadina Ave.
- Mrs. Grant Macdonald, c  
329 College St.
- Dr. Overton F. Macdonald.
- Miss Helen Grant Macdonald.
- Miss Josephine Maccallum, c  
13 Bloor St. w.
- Mr. Oliver Macklem,  
The Glen, Rosedale.
- Mrs. J. K. Macdonald,  
33 Charles St.
- Miss Isabel Mackenzie,  
726 Spadina Ave.
- Mr. S. S. McDonell,  
52 St. George St.
- Mrs. Mackid  
51 Cowan Ave.
- Miss Florence Mary McDonell,  
52 St. George St.
- Miss Leila Margaret McDonell,  
52 St. George St.
- Mr. James Arthur Edward McDonell,  
52 St. George St.
- C. E. Macdonald, c  
25 Toronto St.
- Mr. Frank E. Macdonald,  
67 Wellington Place.
- Mrs. Frank E. Macdonald,  
67 Wellington Place.
- Mr. Francis Herman Cook Macdonald,  
67 Wellington Place.
- Mr. Hildreth H. Randolph Macdonald,  
67 Wellington Place.
- Mr. Donald Ryerson Macdonald,  
67 Wellington Place.
- Miss Marjorie Mildred Macdonald,  
67 Wellington Place.
- Mr. C. G. K. Nourse,  
Bank of Commerce.
- Mr. Arthur D. Pringle, c
- Mrs. R. A. Pyne, c  
263 Gerrard St. e.
- The Rev. Adam U. de Pencier,  
Howland Ave.
- Mr. E. A. C. Pew, c
- Mrs. Patriarche.
- Miss Plumb.
- Dr. Neville Parker,  
249 University Ave.

- Mr. William Playter,  
Confederation Life Ass'n
- Dr. L. L. Palmer,  
40 College St.
- Mrs. Edmund Phillips,  
55 Beverley St.
- Mrs. John Ridout, c  
Norwood,  
250 Rusholme Rd.
- Mr. Grant Ridout, c  
Norwood,  
250 Rusholme Rd.
- Mr. Charles E. Ryerson, c  
27 Cecil St.
- Mrs. C. E. Ryerson, c  
27 Cecil St.
- Mr. G. Egerton Ryerson, c  
27 Cecil St.
- Mrs. E. Stanley Ryerson, c  
27 Cecil St.
- Mr. John E. Ryerson, c  
27 Cecil St.
- Miss Mary Ella Ryerson, c  
27 Cecil St.
- Miss Isabel Ryerson, c  
27 Cecil St.
- Mrs. Rowe, c  
23 Grove Ave.
- Mr. William Roaf, c  
80 Spadina Rd.
- Mrs. William Roaf,  
80 Spadina Rd.
- Mr. John Hamilton Roaf,  
80 Spadina Rd.
- Mr. James R. Roaf, c  
23 Adelaide St. e.
- Mr. C. C. Robinson,  
544 Spadina Ave.
- Mr. W. Beverley Robinson,  
C.P.R. Office.
- Mr. D. B. Read, c  
McKinnon Building.
- Dr. G. S. Ryerson, c  
60 College St.
- Mr. George C. Ryerson, c  
60 College St.
- Mr. Yoris Sterling Ryerson, c  
60 College St.
- Mr. Eric Egerton Ryerson, c
- Mr. Arthur C. Ryerson, c
- Miss Laura Mary Ryerson, c
- Dr. J. Richardson, c  
St. Joseph St.
- Lt.-Col. George A. Shaw, c  
44 Leopold St.
- Mr. H. H. Shaver, c  
401 Huron St.
- Dr. E. W. Spragge, c  
206 Beverley St.
- Mrs. Spragge, c  
206 Beverley St.
- Mr. Godfrey Spragge, c  
206 Beverley St.
- Miss Emily Spragge, c  
206 Beverley St.
- Miss Beatrice Spragge, c  
206 Beverley St.
- Mr. F. C. Snider,  
15 Toronto St.
- Dr. Stevenson,  
172 Bloor St. e.
- Miss K. Stevenson,  
172 Bloor St. e.
- Mrs. Strachan,  
260 Richmond St. w.
- Mrs. J. C. Sherwood.
- Miss Helen Sherwood.
- Mrs. C. J. R. Stirling,  
462 Bloor St. w.
- Miss Mary E. R. Stirling,
- Miss Luard T. Stirling.
- Miss E. M. L. Stirling.
- Miss Nina M. A. Strathy Stirling.
- Mr. James F. G. Stirling.
- Mr. Alexander Maitland Secord,  
27 Wood St.
- The Rev. C. E. Thomson, c  
142 Churchill Ave.
- Mrs. J. D. Tyrrell, c  
591 Sherbourne St.
- Mr. C. V. M. Temple, c  
47 St. George St.

Mrs. ?

Mrs. ?

Mr. M

Mrs. V

Mrs. V

Mr. A

Sheriff

Miss W

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## Historical and Biographical Sketches.

### Some Characteristics of United Empire Loyalists, and their Influence on Canadian History.

BY THE HONOURABLE G. W. ROSS, MINISTER OF EDUCATION.

There is no circumstance more remarkable in the growth of public opinion in Canada than the lack of sympathetic interest in the study of Canadian history. Had we the national enthusiasm of our neighbors, we would long ago have made the Plains of Abraham as sacred to Canadians as Plymouth Rock is to Americans, and the text-books used in our Schools would contain as many references to Queenston Heights and Chateauguay as American text-books contain to Lexington and Bunker's Hill. The fact is, for reasons which I cannot very well explain, that Canadians are too prosaic. Possibly, we have been so much occupied with the great political, military and social conflicts of the world around us as to forget the important conflicts of a similar kind in which we ourselves were engaged, and instead of canonizing the men who spent the full strength of a generous manhood in the development of our own country, we allowed ourselves to be carried away by the glamour of victories won by other men of no greater power in distant fields of achievement. While our American neighbors were, during the last century, preserving with almost fanatical zeal every trace and relic of the early history of their country, Canadians were allowing the ploughshare to desecrate the battlefields which made us a nation, and it is only during the last few years, with the exception of Brock's monument on Queenston Heights, that we have had anything to show that we thought more of the heroism of the men who died in defence of their country than we thought of the unnamed and unknown who lie in the potter's field of our public cemeteries.

Why is it that the noble generation of pioneers, who through untold hardships and with Spartan fortitude made homes for themselves and their children amid the forests of Canada, have found no admirer of sufficient public spirit to collect the records of their toil and struggle? Why is it that we have no gallery in which to exhibit the portraits of the heroes of 1812, or the relics of that stirring period? Can any man point to a single monument in the City of Toronto, except that at Fort Rouille, which marks any event in the history of this City? A few monuments we have, but surely they do not represent adequately in biographical bronze the men to whom this generation is indebted for its advancement.

## A VALUABLE SOCIETY.

Coming to the subject which I am specially asked to consider, permit me to say how pleased I am that we have a Society organized for the express purpose of keeping before the people of Canada the story of at least one body of courageous and devoted pioneers—the United Empire Loyalists—pioneers whose sufferings on behalf of the Empire they loved were only equalled by their resolute determination to preserve its honor and its glory unimpaired. That this Society will do its work with more than ordinary historical zeal may be assumed, inasmuch as every record which it is called upon to consider bears some trace of family history and brings each member into affectionate relationship with an ancestry which he may very properly regard with pride and veneration. The parent stem of the United Empire Loyalists was originally British, with the exception of those from the State of New York, who show evident traces of German blood—a pretty good pedigree to begin with. They were in no sense professional agitators, but pursued their avocations as farmers or merchants or public men as quietly and unostentatiously as their neighbors. They contributed of their energy and industry to the development of the country, and took part in the ordinary municipal and legislative movements of the time as quietly as any of their fellow-citizens. Neither by speech nor action did they signify any intention to separate themselves from their fellow-colonists. When a majority of the colonies, by the Declaration of Independence, adopted at Philadelphia in 1776, declared their determination to separate themselves from the fatherland, the Loyalists were obliged either to join the continental forces or leave the country. Their conduct at this time, and the sufferings they endured for their loyalty to the British Government, are too well-known to be open to serious criticism.

## THE LOYALISTS VINDICATED.

The elements of that criticism, however, are worth considering.

(1.) It is said that the Loyalists of the United States were an insignificant band of narrow-minded, stubborn and imperious advocates of prerogative, who preferred submitting with craven subserviency to the tyrannical measures of the Imperial Parliament rather than take any risk in asserting their manhood, their self-respect, and their rights as freemen. That the Loyalists were not an insignificant minority of the colonists is now admitted by every impartial historian. Out of a population of 3,000,000, at least 1,000,000, according to Mr. Tyler in a paper in the "American Historical Review" of 1896, disapproved of the policy of carrying opposition to the extent of rebellion and separation. John Adams said "that the States of New York and Pennsylvania were so nearly divided that if not kept

in awe by New England on one side and Virginia on the other, they would have joined the British. In North Carolina the two parties were about evenly divided. In South Carolina the Tories or Loyalists were the more numerous party; while in Georgia they were so strong that in 1781 they were preparing to detach their colony from the colonies engaged in the rebellion." John Adams admitted that every third American whom he could have met between 1763 and 1783 was a Loyalist. It is quite clear, therefore, that the Loyalists were no faction, nor an insignificant minority, and that the cause which they espoused, whether rightly or wrongly, had the cordial support (at considerable risk and personal sacrifice) of one-third of the whole people.

#### RELIEVED FROM IMPUTATION.

(2) The character and social status of the Loyalists have also been called in question. It has been alleged that as to education, respectability and influence, they were far inferior to the advocates of independence. Mr. Tyler, in the article referred to, classified the Loyalists as belonging, first, to the official class—that is, to men holding various positions in the civil, military and naval service of the Government. As these men were appointees of the Crown, there can be little doubt as to their education and social standing. Secondly, those who stood for the commercial interests and the tangible property of the country, who, having something to lose, disapproved of all measures likely to lead to riot and civil war. Thirdly, the professional class, such as clergymen, physicians, lawyers, and teachers, a clear majority of whom, he says, were opposed to the revolution. And, fourthly, the class generally of a conservative turn of mind, among whom, he says, we may usually find "at least a fair proportion of the cultivation, of the moral thoughtfulness, of the personal purity and honor existing in the entire community to which they happen to belong." And further, as significant of the intelligence of the Loyalists, Mr. Tyler says that in the Act of Banishment, passed by Massachusetts in September, 1778, the list of proscribed citizens reads "almost like the bead-roll of the oldest and noblest families concerned in the founding and building of New England civilization. More than sixty of the persons named in that list were graduates of Harvard." There is, therefore, no ground for the imputation cast upon the respectability of the Loyalists as a party.

#### HAD CONFIDENCE IN BRITAIN.

(3) It is said the Loyalists were craven in not resisting from the outset the efforts of the Imperial Government to tax the colonists. As a matter of fact, the Loyalists denounced as boldly as any of the colonists every encroachment of the Imperial Government upon colonial rights. They believed, however, that

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in the course of time Britain would redress every wrong, and remove every grievance. She had repealed the Stamp Act, and removed all the obnoxious duties imposed upon the colonies, with the exception of the three pence a pound upon tea. Would she not, they argued, also recognize the right of the colonies to that degree of self-government which they enjoyed prior to the Treaty of Paris in 1763? The charge of cowardice was, therefore, unfounded. Who will say he is a craven subject of Her Majesty who seeks, by constitutional means, to redress any public or political grievance? If such conduct is craven, then the victories achieved by our fathers on behalf of civil and religious liberty bring us no glory, and courage is a word entirely misunderstood by the Anglo-Saxon race.

(4) Having been outvoted in the Continental Congress of 1776, it is said the Loyalists should have acquiesced in the decision of the majority and have joined with them in casting off allegiance to the British Government. To this complaint there can be but one answer, and that is the answer which every man's conscience, as the ultimate court of appeal, should give, where a question of liberty of action is involved. The Pilgrim Fathers, rather than conform to the usages of that England which gave them birth, or that Holland in which they made their home for a season, risked their lives and fortunes in the "Mayflower," at a most inclement season of the year, and turned their back both upon the land of their birth and of their adoption, that they might enjoy liberty of conscience and of conduct. Where is the American who will say they were disloyal? In the same way the Puritans turned their faces to the west for the purpose of founding a commonwealth, where they might enjoy greater religious liberty than was possible under the Established Church of their native land. And so, the Loyalists, rather than sever the ties which bound them to the Empire, surrendered all their worldly possessions, and in some cases laid down their lives, as a proof that their devotion to the cause they espoused was genuine and sincere.

Mr. Goldwin Smith, in his History of the United States, says that "Massachusetts banished by name 308 of her people, making death the penalty for a second return. New Hampshire proscribed 76. Pennsylvania attainted nearly 500. Delaware confiscated the property of 46; North Carolina, of 65 and of four mercantile firms. Georgia and Maryland passed acts of confiscation. South Carolina divided the Loyalists into four classes, inflicting different punishments upon each. Of 59 persons attainted by New York, three were married women, guilty of nothing probably but adhering to their husbands. Upon the evacuation of Charleston—as a British officer who was upon the spot stated,—the Loyalists were imprisoned, whipped, tarred and feathered, dragged through horse-ponds, and carried about the town with

"Tory" on their breasts. All of them were turned out of their houses and plundered. Twenty-four of them were hung upon a gallows facing the quay in face of the British fleet, with the army and refugees on board." In view of these facts, no impartial historian, however much he may disagree with the political attitude of the Loyalists towards their fellow colonists, will question their sincerity or their devotion to the principles by which they professed to be actuated.

#### AN UNREDEEMED PLEDGE.

But this was not all. In the Treaty of Peace agreed upon between Great Britain and the United States at the close of the war, it was stipulated that Congress should use its influence with the legislatures of the different States to "provide for the restitution of all estates belonging to real British subjects who had not borne arms against them." All others were to be at liberty to go to any of the colonies and to remain there twelve months to wind up their affairs, Congress also recommending the restitution of their estates on the repayment of the sum for which they had been sold. It is a remarkable fact that although the Republic was pledged by solemn treaty in the face of the whole world to this act of justice, that the legislatures of the different States took no steps to redeem that pledge, and that the Loyalists who remained in the country were treated with untold indignity in addition to the loss, in many cases, of all their worldly possessions. Mr. Sabine, in his history of the Loyalists, admits that this provision of the treaty was a dead letter. He says, "A number of Loyalists who were in England came to the United States to claim restitution of their estates, but their applications were unheeded, and some of them were imprisoned and afterwards banished." We cannot dismiss this painful breach of faith on the part of the United States without the reflection that a republic formed to redress the alleged tyranny of a misguided king could be more tyrannical and unjust than the government which it supplanted.

#### LOYALISTS IN CANADIAN HISTORY.

I shall now turn from the history of the United Empire Loyalists in the United States, and consider very briefly the place they filled in the history of Canada. And here to a great extent the process is one of induction rather than historical demonstration. The question to be answered is somewhat intricate, having regard to the number of Loyalists who settled in Canada, (estimated by Sir John Bourinot at 35,000) and having regard to their educational endowments and their ideas of government, their influence in shaping the history of their adopted country in its early days must have been considerable. And now when their descendants in Canada, according to the same

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authority number 700,000, if ethnology means anything, their influence upon the future history of Canada will make itself felt along the line of their early traditions with no little effect.

(1) It must be evident, unless their attitude towards the parent country had by some untoward circumstances been entirely changed, that they would as strongly uphold the sovereignty of Great Britain in Canada as they did in the land from which they were forcibly exiled. The British Government had shown its interest in their welfare by appropriating for their use large grants of land and by the payment of over three million pounds sterling, towards the losses they had incurred. We may, therefore, safely assume that of all the settlers, whether from the parent country or other lands, who made Canada their home, the United Empire Loyalists might be reckoned among the most loyal to their sovereign, and the most devoted to the laws and institutions of the parent country.

Accordingly we find that in the war of 1812, when an armed invasion threatened the overthrow of British rule in Canada the United Empire Loyalists were among the most resolute of our citizens in repelling the invader, and among the boldest in declaring that Canada should not, while they had any power of resistance, pass over to a foreign flag. Having escaped from the domination of the Republic at the peril of their lives, they regarded with the greatest horror the possibility of being obliged to acknowledge its supremacy or to accept the conditions which it would naturally impose upon them as citizens. And if the United States failed in its attempt to conquer Canada in 1812, it was owing largely to the sturdy loyalty of the men who were expelled from the Republic as unworthy of its protection. To quote the words of Goldwin Smith in his History of the United States:—"The Loyalist exiles peopled Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Upper Canada with enemies of the new Republic, and if a power hostile to the Republic should ever be formed under European influence in the north of the continent, the Americans will owe it to their ancestors, who refused amnesty to the vanquished in civil war."

#### WERE LOYAL SETTLERS.

(2) As the Loyalists were expelled from the United States because of their conviction that the relations between the Colonies and the Empire, even when disturbed by acts of unwarranted encroachment, should be adjusted by constitutional means, we might safely assume that in their new homes they would not resort to arms to redress ordinary grievances against the mother country. I have already shown, that so long as the thirteen colonies confined themselves to constitutional means for the redress of wrongs real or fanciful, the whole people were practically unanimous in resisting the alleged encroachments of the British

Government. It was only when the Continental Congress in 1776 declared in favor of independence that there was anything like a distinct cleavage of public opinion. To say that the Loyalists cheerfully acquiesced in the various acts passed by the British Parliament for the taxation of the colonies, would be to charge them with a want of public spirit and a total indifference to the established rights of British subjects. But to reform abuses was one thing, and to destroy the Government was another thing. In their new homes they had not long to wait for the opportunity of showing whether they were actuated by disinterested motives in their refusal to fight against the authority of the Crown in pre-revolutionary times.

It is universally admitted that Canadians, during the first half of this century, suffered sore and grievous wrongs from the mal-administration of the Colonial Office—wronges which culminated in the rebellion of 1837, and which threatened the overthrow of British supremacy in Canada. It is also generally admitted, or at least generally believed, that although these wrongs were more speedily redressed because of the rebellion, they would nevertheless be ultimately removed by the British Parliament, in the ordinary course of events. Here again the influence of the United Empire Loyalists was asserted, and they who refused to resent the arbitrary action of King George III. and his counsellors by force of arms, refused in Canada to resent the supercilious conduct of Family Compacts and misguided Lieutenant-Governors by a resort to violent measures against the Crown. Having seen colonial institutions shattered and wrecked at Yorktown and Saratoga by the revolutionary forces, they felt the responsibility of maintaining intact even with all its faults, for the time being the constitutional future of the Canadian colonies, believing in evolution of good government by constitutional methods.

#### THE ONLY SHADOW.

(3) It is also possible, and is perhaps the only shadow cast by the United Empire Loyalists on the history of Canada, that in the maintenance of the prerogatives of the Crown, they were not susceptible to the growth of those democratic tendencies which always characterize the Anglo-Saxon race under new conditions. It is the glory of the British constitution that it "broadens down from precedent to precedent." Having seen the sudden expansion of this democratic tendency ripen in the United States into republicanism, is it not possible that the United Empire Loyalists in Canada were unnecessarily alarmed at the urgent demands of Canadians for all the privileges of self-government compatible with the acknowledgment of British sovereignty. As a consequence of this disposition, I fear that a Liberal like myself would be apt to say that the United Empire Loyalists took the side of the Conservative party in Canadian

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politics when they might, with more advantage to the country, have advocated the opposite view, and that they arrayed themselves in opposition to popular rights more strenuously than the safety of Canadian institutions required. Whether this be true or not, it is what any student of history would expect having regard to their traditions and their history, and, objectionable as it may be to some of us, it is at least partially condoned by their unmistakable zeal for the perpetuation of our connection with the mother country.

#### IMPERIAL FEDERATIONISTS ALL.

(4) And, lastly, may we not say that the Loyalists, who 120 years ago contended for a united empire, whether colonial or federated, were among the first to grasp the idea of a greater Britain yet to be and to realize that the loss of the American colonies might indefinitely, if not forever, postpone the consummation of Imperial unity? If this be true, then were they indeed prophets as well as patriots, prophets like many of old, whose forecasts appeared impossible of fulfilment and whose words fell as an idle tale on the statesmen of the mother country and on their fellow-citizens in America. A united empire, a colonial union either in sympathy or in fact, the quidnuncs of the times would say was impossible. Would French Canada ever be reconciled to Anglo-Saxon rule? Would India, so far removed from the centre of government, ever look with affection on the stern hand which held her in subjection? Would Australia ever turn her eyes towards the North with feelings of filial devotion? Would Britain, so conservative, so aggressive, so slow to adapt herself to new conditions, ever treat her colonies as children and not aliens? Vain hope. It cannot be. But the world goes "swinging through the grooves of change." As in the beginning of the creation a voice potent enough to be heard in the depths of chaos said, "Let there be light," and light was. So in the closing days of this eventful century, a voice potent as the voice of Divinity itself, said to all the colonies of Great Britain, in whatever clime or zone or sea they flourished, "Let us be a United Empire," and the response was a world-wide, unmistakable, and sympathetic, Amen. Who deserves the honor for this happy consummation, I dare not say—I cannot say—but this much I think may be said without any fear of exaggeration, that the first impulse towards that imperialism which so marks the colonial feelings of to-day, came from that little band of exiles, whose faith in the future of the Empire, neither persecution nor poverty, nor tyranny, could crush, and whose descendants and compatriots, the world over, rejoice in honoring as the torchbearers of that spirit of universal brotherhood, which makes the British Empire to-day, one great fraternity of United Empire Loyalists.

## Our First Excursion.

BY M. FORSYTH GRANT.

A merry, though somewhat small band of pilgrims we were gathered from the ranks of the U. E. L. Association who started off with the intent of literally visiting, and doing homage at the tombs of our ancestors. It was a lovely day in June, and as we took our seats in the comfortable cars of the G. T. R. our thoughts could not but involuntarily turn to that other band of pilgrims, who after many days of almost unimaginable hardships, sailed up the quiet lagoon, and landed at that most beautiful place, now known as Adolphustown. What a difference in the century elapsed between now and then? We gazed at thriving farms, with their well filled barns, the tender green of early summer showing over all, the comfortable homesteads, the busy towns, the thronged railway stations, and every evidence of the tremendous progress made through the exertions and labours of those whose descendants now fill the land.

We sped fast through the summer day, and at the close of the afternoon reached Deseronto Junction. Here we were met by a kind friend, Mrs. Rathbun, and changed cars for the town of Deseronto, at the station of which half an hour later we found a number of carriages ready for us; after a little scramble we all settled down into our respective conveyances, and were driven rapidly through the town to the Mohawk Reserve, where the descendants of one of the Loyal Six Nations bands still hold sway. In the pretty graveyard of the church, the white Pastor of the Mohawk Reserve, accompanied by the Chief of the band, received us and bade us welcome. The Saxon colouring and burliness of the Rev. Mr. Smith was a marked contrast to the slight, lithe figure, and dark skin of the Indian Chief, by name Annosothkab, the interpretation of which is "Passing through a house." The twilight was falling softly on a picture of which our little band were the living characters, as we all, truly red and white brethren stood in a semi-circle to hear the address of welcome. In front was the road bordered by dark trees, beyond the fair fields and cosy homes of the reserve, behind us reared the stately form of the pretty stone church, erected in 1843 on the site of the older building, and on our side were seen the gleaming white tablets marking the graves of those who had passed away. Presently the Chief advancing to the middle of the circle read the following address of welcome :

"The members of the Mohawk Band of Indians of the Bay Quinte, to the members of the United Empire Loyalists' Association, greeting: We cannot allow this auspicious visit to pass without letting you know the pleasure and gratification we all experience in meeting the members of your loyal association in this historic spot. As this may possibly be the first visit of some of your members to our reservation, we think it may not be out of place to give you a

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few statistics in relation thereto. The reserve contains an area of 17,000 acres, and our band contains, in round numbers, 289 men, 304 women and 586 children. On the reserve are four schools, well equipped, and many of our children attend the High School in the neighboring Town of Deseronto. We are members of the historic Church of England, and have two stone churches and a Mission School, used for divine service, and we are acknowledged by our pale-faced neighbors to be industrious and law-abiding, and we are proud of being British subjects and subjects of our august mother and beloved Queen Victoria. Gentlemen, when we heard that your association had appointed our brother and representative, Chief Annosothkah, to the position of Honorary Vice-President of your distinguished society, we all of us felt that a very high honor had individually been conferred upon us. For over 200 years the Six Nation Indians, of which we form a conspicuous part, have been faithful allies of the British Crown. Our loyalty is the same to-day as it was in the time of our ancestors and should the necessity arise (which may the Great Spirit forbid) we should again be found shoulder to shoulder with our brother citizens, and as ready and willing as they would be to shed our blood in the service of our beloved Canada, and the gracious lady who rules over us. The red meteor flag of England, the dear old Union Jack, is as precious to us as it is to any of you here present, and is now, as it always has been, a symbol of honesty and upright dealing, sound laws and wise government. In the words of that illustrious statesman who is now taking his long, peaceful rest, and whose memory will be revered by our band so long as the waters run and grass grows, we each of us, laying our hands on our heart, can truthfully say, 'a British subject I was born, and, by God's help, a British subject I will die.' It may not be known to all of you that in this house of God is a very valuable relic of bygone days. We possess a moiety of a beautiful silver communion service, presented to our tribe by Queen Anne, of gracious memory. When we were driven out of the country to the south of us by the determination of what is now called the War of Independence our ancestors, fearing the loss of what they justly considered their most valuable possession, buried this beautiful gift and not for many years afterwards did it again see the light of day. When the time had arrived that we considered we could with safety repossess ourselves of our buried treasure we did so, and from that day to this we have never parted with the possession of this inestimable gift. We trust that we shall have the pleasure and privilege of exhibiting it to you before your departure. The medal with which you have decorated our brother Annosothkah will be worn by him and his successors in the office to which he has been appointed, and will form another of our most valued possessions, helping, as it will, to keep alive in the memory of our descendants the fact that their ancestors fought side by side with yours to defend their homes and to uphold the Government which they believed to be right. And now, dear friends, we will say no more. We call you brothers from the very bottom of our hearts. We extend to you the privilege of our reserve. May it meet with your approbation, so that on your return to your homes you may look back on this day and feel that as far as in us lay we did our very best to make your visit a pleasurable one. Signed by the Chiefs on behalf of the band Kenwente Shon, Annosothkah, Shorakowne, Skahronhatesl v., Takwerenthe."

The address was handed to the Hon. Assistant Secretary, Mrs. Clarkson, who requested Mr. Chadwick to respond to it on behalf of the Association. This Mr. Chadwick did, and all felt that the sentiments of the members were indeed well represented, as he acknowledged in feeling terms the loyalty and heroism of the Six Nations, as well as their readiness at all times to serve their sovereign and their country. Almost immediately afterwards the "Mohawk Band" made their appearance, dressed in a most picturesque uniform of embroidered doeskin, the long coats and leggings of which were trimmed with fringes of the same; an upright head dress of feathers with a band of bead work and the

words, "Royal Mohawks" worked in bright scarlet on it. They gave us several musical selections, and watching the different players, it was most curious to see the diversity of coloring, but the exact sameness of feature in all. Nearly all were tall, fine-looking young men. Amongst the gathering were several very aged people, men and women, white-haired and feeble, but all— all with the unmistakable lineaments of the Indian: what changes these aged ones must have seen since they and their fathers came into the country of their adoption! Presently we went into the church, above the door of which is the beautiful inscription, "Erected by the Mohawks in token of their preservation by the Divine Mercy," and above is carved a wolf's head, which is one of the crests or totems of the band. The interior was beautifully decorated with large branches of maple and oak, with Union Jacks interspersed, and an arch over the chancel steps of clover, wild roses and ferns. The choir sang a hymn in the Mohawk language, most sweetly, the voices being soft and mellow, then with great reverence was shown to us the silver Communion service, held in such inestimable value. On each vessel is the inscription distinctly to be seen, "The Gift of Her Majesty, Ann, (without the e, as we are accustomed to see it), by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, and of Her Plantations in North America, Queen, to her Indian Chappel of the Mohawks." During the American Revolution these sacred vessels were buried by the tribe for safe keeping, and when coming to Canada were divided between those who followed Tyendinaga to Brantford, and to Deseronto, the Indian name of which means "Thunder and Lightning."

The Royal Coat of Arms which had been in the church in the old days in the Mohawk Valley, and the old bell of the same time, were shown to us and rung for us to hear. "God Save the Queen," sung heartily by all, brought our most interesting visit to a close, and we drove back to the town, seeing many homesteads by the way, with family parties of the Indians gathered at the doors to see the pale-faced people pass. The Mohawk language is spoken altogether amongst the band when within their own doors. I was told a curious incident regarding this: One of the physicians in Deseronto said he would meet a woman of the band in the street, would stop and speak, asking questions, and being answered in perfect English; and perhaps a day later he might be called to her house, and then came the difficulty of finding no knowledge of English, and the necessity of an interpreter, and not one word would be spoken otherwise; it appears to be a point of honor amongst the band to speak in their own tongue inside their doors.

Arriving at the hotel, we made away with an excellent hot supper, thoughtfully ordered for us beforehand; and after listening to a military band stationed near by, we went off for our

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night's rest, with the last order ringing in our ears, "Be sure and be early for breakfast."

On the morning of June 18, we found ourselves all at an early table, and though there was some grumbling at the early hour, most of us felt we were no worthy descendants of our U.E. ancestors if we were to be upset by a little thing like that. On the way from the hotel to the wharf, we were joined by Mr. Rathbun, who, with his hands full of flowers for the ladies of the party, piloted us through the private way of the great Rathbun Works, some of the buildings of which appeared to be built round a pretty little square gay with flowers and trim paths reaching across it. At the wharf lay, ready for us, the steam yacht "Siesta," flaunting, at that early hour, its rather cruelly suggestive name at its bow.

Our numbers were increased by several friends and members of the Association, and all settling down into the comfortable seats provided, we were soon steaming and puffing most energetically down the far famed "Bay of Quinte." It is said, and rightly so, to be one of the most beautiful in Canada. The shores surround it with trees and foliage, and the thriving farms with their well built homesteads must present a contrast to the unbroken forest which greeted our great-great-grandfathers.

At Glenora, where there are famous mills, the "Siesta" stopped to let the energetic members of the party walk up the long and steep incline to see the wonderful little lake at the top, which, a marvel of nature, lies literally landlocked with no apparent outlet. The scene also is very beautiful from the summit of the hill (as is always the case.) Re-embarking, we sped on our way, coming into sight of the Ultima Thule of our pilgrimage, Adolphustown, bathed in the sunshine of a lovely summer day. Adolphustown runs up from the wharf with a long sloping road, and the place itself is some little distance from the shores of the bay. Many kind friends were there to meet us, foremost amongst them the rector, the Rev. R. S. Forneri, who, for the past fifteen years has lived and worked in his parish. Mr. Forneri is a most enthusiastic lover of the Loyalist history of Canada, and his labors have been unceasing to preserve its records. Under his guidance we all walked up to the old graveyard which lies on the left of the road, far back amongst sturdy trees. Here amongst the crumbling headstones, we wandered, looking for names known to us; but the whole place is in a shocking condition of untidiness and want of repair. Mr. Forneri was thinking of appealing to the township to aid in putting up a neat fence, and at least having it decently cleared; let us hope he may be successful. I am told that the first interment after the landing of the Loyalists was that of a child of 12 years old, he having only lingered to just survive the terrible hardships of the long and weary journey; and the last was one hundred and four years later, when Mr.

Fornari read the burial service over Mrs. Joseph Hagerman, of Kingston, who died at the age of 82, and to whose memory a tablet has been placed in the church by her neice. At the edge of the bank where it can be easily seen by those passing up and down the bay, stands an imposing column of granite, tall and shaft like, elevated on three steps of granite, which bears the following inscription:

“In memory of the United Empire Loyalists, who, through loyalty to British institutions, left the United States and landed on these shores on the 16th of June, A.D. 1784.”

Canniff tells us that in “a return signed by Sir John Johnson,” of men, women, and children, settled in the new townships, St. Lawrence River, Cataraqui, and Bay of Quinte, it is stated there were 1,568 men, 626 women, 1,492 children and 90 servants, the total being 3,776. “Many of the servants were slaves, whose unflinching devotion and loyalty to their masters were worthy of all praise.”

The names of the townships make a royal group, no doubt being named after the children of the king, viz.: Adolphustown, Ameliasburg, Ernestown, Fredericksburg, Marysburg, Sophiasburg. I will again quote from a paper by Mr. Canniff Haight: “Of the range of townships that were laid out in 1783-4 on the Bay of Quinte for the loyal refugees, Adolphustown stood at the head. It appears to have held this position by common consent, and to belong to that township seems to have been thought something of an honour. It was particularly fortunate in the class of men who selected it for their future homes; they were intelligent, practical, all-round men, and there was not a man among them who did not gain a competence, and some of them affluence, as it was understood in those days. The township was the real centre of the settlements in the central part of the Province—the Midland district. It is the western limit of the County of Lennox, and is composed of five points of land, which may not unaptly be compared to the open hand, the fingers representing the points round which the bay flows, and between them are inlets bearing different names. The township, though the smallest, yet can show a long honour roll of men who have gone from its homes to the Legislative Halls of Canada.”

From the old graveyard we presently turned our steps, being driven up the long road by the many kind friends who had come to bid us welcome, to the beautiful U.E. Memorial Church. It is situated so as to be in full view of the boats as they pass up and down the bay. It is built substantially of stone brought from the Kingston quarries, the architecture being in the early English style; it has a spacious chancel containing memorial

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windows to deceased rectors, and some beautiful tablets are on the walls; the whole interior seemed to glow with brightness, the brick and stained wood making a lovely effect. On each broad window ledge were flowering plants, and the sunshine pouring through the blossoms attracted our attention at once; but, to us, the chief attraction was the memorial tablets inlaid round the chancel and church walls just above the wainscoting. These tablets are coloured, of pottery, enamelled with the inscription burnt in while the tablet is made. There is a double border of oblong tiling with a space between, all round the church, and within the space are the tablets, each of diamond shape; the colours are purple and buff, and one to Christopher Robinson is of a delicate celadon green, which shows well amongst the richer colors. The name and standing are in white, and being burnt are indelible. There are now 39, and since our meeting there Mr. Forneri has had orders for many more. There are U.E.L. names from Nova Scotia and Niagara, as well as Ontario. The clergy are represented in Bishops Inglis, Stuart, Bethune; soldiers in Lippincott, Wallbridge, McNab, Ruttan, Rogers, Robinson, Jarvis, Van Alestine; civilians, known on the bench and at the bar, in Macaulay, Fisher, Hagerman, Cartwright, and many, many others. The church is named that of "St. Alban the Martyr," in dedication to the first martyr who landed on British shores on the church calendar day of June 17th. At the east end of the church is a panel giving the following inscription; "One hundred years after the landing of a band of United Empire Loyalists on these shores, this church of St. Alban the Martyr is built in pious memory of those patriots who became founders of the province in honour, loyalty, and the fear of God, 1884." The corner stone was laid by my father, John Beverley Robinson, when Lieut.-Governor of Ontario, an inscription to that effect being graven on the stone (he was also first President of the U. E. Loyalists' Association of Ontario); and it was formally opened by Sir George Kirkpatrick some years later; both direct descendants of U. E. Loyalists. Walking about the church, low-toned exclamations of pleasure testified to the universal interest we, one and all, felt, and after closely examining everything we could, we bade a reluctant good-bye to the building which held so much of intense interest for us all.

A few yards away from the new graveyard surrounding St. Albans' is the building of the venerable edifice in which our U. E. L. ancestors worshipped, built of rough-cast, with a bell tower, and four large arched windows on each side with old-fashioned sashes and small panes of glass. Within were originally the western gallery, the high pulpit, the big reading desk, and the small walled pews with seats running round the four sides, familiar to us all in the days of our childhood; these have all been removed and the place is now tastefully fitted up with a

platform and seats for a "Church Hall" in which meetings are held. It was built more than 80 years ago, and the chairman of the U.E. meeting, Mr. J. Parker Allen, now 87 years of age, was baptized there. On the platform, which was tastefully decorated, were several members of the Association, the Rector, the Honorary Legal Adviser, and many others, the Secretary, Mr. Dorland, conducting the proceedings. Mr. Parker Allen was a marvellous specimen of hale old age, his handsome face, upright bearing, and strength of voice might have well belonged to a man of 20 years younger. In clear tones Mr. Allen read and presented the following address:

"Ladies and Gentlemen, Friends and Neighbors:

"As the oldest living U.E. Loyalist descendant in the township—almost a nonagenarian—the grateful duty and honor, has, by unanimous consent, been accorded to me of presiding at this meeting and of tendering, in the name of all, a hearty welcome to the members of the U.E. Loyalist Association of Ontario and others who have to-day made a pilgrimage, so to speak, to the shrines of our forefathers, who with their fellow-refugees, were the real heroes of the American Revolution—A noble band who—

'Loved the cause  
That had been lost, and scorned an alien name;  
Passed into exile, leaving all behind  
Except their honor, and the conscious pride  
Of duty done to country and to King.'

"Dear friends, your U.E. Loyalist brethren of this township bid you welcome to this notable locality amongst the U.E. Loyalist settlements around Quinte's Bay. We feel much indebtedness to you for this visit to revive amongst us the slumbering memories of our forefathers and of what we owe to them. And we are indebted to you also for fixing for your visit here the day which tradition has marked as that upon which, in 1784, the weary band of exiles, men, women, and children, after nearly a month's slow voyaging from Sorel, stepped ashore from the batteaux with their simple effects, and pitched their tents against the primeval forest. Can we imagine the feelings of these forlorn refugees as they got them out and looked into the wilderness which was to be their future home,

'That stern old wilderness  
All dark and rude and unsubdued,'

and realized the task that lay before them of attacking, axe in hand, those giant trees, levelling them to the ground, consuming them, tearing up their roots and converting the wooded lands into fruitful farms. It required brave hearts and sturdy arms for such a mighty undertaking, but that they accomplished it, the open fields and smooth levels their descendants cultivate is ample proof, so that we may say, 'If you seek a monument of the intrepidity, industry, and perseverance of our forefathers, you have only to look around you.' Their memory should indeed be revered by us, who have entered into their labors. We should never forget that the U.E. Loyalists were the pioneer settlers and founders of this prosperous and happy Province, and not only its founders but its saviours with their sons from the covetous grasp of republican spoilers in 1812, when General Brock, not in vain, called upon them 'Not to give their children cause to reproach them for having parted too easily with the richest inheritance on this earth, a participation in the name, character, and freedom of Britons.' The result of that struggle gives the descendants of the U.E. Loyalists no cause to blush for their fathers, for to their prowess we owe it that Canada remains to-day a jewel in England's crown, and the brightest one of all. For this we are thankful—yes, we are proud of the flag which floats over our land, and the gracious Sovereign to whom we pay allegiance, for in whatever other respects we may have degenerated from the noble U.E. Loyalists of 1784, we may find hope that we may justly claim to be their equals in firm attachment to the throne under which it is our happiness to live and to that great empire of which we fervently pray that the Dominion of Canada may long constitute an important part.

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"Dear friends and visitors, it gives us all great pleasure to have you among us to-day, affording us occasion to recall the interesting and animating memories of our past history.

"We hope that you, on your part, will experience all the pleasure you have anticipated from your visit to this locality. We wish prosperity to the society to which you belong, and pray that it may be instrumental in disseminating abroad those principles of self-sacrificing loyalty to King and conscience which our heroic forefathers exemplified at so great a cost."

When he had finished, and the loud applause had ceased, the Rev. C. E. Thomson, of Toronto Junction, on behalf of the President of the Association, who was absent from illness, made the following reply:—

"Sir, ladies, and gentlemen:

"In expressing our hearty thanks to you all for the most gratifying reception which you have accorded to us on our visit to this historic locality of U.E. Loyalist settlement, permit us to re-echo and unite with you in the sentiments of your address to us. Of the courage and devotion of our forefathers there can be but one opinion and in your references to them we most fully concur. You rightly claim, too, for the U.E. Loyalists and their sons, the preservation of Canada as an integral part of the greatest empire which the world has ever seen, for it was their resolute adherence to the old flag in 1812 and their sturdy resistance to invasion which effected that preservation and secured to us and our fellow-countrymen the freedom which we value and the form of government under which we so happily dwell. It is no idle boast to claim this high honor for the U.E. Loyalists, for, while with them the whole population of Canada in 1812 was less in numbers than the army which threatened to overwhelm our land, without them there would have been in this country a mere handful of people, utterly inadequate for any effective resistance. There is but little in mere words, and happily there at present exists no call for deeds by which the continuance of such loyalty and determination might be proved, nevertheless let us here declare, as we feel, that the spirit of our forefathers still lives in us, and not in us only but in all our fellow Canadians as well, and may it ever do so and ever continue a vital force, strong to maintain the mighty Empire of Greater Britain and our beloved Queen and her successors as its visible head to all time.

"When you remind us of the circumstances attending the arrival at this place of the U.E. Loyalist immigrants and refer to their wearisome journeyings hither, of which many of us well know much by traditions in our families, we cannot but note the striking contrast of our own advent here this day, brought on our way by such rapid and luxurious modes of travel as never were conceived in the minds of those whom we commemorate, and arriving not in a wilderness, but in a land of smiling farms and pleasant homes, to find that a most generous welcome has awaited us."

Several speeches were given and reference made to old names familiar to one's ears, after which was sung a patriotic composition by Mr. Forneri entitled "Honor the old U.E.'s."

At the back of the Hall was inscribed over the arch of the window, wreathed with leaves, "Honor to the U.E.L. Heroes."

I might mention one personal interest connected with this old church in the fact that the father of Sir John A. Macdonald was for many years a member of it, his square family pew being well known to all.

Many quaint and curious relics were shewn to us, several more than 200 years old. A stout oak chair brought from New Jersey, black with age; some ledgers kept in a most primitive style, an old flint lock gun, a marvellous skirt of homespun in

perfect condition, notwithstanding its double century of years; some enormous old pewter plates which might have been taken for ancient alms plates, but we were informed that they were used in olden times for holding that good old-fashioned pot pie, the making of which seems to be a lost art excepting in Adolphustown, and a promise was given that should we again visit them the U.E.L.'s would have a big pot pie and have it served for our benefit on these plates, which have been from time immemorial in the Bogart and Allison families; a very old Bible, all showing loving and reverent care.

A bountiful luncheon was served to us by the ladies of the town, and after singing "God Save the Queen," we said a hearty good-bye, and were driven to the wharf, where we re-embarked in the pretty "Siesta," and amid a tremendous cheering and waving were soon on our way homeward. At Deseronto we found our train ready for us, said farewell once more and as we glided out of the station we knew that "Our First Excursion" was a thing of the past.

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## Some Incidents in the Life of an Early Settler in the Niagara Peninsula.

BY SURGEON MAJOR KEEFER, (LATE BENGAL ARMY), GALT, ONT

On the banks of the picturesque river Ill in a charming little valley of the rich and fertile province of Alsace, a few miles distant from the city of Strasbourgh, there lived at the beginning of the 18th century a worthy peasant farmer named Samuel Keefer. He had taken to himself for a wife a German girl named Ann Waldruff, whose home was at Westervallen, in Germany. The Keefers of Alsace in the 18th century were Lutherans, German speaking Huguenots, but Frenchmen by nationality—Alsace and Lorraine having been wrested from Germany by the Grande Monarque and recovered in 1870 by Bismarck.

Samuel and Ann worked hard to earn a living in their tiny little fields, and though they were often obliged to pinch and save during the long, cold and dreary winter, they lived peaceful and happy lives in that wooded country side, and, were it not for the dread which was always suspended over their heads, like the sword of Damocles, that he would some day be drafted off to serve as a soldier in one of the wars which were constantly being waged by France at that time, there would have been no cloud to mar the peaceful sunshine of their existence.

Two children were born to this couple, two rosy-cheeked, yellow-haired boys, to whom they gave the names of George and Jacob.

When these two boys had reached the ages of five and three respectively, their father was cut off by an attack of pneumonia, and their mother was left to struggle on alone.

A few years after this she consoled herself by marrying again. Her husband was a Frenchman named Frederic Saverien. He seems to have had a roving disposition, for shortly after marrying Ann he induced her to sell her few acres and go with him to the south of France, taking the two boys with them. They do not appear to have remained here long, for in the year 1749, when the eldest boy George was just 10 years old, they crossed the Atlantic to seek a new home in one of the English colonies of America.

They finally settled in the Province of New Jersey, at a place called Paulinskill on Peppercotton Creek, near the town of Newtown.

Saverien seems to have acquired some land here which he cleared and cultivated, leaving it at his death to his step-son George.

George was one of those quiet plodding characters who make the best sort of settler in a new country. He devoted himself to the cultivation of his land and the getting in of his crops and did

not trouble himself in the least about the political questions of the day which at that time began to be agitated by the colonists of America. George married Mary Couck, a neighbor's daughter, in 1767, and like his father before him had two sons, the eldest of whom, born in 1773, was named after himself, George—the subject of my paper.

In 1776 when young George was only 3 years old and his brother Jacob a baby, the War of Independence broke out. At that time old George was possessed of two farms and a distillery, and was looked upon as a prosperous settler in Paulinskill. He was of strong Conservative leanings and imbued with the old Biblical training which had been drilled into him in his early childhood, he believed firmly in the motto "Fear God, honor the king, meddle not with those that are given to change." Acting under this belief he naturally had no sympathy with those who revolted from the rule of the Mother Country, but at once declared himself on the side of the King. Called upon to serve he promptly came forward and joined the Royal troops, and for some months he fought under Colonel Barton and Sir William Howe. While in camp on Staten Island, living in tents as the troops were at that time, he contracted typhoid fever, that scourge of the soldier's life, and succumbed to this malady.

When the war was concluded and the independence of the colonies proclaimed, George Keefer's property was confiscated, but his widow was allowed to continue living on it until her boys were grown up.

In the year 1790, when her eldest son George was 18 and his brother 16, they set out on foot and walked the whole way from Paulinskill to Lake Erie, most of their journey being through an unbroken forest, and their only road an Indian trail. When they reached the lake they came on a collection of fishing huts—this was to become the future city of Buffalo.

Crossing the Niagara river in a canoe at Fort Erie, they continued their journey till they came to the place where Thorold now stands. There was a lonely squatter near this place, who had cut down some trees and built himself a log shanty. He was very pleased to sell them his land for a mere song, and the two brothers set to work and built themselves a good substantial log house, clearing the ground and working here for two years.

A number of other U.E. Loyalist settlers had come into the Thorold township before this date, in fact it might be called decidedly a U.E. Loyalist settlement; and, it was fortunate in securing the men it did—for they were the best kind of settlers—strong-bodied, clear-minded men, who feared God and honored the king. They lived honest and industrious lives, clearing the forest, draining the swamps, and improving the land generally.

During the War of Independence many of the Loyalists were subjected to persecutions and they preferred to leave their homes

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and seek new ones where they would be free to express their feelings openly. Fort Niagara was still in British Territory, and many of them took refuge there till the war was over, when they crossed over and settled in the Niagara Peninsula. The first white child born in Thorold Township was Isaac Kelly in the year 1787. His parents settled there about 1784.

When these first settlers came over, they were obliged sometimes to travel by night, hiding in the daytime from the U.S. soldiers.

Their hardships during the first years of their settlement were great, the men had to clear the forest, build log huts, and sow grain.

The huts were rather rude structures but were fairly comfortable. They always had huge fireplaces in which the stumps of trees could be burnt. Sometimes the huts were built round the stumps of felled trees which were utilized as seats. Glass could not be obtained, so oiled paper was used as a substitute stretched over holes in the walls. Nails cost a shilling a pound so wooden pegs were used instead.

The settlers got many good things from the forest, however, fruit of all kinds being abundant. Plums, strawberries, raspberries, blackberries, grapes, huckleberries, cranberries, and crab apples all grew wild.

Walnuts, hickory nuts, butternuts, chestnuts, and beech nuts were all gathered and stored up for winter use.

Honey was obtained from wild bees, and maple sugar was made in large quantities every spring.

Game was plentiful, and each farmer had a store of venison and squirrels salted down in barrels made of the hollow trunks of trees.

They read by firelight as lamps were unknown, the first artificial lights being candles made from a grease and beeswax.

Every family had a spinning wheel and all their clothes were made at home of woollen cloth manufactured on the premises.

The early settlers were obliged to be very careful that their cattle and children even were not carried off by the wild animals of the forest, as wolves, black bears, panthers, and eagles were abundant in those days.

In the year 1788 a famine came upon these poor settlers, and they suffered terribly. The famine was due to successive frosts which destroyed their crops.

A provision was made for serving grain and food from the Government stores. This was called the "Hungry Year." With the help of food distributed from the King's stores the spring was tided over and very few lives were lost, and the next year the crops were abundant and the progress of the little colony was rapid.

In 1792 a calamity befell them in the shape of a terrific hurricane which swept over the township, levelling all the houses in

its course, but at the same time it uprooted trees and in this way cleared the forest and so helped the settlers,

Better houses were built in the place of those blown down, more settlers came in and trade began to improve owing to Niagara having been made in this year the seat of Government for Upper Canada, and the meeting of Parliament there brought a good deal of business to Thorold.

When George Keefer and his brother had built their house and made it sufficiently comfortable for their mother they returned to Paulinskill again, as before, on foot, and brought their mother over to Canada with them. They were accompanied on this second journey by a number of other families, who, like themselves, wished to live beneath the British flag. At Mr. Keefer's suggestion they brought with them a great many cattle and sheep as these animals were very scarce in the new township. Their journey back was naturally very slow for they were obliged to make many halts to allow their live stock to feed.

Arrived once more in his new home, George Keefer, having established his mother comfortably, began to think of improving the neighborhood in which he had settled. Knowing that roads were a primary necessity in a new country he induced the settlers to combine with him in getting some main roads constructed as soon as possible. Having a natural taste for mathematics he had studied as far as he was able from the books he could procure, and had acquired knowledge which stood him in good stead now in measuring lands and laying out roads.

When these were well under way, like a wise young man he began to think him of a helpmeet for himself.

Besides the U.E. Loyalists who had come across from the American side, there were in the township numbers of other settlers who came direct from England and Scotland. Amongst the former was a family of Lampmans, whose land grant was close to his own. Between him and this family an intimacy sprang up which culminated in his marriage with the daughter Catherine. This took place in 1797, five years after George's arrival in his new home, and when he had made it sufficiently comfortable to establish a bride in it.

The Lampman family were, as I said before, also U.E. Loyalists. The father had received a large grant of land in the Niagara township just at the foot of that mountain or ridge which runs round from Queenston Heights to Hamilton. The site he chose for his house was a very pretty one. I remember it very well, for when I was a boy and used to go down to Thorold for a visit, one of the first things we used to do was to make an excursion to Uncle Peter Lampman's. It was the correct thing to do, to drive down there, spend the afternoon, and have high tea at the farmhouse. The proprietor then was Peter Lamp-

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man, a brother of the Catharine who married my grandfather in 1797. He was, as I remember him, quite an old man then—I speak of more than thirty years ago—a tall, white-haired old man, of slight build, and rather bent by weight of years and also from the effects of a wound which he received while quite a young man at the battle of Fort Niagara, a wound which was thought at the time to be a mortal one, and indeed it was a marvel that he recovered from it, for the Yankee bullet passed right through his body. Fortunately it did not injure any vital organ in its course, and when the wound healed, it left him in apparently good health, at any rate in such a state of health that he lived for nearly fifty years afterwards. When the war was over and pensions and rewards were being distributed, Peter Lampman did not receive any, because owing to the Militia Regulations of that time, pensions were only granted to those who would certify on oath that the injuries received in battle were such as to incapacitate them from earning a livelihood. As Peter Lampman could not conscientiously certify this, he did not receive any recompense for this wound. But forty years afterwards the Hon. William Hamilton Merritt, who was a member of Parliament at that time and who knew Peter Lampman well and considered his case one deserving of recognition, introduced a new Militia Act, which was worded differently, and by the passage of this act Uncle Peter was enabled conscientiously to certify as to the condition of his injury and received a pension.

Uncle Peter had a kindly face, bright, twinkling, grey eyes, which age seemed to have no power to dim, surmounted by shaggy, white eyebrows, a prominent Duke of Wellington nose, and a chin which almost met it; for alas! his teeth were all gone, and as dentists were neither so plentiful nor so clever then as they are now, his poor old mouth had sunken in for want of the support of a row of artificial grinders.

Such was Uncle Peter as I remember him more than thirty years ago, when we used to go down to that dear old farm. And that homestead! It rises up before my mind's eye now—a perfectly idyllic farm house. I wish I could describe it to you as I remember it—a long, low, white frame building with a verandah running the entire length of the front—a verandah whose pillars and roof were completely enveloped in the most luxurious covering of honeysuckle and clematis, spreading about in a perfect mass of purple fragrance. Two or three doors opened off this verandah directly into the rooms of the house which communicated with each other—cool, shady rooms, so refreshing to enter on a hot summer's day, with their low, raftered ceilings, deep, massive fireplaces with high, white mantles, and old-fashioned furniture—such quaint, old arm chairs with high, straight backs, large, roomy sofas, and in the dining room a

shining, spindle-legged sideboard and large-faced grandfather's clock.

The approach to the house wound round the mountain side, and came suddenly upon it, nestling amid the rich green foliage at its base. A gateway through a low, white fence backed by a thick privet hedge let us into the old-fashioned lawn filled with lilac bushes and oleander, and beds of rose trees and flaming peonies which brightened up the scene and stood out in bold relief against the rich, dark green of the sward and the clear white of the house walls, while beyond the hedge were the meadows and fields stretching away in varying colors with undulating slopes towards the foot of the mountain.

An hour or two was generally spent in wandering about the barns and stable yards, where the colts scampered about and the fat sleek cows stood contentedly in the shade chewing their cud, where the mild-eyed sheep stared bleating in startled amazement at us or rushed stupidly from one corner of the barnyard to another, while the bristling, cackling poultry strutted about, and all the life of the well-kept farm seemed to glow with health and peace and such an assured condition of animal happiness as would have made the heart of the President of a Humane Society rejoice. And then we would adjourn to the house where dear old Aunt Nancy with her sweet, welcoming smile would bid us be seated at the table and partake of the high tea to which we had been looking forward. And such a tea—the mere recollection of it now after all these years makes my mouth water, like the clergyman who was preaching about the flight of quail; "The quail," he said, "my brethren, is a *delicious bird*." A snowy cloth perfectly covered with good things—such delicious slices of pink and white ham, such appetizing spiced beef, and the home-made bread and rich, yellow butter, the honey in the comb, and the strawberries and clotted cream, the hot buns and the great glass jug of milk, with the hot tea and lashions of cream—oh, it was a treat, I can tell you! And then, to sit on that honeysuckled verandah afterwards and hear Uncle Peter and Aunt Nancy talk in their quiet, peaceful, contented way of their early reminiscences and the troubled times of that war of 1812—to the accompaniment of the humming of bees, and the goodnight notes of the feathered songsters on their way to their leafy nests, and the lowing of the cattle in the meadows beyond—it was a dream of pastoral bliss that used to make a great impression on my mind. Dear old place! I wonder if it still looks the same. I really must go down and reconnoitre the neighborhood once more and see if my early reminiscences will be corroborated or, as I very much fear, destroyed. The graveyard has lain for many years on the dear old white heads of Uncle Peter and Aunt Nancy, and strangers rule in their places, and no doubt all will be completely changed.

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When the war of 1812 broke out and the American troops invaded the Niagara Peninsula, George Keefer set out for the front leaving his wife and young children behind in his house in Thorold. During the fifteen years of his married life his wife had borne him eight children, four boys and four girls, and he had enlarged his house to meet the growing demand on its space. He was at that time a captain in the Lincoln Militia and his company consisted of the young settlers in Thorold and the neighboring country. On their departure for the front the women and children were left very much alone during the three years the war lasted.

Captain Keefer was present at the battles of Chippawa and Lundy's Lane. At the former battle, when the British and Canadian troops were worsted by the Americans mainly owing to their great superiority in numbers and the excellent practice of their artillery, the pluck and determination with which the Canadian militiamen fought is shown by the report of the casualties. Out of a total of 110 of the Lincoln militia engaged in that action, six officers and forty men were returned as killed or wounded. Amongst the officers was Captain George Turney, a near neighbor of my Grandfather. They were standing together when Turney fell on that disastrous 5th of July, 1814.

Our troops, however, wiped out this disaster completely by their glorious victory at Lundy's Lane, three weeks afterwards, when 2,800 British soldiers with seven guns completely routed 5,000 picked American troops with nine guns.

This action began at 5.30 p.m. on the 25th July, and continued till an hour after midnight, and during that time the fighting was continuously and most stubbornly waged on both sides.

During the year 1813 when Capt. Keefer was away from home in camp the American troops seized his house and used it as a hospital, and my grandmother's services were enlisted to help in nursing the sick and wounded soldiers.

She was not in the most robust condition to attend to work of this sort, as her baby boy was only three months old at the time, and she fell an easy prey to the army fever from which so many of the patients she had to nurse were suffering. Her anxiety about her husband and the troubled condition of her home monopolized in this manner by the enemy's sick and wounded had weakened her constitution so much that when attacked by the fever she soon succumbed to it, dying on the 14th July, 1813, at the early age of 35.

Her eldest child, Elizabeth, was only 15 years and 8 months old at her mother's death, and at this early age she was obliged to undertake the whole responsibility of the house filled with sick and wounded soldiers of an invading army, together with the care of her young brothers and sisters, including the last arrival, an infant of six months old—a pretty heavy load for such a young pair of shoulders.

The noble manner in which this young girl carried out these arduous duties won for her the love and respect of the young army surgeon who had come over with the American troops and was detailed for duty in this hospital which had been forcibly established in her father's house.

Moreover, in addition to all this, we learned also of her heroism displayed under the torturing iniquities of the roving bands of Indians who frequently visited the house. They used to threaten all sorts of cruelties, to carry off the younger children, and scalp them if she did not give them food and drink.

In those days provisions were at times rather scarce, and the villagers had little enough for themselves, so they were not willing to give them to the Indians, who were often a lazy, shiftless lot. My grandfather's house being on the main road, was a frequent place of call for them. My uncle told me he remembered once seeing an Indian hold a tomahawk over the baby's cradle and threaten to split the infant's head open if he was not given what he asked for. You can imagine what a state of mind poor Elizabeth must sometimes have been in when treated to a display of savagery of this sort. When food was plentiful it was always given to the Indians, and sometimes owing to their cowardly threats, especially when there were no men about, food was given them that should have been reserved for more deserving mouths.

There was one thing the Indians were particularly fond of, and it was generally reserved for them—it was the skin of a ham. They looked upon this leathery, greasy hide as a most delicious tid-bit.

The army surgeon, Coltrin by name, who became enamored of Elizabeth Keefer, returned for her when the hostilities ended, and they were married at Queenston under a flag of truce.

He took his young bride (she was then only 17 years old), to Erie, in Pennsylvania, where he established himself in practice. Six years afterwards he died, leaving his young widow childless. She was married again 1825, to a French banker named Hamet, who settled in Erie, and this second union was blessed with five children, two of whom, daughters, survive. Mr. Hamet predeceased her, and she lived on at Erie till very near the allotted span, having seen several grandchildren grow up around her; one of these, Charles Strong, married a daughter of the late W. H. Scott, an American railroad king and millionaire.

At the death of Aunt Elizabeth Hamet, the Hamet homestead, a large commodious house with extensive grounds fronting on Lake Erie and overlooking the harbor, was presented by her children to the City of Erie for a Hospital.

This Erie Hospital is now managed by two Canadian nurses—one a relative of Judge Ardagh of Barrie, and the other a Miss Gregory, daughter of one of the Secord family.

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To return to my grandfather again, when the war with America was concluded he found on going over the record of casualties, that, although he himself had neither been killed, wounded, carried off a prisoner, nor reported missing, still he had suffered considerably in other ways. The faithful wife of his bosom had died a martyr to duty, leaving him a young family of helpless children. His eldest daughter had been carried off a prisoner by one of the Yankee officers, a willing prisoner it is true, but lost to him all the same. His brother-in-law was, as it was thought at the time, fatally wounded, a bullet having passed through his body, and last of all, his home had been roughly used and knocked about by the enemy.

He first of all devoted himself to getting his home into perfect shape, and then, I suppose, finding it was not an easy matter to look after his seven young children alone, he thought it better to provide them with a stepmother. His second wife was a widow, and as she had five children of her own when he married her the only conclusion we can come to was, that he wished to make it cheerful for his own little ones, and so provided them with a number of half brothers and sisters. His second wife's name was Jane Emery, and her first husband, John Emery, himself the son of a U. E. Loyalist, had died of army fever at Niagara in 1813, contracted while serving in the late war. Her maiden name was McBride, and her brother Edmund represented Niagara in the Provincial Parliament.

Having put his house in order, George Keefer had time to devote himself to the welfare of his settlement, and he began at once to interest himself in a project which the Hon. W. H. Merritt, of St. Catharines, had for some time had in view, viz., connecting Lakes Erie and Ontario by a canal, thereby providing a through navigation route from Chicago to the Atlantic Ocean. Mr. Merritt was deeply interested in this plan. In 1818 he and some friends went over the proposed route of the canal and submitted his plans to Government. The Legislature became interested, but decided that Mr. Merritt's route for the canal was too near the frontier, and voted £2,000 to have another survey made. This was from the Grand River to Burlington Bay, a distance of 50 miles, which route was subsequently abandoned. In 1823 a number of persons supplied money to have a competent engineer survey the old original route; this was done by an engineer named Hiram Tibbets, and the Welland Canal Co. was then formed with a stock of £40,000 in shares of £12 10s. each. George Keefer took a good deal of stock in the Company, and at Mr. Merritt's suggestion, was elected President of this Company, which was incorporated by an Act passed in 1824.

On the last day of November, 1824, the first sod was turned near the present village of Allenburg. About 200 people were present, and a speech was made by the Hon. W. H. Merritt ex-

plaining the benefits that would result from the construction of the canal.

A spade was then given to Mr. Keefer who turned the first sod saying :—

“Gentlemen, it is with pleasure that I remove the first earth from the Welland Canal, and I ardently hope that the work may continue uninterrupted till the whole is completed.”

This great work after a number of changes in the original plan and the expenditure of a great deal more money than was originally contemplated, was finally completed by Government in 1842 buying out all the original shareholders and assuming control of the work themselves.

When the canal was being built the company advertised throughout Canada and the United States that they would give a free grant of water power forever to anyone who would undertake to have a flour mill of at least 4 run of stones ready to begin grinding corn when the canal was opened and the water let in.

General Beach of Rochester, which was at that time the greatest milling town in New York State, and George Keefer, were the only two who came forward in answer to the advertisement. General Beach did not incur the risk of building his flour mill because he doubted the ability of the company to complete the canal on account of unexpected difficulties at the deep cut and partly because he was bluffed off by the Canadians and Americans along the frontier who prophesied that the canal would never be finished and that his mill would be a dry one, a dead loss to himself and a by-word to passers-by.

George Keefer pluckily went on with his mill however, erecting it in the woods at a spot where the canal was planned to pass. When his neighbors and friends sought to dissuade him as they had done Gen. Beach, he thanked them but said he felt very much in the position of Noah when his neighbors derided him for building the ark. Noah felt confident that the waters of the flood would come, therefore, he proposed being ready with his ark, so he, George Keefer, feeling equal confidence that the waters of the canal would come, meant to go on with his mill and be ready for it. So he persevered with his work and before the water reached Thorold, his mill was ready and he and his heirs secured a perpetual free grant of that water power which is attached to the property for ever.

By his second wife, George Keefer had 6 children, making 15 children of his own in all besides 5 stepchildren. A very large family to have the management of, but he was mindful of them all and saw that they all received as good an education as was procurable at the time, while in their home training he was always particular. Of his 10 sons, 3 were engineers, 2 lawyers, 1 a doctor, 2 merchants, 1 a miller and 1 a farmer.

Of all his large family two children only survive at the pre-

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sent date, one, a son, T. C. Keefer, C. M. G., the celebrated engineer, and one daughter, Mrs. Farland.

George Keefer was the founder of Thorold. He built mills, conducted commercial enterprises, gave a market to the farmers and was a special factor in the general prosperity of the section.

He was a staunch Conservative and a steadfast adherent and liberal supporter of the Church of England. The late Bishop Fuller, at one time Rector of Thorold, has canonized him under the title of Saint George. He died on the 25th June, 1858, in the 85th year of his age.

Like Henry Lawrence it might be truthfully said of him that '*He tried to do his duty.*'

3d  
 The Story of a Canadian Loyalist, Col. Joel Stone,  
 Founder of Gananoque.

BY AGNES MAULE MACHAR.

Sitting by the ancient grass-grown graves of a quiet rural "God's acre," for whose unadorned simplicity the title of "cemetery" seems too pretentious, we are curiously apt to think of the lives of those whose mortal remains rest here, as if they had been somewhat different from these busy lives of ours—less full of color and incident and abounding vitality—less occupied with the little daily details and tasks and incidents that make up so much of our own. It is well, sometimes, after the manner of "Old Mortality," to revive anew the names and memories of our Canadian pioneers—to realize our kinship with those whose dust has long since mingled with the tangled vegetation about us, yet who were men and women of like passions and interests with ourselves. Especially is this the case when such lives have been enwrought with the very beginnings of the settlement and civilization of our country—with the starting-point of that wonderful tide of progress that has turned the surrounding wilderness into fruitful fields—multiplied farms, villages, factories—built great and growing cities—laid rails and launched steamers, and set so many prosperous and busy towns in what was, a hundred years ago, unexplored and trackless forest.

About the year 1785, a quarter of a century after Canada (or New France) had been wrested from the relaxing grasp of the Bourbons, a man in the prime of manhood, stalwart and good-looking, if not handsome—was roaming along the still unsettled shores of the upper St. Lawrence, just at the point where it winds itself into the picturesque archipelago of the Thousand Islands. It was not, however, the renowned beauty of this charming interlacing of sapphire stream and emerald isles, that tempted his roaming, but reasons much more practical and pressing for his own interests and those of his family. He was in search of a desirable site on which he might set up a new homestead and retrieve his broken fortunes. And here, set deep in the unbroken forests, a placid stream—flowing lazily through the tangled woods, studded with snowy water-lilies and fringed with the crimson spikes of the cardinal flower—suddenly plunged some thirty feet over brown rocks in a foaming waterfall, into a broader channel below, meeting the St. Lawrence a quarter of a mile farther on. This fine water-power is now the centre of a busy little town, the banks of the narrow stream below it being all alive with the hum of machinery driven by the captive waterfall, while several trains each day rumble over it on iron bridges. The place is known now as then by its Indian name of Gana-

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noque—"Cadanoghue,"—it was then most frequently spelt—the meaning of it being "Rocks in deep water," sufficiently suggestive of the rocks and shoals in which the region abounds, which often descend suddenly into a considerable depth of clear blue water.

The hero of our story, Captain Joel Stone, U. E. Loyalist and late of H. M. Militia, was a shrewd man of business, as well as a Loyalist, and seeing at once the value of which this fine water-power would eventually give to the spot, he quickly fixed his choice on that particular spot. And though, owing to a grant already made to a more influential man, he experienced a little difficulty in securing it, he eventually succeeded, leaving an imprint of his strong character and will on all the surrounding regions for many years to come.

Joel Stone, merchant and soldier, and at this time prospector of water-privileges, was born at New Guildford, a small Connecticut town, on August 7, 1743. His father, Stephen Stone, was the great-grandson of one of a band of twenty-four "Pilgrim" pioneers, who emigrated from England in 1659, and whose arrival was celebrated by the people of New Haven with prayer and thanksgiving, as being a welcome addition to their scanty numbers. During their voyage the little company, after the fashion of the time, subscribed their names to a covenant of mutual help and support—a model for any community, which might satisfy even a moderate socialist. In it they faithfully promise "for ourselves and our families, and those belonging to us, that we will, the Lord assisting us, sit down and join ourselves together in one entire plantation, and be helpful, each to the other, in any common walk, according to every man's ability, and as need shall require." They also promise not to desert each other on the plantation, save with mutual consent.

The Stone family, a good specimen of the steady, faithful, God-fearing Puritan type, remained at Guildford for three generations; but when his eldest son, our hero, was two years old, Stephen moved to the county of Lichfield in the same state, where, as his son has recorded in the formal phraseology of the time—"by indefatigable labour and industry, he imprized a competency in land of which he was proprietor." Joel Stone, as in duty bound, remained at home as his father's assistant, till he was twenty-one, when he determined to strike out a career for himself, and entered, as he tells us, "a branch of the mercantile trade, in connection with which he travelled to several places in North America, with considerable profit." Thus encouraged, he entered into a six months partnership as a general merchant at Woodbury, near Lichfield; but the crisis of the American revolution was fast approaching, and the six years that followed were the most eventful in the struggle which gave the world her youngest and most energetic nation.

Joel Stone, absorbed in peaceful pursuits, and living amid a quiet and contented rural population, had not hitherto taken any active interest in the contest which was rapidly approaching, or shown sympathy with the discontent and the aspirations which had been seething among the people of Massachusetts. A thorough-going Conservative, perfectly satisfied with the *status quo*, under which he was growing prosperous, and in which he saw no defects, he thus recalls his circumstances at the time when the unwelcome political commotion at length forced its way into the even tenor of his life—a proof that, even in this troubled time, a large class of American colonists were contented with their lot and opposed to revolutionary action:—

“By dint of an unwearied diligence and a close application to trade, I found the number of my friends and customers daily increasing, and a fair prospect of happiness arose in my sanguine mind in one of the most desirable situations, beneath the best of laws, and the most excellent government in the universe! But, alas! the dreadful commotion that, about this period, involved that once happy country in all the dreadful horrors of an unnatural war, and, filling the pleasant land with desolation and blood, removed all my fair prospects of future blessings; yet, amid all the anarchy and rage, I was fixed in my resolve rather to forego all I could call my property in this world, than flinch from my duty to the best of sovereigns; sooner to perish in the general calamity than abet, in the least degree, the enemies of the British Constitution.”

This resolve was soon put to the test. In 1775 he was cited to appear before a Commission, charged with having supplied with provisions “the people they call Tories,” and also with having rendered assistance to the British prisoners confined in Connecticut. Matters did not then, however, proceed to extremities, though he intimates that “his aged father suffered some harassment for his steady perseverance in maintaining with all his ability the true liberty of his country, and the just cause of his rightful sovereign.” In the following year—the eventful 1777—he found himself obliged to declare without further hesitation, whether he would immediately take up arms against the British Government or procure a substitute. Knowing that he would be strictly watched, and that he would have little mercy to expect after a decided refusal to do either, he determined to escape at once to New York, there to join the British forces and fight for the King. A warrant had already been issued for his apprehension, but he was warned in time to make good his escape while men were actually on their way to his house to arrest him. On a fine moonlight night—as he used in after years to tell his grandchildren—he was returning home on horseback, full, no doubt, of anxious thought, when he was met by his partner in business, who intimated his own intention of swearing allegiance to the

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new Government, and asked whether he intended to do the same. "Certainly not," replied the staunch young Loyalist. "Then you will have to give up all you own, and leave the country," was the prompt rejoinder. Joel Stone looked down at his good steed, and thought that he would carry him far and well, while his purse contained enough for his immediate needs. At once, without further ado, he turned his horse's head and took the road toward New York, which he reached in safety; though the party in search of him, attended by a noisy mob, looted his house, and vented their wrath in opprobrious language on the brave but trembling sister, who had been his housekeeper, and who did not desert her post.

In June, 1777, he took up arms in New York, serving like his fellow volunteers, without remuneration, and, in April of the following year, he received a Captain's commission to recruit a company of able-bodied men for the King's service. Having gone to Huntington, Long Island, on this mission, he was tracked and surprised while asleep and at once conveyed to Fairfield, where he was lodged in gaol under close custody, and subjected to abusive threats of being hanged as a traitor—which was quite within the bounds of possibility under the severe regulations of the time. An old diary, kept by the sister who had been his housekeeper, records, with a certain simple pathos, a sorrowful visit paid to the prisoner by his attached sisters. He escaped, however in some way not recorded, from "that town of horrors," as he afterwards called it, and made his way back to Long Island, where a severe attack of fever prostrated him, and made a sea voyage necessary for the restoration of his health. There is a family tradition that he then acted as a Lieutenant in the Navy. However this may have been—he settled down, for a time, to mercantile business in New York, still holding his Captain's commission in the city militia, until New York was finally abandoned by the British forces. As he had been warned, the confiscation of his property speedily took place, and he, being accounted "politically dead," was despoiled of his real and personal estate, to the value of eleven hundred pounds sterling, a large fortune in those days, besides the forfeiture of his books and bonds, which considerably increased his loss. To one who had by steady industry and perseverance, accumulated so much property, this must have been a blow which doubtless, greatly intensified both his hostility to the revolutionists, and his loyalty to the British cause, for which he had thus been forced to suffer.

Captain Joel Stone, however, seems to have found some consolation amid these various troubles and cares, and he must also have found time for certain preliminaries resulting in his marriage, on March 23, 1780, to Miss Leah Moore, the daughter of a well-to-do mariner absent at sea. The death of the bride's mother occurring soon afterwards, the young couple received

from the absent father the use of his furniture and an allowance of one hundred pounds a year, "till he is further heard from," also assuring them that "as the marriage was with the consent of my late consort, so you have also mine." The birth of the first grandson seems to have much pleased the worthy seaman, who desires his son-in-law to "insinuate" to the child "that he has a grandpapa who will always love him and his papa and mamma." This boy lived to early manhood, when he died of a "decline." The second son, born a year or two after, was cut off in infancy; but the third, a daughter, lived to become the mother of sons who have continued the family line, though not the name, to the present generation.

In July, 1783, the British forces having evacuated New York, Captain Stone seems to have thought it time to take a final leave of the Republic. He accordingly sailed for England, with the double purpose of pressing his claims for compensation on the British Government, and of trying to recover a legacy which had been left to his wife by an uncle who had been in the East India Company's service, and whose adventures, as recorded by Captain Stone, illustrate the unsettled character of the time and might supply the groundwork of a stirring tale. For more than two years, Joel Stone remained in England, awaiting the slow processes by the "circumlocution office," but at the same time, no doubt, making some influential friends, who stood him in good stead later, when his claim for land had to be considered. During his absence he sent his wife various gifts of the kind then much prized in a new country. Among them are enumerated twenty-three yards of calico at five shillings a yard, table linen, handkerchiefs, and silver shoe-buckles for her and the eldest boy, not forgetting a coral for the baby and a miniature of himself, still preserved by his descendants, representing a handsome young man in the costume of the time, with long plaited queue and ruffles. In this attire he is said to have been presented at Court. His representations to the Parliamentary Commissioners of his claim for compensation for the losses he had sustained in the confiscation of his property, secured for him a position as a military pensioner, with the rank of Captain, at forty pounds a year.

Having at length brought his business to a satisfactory conclusion, and having changed his original intention of directing his course to New Brunswick, he sailed in August, 1789, for Quebec, where, according to appointment, he was joined by his family. His plans of settlement first turned in the direction of the new townships on the St. Lawrence, near what is now the town of Cornwall, a region known by the Scottish appellation of Glengarry. Cornwall at this time was called New Johnstown, in honor of one of the Loyalist commanders, Sir John Johnston, whose regiment had been granted allotments of land in that

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vicinity at the close of the war, by the side of a previous Loyalist settlement, each soldier receiving a grant of one hundred acres on the river and two hundred farther inland. Here Captain Stone desired to settle, and, without awaiting the result of his application, he purchased some land and began to build a log dwelling, hoping to draw an allotment of eight hundred or a thousand acres, in what he considered "a most valuable country of land, taking all the tract together" At this time the entire population of Canada was only about 113,000, and the question of the tenure of land was still under discussion, both in the Canadian Council and in the British Parliament. The majority of the former were in favor of continuing the French seignior system, of which Captain Stone expressed his disapproval, and it was eventually abandoned in favor of the free tenure system, incorporated into the Canadian Constitution of 1791, which established the free tenure of land that has made the prosperity of British Canada.

It turned out, however, that, all the land in the coveted tract was already allotted, and in consequence of this circumstance Captain Stone undertook the expedition already mentioned through the vicinity of the "Thousand Islands," a rocky region which seems to have been hitherto left unexplored as unprofitable for agricultural purposes. In company with a Loyalist friend, who for a time seems to have acted as his partner, he made a rough survey of the locality. But Sir John Johnston was his rival here also, and a division was finally made between the claimants, Sir John Johnston securing a tract to the east of the Gananoque river, while Captain Stone became the possessor of a grant of five hundred acres to the west of it, along with half the water-power, an allotment of considerable value when the latter part of it is considered. Here, in course of time, the busy thriving town of Gananoque has grown up, with factories lining the banks of the little river, driven by its captured waterfall, while it also forms a base of supply for the summer residents who sojourn in cottages or dwell in tents amid the picturesque islands that cluster round the spot.

It was not, however, until 1792 that Captain Stone took possession of his new estate. Meantime he, with other settlers, had to endure a hard winter, for which Captain Stone, at least, made provision beforehand, by securing a good supply of pork, flour and rice from Montreal before the frozen river should block the navigation.

In the winter of 1791, after an absence of more than seven years from home, he took the overland journey to Connecticut with his son and daughter to visit his aged father and the affectionate circle of brothers and sisters, to whom this visit was of course a great event, duly recorded in the quaint old diary before mentioned. In the following year he seems again to have visited

New England, where he had left his children the previous spring. His wife appears to have died before the first journey, though the precise date does not seem to be known. According to his sister's diary, he was at this time going from New England to Niagara, "there to superintend the building of a new city under General Simcoe." This was the little town or village of Niagara, sometimes called Newark, where the first Parliament of Upper Canada was held during the following summer. Apparently it was during the same summer Mr. Stone, as he was now usually called, took up his residence on his land at Gananoque. On his arrival he was landed alone from the flat-bottomed batteau on which he had come, probably from Niagara. No white man had yet settled on the site, which then, as now, commanded lovely views of rugged wooded islands, nestling in the windings of the blue St. Lawrence. There was no human habitation within sight, save the hut of a Frenchman named Cary on an island about a mile distant. In response to a handkerchief hoisted on a stick as a flag of distress, the Frenchman sent off two Indians to ferry the stranger to the island, where he remained with his host, until the latter removed to the mainland and built there a rude but useful house of entertainment. As Cary replenished his larder with the help of his two cows, whose milk he sold to the batteau-men for biscuit, and this again to the Indians for their fish, venison, game and wild fruit, the bill of fare was not amiss, except as regarded bread, of which there was none save "hard tack," though a superior kind of biscuit, called "King's biscuit" was kept for travellers of Mr. Stone's quality, first and second-class accommodation being thus already initiated.

Unfortunately this convenient arrangement was abruptly broken up by a fire which destroyed the house and all Mr. Stone's effects, after which he at once proceeded to put up a house for himself. He began boat-building also, and in the following year was commissioned to build a trading vessel—probably the first built in Upper Canada after the ill-fated *Griffin*, of La Salle, and since the British *regime* had begun. He wrote to Governor Simcoe, that he had built a log hut for his men and was about to build one for his own convenience, and stores for the public, and hopes to be able "to make return for the civility he had received and the obligations under which he feels to his Excellency." Where he procured the workmen who were thus making the long silent forest resound with their axes and hammers, we are not informed. No doubt there were still scattered remnants of the French settlers to be found, and other waifs and strays, glad to find remunerative employment. In due time the house and general store were completed, and a lumbering enterprise began. Neighbors began to settle near him, some of them from his own Connecticut, through whom he renewed some of the associations and

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acquaintances of his early life. It was thus he now heard a piece of news that decided him to take a very important step, which had the happiest effect on his after life. There had been, in his near vicinity, in the days when he first began business in Connecticut, a certain Mrs. Dayton, a young wife, of whose rare qualities of heart and mind, he had been well aware, and who, as he now heard, had recently been left a widow in the new home near Brantford where she and her Loyalist husband had settled, after first trying to make their home in the then sparsely settled region of northern New York. Her first marriage with a young farmer of Quaker descent, had been a very happy one, and of her it was certainly true that, like the excellent woman in the book of Proverbs, "the heart of her husband trusted in her, and her children arose and called her blessed." Small and delicate in outward mould, she possessed great strength of mind and character, and a rare combination of calm self-control and deep religious earnestness. She believed, like many religious persons of the time, in Divine warnings which she called "visions," and had persuaded her husband to act in accordance with such warnings, to the great advantage of all concerned. An anecdote is recorded of her at the time when she was sorrowfully watching her first husband pine away in slow decline, which at once illustrates her practical foresight, and the difficulties which encompassed the settlers of those days, both in life and in death. There was no saw-mill nearer their home than twenty-five miles, and the devoted wife, in the prospect of the sad need which must ere long arise, was much concerned about the necessary provision for decent interment. The proprietor of the saw-mill—happening to come to the house some months before Mr. Dayton's death—Mrs. Dayton took him aside and asked him to prepare for her four cherry boards to be duly seasoned before the sad occasion should arise for their use. The husband, however, noticed the conversation, and probably suspected the subject of it, and when his wife frankly told him, in reply to his enquiry, he praised her forethought, remarking that he ought to have thought of it himself. When the expected end arrived, the boards were carried through the woods by two men on horseback, both holding one under each arm, and of these the coffin was made by a neighboring carpenter, the bereaved wife having at least the satisfaction of seeing her husband's remains treated with customary respect. She had attended him to the last with devoted care, supporting him, closing his eyes with her own hands and receiving his affectionate dying testimony, that she had been to him "a mother, a wife, a sister, a friend." Calm and self-controlled as she was, she sorrowed deeply for the husband of her youth, who seems always to have kept the first place in her heart.

Meantime her old acquaintance at Gananoque, hearing of her widowhood, and vividly recalling his own respectful admiration

of her, made up his mind to "wait a year and a day" and then, in the spring of 1798, she, to her great surprise, received from him a letter the meaning of which she could scarcely misunderstand, notwithstanding its old-fashioned formality and circumlocution. This preliminary epistle began thus:—

Madam,—“I hope you will have the goodness to excuse this abrupt address to you and suffer me to assure you that I am actuated by honorable and sincere motives in this proposition to you, and that, from the knowledge I have of your character and situation since you resided in New Milford, I have to beg that you will inform me, and in case you are not engaged, I shall presume to wait upon you in person for the purpose here hinted.”

This somewhat indefinite letter was followed in a fortnight, long before—in the lack of postal facilities—it was possible for him to have a reply to it—by a second epistle, much more direct and to the point. In it he asks the lady to “excuse the impetuosity of his writing a second time, without waiting an answer,” an “impetuosity” which does not strike the modern reader as extreme, and according to the old proverb, must have increased his chances of winning the object of his choice. In this, he goes into the matter with all needful detail. After telling her something of his circumstances, he says:—“I have lived a widower for five or six years past, and am now determined to marry, provided I can find a person whose age, character, inclinations, etc., promise to add happiness to both. You are the person I have fixed my hopes upon, and pray, madam, be kind enough to inform me candidly if you are married or engaged to marry. If not, I shall come in person to see you, and endeavor to convince you that our lives may be more happy together than apart, during the remainder of our time in this transitory world. And be assured you are the first and only person I have ever, directly or indirectly, made any proposals of this nature to, since I have been a widower. I have two children, one a boy about seventeen years (he is with me) the other a girl living with my sister in Connecticut.”

In those days, it seems to have taken nearly two months for letters to travel over the distance separating between Gananoque and Mrs. Dayton's home in Western Ontario, now easily traversed by mail in less than twenty-four hours, so that it was some weeks before Mrs. Dayton's reply to the first letter arrived, indited after a week's consideration. Her epistle is as formal as that of her wooer, and cautiously guarded; but one can read between the lines a certain wistfulness, and an original and reflective nature.

“I know not what to say,” she observes naïvely, “for I have almost concluded in a mind not to change my condition, for the world appears to be in a great tumult, and I am now free from any engagement to anyone, therefor I have no one to please but myself. I lost a tender companion, which I do not forget.”

The reference to "tumult," shows that the echoes of the events occurring in Europe during the decade which witnessed the execution of Louis XVI, the Reign of Terror, and the Continental war, had penetrated even into the forest wilderness, and gave food for reflection to thoughtful minds. However, notwithstanding this disclaimer, the letter closes with a permission to "act his own pleasure," if he "thinks it proper to form any further acquaintance in the subject," and the writer quaintly subscribes herself "a friend to all sincere, true-hearted and upright souls," in which there was, no doubt, an intention to include her chivalrous suitor. The second more pointed letter evoked, as was only natural, a more definite and decidedly favorable reply.

"I would inform you that if you have a mind to pay me a visit the fore part of this fall, I have not any objection to suggest; you can act your pleasure about it. As I have had some acquaintance with you formerly, I have not so much occasion to take up so much time in consideration before I can give an answer."

It would have been a stupid or faint-hearted wooer who would not have taken this letter as tantamount to a provisional acceptance; but illness, and necessary business in connection with rafting lumber to Montreal, postponed the westward trip he was most anxious to make. He explains the delay to the lady, who was herself practical enough to take it all in good part, concluding thus:--

"It is now uncertain whether I shall return soon enough to cross the lake this season. Provided I can possibly return soon enough, you may depend on seeing me this season; but, madam, I cannot wish that my promises and disappointments should stand in the way, provided you should have a good offer from another. I only trust in your good sense, that you will not accept a very crooked stick until I can have the pleasure of seeing you."

From which it was evident that the suitor believed that he at least would not rank as a "crooked stick" when he should come to be inspected. And he had some reason for his belief, for he was still in the prime of vigorous life, and to judge by the miniature still in the possession of his descendants, what those days would have been called a "very personable man," over six feet in height, with fine dark eyes, and a somewhat stately air. And as both had had abundance of time for consideration, besides the advantage of previous acquaintance, it fell out that, when the meeting did at length take place in the June following the date of the above letter, the marriage seems to have been arranged without more ado. There is no record of the happy event, but, on the 5th of the following September, we find Mr. Stone writing from the neighboring town of Kingston formerly Fort Frontenac to his wife at Gananoque, beginning with the conjugal "My dear," and giving her direction about a survey of

some land which he had directed to be made. They had settled down in the house he had built for himself on the bank of the Gananoque river, in a picturesque spot which he had made as inviting as circumstances would permit. His sawmill was close by, and the neighboring waterfall made pleasant and refreshing music through the peaceful summer days. The eldest son, soon to be carried off by consumption, lived with them and discharged the duties of deputy collector of customs, an office which the nearness of the frontier made necessary. The daughter too in course of time, came to the home which the kind stepmother's presence now made homelike, and in due time was married to a young Scotchman named Macdonald, one of three brothers who had settled down at Gananoque to engage in lumbering and merchandise. Mrs. Stone's only daughter, after her early widowhood, also settled with her family near her mother, and the family bond was eventually farther connected by the marriage of one of Mrs. Stone's grand-daughters to another of the Macdonald brothers,\* so that Mr. Stone and his wife gradually became the patriarchal head of a large family connection.

As time passed on, and the marriage proved itself a most happy one, Mr. Stone found in his second wife not only the affectionate companion and friend he had hoped for, but also a prudent counsellor and trusty helper. In his necessary absence at Montreal, to superintend the sale of his rafts, he leaves her in charge of all his concerns. He sends her directions in his letters as to the sowing of the fields, the working of the sawmill, the invoices of goods for his "general store," and suggestions as to the prices to be charged, though leaving much to her own judgment. . . . "I approve what you have done," he says in one letter, "and must with pleasure submit to your own wisdom to do as you think best, until I get home." In another, written at a time when the price of lumber was low, he tells her to order the men to "get all the boards and planks they possibly can, and to remember that after a storm comes a calm. Let us not fail to be prepared with dishes when it may rain!"

But this capable woman of business was not only a born ruler and administrator in her little wilderness sphere; she was also a kind friend and judicious counsellor to her poorer neighbors. No appeal to her for help was ever made in vain. She was an expert horsewoman, as most pioneer women were in days when that was the chief mode of travel. She would mount her horse and ride through the forest for miles to nurse the sick or comfort the dying, or, if necessary, to subdue some refractory rebel against lawful authority—for, small of stature as she was, she

\*Mrs. John Macdonald, of Gananoque, widow of the late Hon. John Macdonald, who still lives at an advanced age. The grandson of Col. Stone, W. S. Macdonald, Esq.—also of Gananoque—also survives in a green old age.

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had the moral power which compels submission. Her natural medical instinct, aided by the resources of her simple medicine chest, made her the nearest approach to doctor or trained nurse within a radius of forty miles. To the stranger and the needy her hospitality and generosity were always generous. To widows and orphans she was especially kind—a safe referee in matters of difficulty, and a trusted guardian of valuable papers or other personal property. For the tired and hungry wayfarer—not then prejudged as a “tramp”—there was always a seat and a good meal at the kitchen table; and, unlike some good people, she did not restrict her sympathy to the “deserving poor,” for her large-hearted hospitality included even an evil-looking Indian of doubtful repute, popularly called “Fire-Andrew,” because he was suspected of having burned his wife, though this was probably a mythical tradition. She kept up faithfully the beneficent customs of an English Christmas, sending round at that season a sleigh-load of provisions suited to the needs of the various poor families around her, as previously ascertained. Cows being scarce in the neighborhood, she added to her other housewifely duties the dispensing of milk with her own hands to her needy neighbors. A passionate lover of flowers, she always had her flower garden, in which, side by side with the sweet old-fashioned flowers she loved, grew various savory herbs for the use of others as well as for herself, a custom which she taught her granddaughters to keep up when she was no longer able. In short, she officiated as “Lady Bountiful” in her vicinity, as if “to the manor born.” The Indian aborigines also came under her kindly care. On New Year’s Day it was customary for a large party of the Indians in the neighborhood to pay her and Colonel Stone a New Year’s visit, when they were hospitably entertained with large supplies of cake and other presents, each Indian receiving one glass of rum, according to the somewhat perilous practice of those days. Colonel Stone was accustomed to receive from the Indians the respectful title of “Father,” a sign of the confidence and attachment they felt for him; and a Commentary on the Bible originally presented by George III. to the noted chief, Tyendinaga, was by him presented to Mr. Stone and still remains in the possession of his wife’s descendants.

In 1812 the complications resulting from the hostilities between Britain and France, and their effect on ocean commerce, which had aggravated a long smouldering irritation between England and her former colony, resulted in a declaration of war on the part of the United States, which called out the staunch Loyalists of Canada to risk their lives once more in defence of the flag they had followed so far through privation and suffering.

It need hardly be said that Mr. Stone was ready for the occasion, even before it actually arose. In 1809, while trouble was

evidently brewing, and some outbreaks of hostility had occurred, he received from the Lieutenant-Governor, Colonel-General Gore, the commission of a Colonel of Militia, retaining his command until the close of the war in 1814. During the war he was commanding officer at Gananoque. This, as a frontier outpost, was in peril from the American skirmishing parties, which during one of Colonel Stone's absences on military duty, landed there to plunder and destroy. His house, the most important one in the place, was, of course attacked, and was defended by Mrs. Stone, whose prompt action was successful in barring out the invaders, though a chance shot through the door wounded her somewhat severely in the thigh. With the self-control of a born commander, she gave no sign of the hurt, till the immediate danger was over, and the blood, overflowing from her shoe, revealed her condition to her frightened hand-maidens. When help arrived, she was carried to a place of safety two miles inland, where she was carefully tended, notwithstanding which, the injury left her a cripple for the rest of her life.

Colonel Stone proved himself a useful officer and adviser during the war. We find him urging the erection of a block-house at Gananoque—a primitive log-building, pierced with loop-holes for purposes of defence, constituting a kind of fortification which was found of great service in the early history of Canada. When he was compelled by advancing years to resign his commission, Sir Peregrine Maitland, then Lieutenant-Governor, issued a general order declaring his "high sense of the services of Colonel Stone, who for a period of forty years has served his king and country with exemplary fidelity, and his regret that advancing age should deprive the Militia of the Province of so good and zealous an officer." In addition to his military duties, he was for many years a Justice of the Peace, and at one time Chairman of the Court of General Sessions for the Johnstown district. He and his wife enjoyed, as the years passed, more and more of a patriarchal rank, exercising, in their little sphere, a "paternal" and maternal government in one. "The Colonel" as he was called, ruled with an authority no one thought of disputing, enforcing with a firm hand the due discharge of relative duties: now compelling a drunken husband to keep the peace and to maintain his family;—now enforcing the fulfilment of a promise of marriage from a recreant Corydon to a forlorn Phyllis. It happened frequently, in the absence of a clergyman, that he had to perform the ceremony himself, using any available substitute for a ring—a blacksmith's door-key being pressed into the service if nothing else was at hand. A strict disciplinarian, he was on the side of law and order, as might have been expected from his personal history. But he always bore himself as a chivalrous gentleman of the old-fashioned type—now too rarely seen—with courtesy and kindness to all, especially to the poor and depen-

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dent. It was well for the colony, in its plastic infancy, that such high-principled men and women were among its founders, who could be instrumental in moulding its scarcely organized social life in harmony with the morality and order of more advanced communities.

In his family relations the old Loyalist was equally exemplary, dignified, and chivalrous. To his wife he always showed a respectful and lover-like devotion, with as warm an interest in the welfare of *her* grand-children as of his own—being revered as a father by a large and growing family circle.

He had originally been a member of the Church of England, but the influence of his wife's fervent piety and the circumstance that she was a Methodist and that Methodist itinerant preachers were almost the only spiritual counsellors accessible in the scarcity of settled ministers in Canada, led him to cast in his lot with them, and for some years filled the post of Superintendent of the first Sunday-school in the neighborhood, in which several members of his family acted as teachers. With characteristic hospitality, both he and his wife always welcomed to their dwelling any minister of the gospel who came to the vicinity—whatever his special denomination—and gladly rendered him any assistance in their power.

It is pleasant to linger over the mellow old age of this patriarchal pair, enjoying to the last the well-earned rest and consideration won by laborious and useful lives. At the age of threescore and ten, Colonel Stone undertook a last visit to his home in Connecticut. Several of the old home-circle, including the attached sister who had recorded his former visit, had now passed away, but he expresses, in a letter written on his return, his thankfulness for the number of relatives he had been permitted to meet, and for the hope of a still more joyful meeting in peace for evermore.

Time, which brings all things to a close, seemed to have dealt lightly with the old Loyalist, up to his eighty-fifth year. It had, nevertheless, told on his constitution, and a severe cold terminated fatally after a brief illness, on November 20, 1833.

The sudden blow fell heavily on the aged widow, less able to bear such a shock, than she had been at the time of her first husband's death. When gently told that all was over, she could only repeat to herself the Scripture words: "*Be still, and know that I am God.*" She survived Colonel Stone for ten years of lonely widowhood, her small bowed figure and keen dark eyes leaving a strong impression on her descendants, and at the age of ninety-three was laid to rest beside him to whom she had been so loving a companion and so faithful a help-meet.

Somewhat curiously, the history of this interesting pioneer and Loyalist has not been included in any volume yet published on the subject of the U.E. Loyalists. None is more characteristic

of the spirit in which they cheerfully sacrificed their homes, their financial prospects, and their outward comfort—earning thereby the honor of collectively forming the corner-stone of the fair Dominion of Canada.

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## Autobiography of the Honorable Henry Ruttan of Cobourg, Upper Canada.

Copied by his Nephew, the Rev. C. E. Thomson, from manuscript in the possession of Mrs. Richard Ruttan, 68o Ontario Street, Toronto.

The late Hon. Henry Ruttan was the third son of Mr. William Ruttan, a U. E. Loyalist of Adolphustown, whose father settled there in 1784.

I give the account of his family and his life mostly in his own words——he writes:—

Our family was of French origin, from the old seaport town of Rochelle, 93 miles north of Bordeaux, and 76 miles from Nantes, a strongly fortified place, which held out against Richelieu's powerful army for fourteen months. It was a port remarkable in history, and was for some years in possession of the English, from whom it was taken in the year 1224.

During the Religious war, and especially after the massacre of Saint Bartholomew on August 24th, 1573, it was the stronghold of the Protestants.

Our family were Huguenots, a word that was used as a term of reproach by the French Catholics to nickname their countrymen of the Reformed churches or Protestants. For twelve years they were a happy people, until driven to despair by the cruelty of Catherine de Medicis, mother to the imbecile Charles the Ninth. Seventy thousand Huguenots or French Protestants were cruelly massacred throughout the Kingdom by secret orders from the King, instigated by the Queen Dowager. A considerable number migrated after that event to North America and settled on the Delaware, and in the Carolines—nearly the earliest emigrants from Europe.

Twenty-six years after that frightful event the people's minds were pacified by the celebrated Edict of Nantes, which arose from the liberality of Henry the Fourth of Navarre, who granted toleration to his Protestant subjects in 1598. This liberty of conscience they enjoyed for eighty-seven years when Henry's famous edict was revoked by Louis the 14th, 1685. This injudicious and unjust policy lost to France 800,000 Protestants, and gave to England 50,000 industrious artisans. Some thousands, who brought in with them the art of manufacturing silk, settled in Spitalfields, London, where their quiet descendents yet remain; others settled in Soho and S. Giles, pursuing the art of making crystal glasses, and other fine works, in which they excelled, among these jewellery, then but little understood in England. There being no longer a place of refuge for liberty of conscience, my great grandfather fled with his family to England in 1685.

The first founder of the Rotan or Ruttan family, of whom we have any historical record was Jean Baptiste Rotan, Pastor of the

Reformed Church of Rochelle, who publicly disputed the dogmas of the Christian Faith with the learned Mons. du Perou, an ecclesiastic of the Roman Catholic Church, and one of the King's attendants. This event occurred in 1593; it took place at Sully's house at Nantes. The controversy was carried on with great spirit, but the best of the argument was evidently in favor of du Perou, and thus the affair terminated in a friendly way. My great-grandfather became a loyal subject under King James the Second. In 1686 Mons. de Denonville, then Governor of Canada says that some Huguenots arrived at Boston in North America from England, and about 60 from the West Indies, whom Colonel Dongan, then British Governor, sent to Michilimackinac, a distant settlement. My grandfather emigrated to America about the time of Sir William Johnson, Bart., in 1734, and settled in a town called New Rochelle, in West Chester County, New York. This town or tract of land was purchased in 1689 expressly for a Huguenot settlement by Jacob Leisler, Commissioner of the Admiralty under Governor Dongan, of the Province of New York. It soon increased, and in 1700 had a vast number of militia officers loyal to the King. To this settlement my grandfather repaired soon after his arrival. My father and uncle Peter were born here about 1757 and 1759. Both entered the army in the 3rd Battalion of Jersey Volunteers, one as lieutenant, the other as captain. This was about the year 1775. In 1778 my uncle Peter accompanied the celebrated Brant from New York to Western Canada on a tour of observation. Brant was very intimate with Sir William Howe, who succeeded General Gage in the chief command of the British forces in America, having landed at Boston with Generals Clinton and Burgoyne in 1775. In 1775 he was joined by his brother Lord Howe, who took New York from the rebels, leaving Sir William in command there. These two brave men were brothers of Lord Howe, who was killed at Ticonderoga in 1757. It was at that period that Brant, who belonged to the Royalist party, made himself extremely useful; it being to the interest of the British government to retain his confidence, he was consequently employed in various ways. On this particular occasion referred to Captain Peter Ruttan accompanied him, being a great favorite, so much so that he named his son Joseph Brant Ruttan as a pledge of friendship. As a farther token of his esteem, Brant at parting presented him with a handsome brace of pistols, which he highly valued. At his decease they came into my possession. I regret to say they are now nowhere to be found, as they ought to have been preserved as heir-looms in the family.

Being driven out of the country with thousands of other Loyalists, Brant was provided for by a grant of land at the head of Lake Ontario in addition to the general grant on the Grand River for the Six Nations, in which he had an interest as Chief. My

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father and uncle had grants of 1200 acres of land each at Adolphustown in the Midland District. This was in 1783 or 1784.

Our family, like all settlers in the wilderness, experienced at first incredible hardships, but the remembrance of the distracted and unsettled country they had quitted, at times soothed their cares, and gave them fresh cause of thankfulness for their preservation. My father married in 1788, Margaret Steele, whose family came from Ireland. They had seven children, 1st Peter, 2nd Daniel, 3rd Henry (myself), 4th Matthew, 5th Jacob, 6th Charles, 7th Elizabeth, who married first Mr. H. C. Thomson, by whom she had nine children, secondly the Rev. Adam Townley. In 1843 my father died at the good old age of 84.

In 1816 I married Miss Mary Jones, the eldest daughter of Elias Jones, Esq., by whom I had nine children, of whom five survive, 1, William, 2, Henry Jones, 3, Charles, 4, Richard, 5, Margaret, 6, Mary, 7, Elizabeth, 8, Amelia, 9, William Elias.

But to refer back to our early career. Industry was the order of the day, so that when night drew her sable curtain around us, we slept soundly, with an occasional reminiscence of a pack of wolves around our dwelling in search of their prey. These we kept off by aid of fires, a stern foe to mosquitoes also, which, during the hot season, were extremely troublesome. My uncle Peter brought two negro servants with him, a male and a female, who were very faithful hardworking people, so that the clearing of the land, and other labor went on briskly. The difficulty at times in procuring provisions was very great, for there were no roads through the forest but what the settlers made themselves; and Cataraqui, now Kingston, then in its infancy also, from which we were distant many miles, was our only resource to obtain a barrel of pork or have our grain ground at the Government mills. We had the luxury of a cow, which the family brought with them, and had it not been for this domestic boon, all would have perished in the year of scarcity which happened in the year 1788 or 1790. The crops had failed the year before, and the winter that followed was most inclement and severe. The snow was unusually deep, so that the deer fell an easy prey to their rapacious enemies the wolves, who fattened on their destruction, whilst men were perishing from want. Nothing could be had in the woods, and something had to be done to keep the little company from dying of hunger. Five individuals in different places were found dead, including one poor woman with a live infant at her breast, which latter was cared for and protected.

My uncle, who had saved some money from the sale of his captain's commission, despatched two men all the way to Albany, a distance of two hundred miles, for four bushels of Indian corn, a dreadfully hazardous journey through the forest, with no roads and the snow very deep. They executed their mission and

returned in safety. On this scant allowance for eight persons' the family, with the assistance of the cow, lived until next harvest. The corn was pounded in a hollow stump before the process of making bread and cakes commenced, knowing they could get no more—for famine was throughout the land—and even the soldiers' rations in the garrison at Frontenac (now Kingston) were reduced to one biscuit a day. The season for roots and nuts came on with wild berries in abundance, which assisted those denizens of the forest in their privation. When those days of dearth and famine passed over, affairs began to brighten, and in the year 1792, about the time that Governor Simcoe arrived as first Governor—the farm had wonderfully improved, and, many more settlers having arrived, everything assumed a cheerful appearance, the neighbours being a great assistance to one another. The young folks generally turned into bed early, being fatigued with the labours of the day. Sometimes a hurricane of wind or a clap of thunder would arouse us in our sleepy couch, when I was sure to find my industrious mother either spinning or weaving; for she not only made the material, but plied her busy needle to clothe us with good linsey woolsey, a fit and useful garment for the woods. There were no fashionable milliners in those days. If any of the neighbours looked in, which was not often, there was no hiding the spinning wheel as too many modern ladies would do now-a-days, or tell the servants to say they were not at home, a palpable untruth at all times most disreputable. But, like the princesses of old, they gloried in their occupation, and were the more highly thought of. They fulfilled the climax of a useful life so vividly portrayed by that great observer of mankind King Solomon, who extolled such women as fit to appear before princesses. "She seeketh wool and flax, and worketh willingly with her hands." I mention these things as an incentive to the rising generation, and to remember (to make them remember) the apparent hardships their ancestors had to undergo to obtain (for them) their present goodly heritage.

Adolphustown, where I was raised, is one of the oldest villages in Upper Canada. Prince Edward County in the Bay of Quinte is not far distant. The lots then were laid out very long and narrow, similar to the arrangement in the Lower Province. The allowance for road was forty feet wide, very thinly scattered, and arrangement very inconvenient for the settlers. As boys grow up in the (woods), seeing nothing but the dreary woods which surround them, there is but little opportunity for the development of the mind. From morn till night you are occupied in agricultural pursuits, a remarkably healthy occupation; so I grew up strong, and ever since have enjoyed a robust constitution capable of great fatigue. Inured to considerable hardships in infancy, the mind becomes accustomed to it, which is a decided advantage when we have to combat with the world. The same

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monotony occurred each day, with the exception of hunting a bear, deer, woodchuck, or squirrel, or treeing a coon; for wild animals were then numerous, and not much afraid of man until they heard the report of a gun—their deadly enemy. The introduction of fire arms has taught them a lesson of caution, so that game is now scarce unless you travel a long distance. Fish were so plentiful that we could obtain any quantity in the Bay of Quinte, our dwelling being within sight of it. Fishing tackle was on a primitive plan, something similar to the Indians who fixed a bait on part of the backbone of a pike, which would catch the rock-bass and sun-fish quite as expeditiously as the best Limerick hooks; but our main supply was from spearing by torch-light, a most fascinating sport, and which has been practised by the Indians from time immemorial, from whom we obtained a vast deal of practical knowledge. As there were no schools at that infant period, what knowledge I acquired up to seven or eight years was from my mother, who would of an evening narrate also the events of the American Rebellion, and the happy lives people once led under British laws and protection previous to the outbreak, which arose from a paltry duty on tea, which the Americans have now themselves enacted by late proceedings in Congress. The hair breadth escapes of the Loyalists, with the frightful persecutions and deprivation of property they underwent from such bloodthirsty fanatics as Gen. Putnam, whose sole pleasure seemed to be in hanging Tories, as they were called, and driving them away from their once happy homes. The French Revolution could scarcely find worse characters at heart.

In a few years, as the neighbourhood improved, school-teaching was introduced by a few individuals, whose bodily infirmities prevented them from hard, manual, weary labour. At seven years of age I was one of those who patronized Mrs. Carnahan, who opened a Sylvan Seminary for the young idea. From thence I went to Jonathan Clarke's, and then tried Thomas Morden,—lastly, William Faulkner, a relative of the Hagermans. You may suppose that these gradations to Parnassus were carried into effect because a large amount of knowledge could be obtained. Not so; for Dilworth's Spelling Book and the New Testament were the only two books possessed by these academies. About five miles distant was another teacher, whose name I do not recollect. After his day's work was over in the woods, but particularly in the winter, he was ready to receive his pupils. His Evening School was for the express benefit of those in search of knowledge. My two elder brothers availed themselves of this opportunity, and always went on snow shoes, which they deposited at the door ready for their return. By moonlight it was considered a healthful and exciting excursion, especially when the girls joined the cavalcade. There the same process

was gone through, Dilworth's Spelling Book and the New Testament. Those primeval days I remember with great pleasure.

At fourteen my education was finished; this was in 1806. I then went to Kingston as assistant in a store to learn the art and mystery of trade and commerce. Some of the military being stationed here, there was more life and activity than on a sequestered farm. Most of the young people imbibed a taste for military life, as being manly. I was among the number, so after the war broke out with the States in 1812, I obtained my commission at the age of twenty in the Militia, who were all enthusiastic in the defence of the country. In the month of July, 1812, we first heard of the declaration of war by the United States against Great Britain. In the same month a body of the 1st Regiment of Northumberland Militia (commanded by Colonel Peters), called flank companies, drafted from the regiment, marched to Kingston under orders from General de Rottenburg. Those flank companies were under the immediate command of Captain Asa Burnham and Captain John Spencer. The alarm of an invasion by the enemy in the neighbourhood of Kingston having subsided, the Northumberland Militia, together with other flank companies from the Bay of Quinte, were ordered home after a few weeks' absence.

General Brock assembled the Legislature, and, amongst other acts, one for the organization of a Battalion of Incorporated Militia was passed. The number of men required to be raised by each officer was, for a Lieutenant-Colonel 40, Major 30, Captain 20, Lieutenant 10, Ensign 5.

Such was the sparseness of the settlements, that it was with difficulty volunteers could be obtained, even to this extent, and many throughout the Province failed in securing the number. During the winter of 1812 and 13 however, all the fragments, or rather squads of men enlisted were collected at two points, Kingston and York (now Toronto). In the month of March, 1813, they were all ordered to York, where they were organized under Captain William Robinson, of the 2nd Battalion of the 8th Regiment of the Line, who held the rank in the Militia of Lieutenant-Colonel. Early in June following, the enemy at that time being in possession of Fort Erie, and advancing down towards Niagara, the battle of Chippewa was fought, and the Militia, with a few Regulars, drove them back. Reinforcements were then ordered from York. They embarked about 400 strong on the 6th of June on board two schooners, and arrived at Niagara in the afternoon. Immediately on landing at Niagara they met the poor fellows by waggon loads who had been wounded the day before at Chippewa. They found no enemy at Chippewa, and were ordered back to Niagara. The enemy, under General Brown, however, managed within two or three

weeks to advance to within two or three miles of their cantonments at Niagara, but contented themselves with cannonading. He withdrew his forces, and was followed by General Riall, when, on the 25th July, 1814, not relishing the idea of being followed up quite so closely, he despatched a brigade of cavalry and one of infantry to drive the Canadians back.

General Riall, of course, ordered his force to retire; this was about 4 o'clock p.m. They had not retrograded more than a mile, when they met General Drummond with three or four small detachments of the Royals, 104th, and other regiments. He being the Chief in command ordered all back, he, and his detachments and field pieces leading the way. I cannot pretend, nor indeed would it properly be in place here to give a description of the Battle of Lundy's Lane, one of the hardest fought, and most obstinately contested battles during that war, but a few incidents, to which I was an eye and ear witness, will not be wholly out of place. Besides the two or three hundred men accompanying General Drummond, the action was commenced by the Glengarry Fencibles and Incorporated Militia, say not exceeding 1,000 bayonets in all. The time which they had lost in retiring before meeting General Drummond had enabled the enemy to fill the woods between their left and the Niagara about a mile below the Falls; in fact, their left was turned before they had deployed into line, so that most of the Grenadier Company of the Regiment of Incorporated Militia, who were ordered to fill up the space between the left and the river, were surrounded and captured by the enemy. Capt. Maclean (now Judge Maclean), his subalterns, who were both wounded, and most of his men, were thus abstracted from the British force at the very outset. Colonel Robinson was wounded, and had to be carried off the field, the Quartermaster, and the ammunition wagon were taken. The main body of the regiment, however, steadily advanced across an open field up to a piece of woods filled with the enemy, right in front, and whose fire mowed the men down at a dreadful rate. Here they first discovered the loss of their ammunition. Their retreat over this field thinned the ranks still more than their advance, being unable to return the enemy's fire for want of ammunition. Cut up as they were, they brought up in good order, and received a fresh supply of ammunition under cover of their field pieces, which were doing good service on a small acclivity of a burying ground. The river and the enemy were now both in front. At this time, about 9 o'clock at night, there was, as if by common consent, a general cessation of firing. Although there was a moon, it was yet so dark as to prevent the combatants from distinguishing each other. The Canadians could plainly see a line forming in their front, and hear every order given. General Drummond, who was immediately behind our company, called out for an officer and twenty men to advance and ascertain whether we had a friend or enemy in front.

At this particular juncture of time I witnessed one of the coolest acts of hardihood imaginable. I saw a mounted officer in front of our line, but about a company distant on my right, and heard him ask in a bold and commanding way, "What Regiment is this?" The answer was "Scots Royals, sir." (He replied) "Very well, stand you fast, Scots Royals," and immediately disappeared towards the enemy's line. A good deal of confusion ensued upon the call of Gen. Drummond from the superabundance of Volunteers for service; however, being of opinion that one or two men would execute this order better than twenty, I took Corporal Ferguson, who happened to be next to me, and quietly advanced under cover of a fence and lying trees until I could discover long-tailed coats turned up with white, and other indications which convinced me that those in front were enemies. Immediately after I turned to retrace my steps a field piece was let off from the enemy's line, when the firing at once became general. I fell in with a large number of my men, some of whom never lived to return to the lines. Providence, however, protected the corporal and myself thus far, but I had but just taken my place in the line when I was shot through the right shoulder. I scarcely felt the shock, but was conscious that something unusual was the matter, as I was involuntarily brought up on both feet (they were taught to fire on one knee) and turned quite around. I had gone but a few steps to the rear, when I remembered nothing more until about 2 o'clock next morning when I found myself lying on my back on the floor of a room and being examined by a surgeon, who pronounced me "done for." Before sunrise on the morning of the 25th of July, the wounded, myself among the rest, were stowed away in wagons, and proceeded on our way towards Niagara. I had the satisfaction of seeing my men mustering on the battle field, the enemy during the morning before daylight having returned over the Chippewa River, and burned the bridge behind them. The ground was strewn with dead friends and foes, who were burned and buried in heaps. The wounded, with myself among the rest, were conveyed to Niagara, and thence across the lake in schooners to York, and from thence by batteaux to Kingston.

Late in December following I had sufficiently recovered from my wound to join my regiment at York, which, with a great portion of the forces, after an investment of several months of the enemy at Fort Erie, had retired into winter quarters there. At an attempt at storming Fort Erie by the Canadian forces, the enemy sprung a mine by which the elite of the force, including Colonels Drummond (and) Bishop, and a number of other superior officers were killed. The enemy then abandoned the works, and re-crossed the river to Buffalo, N.Y. The war spirit having now been fairly aroused, the Legislature in the Session, 1814 to 1815, voted the supplies necessary to fill up the Incorporated Regiment

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to 800 men. A service of plate, and a pension of £20 per annum for the wounded or for the widows of the killed, as well as an address to His Majesty for an allowance of 100 acres of land for each Militiaman, whether belonging to this regiment, or flank companies of the Sedentary Militia. But alas! as the best concerted schemes of men often fail, so in this case. In March, 1815, the unwelcome (to our men) news of peace frustrated all our hopes and expectations. The Legislature being then in session, and acting upon the suggestion of the military authorities, voted us six months' pay in advance each, and we were reduced. I, after the war, returned to this neighbourhood, and went into business in the Township of Haldimand. I married the eldest daughter of Elias Jones, Esq., on the 26th of May, 1816. I was put on the Commission of the Peace, and made a Major of the Militia in 1816. In 1820 I was elected member of House of Assembly for Northumberland. In October, 1827, I was appointed Sheriff of the Newcastle District, which included the Counties of Northumberland and Durham. In 1836 I was again elected to the House of Assembly, and during this Parliament in 1838, had the honour of being unanimously elected Speaker of the House, Allan N. MacNab being on duty on the frontier. The duration of the Parliament was four years, and accordingly the last vote I gave in the year that the Union of Upper and Lower Canada was consummated, 1840, was against that measure. Having held the Shrievalty of these counties for thirty years, and being 65 years of age, I resigned it in 1857, being, I believe, the Senior Sheriff and Colonel of Militia with one exception in Upper Canada. In 1860 I was appointed to the command of one of the nine military districts into which each of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada was by a recent Militia Act divided.

Providence has taken from us four of our children, William, the eldest son, Margaret, Amelia and Elizabeth, the first named under peculiarly afflicting circumstances. In 1836 I was advised to send him to the south of France for his health. He left home in June. On the 6th of February following being so ill as to be obliged to be carried on board ship, he sailed from Marseilles in the Swedish ship *Wester Norland*, Capt. Jhostrom, arrived in New York on the 29th of April, and died there on the 3rd of May. Upon receiving the intelligence from his medical attendant, I proceeded to New York, and brought the body home. My surviving children are Henry Jones, born 16th March, 1819, Rev. Charles Ruttan, born 21st March, 1823; Mary, wife of R. M. Boucher, Esq., born Oct. 8th, 1826; Richard, born 11th July, 1828; and William Elias, born July 10th, 1843.

Cobourg, Dec. 17th, 1861.

(Signed)

H. RUTTAN.

So far Mr. Ruttan himself has given us an account of his life up to his 68th year.

A few additional notes, by whom written I do not know, may be of interest.

In addition to his official duties Mr. Ruttan was for many years a member, and at one time President of the Provincial Agricultural Association of Upper Canada . . . Mr. Ruttan enjoyed the most robust health, but in the autumn of 1860, he was run away with by a fractious horse, and thrown out of the carriage on his head, from which accident he was several hours insensible. Having partially recovered, he devoted himself with his wonted energy to writing up his theory of Ventilation, and was engaged with unremitting industry upon that task in 1866, when he was seized with a severe attack of erysipelas, which terminated in a stroke of apoplexy. From that period he steadily, but gradually declined in health, till at last he was confined to his room, and finally to his bed. During his last illness he suffered very little pain and died with scarcely a perceptible struggle. Mr. Ruttan was a good man and humble Christian, and has left a name of which his children and relatives may be justly proud. At the time of his death he was in his 80th year.

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## Memoir of Captain Samuel Anderson.

BY SOPHIA ROWE.

In compliance with the request that all members of the U. E. Loyalist Association would contribute all the information in their power respecting those of their ancestors who took part in the Revolutionary War, I have prepared the following account of the services rendered by my grandfather. The late Captain Samuel Anderson was born of Irish parents near Boston, on 4th of May, 1736. He was a lawyer in good practice and married Miss Prudentia Deliverance Butts of Boston, who was born 1743, and died 1824. Samuel Anderson went to the West Indies early in life for the benefit of his health. On his return he joined the King's forces, probably as one of the contingent furnished by the New England Provinces after the breaking out of the war with France in 1756. He served under General Abercrombie in 1758, and under General Amherst in 1759-60-61. In 1759, he was at the taking of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. In 1760, he went with the army under General Amherst from Lake George to Oswego on Lake Ontario, by the route of the rivers Mohawk and Onondago. He was put in command of a scow, having under him 30 men acting as Marines, crossed the lake and captured a French Fort at Oswegatchie (afterwards called Chimney Island). The scow was carried down the St. Lawrence the following spring by the ice and sank in the Long Sault where the timbers were visible for many years. Parts of it were removed by Mr. Guy C. Wood, of Cornwall, and used in ornamental work about his house. Samuel Anderson was with the army at the capitulation of Montreal, and was then sent to Albany in charge of the sick and wounded, and in 1761, he was placed over the workmen in the engineers' department at Crown Point. After the close of the war, he settled on a farm near Boston, where he resided until the breaking out of the rebellion in 1775. He was offered a company in the Continental Service which he refused. Some time after, he was offered command of a regiment in the same service, which he also refused. This caused him to be looked upon as a *King's Man* and led to an attempt on the part of some of his neighbors to convert him from the error of his ways by one or other of the gentle means of carting, flogging, or tar-and-feathering then in vogue amongst the revolutionary party. Five or six of them started out to try the experiment; they found him on his farm splitting rails; he politely asked them their business, and on being told they had come to teach him a lesson, he invited them to "come and try." As he was a very large and powerful man, they looked at him, then at the axe in his hand, and moved off, evidently considering "discretion the better part of valor." Several attempts were made to arrest him, and he was

at one time secreted on his own property, when a party of Continentals billeted themselves at his house. The sergeant read a proclamation offering a reward of five hundred pounds for the body of Samuel Anderson dead or alive, after which the party conversed in French, not thinking they would be understood by Mrs. Anderson; but the brave woman without betraying the slightest fear or knowledge of what they talked of, heard all they purposed doing to her husband should he be found. She directed her servants to prepare food and beds for all, had their horses stabled and fed, then, waiting till all was quiet, went in the dark to her husband and bade him fly for his life.

However, he with many other loyalists were captured and confined in Litchfield jail where they suffered all but death until the beginning of 1777, when, having been told that all the prisoners were to be shot the next day, Anderson wrenched the bars from a window, and with his companions escaped to Canada, where he was appointed a Captain in the 1st Battalion of Sir John Johnston's corps, the King's Royal Regiment of New York. When General Burgoyne was preparing to advance from Ticonderoga, Captain Anderson was placed at the head of the workmen who were employed in making the roads through the forest from the head of Lake Champlain towards Fort Edward. He served in the battalion of the Royal Yorkers until they were disbanded in the spring of 1784. From the time of his imprisonment in Litchfield jail, his wife saw nothing of him until late in 1778, when, after suffering terribly from the cruelty of the Continentals, she abandoned all her property, paid the Yankee Governor 2/6 for a pass and with her family made her way to Sorel, where her husband was then stationed with his Company of the Royal Yorkers, where they remained till the spring of 1783, when he with his two elder sons who had served under him were put on half pay when peace was declared, and at the reduction of the army, Anderson, with his family and the men of his company received their allotment of lands in Cornwall, then a wilderness, the nearest settlement being Montreal distant 68 miles, and Kingston 105 miles. They came up the St. Lawrence by batteaux, and lived for some time under shelter of cedar boughs, until able to erect log houses for themselves. A short time after their arrival the "Dark Sunday" occurred, when, at mid-day total darkness fell upon all the land, and continued for about two hours. The rain came down in torrents, flooding their temporary dwelling, causing great discomfort, while the thunder and lightning were terrific. In those days there were no merchants, no baker or butcher shops, no medical men, no ministers to console the sick or dying, or bury the dead, and no means of instruction for the young. The Loyalists were generally poor, having sacrificed their property to their politics, and were obliged to work very hard. All was bush, hard labor and pinching privation

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for the present and long toil for the rising generation. The only mail in the early settlement of West Canada between Kingston and Montreal, was, in the winter, carried three times by an old French Canadian, Jacques Morriseau, who travelled the whole distance on snow shoes. His food was sea biscuit and fat pork which he ate and enjoyed sitting on a snow bank, and would afterwards puff away dull care in clouds of smoke curling from his old clay pipe, the stem of which was just long enough to keep the burning punk with which he lit it about two inches from his nose. From Lachine to Cornwall, he was obliged to sleep out of doors three nights—the settlers were then so few and far between, he could not always reach a house—and the only bed he had on those occasions was of green boughs under him and a blanket to cover him. He always rested a night going either way under Captain Anderson's roof. In 1785, Capt. Anderson was appointed a magistrate previous to the division of the Provinces of Quebec into Upper and Lower Canada, and continued in the Commission of the Reeve until his death. He was Judge of the Eastern District Court, from 1794 to 1814, and of the Surrogate Court, from 1794 until 1812, and drew half pay as a Captain until his death, which occurred in June, 1836, (born 1736), not from any bodily ailment, but, accidentally falling, his hip joint was broken; and from his great age the bones would not unite. Five members of this family died from the same cause, including Joseph, the elder son, and grandfather of Mrs. Johanna Hills. He served in his father's company during the Revolutionary War, and died in July, aged 95 years, having been 75 years on half pay. He was one of the "King's bad bargains."

There is a tile in the wall of the U. E. Loyalist Memorial Church at Adolphustown in memory of the late Capt. Samuel Anderson, placed there by three of his grandchildren, the late Rev. G. A. Anderson, of the Mohawk Reserve, Bay Quinte, and his sisters Mrs. Sophia Rowe and Mrs. H. D. Rowe.

The sixth son, Thomas Gummersall, was born at Sorel, on 12th Nov., 1779. He was a Volunteer or Cadet in his father's company and held his discharge under date 1783. In those days it was not unusual for the nurse-maid to say to her mistress, "The Major won't take his *pap* this morning, ma'am." The children of officers were from their birth placed on the strength of their regiments, and when interest could be made were permitted to fill vacancies. Hence commissions were granted to boys under ten years of age. This was intended as a gracious reward from the King to mark his approbation of the conduct of those who joined the British standard in the Revolutionary war.

In 1795 young Thomas G. Anderson was apprenticed to Mr. Thomas Markland, merchant, of Kingston, and remained with him five years, when he went with a Mr. Robert McKenzie, a fur trader, to the Mississippi river, and did good service at Prairie-du-Chien

and Rock River in 1814-15, for which services Lieut.-Colonel McDouall, then commanding the forces at Mackinac, recommended him to His Excellency Sir George Gordon Drummond, to be a Captain in the Indian Department, from 4th September, 1815.

He continued to serve in this department until June 1858, when from old age, and consequent infirmities, he petitioned for, and was kindly granted, a retired allowance which he enjoyed till his death, at Port Hope, on 14th Feb., 1875, in the 97th year of his age.

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### Some U.E. Loyalist Homes.

BY M. FORSYTH GRANT.

Craigie House, Cambridge, is well known to all visitors to Boston and its environments, as a home lived in for many years by the Poet Longfellow, and in the library of which, so well loved by himself, he wrote some of the famous poems which are still, and always will be, amongst the gems of the English language. But to the lover of history who always looks for that to mingle with the poetry and romance of life, the house is also known as the home of one of the earliest United Empire Loyalists. It was built in 1759 by the wealthy Colonel John Vassall, of English timber, and stands far back from the street, between Harvard Square and Mount Auburn. Its ample front of two stories extends, including the broad verandahs, to a width of more than eighty feet, and the roof is still crowned with the white railing which appeared to be an indispensable addition to the colonial residences of those days. Between the tall white pilasters which mark the width of the hallway, the front door still retains the brass knocker which announced many a visitor to the ancient hospitalities, and wonder is still felt at the cumbrous old latch with its key, which might almost have belonged to a Bastile. In the white wainscoted hall is a handsome staircase with broad low steps and variously twisted balusters. On the left opens the drawing-room which, with its deep window seats, its arched recesses, its marble mantel surmounted by a broad panel set in an architectural frame remains a fine specimen of a colonial interior. Opposite to this was a similar room; beyond, a spacious library; and above are the bedrooms whose broad fireplaces are framed in old-fashioned Dutch tiles.

The house was built in the midst of Colonel Vassall's large inherited estate, but dear as it must have been to him with its many old associations, it was left by him on the eve of the Revolution, when keeping the side of the King, he went to England and erased from his family coat of arms the motto, "Always for my Country, after for my King." Then it was confiscated to the State, and after the battle of Bunker Hill the Marblehead regiment was quartered under its roof, and later on, Washington coming to take command, established his headquarters in the Vassall House. And Mrs. Washington, her son and his wife joining him, the winter was spent there, and tradition tells of many a party in the hospitable dining-room, and notably of a Twelfth-night gathering in the beautiful drawing-room.

In January, 1793, it passed into the possession of Andrew Craigie, who immediately set up a most princely establishment, entertaining on a grand scale, many notables, amongst whom

were the Prince of Diplomats, Talleyrand ; and later on a Royal guest in the person of H. R. H. the Duke of Kent, father of our beloved Queen ; and Mr. Craigie, one would think, was not a true Republican even in those days, as it is known that when the Royal Duke had left Boston, Mr. Craigie immediately purchased his carriage and horses. His widow rented rooms in the house after his death, and Longfellow, then a Professor at Harvard, of Literary History, lived for years there as Mrs. Craigie's lodger, and afterwards, when married a second time, he bought the house, and lived there in great peace and happiness, and it is still known as Craigie House.

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### Beverley House on the Hudson.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE OLD AND HISTORIC RESIDENCE ON THE HUDSON, KNOWN FOR NEARLY ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS AS BEVERLEY HOUSE.

This little narrative is taken partly from a description written by Mrs. Lamb for Appleton's Journal for January, 1876, being a fitting reminiscence of Revolutionary times in the year of the Centennial: partly from an old Harper's Magazine and partly from a personal knowledge of family matters and incidents given by my father, a descendant of the well-known Colonel Beverley Robinson, who with his son and grandson bore the same time-honored name and was himself born in another Beverley House, which in the early days of York, Upper Canada, was as well-known for generous hospitality and the gracious dignity of its owners as Beverley House in New York in the United States.

Mrs. Lamb says: "Through some miscalculation I found myself obliged one morning last summer to wait for two hours for a train at the little railroad station opposite West Point on the Hudson. A bit of shaded road disappearing up the hillside in a most capricious though inviting manner enticed me forth for a walk. Stimulated by the possible discovery of some point of observation where I might confiscate a pencil view of the picturesque scenery thereabouts, with which the world is familiar I accomplished the whole ascent of the steep bank which overhangs the water. Presently my attention was diverted. Sugarloaf Mountain, rising in conical form to an elevation of 800 feet above the beautiful plateau dotted with country seats, greeted me with a wave of friendly boughs and graciously suggested the propriety of my visiting the famous and historic mansion at its base, where Benedict Arnold perfected his treasonable designs and from which he made his escape to the English war-vessel the Vulture. Who of this generation has not heard or read the story of how Washington changed his route from Hartford and spent the night of September the 23rd, 1780, with the French Minister Messieur De la Lauzan at Fish Kill?"

"Washington took a brief nap and was in the saddle before daylight accompanied by several of his suite and he sent a messenger in advance to inform Mrs. Arnold at Beverley House that he should do himself the pleasure of breakfasting with her. Instinctively I looked for the narrow path into which the father of his country reined his steed as he proceeded to examine the redoubts on the river bank; I could not find it. I was directly opposite the great gateway which leads into the charming grounds of Beverley, but unless my ears deceive me I heard Lafayette call out, 'General, you are going in the wrong direction; you know that Mrs. Arnold is waiting for us,' and the quick good natured reply, 'Ah, I know all you young men are in love with

Mrs. Arnold and wish to get there as soon as possible ; you may go and take your breakfast with her and tell her not to wait for me. I must ride down and see what is going on this side of the river.' I followed Hamilton and Lafayette, perhaps I was so carried into the past that I anticipated being received by the lovely Mrs. Arnold herself.

"The whole scene flashed before my eyes like an illuminated picture, Arnold polite and affable, helping his guests, and his wife in pretty morning costume dispensing coffee and sweet smiles. The man who had just closed a bargain to sell his country for twenty thousand pounds and who believed that every preliminary to the successful transfer had been properly managed, was in unusually fine spirits. His scheme was the pivot upon which the fate of the prospective nation balanced. He saw no probable hindrance to its turning on the side of kingly power, and with his own future aggrandisement he could afford to be genial. But hark ! a sudden sound as of a horseman riding rapidly into the yard pierces his ear with singular apprehension, a letter is placed in his hands, he reads, pales, makes some indifferent remark, rises with accustomed grace, and without apparent haste and begs to be excused, saying that he has been unexpectedly called across the river. As he steps briskly through the hall he orders a horse to be saddled ; he springs up the fine old staircase two steps at a time ; he calls a servant, and with choked and forced utterance sends for his wife who comes to his room promptly at his bidding. He catches her in his arms and holds her convulsively to his heart for an instant, whispers his danger and farewell, and is gone. There is little occasion to watch the foiled traitor in his wild flight for life. We have done with him."

But the house stands like a triumphant flagstaff to mark the most critical moment in American history ; its walls and timbers echo and re-echo the thrilling statement that if Andre had reached New York according to the programme we should have had no Centennial to celebrate. No wonder that this ancient dwelling is dear to the public heart and it will continue to grow dearer and more dear as time rolls on.

It was built in 1750, by Colonel Beverley Robinson, son of Hon. John Robinson, of Virginia, who was President of that Colony on the retirement of Governor Hood, and Speaker of the House of Burgesses for 22 years. This handsome property, comprising some 1,000 acres of the best land on the river, came into the possession of Colonel Robinson through his wife, who was the daughter of the wealthy Lord of the Phillipse Manor. They lived in a handsome city mansion of their own, at the time they designed and erected this romantic dwelling in the wilderness.

But even to-day as you walk through the broad entrance Hall of Beverley House, noting the elaborate design of its staircase and the size and finish of its stately apartments, you are forcibly

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impressed with the refined taste which guided the architect. It was fashioned according to the prevailing style of the country seats in England of that period. The peculiar carving and curious tiles indicate the Dutch birthright of the accomplished lady who presided over its rise and progress; while the gardens, lawn, fruit orchard, highly cultivated fields, and great deer-parks were more fit surroundings for the military scholar and Englishman. It was for many years the princely abode of a generous and courtly hospitality, and Mrs. Robinson, with affectionate deference to the family of her husband's mother, named it "Beverley."

When the revolutionary controversy commenced, Colonel Robinson opposed the measures of the British Ministry in their taxation policy, gave up the use of imported merchandise, and clad himself and his family in fabric of domestic manufacture. But, like thousands of others, he could not reconcile himself to the separation of the colonies from the Mother Country, and when hostilities broke out he greatly desired to take a neutral part. The pressure, however, upon him was so strong that he yielded, removed his family to New York, and entered the Militia raised by the Crown. His standing entitled him to high rank, and of the "Loyal American Regiment," recruited principally in New York by himself, he was commissioned Colonel. He also commanded the corps called "The Guides and Pioneers," and with his two sons in the Loyal American Regiment, was in several hot engagements during the war. Besides his active duties in the field Colonel Robinson was employed to conduct several matters of consequence for the Crown; and he figures conspicuously in cases of defection from the Whig cause (as witness his correspondence with the Whig leader in Vermont), to induce them to return to their allegiance to the King. The immense estate of his wife on the Hudson, as well as their property in New York, was confiscated by the Legislature of the State, and was sold. Several of the children of Colonel Beverley Robinson were born in this house, they all attained distinction. His son Beverley was a Lieut.-Colonel in the British Army, and settled at St. John, New Brunswick, where he was made President of the Royal Council; he died in New York in 1816. John, another son, was a member of the Royal Council, and Treasurer of New Brunswick; also Mayor of St. John, and President of the first Bank chartered in that Colony. A direct descendant of his is in Toronto now, and joined the U. E. L. Association lately; his name is William Beverley Robinson, and all his family are in St. John and Fredericton; also my grandfather, the late Sir John Beverley Robinson, Bart., of Beverley House, Toronto, whose name to this day is as well known from one end of Canada to the other as that of his illustrious ancestor is remembered in New York. The fourth son, Sir Frederick Phillipse Robinson,

passed through all the gradations of war, served brilliantly in the Peninsula, commanding a brigade at the battle of Vittoria; at the siege of St. Sebastian, and at the passage of the Nile; in the war of 1812 he was Commander-in-Chief of the Canadian forces, and in 1815 was appointed Governor of Upper Canada, at the same time receiving the honor of Knighthood; and afterwards was decorated with the Order of the Grand Cross. He visited Beverley House in his mature manhood, and is said to have been affected to tears as he regarded with profound admiration the beauties of nature which encompassed his birthplace. Another son, Sir William Henry Robinson, was Knighted by the King for valuable services rendered to the English Government; his wife was the daughter of Mr. Cortlandt Skynner, of New Jersey. Lady Robinson, who lived to a good old age in England, says in a volume of "Recollections," "At the commencement of the American Rebellion Colonel Beverley Robinson joined the British Army. He raised two battalions principally from his own tenantry, and held an important Staff appointment the greater part of that disastrous war, by which he lost his immense estates." Then, in speaking of Colonel Beverley Robinson's father's house in Virginia, and of young Beverley leaving it and making his home in New York City, she says, "Beverley, the youngest of seven sons, when twenty-two or three, went to New York, I believe, merely on a visit, and then meeting Miss Susanna Phillipse, married her, and had a large family; Beverley did not return to Virginia, but concentrated all his property, which was considerable, in that part of the States."

Lady Robinson speaks of her husband as Sir William Henry Robinson, K.C.B., a Commissary-General, and the tenth child of Colonel Beverley Robinson. Her ladyship fails to give the date of his birth, but tells us they were married in 1794, and that Sir William died in 1836. Colonel Beverley, after a varied and honored life, died at Bath, England, in 1792, having been born in Virginia in 1723.

A portrait of Mrs. Robinson (Susannah Phillipse) is taken from a painting in the possession of the New York Historical Society. The dress is interesting as showing the costume of that day, and there is every reason to suppose the portrait to be a correct one of the lady, and is so accounted by her descendants now living in New York who take pride in tracing their descent through her.

With regard to this lady's family, in the "Life of Washington" by Sparks the following reminiscence is taken:—"While in New York Washington was frequently entertained by Mr. Beverley Robinson, 1756, between whom and himself a great intimacy and friendship prevailed, and which continued without change until severed by the fortune of war 20 years after. It happened that Miss Mary Phillipse, a sister of Mrs. Robinson, and a young lady

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of rare accomplishments, was an inmate of the family. The charms of this lady made a deep impression upon the heart of Washington, he went to Boston, returned and was again included in the hospitality of Mr. Robinson. He lingered there until duty called him away, but he was careful to intrust his secret to a confidential friend, whose letters kept him informed of every important event; in a month intelligence came that a rival was in the field, and that the consequences could not be answered for if he delayed his return! Whether time, or the bustle of a camp, or the scenes of war (he was then colonel in the French and Indian war) had moderated his admiration, or whether he despaired of success, is not known. He never saw Miss Phillipse again until she was married to that same rival, Captain Morris, his former associate in arms, and one of General Braddock's aide-de-camps." Morris is a name known in the Robinsons of New Brunswick, and doubtless it has come down from that source.

It was within the genial old dining-hall with its bare unpolished beams which you can almost touch with your hand, so low is the ceiling, and its floor descending in a moderately inclined plane toward the antique fire-place on the western side, that Washington communicated the tidings of the defection of his hitherto valued officer to Lafayette, remarking to him bitterly, "Whom can we trust now?"

Beverley House has been the scene of a score of interesting events; it was first selected as a military hospital after Mr. Robinson had vacated it. In a military journal of the period a dinner party is described as consisting of "Forty-one respectable officers," invited and entertained by Brigadier-General Muhlenberg, who occupied the southeast chamber for some months. He was the clerical Virginia soldier, who entered his pulpit on Sundays with his sword and cockade. The banquet was served in the historical dining-room and, "the table was furnished with fourteen different dishes, arranged in fashionable style." In July, 1788, mention is also made of a notable dinner given at Beverley House by the officers to Colonel Malcom and his much admired wife; the guests were more numerous than at any other entertainment that season, one-third being ladies. The quaint chronicler remarks, "The cheering glass was not removed until evening, when we accompanied those from West Point to the river side, and finished two bottles of port on board their barge."

No other house in the country was so frequently the resort of Washington during the eight years which "tried men's souls," as Beverley. Under no other roof were so many foreigners of distinction sheltered from time to time, and all of the illustrious generals of the army, as well as the great majority of the statesmen, who were tinkering at the foundation of the new republic, broke bread in this long-to-be-remembered dining-room. Bever-

ley House was in the possession of Richard Arden for many years, and he did himself special honor by permitting no alteration in the interior of the mansion. The property was purchased some years ago by the Honourable Hamilton Fish, whose pleasant summer house is across the way. The name of the statesmen and his well-known historical tastes are a sufficient guarantee that this precious relic will continue to be protected with scrupulous care from the march of modern improvement.

The old house, from a print we have of it, appears to be on much the same scale and of similar architecture to Mount Vernon, and at the World's Fair I was struck at once with that fact, once I saw the former, or rather the model of it; though I have seen that original when passing down the Potomac from Washington, and the ship's bell always tolls to remind the traveller that it is Washington's home and burial place.

My father and mother both visited Beverley House many years ago, and were greatly interested in all the quaint and beautiful surroundings. My aunt and myself had almost decided one autumn that we would make a trip there also, when the news was telegraphed from New York that the historic old house had been entirely destroyed by fire, and so we of this generation have never had the pleasure of seeing the home of our U. E. L. ancestor, whose portrait is on the wall at Beverley House here, and shows the picture of a fine-looking gentleman in full scarlet regimentals and powder. I, only a very short time ago, saw in one of the monthly magazines, a portrait of this same Miss Phillipse so dear to Washington. She was represented as dressed in much the same attire as Mrs. Beverley Robinson, with a row of flowers arranged in precisely the same fashion on her bodice, and a very strong family resemblance in expression and features. The fact that many of our people had to leave the glories of such homes as these and begin life over again in such bleak countries as New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, will make us value the hard struggle with which the history of Canada abounds.

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## A Sketch of Some of the Secords from 1775 until 1866.

BY MARY M. DUNN.

In the American Archives of 1775 will be found an account of a large meeting held April 13th, 1775, on the White Plains in Westchester County, New York, to determine whether or not delegates should be sent by them to a Provincial Convention at New York. Three hundred and twelve of the inhabitants declared their allegiance to their King, and would acknowledge no representative but the General Assembly.

Among the names signed to the declaration will be found Elias, Benjamin, Francis, Israel, and Joshua Secord.

The Secords\* (originally Sicard, pronounced Ce-kar) derive descent from a Huguenot family of La Rochelle in France. During the persecution of the Huguenots they fled to England. Eventually one Ambroise Sicard with three sons, Ambroise, James and Daniel, and two daughters, Marie and Silvia, emigrated to America, and with other refugees settled in Westchester County, New York, founding a New Rochelle in about 1689.

On the breaking out of the Revolutionary War some of the family adhered to the crown. So once more they gave up their homes, and all their worldly goods, but this time for their king instead of their religion.

The day following the meeting on the White Plains, the newspapers reported that one hundred and seventy of those who signed the declaration had no votes, as they were boys under age, which may be quite true, but boys who were not too young to take up arms in defence of their king.

In the Canadian Archives Vol. XIII. will be found another branch of the Secords, employed as rangers in 1776, Peter, Silas, and John Secord and John Junior, also Solomon, Stephen and David Secord, the four last named were boys, the eldest being only twenty, the youngest sixteen years of age. They served all through the war, and became commissioned and non-commissioned officers before the war was over. These Secords were of three different families, Peter and Silas, father and son, John and his son John. Solomon, Stephen and David were sons of Lieut. James Secord of the Indian Department of Rangers.

In a letter† from Colonel Butler to Sir Guy Carleton dated Fort Niagara, June 15th, 1777, these same names are mentioned as Rangers of the Indian Department, also the following year the same names again will be found on the muster roll of Capt. Walter Butler's company, being the first organized of the celebrated partizan corps of Butler's Rangers.

\*In old documents at New Rochelle the name is spelled in various ways, Cicar, Sicar, Sycar and Sycard, but the original French name is Sicard.

†NOTE. — "Some Papers of an Early Settler," by Capt. Cruikshank.

In Capt. Cruikshank's History of Butler's Rangers, James Secord is spoken of as leading a party of Rangers detached from Oswego to the Susquehanna. After prolonged wanderings they were surprised by an overwhelming force and thirty were taken prisoners. The name of Mr. Secord is mentioned in several places in the History. In one of Colonel Butler's letters he speaks of having procured the release of Mrs. Campbell, who was held prisoner by the Indians, and of sending her to Niagara with Mr. Secord. Capt. Cruikshank says he believes it was James Secord, but cannot be quite sure, as the first name was not mentioned in Col. Butler's letter.

David, the third son of James, a lad of seventeen years was wounded at the battle of Fort Stanwix, at the same time that Captains Hare and Wilson of the Rangers were killed. He was also at the battle of Wyoming, as Sergeant, where he came near losing his life in protecting three prisoners who had been placed under a guard commanded by him.

The prisoners had belonged to a party of Americans, who had attacked a Mohawk village, and cruelly used and killed the young wife of Chief Oneida Joseph.

Chief Joseph, on hearing that the murderers of his wife were prisoners, ran with his spear to where they were confined, demanding to be allowed to kill them. Sergeant Secord not allowing him to do so, the Chief became so enraged he cried out, "I kill them or kill you," at the same time thrusting his spear viciously at him. It passed through his coat. One of his guards ran to his help, and the prisoners were saved from the infuriated Chief's wrath. Yet the Americans say all prisoners were massacred at the battle of Wyoming. This same David Secord is the Major Secord who is so highly spoken of for his bravery in the war of 1812. The village of St. David's was named after him, where he at that time owned six hundred acres of land.

While James Secord and his sons were serving their king, the wife and mother was enduring great hardship. The commander of the British forces at Niagara, hearing of the destitute situation of some of the families of the Rangers, sent a party with Indians to conduct them to Niagara, where they arrived almost starving, after nearly a month's wandering through the forest and Susquehanna valley.

Mrs. Sphon, a descendant of the Bowmans, says they reached Fort Niagara on November the 3rd, 1776, in a most destitute condition, there were five women and thirty-one children, and only one pair of shoes amongst them, but did not say who wore the shoes. They brought in the Nelles's, Youngs, Bucks, Bowmans, and the wife of James Secord, with her three little daughters, aged twelve, eight and six, and two sons, the younger aged three years. The eldest daughter, Magdalen, married Mr. Richard Cartwright, Esther died unmarried, Mary, the third daughter,

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became the wife of Dr. Lawrence, James the son, aged three years, afterwards the husband of Laura Secord, took an active part in the war of 1812.. He was wounded at the battle of Queenston Heights, and so was unfit for service at the time his wife carried the information to Lieutenant Fitzgibbon, at Beaver Dams.

\* At the close of the Revolutionary War, Peter and James Secord, applied to Governor Haldimand, through Colonel Butler, for the iron works and stone necessary to the furnishing of a saw and grist mill, to be built close to the barracks at Niagara. They were informed in reply, that the private ownership of the mill would not be permitted, but that material would be furnished, and the Secords allowed a fair profit for working it. Captain Cruikshank says he is almost certain, this was the first mill in the province of Upper Canada, and beyond question, the first built in the Niagara district.

In a letter of Colonel Butler's, he states:—The expense of building a saw and grist mill, at Peter Secord's farm, will amount to £500 New York currency, for cutting and hauling boards and timber, building, digging and filling in both dams—nails, iron, stone, bolting cloth and saw, excepted. The saw mill to be built first, to get boards and small timber for the grist mill. He adds:—The expense at the head of the Four Mile Creek, will amount to £50 more, where there is plenty of water for both mills, which the other has not. It is beyond doubt that these mills, were built at the head of the Four Mile Creek (St. David's), instead of close to the barracks at Niagara as first proposed. These were not the only mills built by the Secords in those early Days.

At the opening of the Revolutionary War, one Isaac Secor was living at Ballston Springs, New York State, where he owned a farm and grist mill. On refusing to take up arms in the American cause, he was given short notice to leave the country. When the British evacuated New York, he was among the number who came to Canada, leaving his family at Ballston Springs. On his arrival at Kingston, he sent for his wife and children to join him there. With the help of a guide, she travelled this long weary distance on foot with six children, the three youngest being under five years of age. They carried their provisions with them, of which they ate the last the morning they reached Cape Vincent. When leaving Ballston, they took with them a couple of cows and a young colt, thinking they would be able to get them to Canada; before arriving at Cape Vincent they had all strayed or been stolen. After joining her husband they settled for a short time near Kingston.

The first flour mill in Napanee, then called Apanee, was built somewhere about 1791. The carpenter work was done by Isaac Secor. The old site of this mill is now supposed to be the founda-

\* NOTE —“Papers of an Early Settler,” by Captain Cruikshank.

tion of Herring's Foundry, now standing. Isaac Secor also was the head mechanic when the first mill was erected by Van Alstine, at the Lake on the Mountain, P. E. County, in 1792 or 93. The site of the old stone mill is believed to be the land lying east of the present mill called Glenora.

Isaac Secor finally settled in Scarboro, where a number of his descendants are still living. Peter, his son, became a prominent man in Scarboro. He built and was the owner of several mills. He was the first Reeve of the township of Scarboro, also the first postmaster. Alexander, his son, who is still living, held the position of deputy reeve in Scarboro, twelve successive years, and five as treasurer of the township of Scarboro. Isaac Secor's sons, Joseph, Isaac, and Peter, all took active part in the war of 1812. During the rebellion of 1837 Joseph Secor again took up arms for his country. He this time held the rank of Major in the 3rd regiment of East York Militia. In 1866 the Scarboro branch of Secors again proved their loyalty to their country. When the Scarboro Rifle Company marched into Fort Erie, J. Secor was one of the number.

In the archives we find the first reference made to settlers on the Canadian side of the Niagara river, in a list signed by Lieut.-Col. Butler, which bears date, Niagara, August 25, 1782. The settlers in the section then, marked as heads of families, were:— Isaac Dolson, Peter Secord, John Secord, James Secord, George Stuart, John Depue, George Fields, Michael Showers, Harmonious House, Daniel Rowe, Elijah Philips, Philip Bender, Samuel Lutes, Thomas McMicken, Adam Young, and McGr. VanEvery—with these settlers were 17 married women, 29 boys, 20 girls, 1 hired man, and one male slave owned by T. McMicken, and in all they had 236 acres cleared.

Of this James Secord had cleared nine acres. The proceeds of which were seven bushels of wheat, one hundred of Indian corn, and thirty bushel of potatoes. He was also the owner of three horses, three cows, eleven sheep, and three hogs.

On account of the scarcity of small change, during the Revolution, John Secord issued script made of leather, to the amount of \$2,000, representing small change, which he redeemed at the close of the war.

The grist mill built at St. Davids, by the Secords, after a time came into the possession of my grandfather, Stephen Secord, who carried it on until 1808, when he died, leaving a widow with six sons and four daughters.

His widow was a daughter of Simon de Friest or Deforest who for his loyalty to Great Britain, was imprisoned at Albany in 1777. Afterwards he escaped, but lost his life in trying to join the British forces at Niagara.

In the Canadian Archives, there will be found a petition dated December, 1778, from Mary de Forest his wife, to Governor

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Haldimand, asking relief for herself and seven children, who were in great distress as they had been plundered of all their effects at the time her husband was imprisoned.

His daughter (Mrs. Stephen Secord) at this time was only ten years of age. She with her mother and sisters were brought to Canada by a party composed partly of Indians. My grandmother, got a great fright through their kind intentions. One day whilst getting water from a spring she was picked up by an Indian, who, putting his hand over her mouth, ran away with her to a place where they would not be observed; there he questioned her carefully to find out if any of the Americans were near. He with his party was collecting the women and children to conduct them to a place of safety. She never forgot this incident, and in after years would often speak of the terrible fright she had received before finding out that it was a friendly Indian.

Mrs. Secord was noted for her courage and great energy. After her husband's death she carried on the mill herself and made a success of it.

Through the kindness of her sister-in-law Mrs. Cartwright, she was able to give her children a good education, their aunt giving them a home while attending Dr. Whitelaw's school in Kingston. Although Mrs. Secord found the mill a success, her troubles were not yet over; she now had the vicissitudes of the war of 1812 to contend with. During the war she worked the mill entirely alone, being unable to get help, turning out flour, for which the government gave her the high price of ten dollars per barrel.

Her house being the largest in St. Davids, she had the officers quartered on her, General Drummond and staff, and when the Americans were in possession her house was their headquarters too. I may do the American officers the justice to say they always treated her with respect.

Mrs. Secord did not appear to have much fear of the Americans. On one occasion a soldier seized a bowl of butter to carry off. To this she made a decided objection, telling him he might have the butter but not the bowl, seizing it at the same time, and holding on with such determination that he desisted, telling her she might keep her old bowl in rather profane language, at the same time giving it a cut with his sword, chipping a piece of wood out of the side. The nick may still be seen in the bowl, which is yet in possession of the family.

Two of her sons, David and William, served during the war of 1812. David was actively engaged in the battles of Queenston Heights and Lundy's Lane.

In July, 1814, General Brown, commander of the American army, broke up his camp before Fort George, and retired to Fort Erie. In his retreat they burnt St. Davids. So once more the Secords lost their homes, but this time only their dwellings. John

and Daniel Secord of Niagara, lost their houses and barns. Major David Secord, of St. Davids, lost five dwelling houses, his furniture, store of merchant's goods, valued at £600, blacksmith shop, barns, besides all his cattle and horses. All the pigs in the village were shot down.

My grandmother lost all her buildings except the barn, which she saved, with the help of a neighbor—Mrs. Ellison—by creeping on their hands and knees under the barn with canteens of water to extinguish the fire where the Americans had fired it with their muskets.

Capt. Elijah Secord, a descendant of John Secord the Ranger, took part in the Battle of Queenston Heights, and was one of the officers who escorted Colonel Winfield Scott, an American officer, to Niagara after being captured at Queenston. He was also in the Battle of Niagara, where he and James Kirby were taken prisoners by the Americans.

They assumed much friendship for the American officers, and occasionally went riding with them. Seeing a chance one evening they fled with two of the Americans' best horses to Burlington Heights, and informed Sir John Harvey in command of the British forces there of an expedition that was marching against him. The British thus forewarned, advanced and met the Americans at Stoney Creek on the 5th July, 1813, where they defeated the Americans, and captured two of their generals, Chandler and Winder.

During the war of 1812 the Secords were active defenders of their country. On the Militia Roll in the Archives at Ottawa will be found the names of Major David Secord, Captain Elijah Secord, Captain William Peter Secord, Lieutenant Courtland Secord, Lieut. John Secord, Ensign James Secord, Quarter-master Daniel Secord, Abraham Secord, William Edwin Secord, John Secord, Solomon Secord, Stephen Secord, David Secord, Joseph Secor, Isaac Secor, Peter Secor, Sergeant James Secord, and Richard Henry Secord, my father, who had not the honor of having his name on the militia roll until 1814, as he was too young before this to be enrolled. He was only thirteen years of age at the time of the battle of Queenston Heights. On that morning, he, with a brother two years younger and an old crippled negro servant, hearing the battle going on, started out to reinforce the army. The sole equipment of the whole party consisted of an old musket without a lock. I am afraid the execution they did had but little effect on the invaders.

Richard H Secord also served his country during the rebellion of 1837, as Captain in the 5th Lincoln Militia, commanded by Colonel Clark; in the same regiment were William Edwin, Stephen Alexander, and Samuel R. Secord. Captain Richard Secord's only son, J. R. R. Secord was on active service during the Fenian Raid of 1866—a member of the St. Catharines'

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cavalry. The troop at the time was in a state of disorganization in consequence of its commander, Major Bates, having left the district. My brother with a few comrades offered their services. This brought out others. The troop was reorganized and performed military duty during the raid of 1866.

In conclusion, I may say I claim U. E. L. descent on my mother's side also. Her paternal grandfather, Latham Stull, came from Schoharie, New York State, and settled in the Niagara district. He and four of his sons took active part in the war of 1812. Latham Stull at that time held the rank of Captain in the 2nd Regiment of the Lincoln Militia. Adam Stull, my mother's father, was wounded at the battle of Niagara, and carried the ball in his leg until his death, forty-six years afterwards. Her maternal grandfather, Peter Lampman, came from Hudson, North River, where he and his brothers were hunted by the Americans for months, until they managed to escape to Long Island and joined the British army. One of the brothers, Wilhelm, returning to see his family, was caught by the Americans within a short distance of his father's house, and hanged. Her grandfather some time after stole back to get his wife and the little daughter whom he had never yet seen.

I have often heard my grandmother say that all her father brought with him to Canada was carried on an old white horse, his wife and child, and what little they could carry—and of their long toilsome journey through the forest, in fear of being caught by the Americans.

This child, Catharine Lampman, became the first wife of Mr. George Keefer, of Thorold; his fourth and last wife was Magdalen Secord, a daughter of Stephen Secord.

The Lampmans, too, were active defenders of their country during the war of 1812. Peter Lampman, junior, was wounded in one of the battles. Captain John Lampman, of the Lincoln militia, was in most of the principal battles fought at that time in the Niagara District. His two sons, John and Thomas, were of the small party mentioned before, as offering their services at the time of the Fenian Raid. The majority of those who were the first to offer their services at that time were descendants of United Empire Loyalists.

### Canadian Forms of Freedom.

BY A. H. F. LEFROY.

When Dr. Ryerson did me the honour to invite me to read a paper before this Association, and expressed the view that such a subject as I had chosen would not be unsuitable, I confess I was somewhat troubled over the question how to connect it with the primary objects of the Association. I hoped, however, to find among the published letters or writings of United Empire Loyalists some expression of a view that it would be safer and better for themselves and their descendants to keep in touch with the constitutional development of Great Britain, the home of political freedom, rather than to put trust in any new system the revolting colonies could devise. I must confess I have not yet found what I have been looking for, and I must fall back upon this that it may not be without interest to the members of this Society to show that those ancestors, whose memory we delight to honour, builded better than they knew, and by helping to secure and maintain a British North America alongside of the United States have preserved for their descendants forms of freedom of unspeakable value which those against whom they contended have lost and may never regain. If I have to refer much to our neighbours across the border it is because contrast with their institutions seems the most effective way of illustrating and dealing with my subject.

But, first, it is desirable to explain what I mean by "freedom." The late Professor Seeley, in his Introduction to Political Science devotes two whole lectures to a discussion of the meaning of the phrase. It would seem that there are at all events four senses in which we use the terms "political freedom," or "liberty." The first is merely equivalent to national independence, the freedom of a nation from the dominance of another nation. In another sense the expression is used in contradistinction to law, so that in that sense that people is freest amongst whom least is regulated by law, and more is left to the free will of the individual. This is what is specially meant by the liberty of the subject. In a third sense, so far from being opposed to law, liberty depends upon it, and has reference to the degree in which personal liberty and rights of property and contract are protected by law. The Americans lay great stress on liberty in this sense, and pride themselves on making it part of constitutional law, by providing in Federal and State fundamental laws for the protection of the obligations of contracts and other rights of the individual from any interference by the legislatures. But it is in a different sense to any of these that I specially use the word "freedom" here, namely, as indicating the power of the nation to make its deliberate will effective upon the government. Those, I take it,

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are the freest people, the members of whose government are most truly, as they ought to be, the servants and not the masters of the public; and whose constitutional forms are most adapted to effectuate, and least adapted to trick and thwart the public will.

Many here will no doubt remember an amusing passage in a speech of Lord Dufferin at a dinner at the Toronto Club in 1874, when describing a recent visit he had paid to Chicago and Detroit, he said:—"More than once I was addressed with the playful suggestion that Canada should unite her fortunes with those of the Great Republic. To these invitations I invariably replied by acquainting them that in Canada we were essentially a democratic people; that nothing would content us unless the popular will could exercise an immediate and complete control over the Executive of the country; that the Ministers who conducted the Government were but a committee of Parliament which was itself an emanation from the constituencies, and that no Canadian would be able to breathe freely if he thought that the persons administering the affairs of his country were removed beyond the supervision and contact of our own legislative assemblies."

Here we have a reference to the potent fact that in Canada we possess a system of responsible parliamentary government as distinguished from the presidential and congressional government of the United States. This is one of the most important of the Canadian forms of freedom, though I do not propose to dwell long upon it, partly because I think it is a matter with which people are more generally familiar than with some I have to mention. The American system of separating the Executive from the Legislature is, as Sir Henry Maine points out,\* very like the system favoured by King George III. The modern British system was not developed until some time after the American Revolution. The Americans, however, fettered themselves by a written constitution almost impossible to amend; we benefitted by the general current of British constitutional development. Under the American system the President and the Secretaries of State cannot be members either of the House of Representatives or of the Senate; they are under no direct responsibility to Congress of any kind; nor can they take any direct part in initiating or debating any measure. Under our British system the Ministers of the Crown not only may but must have seats in one or other House of Parliament, and are directly responsible to the popular House. Cabinet Ministers form a committee of the legislature chosen by the majority for the time being. They are accountable to the legislature and must resign office as soon as they lose its confidence, or else dissolve Parliament and accept whatever verdict the country may give.

\* "Popular Government," pp. 207, 212, 227.

They are jointly as well as severally responsible for their acts. The executive head of the United States Government, on the other hand, as a recent American writer tells us, "is completely independent of the legislature as to his political policy. His Council or Cabinet of advisers are his own agents, responsible politically to himself only. The defeat of a proposition made by him, or by any one or all of them to the legislature, or a vote of censure passed by the legislature upon him or them do not call for his resignation or their resignations. Nothing of the sort is provided or intimated in the remotest degree in the Constitution. The political independence of the Executive over against the Legislature is complete."

The fundamental defect of the American system, to quote an American critic, in the *North American Review*, seems to lie in the separation and diffusion of power and responsibility,\* and on both points it is obviously less favourable than our system to the speedy and safe carrying into effect of the popular will. There is, writes Mr. Bryce, in his work on the American Commonwealth,† in the American Government considered as a whole a want of unity. Its branches are unconnected; their efforts are not directed to one aim, do not produce one harmonious result. The sailors, the helmsman, the engineer, do not seem to have one purpose or obey one will, so that instead of making steady way the vessel may pursue a devious or zig-zag course, and sometimes merely turn round and round in the water; while as to the matter of responsibility, he says:‡ "Not uncommonly there is presented the sight of an exasperated American public going about like a roaring lion, seeking whom it may devour, and finding no one."‡ "If corruption ever eats its way silently into the vitals of the Republic," says the great American jurist, Story, "it will be because the people are unable to bring responsibility home to the Executive through his chosen Ministers."§

And before passing to other matters we may notice that as a minor consequence of the American system of the separation of the executive from the legislature in which the contrast with our own system is important, Ministers are not present in Congress to be questioned as to matters of administration which may arise, although Mr. Woodrow Wilson, himself an American writer, admits that the only really self-governing people is that people which discusses and interrogates its administration.¶ And the late historian Freeman, in his "Impressions of America," published in the *Fortnightly Review* in 1882, tells us that the one incident which specially struck him while present at a sit-

\* Vol. III., p. 331.

† (2 Vol. ed.) Vol. 1.

‡ Ibid. Vol. 2, p. 320.

§ Commentaries on the American Constitution, 4th ed., Vol. I., p. 614.

¶ "Congressional Government," p. 303.

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ting of the House of Representatives at Washington, was that one representative made a fierce attack on the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of the Navy was not there to defend himself.\*

Passing now from this matter to a general consideration of our legislatures on the one hand and the American on the other, I would point out in the first place that as Ministers with us are entrusted with seats in the legislature and supreme control and influence therein so long as they can maintain a majority, so our legislatures are themselves trusted with plenary powers on the broad subject matters severally entrusted to them. We know nothing of that distrust of legislatures, which is a pervading and growing characteristic of American institutions. The Americans regard legislatures merely as agents with limited powers and fetter their discretion by all manner of provisions embodied in fundamental laws, intended no doubt for the most part to prevent invasions of rights of personal liberty and property, and unjust legislation, but in some cases, as I could cite high American authority to show, by reason of the generality of their application, preventing legislation which would be wise and proper, and working for wrong and not for right. Again, it is to be noted that the two Houses constituting Congress possess substantially equal and co-ordinate powers, whence arises, says Mr. Bryce, frequent collisions between the two Houses, whose disagreement paralyzes legislative action. The American newspaper, *The Nation*, in 1872 said that there is somewhere in the records of the Courts the history of a private claim of unquestionable merit, which was passed without opposition ten times by one House and fourteen by the other, and yet never succeeded in getting through both Houses of the same Congress.† With us, of course, it would be contrary to all constitutional convention for the Senate, as it would for the House of Lords in England, to persistently thwart the clear expression of the will of the popular House.

But I must pass on to notice how the business of legislation is carried on in Congress, to bring out, as I think it will do in a way very startling to any not already familiar with it, how much more worthy of a free people our methods are. It is, of course, necessary for every legislative body to evolve some kind of organization. Debarred from having the Ministers of the day as a ruling committee controlling all business, as with us, the Houses of Congress took the alternative of distributing business among a number of small committees to each of which is assigned a specific class of subjects, indicated by the names of the committees, such as Ways and Means, Appropriations, Banking

\* Aug.-Sept., 1882.

† *Nation*, Vol. 16, p. 145, cited by Miss Follett in her "Speaker of the House Representatives," p. 329, n. 19.

and Currency, Rivers and Harbours, and so on. These committees consist of only from 3 to 16 members each. To some one of these small standing committees every memorial, bill, proposition, or report of a department must be referred without debate. They deliberate in secret, and no member speaking in the House is entitled to state anything that has taken place in committee other than what is stated in the report of that committee. Let me give you in the very words of a recent American constitutional writer\* the state of things which results:—

“Over the legislative material thus given it the committee has almost unlimited control; the custom of bringing in bills and referring them is really nothing but a form; the committees might almost as well be allowed to introduce all legislation; they may amend a bill as they please; they may even make it over so entirely that it is really a new bill, reflecting the views of the committee rather than the views of the originator; or they may either by reporting a bill adversely or by delaying to report it until late in the session, or by simply not reporting it at all practically extinguish a bill. . . Thus legislation rests with the committees; they may initiate whatever they please; they may stifle any measures which have not their approval; the rule that no bill shall be discussed without being reported by a committee might as well read ‘without being approved by a committee.’ In strict parliamentary practice no member is permitted to allude in the House to anything that has taken place in Committee. As a result of this secrecy the committees are subject to the tremendous pressure of private interests. . . The steady tendency of the House within the last twenty years has been to give to the committees an ever-increasing power. . . Thus Congress no longer exercises its lawful function of law-making, that has gone to the committees as completely as in England it has passed to the Cabinet.” These committees, it appears, are practically under the control of their Chairmen, who are strict party men appointed by the Speaker (to whom if your patience is not exhausted I want more particularly to introduce you presently) who is himself under the American system a staunch and avowed partisan. “I know not how better,” says Mr. Woodrow Wilson, the American writer whom I have already quoted from, “to describe our form of government in a single phrase than by calling it a government by the Chairmen of the standing committees of Congress.”† But these Chairmen of committees do not constitute a co-operative body like our Ministry. “They do not consult and concur in the adoption of homogeneous and mutually helpful measures; there is no thought of acting in concert. Each committee goes its own way at its own pace. It is impossible to discover any unity or method in the disconnected, and therefore,

\* Miss Follett's "Speaker of the House of Representatives," pp. 242-7.

† "Congressional Government," p. 102.

unsystematic, confused and desultory action of the House, or any common purpose in the measures which its committees from time to time recommend."\* No wonder, as Mr. Woodrow Wilson humourously says, "As a rule a bill committed is a bill doomed. When it goes from the Clerk's desk to a committee-room it crosses a parliamentary bridge of sighs to dim dungeons of silence, whence it will never return. The means and time of its death are unknown, but its friends never see it again."†

But it might be supposed that when the committees do report to the House, full debate would be allowed. Not so. It may seem incredible, but it rests upon the authority of Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, ‡ whose long congressional experience, we are told, entitles him to speak with authority, that most of the committees have at their disposal during each Congress but two hours each in which to report upon, debate and dispose of all the subjects of general legislation committed to their charge. And even that space of time is not allowed to free and open debate. The reporting committee man is allowed to absorb a great part of it, and as to the rest the speaker recognises only those persons who have previously come to a private understanding with the maker of the report, and these only upon their promise to limit their remarks to a certain number of minutes. What chance, we may well ask, would a Lord Shaftesbury, or a Plimsoll, or even a Gladstone, or any of the great reformers or philanthropists, whose names lend lustre to the records of the Parliament of Great Britain, have had under such a system as that prevailing in Congress?

But let me pass out of this stifling atmosphere to the freer air of the parliament at Ottawa. And, first, as to committees. Our House of Commons, it is true, has its committees, even its standing committees, but they are of the old-fashioned sort, which merely investigate and report. Nor are they appointed by the Speaker; they are chosen with care by a committee of selection composed of members of both parties. Moreover, the committees are very large—some of them two-thirds of the whole House—so that as Mr. Bourinot says—than whom no one is better able to instruct us,—“a lobbyist finds it practically useless to pursue his arts.”§ The committees entrusted with private bills in the Commons comprise from 43 to 162 members—that for railways being the largest. And as to opportunities for debate under our system, I will give you the words of Mr. Bourinot in his “Canadian Studies in Comparative Politics”:—¶ “The minister in charge

\* Ibid. p. 61.

† Ibid. p. 69.

‡ Ibid. p. 72.

§ “Canadian Studies in Comparative Politics,” p. 62.

¶ Ibid. p. 59.

of a particular measure," he says, "presents it with such remarks as are intended to show its purport. Then it is printed in the two languages, and when it comes up for a second reading, a debate takes place on the principle, and the government are able to ascertain the views of the House generally on the question. Sufficient time is generally given between important stages of measures of large public import to ascertain the feeling of the country. . . . In Committee of the Whole the bill is discussed clause by clause, and days will frequently elapse before a bill gets through this crucial stage. . . . Even on the third reading it may be fully debated and referred back to Committee of the Whole for additional changes. At no stage of its progress is there any limitation of debate in the Canadian House. At the various readings a man may speak only once on the same question, but there is no limit to the length of his speech, except what good taste and the patience of the House impose upon him. In Committee there is no limit to the number of speeches on any part of the bill, but as a matter of fact the remarks are generally short and practical. After the bill has passed the House it has to undergo the ordeal of the Senate and pass through similar stages. . . . If the bill is amended, the amendments must be considered by the House, which may be an occasion for further debate. Then having passed the two houses it receives the assent of the Governor-General and becomes law."

Time does not permit of carrying on the comparison longer along this line now, and I want to reserve a few minutes to introduce to you more particularly a most surprising,—and from some points of view, if I may so without disrespect,—amusing figure, the Speaker of the House of Representatives at Washington. And here I may mention that a year or two ago a most interesting treatise on the Speaker of the House of Representatives\* was written and published by an American lady, Miss Follett. It is, so far as I am aware, the first instance of a woman publishing an elaborate study of what would, I suppose, be generally considered a dry constitutional subject. No one can read it without recognising the great industry, logical precision and restrained style with which it is written, and I have it indirectly from the present Speaker of the House of Representatives, through a friend who has recently been in Washington and discussed the matter with him, that Miss Follett's book gives a reliable and accurate account of the Speakership. What I have to say, will, therefore, be taken mainly from her pages. Dr. Bushnell Hart, another American writer, tells us †that no one who looks below the surface of the American national system can fail to see that the Speaker is next to the President the most power-

\* Longman, Green & Co., 1896.

† Introduction to Miss Follett's "Speaker of the House of Representatives," p. xi.

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ful man in the nation, and that his influence increases. Everyone has heard the story of the artist, Whistler, who, when some lady admirer told him that she considered Millais and himself the two greatest artists of the day, replied:—"I don't see why you want to drag in Millais." When one reads Miss Follett's pages, one is tempted to think that the Speaker of the House of Representatives might well say to Dr. Bushnell Hart, "I don't see why you want to drag in the President."

Miss Follett observes\* in words which seem almost cynical: "Speakers now, following the example of such predecessors as Clay" (Speaker from 1811 to 1814), "seek to give their party every possible advantage from their position in the chair; yet, on occasions when nothing is to be gained by partisanship, they attempt to keep up the fiction of the Speaker as a parliamentary officer." The Speaker of the House of Commons at Ottawa, as he steps into the chair is expected to shake from him all party ties and to administer parliamentary law with absolute impartiality to friends and foes. The Speaker of the House of Representatives, as already stated, is an avowed partisan, and as Miss Follett says, "is not only allowed but expected to use his position to advance party interests."† But it would seem that matters have gone further than this. Miss Follett says: ‡ "The idea which Carlyle, Reed and Crisp" (Speakers from 1885 to the time of publication of her book), "have sought to establish is that of a Speaker with a legislative policy of his own, using every possible means to impose that policy on majority as well as minority." In another place our author says: § "The House of Commons can no longer be called the government. Professor Seeley tells us it is only the government-making power. The House of Representatives in the same way is no longer the legislative power, but it is not even the maker of the legislative power; it is but the maker of the real maker, the Speaker of the House of Representatives."

We have seen that it rests with the Speaker to constitute the all-powerful committees, and he is now himself *ex-officio* the chairman of the most important committee, the-Committee of Rules, of which he of course also appoints the other two members. "This committee," says Miss Follett, ¶ "practically decides what shall be considered, how long debates shall last, and when the votes shall be taken. The calendars are too crowded for any measures to come forward not favoured by this powerful body of three persons." "The Speaker," she says, || "has many opportunities to constitute the committees so that he may to a great extent procure or prevent what legislation he wishes; he may give a good committee to a poor chairman, or he may

\* P. 72.

† P. 300.

‡ P. 273.

§ P. 247.

¶ P. 276.

|| P. 228.

satisfy the general feeling in the appointment of a chairman, and then give him a committee which reflects the Speaker's, not the chairman's, views, and with which, therefore, the chairman cannot act. In 1871 Blaine (the Speaker) "appointed Butler chairman of a committee on Ku-Klux outrages, much against his will, as the committee was so constituted that it would wish to bring in entirely different measures on reconstruction from those favoured by Butler."

When we have grasped the fact that the Speaker of the House of Representatives is at liberty so to use his prerogatives as to the committees as best to suit his own views, we are prepared for anything. No one, of course, can address the House without catching the Speaker's eye; that is, the Speaker has the power of recognition, and you will be quite prepared to hear that "the practice has gradually grown up of the Speaker using this ordinary parliamentary duty for political purposes, and recognizing only such persons as he pleases. Again and again when a man rises, the Speaker asks, "For what purpose?"\* The records of Congress almost parallel the story of a lieutenant-governor of a Western State, who, when presiding over the Senate, turned to the doorkeeper and said, "Go out and find Senator Gunson; he is somewhere about the Capitol, and tell him that he has been recognized and has the floor." One is not surprised to read that Mr. J. G. Blaine, when Speaker from 1869 to 1875, was eminently successful in turning his ordinary parliamentary duties to party or to personal use. "Members complained that it was difficult to get the floor while Blaine was in the chair unless the measures to be introduced had his favour, and that he sometimes demanded that legislative matter should be amended before he would allow it to be offered."† The practice as to the Speaker's power of recognition," says Miss Follett,‡ "makes possible the neutralizing of members whom the Speaker dislikes. They may be put on committees which have no business to transact; and cases are not wanting where members have sat through two years of service without being permitted to catch the Speaker's eye. Such misuse of power permits the Speaker practically to take away the representation of a district." "At the adjournment of Congress in 1887," Dr. Bushnell Hart tells us—"a member from Nebraska, who had a bill for a public building in his district, and who could not obtain the Speaker's recognition, walked for two hours up and down in front of the desk, entreating, cajoling and ejaculating, and in the end tore his bill into fragments and deposited them as a protest at the Speaker's feet."§ An interesting example of the extent to which Mr. Carlisle, Speaker from 1883 to 1889, carried the power of recog-

\* "The Speaker of the House of Representatives," p. 250.

† Ibid. p. 261. ‡ Ibid. p. 269.

§ "Practical Essays on American Government," p. 14.

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† Ibid.  
‡ Ibid.

nition may be found in the history of the Blaine Educational Bill. This measure was pending in Congress during the whole of Mr. Carlisle's long administration; it passed the Senate three times but was never even voted upon by the House, because Mr. Carlisle would never recognize any member to move to take it up for consideration or to fix a day for its consideration."\*

Then we are told—"another duty of the Speaker is to announce the result upon every vote taken by the House, and through this apparently most simple function he is often able to give material help to his party; when the House divides, the Speaker appoints four members to count and report the numbers; when the count is finished he may either announce the result promptly or he may linger, and give his party every opportunity of beating up a majority; that majority once obtained he may announce the vote on the instant and thus deny his opponents a like opportunity."†

But what perhaps may be said to cap the climax of the matter is that it is quite according to usage for the presiding officer of American legislative bodies to suggest points of order to be taken, by upholding which he may check-mate proceedings adverse to his personal wishes. Mr. Blaine, we are told, was anxious to be admitted into the Little Rock Railroad, and promised that he would not be a dead-head in the enterprise. When the bill renewing the land grant to the State of Arkansas for the Little Rock Railroad was brought up, Mr. Blaine being in the Chair as Speaker, an attempt was made to add an amendment to which it was well-known the Senate objected, and which would defeat the Bill. The Little Rock men were in despair and appealed to Blaine for aid. Blaine sent his page to General Logan who was opposed to the amendment, to suggest that he make the point of order that the amendment was "not germane." The point of order was at once made by General Logan and sustained by Speaker Blaine in a ruling which illustrated his incisive manner, and his determination that the bill be not impeded.‡ By a meaning word or a suggestive glance, we read, this parliamentary general, the Speaker, hints his commands to apt and ready followers. Here is another example:—Mr. Mann, "I would like to ask the gentleman a question." Speaker Reed, "The gentleman from Ohio declines to be interrupted." Mr. McKinley (Member for Ohio), "I decline to be interrupted."§

I am sure you have had enough of this. No wonder a Member of the House of Representatives said in 1881,—“When this Republic goes down, . . . it will not be through the man on horse-

\* "The Speaker of the House of Representatives," p. 262.

† Ibid. p. 136.

‡ Ibid. p. 108.

§ Ibid. p. 282.

back, or any President, but through the man on the woollen sack in this House, under these despotic rules, who can prevent the slightest interference from individual members; who can, if he will, make or unmake laws, like an emperor, hold back or give the sinews of war and salaries of peace.\* As to the Speaker with us, I need hardly say that as in England, he is expected to carry impartiality to its utmost limits, and to hold the balance absolutely fair between all parties and he carefully abstains from taking part in any matter of party controversy or debate. The Speaker of the House of Commons expects to give up his rights as a member for the sake of sitting in the chair; he never votes except when a casting-vote is required, nor takes any part in the debate; custom guards him so strictly, indeed, that he is not even allowed to make political speeches outside Parliament.

I have called attention to the above facts not with any desire to disparage the people of the United States or their Constitution, but merely to bring out by way of contrast more strikingly the superior excellence of our own from the point of view of political freedom. In a recent number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, Mr. E. L. Godkin, the well-known editor of the *New York Evening Post*, says of his adopted countrymen:—"The growth of indifference to what used to be called political liberty has been curiously rapid." Certainly it seems to me that Americans who look into these things may well say in the words of Joseph Stansbury, a loyalist poet of the American Revolution, many of whose spirited lines are to be found in Mr. Coit Tyler's *Literary History of the American Revolution* recently published:—

"For freedom, indeed, we supposed we were fighting,  
"But this sort of freedom's not very inviting."

For ourselves loyalty to our union with Great Britain has met with many, and will meet with more rewards. We have shared to the full in British Constitutional development, and notwithstanding Confederation, have preserved in their purity the precious forms of British liberty; so that it is impossible to-day to point to a people more free in respect to the management of their internal affairs than the Canadians.

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\* *Ibid.* p. 301.

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## The Confederation Idea on the North American Continent.

BY GEORGE JOHNSON.

On the 3rd June, 1780, a man of note, versed in public affairs, died in a house in New Bond Street, London. He was an exile from the land of his birth.

At the moment of his death London was at the mercy of the mob in the Gordon riots. The city was on fire in many places. A drunken multitude murdered right and left, laying violent hands upon the noblest of the land.

The exile's funeral passed on its way through smoke and uproar that might easily have been regarded as the final crash of the English social structure.

In his dying moments an event, somewhat similar to the Gordon riots, in his own personal experience may have flashed across his mind.

In the Boston State House there lies a manuscript which 131 years ago was thrown into a muddy street by a mob sacking a mansion, its leaves stained from their all-night soaking. The manuscript is a portion of Thomas Hutchinson's "History of Massachusetts Bay."

The author, on the night of the 26th August, 1765, received every possible mark of contumely at the hands of this mob. His dwelling was attacked and everything in it destroyed. The approach of daylight alone prevented the total demolition of a noble colonial mansion.

The next day the hunted man appeared at the Court-House and addressed his brother judges: "Gentlemen," said he, "there not being a quorum of the Court without me, I am obliged to appear. Some apology is necessary for my dress. Indeed, I have no other. Destitute of everything, no other shirt, no other garment but what I have on, and not one of my family in a better condition than myself. The distress of a whole family around me, young and tender infants hanging about me, is infinitely more insupportable than what I feel for myself, though I am obliged to borrow part of this clothing."

The man who experienced such treatment at the hands of a Boston mob, was at the time Chief Justice of the Province of Massachusetts, the Lieut.-Governor of the Province, and the President of the Council. He has rendered great service to the Colony on many occasions. He was a born king of men.

John Adams referred to him thirty years after his death: "If I was the witch of Endor I would wake the ghost of Hutchinson and give him absolute power over the currency of the United States and every part of it. . . . As little as I revere his memory I will acknowledge that he understood the subject of Coin and

Commerce better than any man I ever knew in this country." Hon. Charles Deane says: "Few who sat upon the bench in the last century were more deserving of commendation than Judge Hutchinson. . . . It is a traditional anecdote that after listening to the charges given by his associates, juries were in the habit of remarking, when Hutchinson rose to address them, 'Now we shall hear something we can understand.'"

Another prominent man at the time, an enthusiastic admirer, wrote: "Has not his merit been sounded very high by his countrymen for twenty years? Have not his countrymen loved, admired, rewarded, nay, almost adored him? Have not ninety-nine in a hundred of them really thought him the greatest and best man in America? Has not the perpetual language of many members of both Houses, and of a majority of his brother-councillors been that Mr. Hutchinson is a great man, a pious, a wise, a learned, a good man, an eminent saint and philosopher?"

Of the influence he exerted, Hosmer in his *Life of Hutchinson* says: "He pervaded the life of his time in a remarkable way, standing out as a leading figure in the most various spheres."

What had this man—the exile in New Bond Street—done that he should be hurled from the lofty place in the esteem of all that he evidently held, should have his house sacked, should be himself hunted, driven into exile and pursued with fierce vituperation to the end of his life, his enemies not ceasing to pursue his memory with abuse for full one hundred years after his death?

He had done that which a pure and blameless life, active exertions and expenditure of private means for the public welfare, were not sufficient to excuse, in the minds of those for whom he had spent his substance, multiplied his toils and devoted his talents. He had stood by his Sovereign. He had made steady attachment to the prerogative of the Crown and the authority of Parliament the central idea of his public life. Guided by that idea he had sought to bring the New England Provinces through the crisis by aiming, with all his powers, to obtain peace with justice—peace, harmony and good understanding between the Mother Country and her daughters on the American continent—peace with the Motherland through just measures. His whole public career shows that this was his aim. He was a staunch, true friend of the people, and honestly believed that the people of New England would be all the better for a stronger infusion into their daily life of the principle of authority. He was a man of deep and fervent loyalty and spent his life, talents and fortune in endeavouring to restrain the excesses into which the adherents of the Crown were apt to plunge in their antagonism to those who disputed the rights of the Sovereign over the New England Provinces. He was firmly and honestly convinced that the Parliament of Great Britain had authority on this side of the

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water, and laboured zealously to vindicate that authority as a principle, while limiting its action to large and special occasions.

In a word, he was one of the first, if not the very first, to set clearly before him as the end and aim of true Imperial politics, the relation which now exists between the Motherland and her Colonies.

Mr. Hutchinson proposed (1754) that there should be three Provinces—

- 1st. Nova Scotia and Newfoundland.
- 2nd. New York and Virginia.
- 3rd. The Southern Colonies.

With such a division he thought a scheme for broader unions feasible, possible, desirous. On February 18th, 1770, he wrote: "In settling the several parts of the plan, occasion may be taken to reform the constitution of the several Governments of which the general Government shall consist and to ascertain the general authority of Parliament over the whole. In his scheme each Colonial member within its own limits administers itself quite unvexed by interference from the Motherland; none the less, each Colonial member concedes to the power at home a precedence, indeed, a supremacy. In all ordinary times and affairs the Parliament, so far as the Colonies are concerned, is silent and unfelt."

This is all presented clearly in the following letter:—

"I differ in my principles from the present leaders of the people. . . . I think that by the constitution of the Colonies the Parliament has a supreme authority over them. I have, nevertheless, always been an advocate for as large a power of legislation within each Colony as can consist with a supreme control. I have declared against a forcible opposition to the execution of Acts of Parliament which have laid taxes on the people of America; I have notwithstanding ever wished that such Acts might not be made as the Stamp Act in particular. I have done everything in my power that they might be repealed. I do not see how the people in the Colonies can enjoy every liberty which the people in England enjoy, because in England every man may be represented in Parliament, the supreme authority over the whole; but in the Colonies, the people, I conceive, cannot have representatives in Parliament to any advantage. It gives me pain when I think it must be so. I wish also that we may enjoy every privilege of an Englishman which our remote situation will admit of. These are sentiments which I have without reserve declared among my private friends, in my speeches, in my messages to the General Court, in my correspondence with the Minister of State, and I have published them to the world in my history."

This is the high claim of Hutchinson—that he clearly saw that

the less the Imperial Parliament meddled with local affairs the more readily would it obtain, with hearty consent, the leadership in all matters of general concern and the less likely the danger of any friction calculated to develop centrifugal action.

To carry out this plan to a successful issue he was by no means ill-equipped. He was a man of means and could afford to pursue his aim without being influenced by the fear that the Provincial Assembly would withhold his salary, as it did on several occasions. He stood well with the public, was respected for his ability and integrity by the people of New England, and was in favour with the home authorities.

Unfortunately, however, there were men who were his bitter enemies, and who were not by any means scrupulous as to the means to be employed to undermine his deservedly great influence. Samuel Adams was one of them. James Otis was another; and the material instrument with which these men worked was the Boston mob, whose lawlessness had been fostered by a lax administration of Customs laws that had practically turned the community into a den of smugglers. Samuel Adams had lost caste through his large defalcations as Collector of Taxes for the town of Boston, and through other defalcations in pecuniary matters, and his influence was confined to what in those days would have been called the "lower class." With these he sought to overawe the town meeting of Boston. He plied his pen over many signatures in the newspapers. He was "Vindex," "Candidus" and half a dozen other citizens, writing under assumed names to create the feeling that there was a general sentiment in favour of what he advocated. He pulled many strings, but he, himself, kept in the background. He worked to undermine his friendly, as well as his hostile rivals. By slow degrees he became a great demagogue, a mob-leader. He secured supremacy in the Boston town-meeting. He inflamed the mob. In the year that Hutchinson's mansion was sacked by a mob, Adams took his seat in the legislature for the first time. He was now "in the open" and could not use with the same secrecy the weapons he had so effectively employed in the period preceding. But he became more and more known as the great rival of Hutchinson in the struggle that was fast approaching, and that was destined to result in the separation of so many of the American Colonies from the British Empire.

His chief reliance was on the town-meeting. Hutchinson met this by removing the Legislature to Cambridge. He sought to limit the town-meeting to its legitimate sphere. He endeavoured to introduce more authority by means of British regiments. He suggested plans for the abridgment of the liberties of the people, since these liberties had developed abuses which were, in his belief, the primal cause of all the antagonisms.

The defaulting tax-gatherer of former days, however, in the

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midst of many reverses steadily pressed forward in his opposition to Hutchinson.

Hutchinson regarded the contestants with love for both in his heart, while on the one hand, deeply regretting the exasperating intermeddling with local affairs indulged in by the British authorities, and on the other deploring the movements of the public mind in the Colonies, rapidly landing the Colonies in the conclusion that schism was a necessity.

He breasted the rising storm with sorrowing heroism. The enemies of England were determined that if they could not win Hutchinson to their side they would destroy all his influence with the people. They had already shown what manner of men they were in the sacking of Hutchinson's mansion. But that act was repudiated by the people of Massachusetts and the loss sustained by the owner made up to him by the Commonwealth.

As Governor of Massachusetts he prepared and delivered a speech to the two Houses, January 6th, 1773, of which it is said by high authority that "the cause of the Tories in America probably never received a setting forth more detailed and able." It was more necessary than ever for those who had committed themselves to the advocacy of schism to destroy Hutchinson. Franklin secured letters written by Hutchinson to friends in England, from Sir John Temple, who delivered them to Franklin under strict injunctions of secrecy. They were letters written by a public officer to persons in public station, on public affairs and intended to advance public measures. Franklin had an old grudge against Hutchinson because the latter took energetic and efficient measures to stamp out a paper-money craze, that originating in Massachusetts in 1690 when paper-money was introduced to defray the expenses of an unsuccessful expedition against Canada, had resulted in a chaotic condition threatening destruction, great as Bryans' in 1896, of the social organism. Franklin, the prototype of Bryan, advocated paper-money, wrote a pamphlet in its favour and, following "poor Richard's" maxims, turned a good penny by printing the notes. Franklin saw his chance to destroy Hutchinson and at the same time advance the cause of the revolution. "He must have known," says Goldwin Smith, "that these letters had been stolen or at least improperly obtained." He had copies of them made and sent to a friend with the following letter:—

July 7th, 1773.

"You mention the surprise of gentlemen, to whom these letters have been communicated, at the restrictions with which they were accompanied, and which they suppose render them incapable of answering any important end. One great reason for forbidding their publication was an apprehension that it might put all the possessors of such correspondence here upon their guard,

and so prevent the obtaining more of it. And it was imagined that showing the originals to so many as were named, and to a few such others as they might think fit, would be sufficient to establish their authenticity and to spread through the Province so just an estimation of the writers as to strip them of all their deluded friends, and demolish effectually their interests and influence. The letters might be shown even to some of the Governor's and Lieutenant-Governor's partisans, and spoken of to everybody; for there was no restraint proposed to talking of them, but only to copying. However the terms given with them could only be those with which they were received."

In accordance with the crafty suggestion of Franklin, it was buzzed about for some three or four months that something which would amaze everybody would soon be made public.

In due time Samuel Adams moved in the Provincial House that the galleries be cleared in order that he might bring before the Legislature certain documents of the utmost importance to the Commonwealth. The upshot of the stratagem was, that the letters were commented on in such manner as to arouse deep suspicion of the people towards Hutchinson. This accomplished, the House resolved to address the King to remove Hutchinson because of his unpopularity. Great excitement prevailed, and though the letters were mild, and as judicious as the most judicious could have wished, yet, through the previous preparation of the public mind, they were regarded as containing proofs of a conspiracy against the country, in which Hutchinson was prime mover.

The conspiracy against Hutchinson was a grand success. His name was execrated. The great bulwark against schism was swept away in the rush of popular feeling. The one man the revolutionists feared was engulfed in seething waters.

Soon after followed the "Boston Tea Party," and after a stormy session of the Legislature, Hutchinson announced that he had obtained leave from the King to go to England. He was well received by the King, and was on intimate terms with people of note during the years of his exile, dying in London in 1780, six years after he left Boston, having the year before heard of the confiscation of his Boston and Milton property under an Act of 1779, "to confiscate the estate of certain notorious conspirators against the Government and liberties of the late Province."

What he abandoned for his principles is seen in the fact that his confiscated properties were sold for £98,120. To express their hatred of him the Boston authorities changed the name Hutchinson Street to Pearl Street. The town "Hutchinson" cast off its title as that "of one who had acted the part of a traitor and parricide," substituting for it that of Barré, the Eng-

lish M.P. who had said, "Keep your hands out of the pockets of the Americans and they will be obedient subjects." "The honourable note he had reached through forty years of self-denying, wisely directed public service, was blotted out. For generations he was a mark of obliquity. His possessions, even to the tomb where lay his wife and his ancestors, were snatched from him and his children," and he might have starved to death in the streets of London, had not the King bestowed upon him a handsome pension.

Mr. Hutchinson has many claims upon Canadians. He, first of British statesmen, pointed out the way by which the colonies of Great Britain could secure all the rights of Englishmen without losing their love or reverence for the Motherland. To the French Canadians he has commended his memory by the active part he took in behalf of the French Acadians, when 1,000 of them, deported from Nova Scotia at the instigation of the New Englanders, were landed in Boston in the beginning of winter without means and without any general sympathy. He took the lead in Boston in relieving the troubles of the forlorn exiles. He declared that "it was the hardest case since our Saviour was on earth;" and it was due to his tolerant spirit that in the midst of the Puritan community these captives were permitted to practice their Catholic faith.