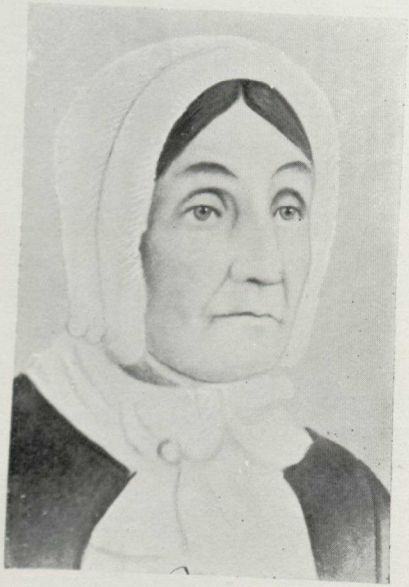
THE·STORY·OF LAURA·SECORD

AND CANADIAN REMINIS-CENCES·

By EMMA·A·CURRIE·

LAURA INGERSOLL SECORD

AND CANADIAN REMINISCENCES



Laura Secord

THE STORY OF

LAURA SECORD

AND

CANADIAN REMINISCENCES

BY

EMMA A. CURRIE

WITH PORTRAITS AND ENGRAVINGS

ST. CATHARINES
1913

THIS BOOK

IS DEDICATED TO THE BELOVED MEMORY OF

Mrs. Curzon,

WHOSE HIGHEST AIM WAS TO INSPIRE

CANADIAN WOMEN TO TAKE THEIR PLACE IN

THE HISTORY OF THEIR COUNTRY.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

INTRODUCTION 5

BIOGRAPHY OF MRS. CURRIE 15

PART I.—LAURA INGERSOLL SECORD.

CHAPTER

I. THE FIRST SETTLERS 19

II. THE SECORD FAMILY 21

III. THE INGERSOLL FAMILY 35

IV. LAURA INGERSOLL SECORD 43

V. ST. DAVIDS AND VICINITY 73

PART II.—CANADIAN REMINISCENCES.

I. FRENCH REGIME.—MADELAINE DE VERCHERES . 81

II. CHRYSLER FAMILY AND ITS BRANCHES . . . 85

III. CUSTOMS AND HABITS OF EARLY DAYS . . . 103

IV. FORT NIAGARA 107

V. ISABELLA MARSHALL GRAHAM 111

VI. MEMOIR OF JOHN WHITMORE, NIAGARA TOWNSHIP . 119

VII. THE NELLES FAMILY 125

VIII. VISIT OF PRINCE EDWARD, DUKE OF KENT . . 127

IX. THE BURNING OF NIAGARA AND ST. DAVIDS . . 129

X. STAMFORD PARK 137

XI. RECOLLECTIONS OF 1837 AND 1838 139

XII. BURNING OF THE STEAMER "CAROLINE" . . . 143

XIII. SAMUEL ZIMMERMAN 145

XIV. THE FIRST FENIAN RAID OF 1866 149

XV. SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON AND JOSEPH BRANT . . 153

XVI. BRANT MEMORANDA 161

XVII. THE DEVIL'S HOLE 163

CHAPTER		PAGE
XVIII.	French Rule—Its Close in 1759	165
XIX.	Mrs. Joseph Clement	167
XX.	Some Interesting Letters	169
XXI.	Past and Present Names of Places	175
XXII.	An Old Ledger	177
XXIII.	Mrs. Grover, of Seaton Hall, Colborne	183
XXIV.	Dr. Theophilus Mack	191
XXV.	The Hamiltons of Queenston, Kingston and Hamilton	193
XXVI.	Reverend Jacob Bailey.	199
XXVII.	Mr. and Mrs. William Fortune, Kamloops, B. C.	207
XXVIII.	Lord Strathcona and the Hudson Bay Company.	211
XXIX.	Settlement of the U. E. Loyalists' Claims	215
XXX.	Instructions for the Land Office Department	219
XXXI.	"Old Days"	223
XXXII.	General Brock and the War of 1812"	231
XXXIII.	The Family Compact	235
XXXIV.	Wait's "Narrative" of the Rebellion of 1837	241
XXXV.	Conclusion	253

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
Laura Ingersoll Secord, with Autograph . . *Frontispiece*	
Portrait of Mrs. Currie	5
Monument to Laura Secord at Queenston, erected in 1912 .	12
Homestead of Major David Secord, St. Davids	22
Polly Page (Mrs. David Secord)	24
Autograph of James Secord	27
Autographs of Major David Secord and Mrs. Secord . .	28
Autographs of Stephen Secord and Anna Secord . . .	30
Home of Laura Ingersoll at Great Barrington, Mass. . .	43
Place Where the Indians Encamped	50
FitzGibbon's Headquarters, 1893	52
Home of Laura Ingersoll Secord at Queenston	55
Chippewa Home of Mrs. Secord, where she died . . .	56
Autograph of Laura Secord	58
Account of Schooling Billy Galley and Autograph of Mrs. Backus	58
State of Laura Secord's Grave, 1900	58
Letter and Autograph of Major Thomas Ingersoll . . .	60
Diagram of the Battle of Beaver Dams	61
Julius Hitchcock	65
Myra Ingersoll Hitchcock	65
Four Mile Creek, below St. Davids, 1894	72
Autograph of David Secord	77
Fort Niagara, in 1888	106
Autograph of Wm. Kirby	123
Arsenal inside Fort George, 1888	128
Magazine inside Fort George, 1888	132
Stamford Park, 1863	136
Seals Attached to Patents from the Crown, 1822 . . .	138

PAGE

Autograph of Ezekiel Woodruff 141
Fort Erie, 1890 148
Letter of Joseph Brant 160
Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea) 160
Fort Mississauga, 1888 168
Brock's Monument and Home of William Lyon Mackenzie . 172
Bridgewater Mills, in Queen Victoria Niagara Falls Park . . 176
Leaf from an Old Ledger 178
Source of the Four Mile Creek, above St. Davids, 1894 . . 224
Monument at Lundy's Lane, erected 1901 254

MRS. EMMA A. CURRIE

INTRODUCTION.

WHEN attention was drawn to Laura Ingersoll Secord, in 1860, it was a great surprise that she had so long been unappreciated and known to so few. Living among many of her husband's relatives for over a quarter of a century, hearing constant allusion to those times, it seemed almost impossible that such heroism should have remained untold and her name unmentioned. After reading the newspaper account, inquiry was made of an aged friend whose whole life was spent in St. Davids, as to its truthfulness. Quickly came the reply, "It is all true." No details were given, but the answer was sufficient confirmation. The excitement of the American Civil War and removal from St. Davids caused the circumstances to be almost forgotten, but now and then allusions would come recalling them. When the Woman's Literary Club was formed in St. Catharines, in 1892, it was my part to prepare one of the papers for the opening meeting. The historic subject of Laura Secord was selected, and during the preparation of the paper I found that her ancestors and my own came from the same place, Great Barrington, Mass. Previous to this it had been a custom to spend a week or two during the summer season in making sketches in water-colors of historic places and buildings, of which there are so many in this locality. Some had been previously made in Niagara and vicinity. I concluded to make sketches in connection with Mrs. Secord's history, and to gather what information it was possible to gain from her relatives, and those who had seen and known her. Strange to say, no one seemed to know anything of her early life or later years. At historic gatherings I had the pleasure of meeting Mrs. Curzon, and was greatly impressed by her appearance. Not long before her death some correspondence took place between us. Suffering at that time from ill health, an offer was made to place what memoranda had been collected in her hands, to be used as she saw best. It was my last letter to her, for her death took place soon after. Feeling that what had been collected might be of use, a commencement was made to put them together. A letter was written to the Postmaster of Great Barrington, asking for the address of any of the Ingersoll descendants still remaining there. This letter was placed in the hands of the late Charles J. Taylor, Esq., Historian of Great

Barrington, and brought a reply from him. Without his friendly aid these reminiscences would have been impossible. Mr. Taylor's truthful work deserves the highest appreciation. As the birth-place of Laura Ingersoll Secord it is inseparably connected with Canadian history. Of this gentleman's kindness to a total stranger, whom he had never seen—the time he has given, the researches he has made in helping through many difficulties—I cannot speak in too grateful terms.

Colonel Dunn and Mrs. Dunn, of Toronto, have also been efficient helpers, in furnishing documents, history, letters and memoranda relating to the Secord family, and to Laura Secord also. The granddaughters of Mrs. Secord, Miss Louisa Smith and Mrs. Cockburn, have also furnished valuable information. When it was necessary, J. Hamilton Ingersoll, Esq., of St. Catharines, has written many letters.

Miss Woodruff, of Chicago, has furnished much valuable information in regard to her grandfather and grandmother, Mr. and Mrs. David Secord, also valuable autograghs; Mr. Henry Woodruff, of St. Davids, Mrs. Thorn, of Princeton, and Mrs. Saxon, of St. Catharines, important letters; Mrs. Norton, of Westfield, Mass., and Mrs. Hitchcock, of Amherst, Mass., have assisted in information regarding the Ingersolls.

My old friend, Mr. Kirby, author of "Chien d'Or," has contributed an article upon the Whitmore family, with whom he is connected by marriage, and which is a valuable addition to the history of the early settlement of Upper Canada.

Miss Janet Carnochan has also given much information in regard to the local history of Niagara.

To Miss Bothwell, of Lockport, and many others who have done much to help me, my grateful thanks are given.

The portrait of Mrs. Secord, which is the frontispiece of this work, is from a plate furnished by the late Rev. Canon Bull, of Niagara Falls South. The late Mr. Joel Lyons, of Chippewa, had a likeness of Mrs. Secord, taken in what year is not known, and from this the plate was made.

The likeness of Mrs. Secord which is in "Lossing's Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812," and this are the only ones known to have been made. The autograph of Laura Secord accompanies the likeness. It is the only autograph known to be in existence. In a footnote, page 621, Mr. Lossing says that Mrs. Secord wrote to him on February 18th, 1861. In 1867 he speaks of her as being ninety-two years of age, and her mental faculties in full play, her eyesight so perfect that she could read without spectacles. Mrs. Gregory, her niece, who saw her in her last illness, and but three days before her death, bears testimony to the wonderful preservation of her mind.

To Mrs. Grover, of Toronto, who has allowed selections to be made from her "Recollections," my warmest thanks are given.

The first edition of "Laura Ingersoll Secord and Canadian Reminiscences" has revived the memory of an heroic woman, bringing to light letters and documents which otherwise might have passed into oblivion, and recalling the memory of others living in those troubled times. No doubt the day will come when the fragments will be brought together, and their place assigned them by the writers of Canadian history. Sir George Ross deserves the gratitude of Canadian women for placing in the Parliament Buildings of Ontario the portrait of Laura Ingersoll Secord, and procuring the grant from the Dominion Government which made the Memorial on Queenston Heights possible.

Descendants and friends have aided to the recollections gathered around her name. The letters and documents are copies of the originals. It is hoped this second publication will bring additional remembrances. With great difficulty the facts of Mrs. Secord's life have been collected. By most Canadians the Ingersoll family were classed with the U. E. Loyalists. That distinction they never claimed.

This is not a connected story. It is the gathered fragments of a well-spent life ever rising to the duty which occasion demanded. The fragments of Laura Ingersoll Secord's life, her own letters, those of her relatives and friends, the recollections of her grand-children, many years of whose life were spent under the roof of their grand-parents, the following facts have been gathered and are now presented to the public.

Mrs. Secord possessed courage which arose above danger and defeat, gifted with mental and physical resources, and love for her husband and children, and thought no toil too great that would minister to their comfort and promote their prosperity. Among families whose descendants are so numerous as the Ingersolls and Secords possibly more may be discovered, with relics bearing the impress when they were made and used. The difficulties under which the early settlers existed, the estrangement of families caused by the Revolution of 1776, the distances that separated them, the lack of materials for correspondence, the high rate of postage, all had their influence. The last and greatest was the poverty brought upon all by the War of 1812. The letters of that period are pitiful. That there are so few is no surprise. Many sent by private hands never reached their destination, and if received were passed from family to family and finally lost. The way in which these letters reached me may prove useful to bring others. During the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo pamphlets and information of various kinds were sent by the Dominion and Provincial Governments along with Canadian exhibits. Among other publications was "Women of

Canada." When the Exhibition closed the pamphlets and newspapers were sent to the rural districts for distribution. Myra Hitchcock's descendants lived in Lebanon, N. Y. A daughter of hers, Mrs. Blair, was then living. A relative happening in the post office was handed a parcel with the remark, "Give this to your grandmother, as she wants everything about Canada." Among them was a newspaper account of the unveiling of the Laura Secord monument at Lundy's Lane, and mention of "Laura Ingersoll Secord and Canadian Reminiscences." Mrs. Wells of Chicago, and another relative, Mrs. Blair of Buffalo, sent for the book. Soon after, Mrs. Wells visited New Lebanon and procured the autograph letters and traditions of Laura Secord which reach far back into the last century. These letters were carefully copied. They touch many points in our history and are strong evidences of the mistakes,—to call them by no harsher name,—that were preparing for our people the troublesome times of 1837. Mrs. Blair at eighty years of age said that during her long life she had only been absent from the farm for two weeks. She went in a wagon and never wished to go again. When some of her relatives visited Europe, Egypt and the Holy Land it was a matter of great surprise to her.

(Letter of Mrs. Thomas Ingersoll to Mrs. Hitchcock.)

GREAT BARRINGTON, MASS., November 27, 1818.

Dear Mira,—I have received two letters from you since I have been in Barrington, one by way of Canada, the other directed to your uncle John. The one you sent to Canada has been sent to me by Charles. I have had great pleasure in receiving such affectionate letters from you. It gives me great pleasure to know that you and your children are all well, and that you have good farms and the blessings of preaching and good society in your town. You must not blame me for not calling on you when I came here from Canada. We were obliged to come through Utica, which left you to the South of us. I meant to call on you and visit you. We started from Utica to go down to the Cherry Valley turnpike towards your town, and I was taken sick and obliged to give up seeing you. You cannot tell how bad I felt for it was one of the great objects of my journey to see you and Mr. Hitchcock and the children. You must give my love to them all. Brother John was so good to go to Canada for me. As he writes much faster than I do I have requested him to write for me and fill in the sheet. You cannot tell how gratifying it is for me to have assurances, as your letters contain of love and affection for me. Do come here and see me this winter. I want to see you and say a good deal, especially

about your good father's death and all family matters which cannot be contained in a letter. I expect your brother Charles and his wife to come after next May. When we return to Canada we shall visit you at your house. I intend to write him to call on you when he comes down.

Your Affectionate Mother,

SARAH INGERSOLL.

(Letter of John Whiting to Mira Hitchcock.)

GREAT BARRINGTON, MASS., December 6, 1818.

My Dear Mira,—Your good mother has skipped over this page and I have concluded to fill it up, especially as she has requested me. Mira, you are decidedly the best girl in the whole world, because you write such good long letters. I started for Canada the 8th day of July last, my wife's brother from North Carolina and Cousin Thomas Hopkins went with me. We had a grand time of it. Noticed that great curiosity of nature, Niagara Falls, then visited my good kind Laura and her husband and family, then went around the head of the lake and found your good mother and little Samuel alone, in a log house (though a good one). Your brother Charles went with me. We arrived there just as sister and little Samuel had retired to rest, but I broke into the house with little ceremony, flung away the curtains that hung around the bed, had her around the neck before she had time to say "Who is there," and I leave you to judge of our feelings after so long a separation, and which was entirely unexpected on her part. The next day your sister Charlotte (she is a fine girl) and her husband (who appeared to be a very clever fellow) came here and spent the day with us. The next day sister started with me for Queenston, leaving Samuel in the family of a friend. Thomas was gone to Oxford to build a new house at the old farm where your father used to live, your brother Charles having bought it. When your mother goes back to Canada she is going there to live. We stayed a few days at brother Charles' and at the Secord's, and on the last Monday of July your sister started with my brother-in-law and Mr. Thomas Hopkins—went up the lake another way to Great Barrington. We intended to return by your house but sister was taken sick owing to great fatigue and we were prevented. You cannot imagine how much we were disappointed, for it was one great object of the journey to call upon you. We saw Dr. Luke Dewey (your cousin) as we drove through Lennox, in Madison County, he living there and I told him where you lived and he promised to call on you. I

presume he is the person you mentioned in your letter as having inquired for you. Mr. George Stanley of Great Barrington is to live at Lennox with him. You know Dr. Dewey married his daughter. Cousin Mira, you must come here and visit us this winter. Write me as soon as you receive this and tell me if you will come, and when. Also tell me what place to inquire for your house when travelling from Canada, for I found difficulty in finding precisely where you live. I have no more room or I would write more.

Yours afftly,

JOHN WHITING.

N. B.—Your dear uncle Charles has gone to a better land as we humbly trust. Your sister Nancy and her husband moved to Detroit more than two years ago, in July, 1816. They called at Queenston and visited her mother, Laura, Charles, and all the friends and then proceeded to Detroit.

Mrs. Julius Hitchcock,
Lebanon, Madison County, New York.

[The Post Office at Great Barrington had no stamp at that time. It is written.]

(Letter of James Secord to Mrs. Hitchcock.)

QUEENSTON, December 20, 1829.

Dear Mira,—We have received two letters from you lately, and am truly happy to hear of your health and happiness, although we have not answered your letters heretofore, it has not been from want of affection, but from not knowing where to direct a letter to you. That obstacle is now removed and I will endeavor in future to be a better correspondent. I do assure you that you are alive in our remembrance and age, and the troubles of the world increases the love of our relations, and friends are still more endearing. Rest satisfied, therefore, my dear Mira, that we all love you and yours.

With respect to our own family, and as you will be anxious to know how many there are and so forth, I will briefly give you a sketch. Well, in the first place we have six daughters and one son,—Mary, Charlotte, Hannah, Laura, and Charles. Mary is married and is now a widow. She has an estate in Ireland, and a pension from the British Government of about $400 a year. She goes next year to Ireland in the months of June or July. Charlotte goes with her and is unmarried. Harriet is married to a lawyer by the name of Smith and lives in St. Catharines and has two daughters. Poor dear Appy is no more. She died rejoicing in her Re-

deemer and left a glorious example for elder people. Laura and Hannah are at home, and good children they are. Charles has been bred to the law and will commence to practice next spring. He is at present at York, and is writing in the House of Parliament. I forgot to tell you that Mary Trimble has two daughters, Elizabeth and Mary. With respect to our worldly affairs I am sorry to say we are not very prosperous. We make out to live and have clothing and food, but riches, my dear woman, it seems to me, is not for James Secord, therefore, you have a true account of my squad. At this moment all the little family is around the table on which I am writing, and Harriet and little Louisa are singing a song. Elizabeth and Mary, Hannah and Laura are drawing. Mary Timble and Charlotte sewing and preparing for their voyage to Ireland. Among the number I cannot forget the loss of our good useful black girl Fanny, who died about a month ago. Your sister Laura never had health better. She bears her age most remarkably considering her former delicate state of body. We are, however, Mira, getting old and grey heads, and now and then a tremor of the body. The Almighty is looking for us. May He grant us the pardon for our sins and enable us all to meet death cheerfully and with Christian resignation. My dear Mira it is hardly necessary to tell you that we love you all.

Your loving brother,

J. Secord, Senr.

M. Hitchcock,
Lebanon, County of Madison.

[As this has no postmark it was probably sent by private hands.]

In the endeavor to find where the acquaintance commenced between Laura Ingersoll and James Secord, her future husband, the following interesting facts were given by the Misses Augusta and Louisa Smith, of Guelph. Mr. Secord was most gentlemanly in manner and his whole life shows that he was both tactful and courageous. This is the testimony of all who dealt with him. Mr. Secord and another gentleman called upon Major Ingersoll of Guelph, on some business matters. Mr. Ingersoll, it will be remembered, was a magistrate. Mr. Secord must have made an impression upon Laura and the rest of the family. After the gentleman left, Mrs. Ingersoll expressed her regret that there were so few opportunities to meet people of education and refinement, and that probably they would never see these gentlemen again. The Ingersoll family had evidently made a similar impression on Mr. Secord, for he soon after called, and the acquaintance thus begun ended

in their marriage. There is no existing record of their marriage. That Mr. Ingersoll, as magistrate, performed the ceremony is most probable. As late as 1810 Queenston was the nearest place where licenses could be procured. It is not, however, asserted that they were married by him, and it is hoped some one more fortunate will be able to settle this point.

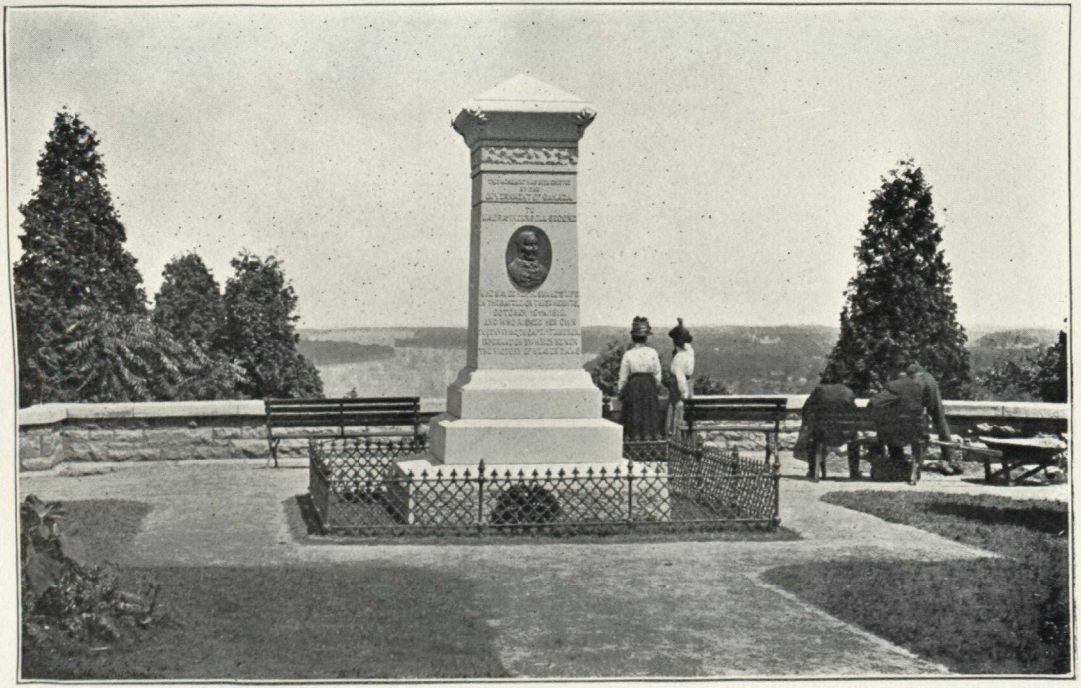
Compared with Europe the evolution of this continent has been rapid; slightly over four hundred years. The endeavor is to place before the descendants of those who founded the Dominion something of the homes and inner life of the mothers, sisters and wives of those who shared the toils,—their lives and works forgotten. In reading the names of old families there are but few who did not have three and sometimes four mothers successively in large families. They passed away, even their burial places unknown. The archivist, the archeologist and historic societies are gathering up the relics of the past of the men and women who gave their lives in the struggle for existence.

Miss Carnochan and the Historical Society of Niagara have done much for this locality. It is hoped that posterity will recognize the valuable work done, and continue in coming years the work commenced by them. The women of Canada have received little appreciation of their work in the past and present.

Pamphlet No. 17 of the Niagara Historical Society gives much information as to how the U. E. Loyalists and settlers maintained themselves during those early days. They lived on half rations. Those who were mechanics turned knowledge and hands to useful purposes. The Cartwrights at Napanee, and the Secords in the Niagara District were most useful in this respect. The blacksmith and the carpenter were essential to every settlement.

The Revolution of 1776 destroyed the labors of the past. In Canada the work of former days was to be recommenced by the U. E. Loyalists, the settlers and their descendants. Nearly thirty years of peace had followed the Revolution. The War of 1812 saw their labors imperiled, and years of disheartening toil for their portion. Canada is only now learning (and the world also) the vastness and richness of her possessions. These stretch from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Arctic seas to the St. Lawrence, and the Great Lakes as her southern boundaries. Through these years of toil and peril, the races that people this Dominion have presented a united and successful front to invasion and rebellion.

When the promised historian comes, the prosperity of this country should be his inspiration, and stimulate all to follow the example of the pioneers and make themselves worthy of the heritage their forefathers left them.



MONUMENT TO LAURA INGERSOLL SECORD, AT QUEENSTON, ERECTED 1912

Family tradition helps to establish a fact. The fact remains, the difference in its relation arising from the standpoint of the narrator. Mrs. Wells, a descendant of Mrs. Hitchcock, gives this version of a family tradition. Major Ingersoll's family, when coming to Canada for settlement, after reaching Oswego embarked on a sailing vessel for Burlington Bay. From there the Indian trail led to Oxford County. As they neared the western shore of Lake Ontario the vessel was becalmed for several days, and provisions became scarce. Mrs. Ingersoll had a child two and a half years old. When near what is now Grimsby a violent storm arose. Afraid to stay on their frail vessel they went ashore for safety and put up a tent for protection. While there the kindly sailors went in quest of food for themselves and starving children. When they had gone some distance through the woods they perceived a light. Proceeding to it they found a hunter's camp. After hearing their pitiful story the hunters told them that at quite a distance was a settler's house and offered to go with them to get food, and especially milk for the children. They did so, thus relieving their immediate wants. When the storm abated they re-embarked, proceeded to Burlinton Bay, then by the trail to Oxford. This child was Samuel Ingersoll who lived at St. Mary's.

The following is an extract from a very interesting letter written by H. Holland of Westfield, Mass., and received by the writer April 23rd, 1903: "I shall send in another envelope a photograph of the old Ingersoll house, or hotel, that stood on a road that formerly (1664) ran from Northampton, Mass., to Windsor, Conn. The house burned down about 1890. The photo is not a very good one, but was taken more than thirty years ago, long before the days of photo-engraving. The house had become quite dilapidated, being rented to foreigners and poor people. You will notice there is no shrubbery to be seen around the house. The house stood back from the street four or five rods. There are a few large elms on the side of the street but do not show in the photo." There were three sisters living in Westfield at the time this letter was written whose maiden name was Ingersoll. In Great Barrington the building occupied by Major Ingersoll as his place of business is still standing, and the home built by him is the Free Library. The house in which Laura Ingersoll was born is now the Public Library of Great Barrington. One will soon be constructed to cost $50,000. The old building will not be destroyed but removed. The mantle-piece has been offered to the Niagara Historical Society. Will not some generous friend furnish the means where the birth-place of Ontario's heroine can be used to conserve her memory?

EMMA A. CURRIE.

BIOGRAPHY OF MRS. CURRIE.

EMMA A. CURRIE, *nee* Harvey, was born in Niagara, 19th Nov., 1829. Her father was Ursen Harvey and her mother Caroline Hamlin, both of East Bloomfield, New York, and both descended from Revolutionary ancestors. Mr. Harvey came to Niagara in 1828, where he remained till December, 1834, when he removed to St. Davids. Mrs. Currie remembered incidents in her school life in Niagara at the age of five, in a private school, and of later years in a public school in St. Davids, and afterwards in a private school till the age of twelve, when she went to an academy in East Bloomfield for two years and afterwards to a Young Ladies' Seminary where was given a sound education. Mr. Wm. Kirby, when a young man, was an inmate of her father's house for some time and gave her lessons in languages and other subjects and no doubt intensified her love for history. Her earliest friend in St. Davids was Miss Margaret Woodruff, who afterwards married Samuel Zimmerman, Emma Harvey being one of the bridesmaids on that occasion. Miss Harvey was married to the Hon. J. G. Currie on 26th Oct., 1865, and in every way was an able helpmeet, and for forty-eight years lived in St. Catharines. She had in early years manifested artistic taste and many sketches from nature made in the Niagara Peninsula attest her skill, while in needle work she was past mistress. She lived a useful life and took an interest in many societies for the betterment of the world, was a strong advocate of the W. C. T. U. movement, was the founder of the Women's Literary Club of St. Catharines which has existed for over twenty years and owes much to her enthusiasm, and the club met at her house much of the time. She was also one of the organizers of the Orphan's Home and a generous contributor and was also a worker in the Presbyterian Church. Mrs. Currie was also an advocate for the right of women to vote but took no active part in the movement. But it is her literary work that has made the name of Mrs. Currie so well known. Her "Story of Laura Secord and Canadian Reminiscences" show her literary ability and patient research. Her first book, "Laura Secord" was dedicated to Mrs. Curzon who first brought the name of the heroine before the public. The work has long been out of print and many demands were made for its republication while Mrs. Currie was engaged writing another book and

she determined to unite the two in one volume; this work has employed many of her declining years. She was particularly fortunate in having much historical material brought to her which had never before been published. The childish friendship with Mr. Kirby was renewed in after years and he was heard to say she was the prettiest and the cleverest little girl he had ever known. To the last she retained the most beautiful complexion, the fair smooth skin of a child and delicate pink cheeks.

For seventeen years, from an accident, she was debarred from going abroad except in an invalid's chair, but her days were not idle. In that frail form was enshrined an indomitable will which enabled her to accomplish much in the way of research. Under Mr. Currie's regime as Registrar of the County of Lincoln, Mrs. Currie was appointed Deputy, which position she held for years.

Her generosity was shown by the fact that she gave all the profits of her "Story of Laura Secord" to assist in the erection of the monument at Queenston Heights, and indeed it was in a great measure by her solicitation and in acknowledgment of her patriotic work that the money was granted by the Dominion Government for its erection.

Mrs. Currie died July 27, 1913, and it is a matter of regret that she did not live to see the publication of the present volume, the result of laborious days and patient research in examining records. Her many friends will miss her cheerful voice and inspiring influence which even the lapse of over eighty years—(and years not free from care) did not diminish. The funeral was private and it was requested that no flowers be sent, all this showing her unostentatious disposition. Mrs. Currie has left an example to be followed by the women of the present generation, an example of industry, of patience, of generosity, of helpfulness, of patriotism. Of her it may be truly said that "she hath done what she could."

JANET CARNOCHAN.

NIAGARA-ON-THE-LAKE, Sept. 20th, 1913.

PART I.

LAURA INGERSOLL SECORD.

CHAPTER I.

THE FIRST SETTLERS.

THE women of Canada can justly claim that the first Loyalist refugees to seek shelter under the protecting flag at Fort Niagara were women. Dr. Canniff, in his "Settlement of Upper Canada," gives the fact that "in 1776 there arrived at Fort Niagara in a starving and otherwise destitute condition five women and thirty-one children, whom the circumstances of the rebellion had driven away." Tradition places their arrival in the month of November. They had come from the banks of the Hudson and the valley of the Mohawk, guided by friendly Indians, to this ark of refuge. Their names were Mrs. Nelles, Mrs. Secord, Mrs. Young, Mrs. Buck and Mrs. Bonar. Of these women but little is known, there names alone being rescued from the oblivion of the past. Of Mrs. Secord we know that her husband and two of her sons were in Butler's Rangers, fighting for that flag which had sheltered and protected their ancestors so many years before. Among the Rangers are found the names of Captain Nelles and Captain Young. Whether they were the husbands of Mrs. Secord's companions is not known. Of Mrs. Secord it is said her children were in a wagon. They had escaped with their lives, bringing nothing with them. Her youngest son and child, James Secord, was at that time three years old. They were given tents, clothing and food. As the days and months passed away the numbers increased from the Carolinas, Virginia and the New England colonies. There came a destitute host, along the length of the St. Lawrence, to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. The population increased in the towns and cities so rapidly that it caused a scarcity in the necessaries of life. In Halifax the population rose in a few months from 1,400 to 4,000. And so everywhere, producing suffering and privation. There was not a settlement on this side of the Niagara River when the Revolution commenced. When it closed, in 1783, there was a population of 10,000. In 1792 there were four hundred houses in Niagara. From the frontier at Fort Niagara to Detroit, along the river and lake shore, there was a thin fringe of civilization. Many of the refugees waited in New York, hoping when peace came, to return to their former homes. When New York was evacuated, November 25,

1783, there arose a wail of despair. Those that could went to England, some to the Bahama Islands. Many that went to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia came to Upper Canada when they heard of the fertile soil and milder climate. Twelve thousand left New York at that time. As fast as possible they were given lands, implements and seeds. Grist-mills were erected to aid them. Fort Niagara was the centre of the hopes, the ambitions, and the activities of that period. Here, brought at great expense from the old land, were kept those vast supplies of various kinds, which were distributed to the remotest settlements—the munitions of war for themselves and other garrisons, rations and supplies for their Indian allies. The canoes of the Indians, laden with furs from the Upper Lakes, and the bateaux from the Lower Province with their freight, all made this their stopping-place. Councils of war prepared for attack and defence, as the occasion required. Looking now on its crumbling walls, its deserted buildings, its empty fortress, the dismal chambers where the garrison slept within its walls, it is hard to realize its importance one hundred and forty years ago. But it was then the door to the west and to the south, and he who commanded those was entrusted by his sovereign with a possession which required wisdom and strength to keep.

Such were the conditions when those women arrived. As their friends and relatives followed they settled on the western bank of the river, and with willing hands and brave hearts they turned the wilderness into golden fields and fruitful orchards. What they did in the thirty years of peace proves the intelligence and the industy with which they worked. The founders of the Dominion have left a record which their descendants should hold up to future generations as worthy of everlasting remembrance.

CHAPTER II.

THE SECORD FAMILY.

THE ancestor of the Secord family, Amboise Secord, came with his five children from LaRochelle, in France, to New York in 1681. He, along with other French emigrants, founded the town of New Rochelle, in Westchester County, of the same state, about 1689. The name is spelled in various ways. In the original it is Seacard, and pronounced *se-kar*. Most of the Huguenots sympathized with England during the Revolutionary War. The Secords were very numerous, and more of that name are found among the U. E. Loyalists and first settlers of Canada than of any other. Great Britain had assisted the Huguenots during their persecution in France, had sheltered them in England, had helped them emigrate to America, and they proved their gratitude by loyal service and great sacrifices during the war. Many gave up everything, even life, in the days that tried men's souls. They were a strong, hardy people, generous and hospitable, long-lived also—one of their descendants died in New Rochelle in the year 1845, aged 105 years. In Canadian annals we find that Peter Secord, living on the Talbot Road, died in 1818 in his 103rd year. He was one of the first settlers. The last year of his life he killed four wolves and walked twenty miles to make the necessary affidavit to obtain the bounty.

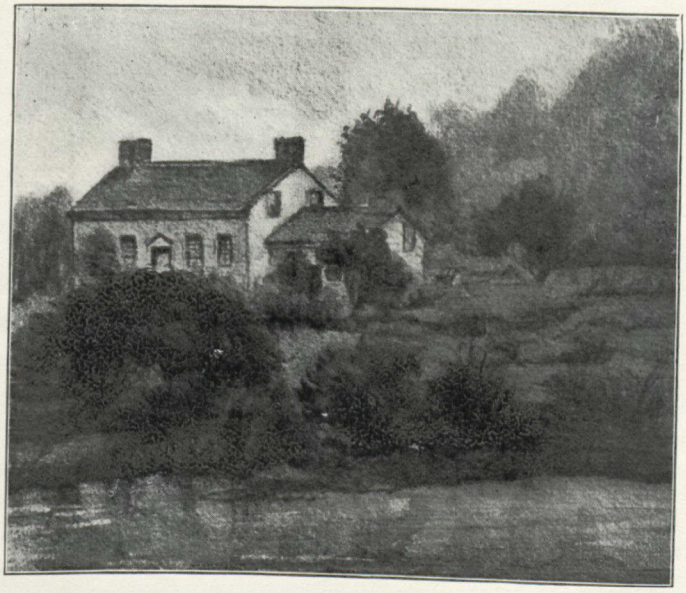
They were hard-working and thrifty, silk-weaving being their principal occupation, and none of the early settlers had titles of nobility. [The Documentary History of New York State, in the edition of 1850, Vol. III, and relating to Westchester County, contains much information regarding the Secords and their descendants.] The Documentary History of the State of New York shows that "in the year 1689 they had dedicated 100 acres of land to the use of the French Church. In 1709 all the members of the Church, with the exception of two, agreed to conform themselves to the liturgy and rites of the Church of England, as established by law, and put themselves under the protection of the same." Among the names are fourteen spelled Sycar, as belonging to the Church, and among the petitioners are nine Secords, hardly any two of the nine spelling the name in the same manner.

Sycar, Secord, Sicard, Seacord, Se Cord, Seicard are the different forms. [From Canadian Archives: "Amable and Pierre De Sicard, stating their services and praying for an allowance."]

The original French Church was founded at New Rochelle as early as 1692. In 1709, from the difficulty of obtaining ministers, and being considered Dissenters, all but two persons conformed to the Church of England, and were obliged to erect a new edifice in 1710. The two who would not conform retained possession of the old church and the one hundred acres of land which had been reserved for a French Church. Others joined them, but the congregation was not large, being always too poor to hire a minister, and receiving no help from the Established Church Fund, they naturally fell under the care of the French Church in New York City, and were known as its Annex in New Rochelle. [New Rochelle is now a part of Greater New York City. In the old times we find that many of the church members, with their families, walked to New York to attend church, when there was no service at New Rochelle.] Services were performed here occasionally by the minister from New York. Toward the Revolution it fell into decay, and at that time ceased to be used as a church. The edifice was torn down, and the Episcopal Church, through the courts, obtained possession of the lands, although they were granted for a French Church erected, or to be erected. After the war, what remained of the congregation were merged in a Presbyterian church, which still exists.

Solomon Secord was baptized in the Annex, showing that his parents, descendants of the Badeaus ancestry, still clung to the original French faith. The records are in the church in New York City, and were kept in duplicate in the church at New Rochelle. The compiler says they agree exactly. In Appendix I, of the Secord family, will be found much valuable genealogical information. James Secord, of New Rochelle, a lieutenant in Butler's Rangers, was born April 24, 1732; he was probably of the fourth generation. His wife was Madelaine Badeau, a descendant of Elias Badeau, who fled from St. George's, Saintonge, France, to Bristol, England, and from there came to America. They had eight children, five sons and three daughters, most of them destined to take an important part in the history of Canada. Lieutenant James Secord died at Niagara, July 13, 1784. Tradition says he was buried in the private burying-ground of Colonel Butler. Of the date of his wife's death and place of burial nothing is known. James, their fifth son and youngest child, was three years old when they arrived at Fort Niagara. This son was the future husband of Laura Ingersoll.

Major David Secord, the third son, had shown his patriotism and courage from early youth. His father and eldest brother belonged to



HOMESTEAD OF MAJOR DAVID SECORD, 1894

Butlers Ranger's, and we find him in his sixteenth year serving with them during the Revolutionary War till its completion. He was present at Wyoming as sergeant in the Rangers. This expedition of Colonel Butler was to bring away the families of the Loyalist refugees to Fort Niagara. At that time Sergeant Secord, at the risk of his own life, saved the lives of three American prisoners who had abused and killed the wife of Oneida Joseph, an Indian chief, who afterwards settled on the Mohawk Reservation at Brantford, and lived to a great age.

Many of the Rangers settled in the Niagara District, drawing lands as compensation for their services and the homes they had lost by confiscation. Mr. Secord had six hundred acres of land between Queenston and St. Davids. His relatives and himself received large grants in the district also, and in other parts of Canada. He entered largely into business of various kinds. He was surveyor, farmer, miller, besides erecting numerous buildings for mechanics in the village. His first mill was built in 1786. Appendix V will give some idea of the variety of his occupations and possessions. He had been in many battles during the Revolution, and thirty years of peace again found him ready to face the enemy. In the battle of Queenston Heights he bore a conspicuous part. In the third and last engagement, in the afternoon, when the invaders were being driven back, Major Secord called to those who were rushing down the bank of the river to come back and their lives would be spared. Among those who surrendered he found his wife's father and brother. Another brother of Mrs. Secord, Mr. Thomas Page, came over before the war and settled in Pelham; he was a Quaker. David, eldest son of Major Secord, was taken prisoner, and after some time exchanged. He reached home the day of the battle of Lundy's Lane. It was late in the afternoon when he arrived. While taking his supper the firing was heard, and, tired as he was, he said, "I must go to father!" and started on foot for the battle-field, five miles away. Father and son met, grasping each other's hand in a brief welcome, and they fought side by side until young Secord was again taken prisoner, and afterwards sent to Greenbush, N. Y. Major Secord was wounded but once in the eight battles in which he was engaged during the Revolutionary War, and it was a superstitution among the Indians that he bore a charmed life. After the war was over he had for the second time to recommence the busy life which in past years had made him so prominent and prosperous. For eight years he was a member of Parliament, doing good service for his constituency and country. He deprecated the selfishness of the Family Compact, who by their ill-timed measures were driving a loyal people to rebellion. He supported the reforms which form the basis of our present government. He was too

well known to be branded as disloyal, and too sensible to go to the extreme lengths to which Mackenzie was driven. Before the rebellion came he had shown his courage in another form. Robert Gourlay had been one of the earliest Reformers, and one of the first to suffer for his principles. When unjustly deprived of his property he had appealed in vain for justice. Suffering in body and mind, sick and penniless, he stayed in Mr. Secord's house until he could return to Scotland. He was not the man to forget a kindness, and Mr. Secord's daughter told the writer that the first silk dresses she and her sister had were given, with other remembrances, by Mr. Gourlay when he returned to Canada. Mr. Secord was generous and hospitable to a fault; his house was ever open to His Majesty's troops. In addition to military services, he was Commissioner of Highways and Bridges, giving his services for the latter without pay.

Major Secord was three times married. First to a Miss Millard, who died about a year after her marriage, leaving one daughter. His second wife was Catharine Smith, daughter of Elias Smith, by whom he had eight sons and one daughter. His third wife was the widow Dunn, whose maiden name was Polly Page, sister of the Thomas Page, of Pelham, previously mentioned. She had two sons, Lorenzo and Luther, by her first marriage. It is in connection with Mr. Secord's marriages, and illustrating the times, that the following circumstances are given. When there was no resident clergyman who was legally entitled to perform the marriage service, the resident magistrate, or the commanding officer at a military station, was empowered to do so. The second and third marriages were thus made. An Act was passed by which those who had been married in this manner, by appearing before the Clerk of the Peace, and making affidavit as to who performed the ceremony, the time and place, and giving the date of the birth of children, received a certificate which settled all doubts as to the legality of such marriages. Major Secord made those affidavits, which were registered on the 8th of February, 1832. Rev. Mr. Addison, of St. Mark's, Niagara, records that some were re-married by him. The marriage register kept by him is instructive and of great value, for the magistrates seldom kept a record, and if they made any they have been lost.

Major Secord's sister, Magdalen Secord, married the Hon. Richard Cartwright, and was the ancestress of that family which has been, and still continues to be, so prominent in the history of the Dominion. Another sister married Dr. Lawrence, of Savannah, Georgia. The youngest brother, James, married Laura Ingersoll, who fills the most important place in these reminiscences. Major Secord's family was

POLLY PAGE (MRS. DAVID SECORD)
(Loaned by Miss N. Woodruff)

large; the names will be found in Appendix II. His son George was a member of Parliament for many years.

From the Scarboro records the following are selected:

"Isaac Secor came to Canada at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War; came first to Kingston, then moved west, building the first stone mill at Napanee. The Secords of Scarboro were loyal, like those who settled in the Niagara District.

"The first post-office in the township was on Lot 19, Concession D; the first Postmaster, Peter Secor, who held the position from its establishment, in 1830, to 1838. A footnote says, Mr. Secor's sympathy with Mackenzie was what led to this change."

Miss Janet Carnochan, of Niagara, has furnished the following, which is evidence of the industry of the Secords, and of the success which had attended their efforts not seven years from the arrival of the first refugees at Niagara:

"On the 25th of August, 1782, Col. Butler took the first census of the settlement of Niagara. Among the names are Peter Secord—7 persons, 4 horses, 6 cattle, 14 hogs, 30 acres cleared land, 80 bu. wheat, 60 bu. Indian corn, 6 bu. oats, 100 bu. potatoes.

"Jno. Secord—5 persons, 6 horses, 10 cattle, 3 hogs, 27 acres cleared, 50 bu. wheat, 50 corn, 70 potatoes.

"James Secord—6 persons, 3 horses, 3 cattle, 11 sheep, 3 hogs, 20 acres cleared land, 7 bu. wheat, 100 corn, 30 potatoes.

"In 1783, among the names are Tho's Secord, 40 acres cleared.

"Peter Secord, 25; Jno., 50; Jno. Secord, jr., 10 acres cleared.

"Authority, Ernest Cruikshank, from Military Papers."

The following appears in the Dominion Archives:

"Companies mustered in November and December, 1783.

"B. 105, P. 399. Among the names are Silas Secord, Sergeant; age 28, his wife 23,

"James Secord, age 53, his wife 49, 2 sons and 3 daughters.

"Peter Secord, aged 62, wife 40, 3 sons and 2 daughters. Page 395, Bo. 105."

Miss Carnochan furnishes this also:

"In a narrative of the captivity and sufferings of Benjamin Gilbert and his family, in the possession of Peter A. Porter, of Niagara Falls, N. Y., and kindly loaned to me, are found some interesting references to the Secord family, which show them to have been a family of means and ready to help those in trouble.

"The Gilbert family were carried off from Pennsylvania by Indians, 25th of April, 1780, and after many hardships several of them reached Fort Niagara and Butlersburg (now Niagara), on the side of the river

opposite to Fort Niagara. Abner Gilbert was with Elizabeth Gilbert. They went to the house of John Secord, an Englishman, who was styled brother of the Chief, having lived with him some time before. Elizabeth was left here, and in July, 1781, tried to free Abner, who now found his sister Elizabeth, and stayed two weeks with her in the house of John Secord, and drew clothing from the King's stores. Elizabeth was very comfortable here. She, with John Secord's wife and Capt. Freyes' wife, went to see the child of Elizabeth Peart (wife of Benjamin Peart Gilbert, the oldest son of the Gilberts), over a year old, a captive with the Indians. Capt. Freyes' wife purchased the child for thirteen dollars. Elizabeth Gilbert lived more than a year in John Secord's family, and became greatly attached to them, calling the mistress of the house 'mamma.' John Secord took her one day to Fort Niagara, where she met six of her relatives. Col. Butler and John Secord procured her release from the Indians (who claimed her) by presents. She then stayed two weeks at Butlersburg with the Secord family, and eventually they reached their home."

The author of "Old Trails on the Niagara Frontier," F. H. Severance, has lately given a full account of the captivity of the Gilbert family. He also relates the following incident of the War of 1812:

"Mr. John Lay, a merchant of Buffalo, was taken prisoner the night that village was burned, December 13, 1813. The prisoners were marched from Fort Erie to Newark (now Niagara). Many Indians were there. Like the white men, they were celebrating their victory with strong potations. Mr. Lay knew a Mrs. Secord who was living in Niagara. He asked to be sent there, and under an escort was sent to her house. The house was surrounded, but Mrs. Secord concealed him in safety until the arrival of his partner from Buffalo under a flag of truce, when he was removed and sent a prisoner to Montreal."

APPENDIX I.

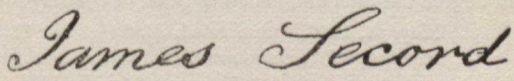
Lieutenant James Secord, of New Rochelle, N. Y., was born April 24, 1732, and baptized in the Episcopal Church, May 28th. He was probably of the fourth generation. He married Madelaine Badeau, a descendant of Elias Badeau, who fled from St. George's, Saintonge, in France, to Bristol, in England, and from there came to America.

CHILDREN OF JAMES AND MADELAINE SECORD.

Born.	Names.	Married.	Died.
March 9, 1755,	Solomon,	Margaret Bowman,	January 22, 1799
Aug. 20, 1757,	Stephen,	Ann or Hannah De Forest,	March 31, 1808
Aug. 2, 1759,	David,	1st, Miss Millard, 2nd, Catharine Smith, 3rd. Widow Dunn, *nee* Polly Page.	Aug. 9, 1844
Feb. 21, 1762,	John, went away, never heard from.		
May 4, 1764,	Magdalen,	Richard Cartwright,	January 25, 1827
July 21, 1766,	Esther,	Unmarried,	February 4, 1802
May 15, 1770,	Mary,	Dr. Lawrence, Savannah, Georgia.	
July 7, 1773,	James,	Laura Ingersoll,	February 22, 1841

Magdalen and Madelaine are names often found among the female descendants, and Badeau among the males of this branch of the Secord family.

Favorite family names are a perplexity to the biographer and historian. It has been asserted that there were sixteen of the same christian name among the Secords. James and David were favorites, and "who is who" is often puzzling.



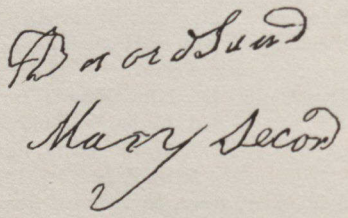
APPENDIX II.

Children of Major David Secord.

Miss Millard, first wife, left one daughter, married to Mr. Cummings.

Catharine Smith, second wife, left David, James, Stephen, John, Solomon, George, Robert, Philip, Phœbe.

Mrs. Dunn, third wife, left Riall, Elijah, Mary, Elizabeth.



APPENDIX III.

The following is condensed from an article in the Napanee *Beaver* of May 19, 1899:

Richard Cartwright, born in London, England, October 20, 1720.

His wife, Joanna, born March 9, 1726.

They are buried in St. Paul churchyard, Kingston, Canada. They were residents of Albany, N. Y., Loyalists, and came to Canada about 1790. Their son, Hon. Richard Cartwright, was born at Albany, February 2, 1759, and married Magdalen Secord, born at New Rochelle, May 4, 1764. [Private papers show that Mrs. Cartwright possessed in an eminent degree the kind and generous heart of her ancestors.]

James,	May 3, 1786,	unmarried, died October 11, 1811.
Richard,	Dec. 24, 1787,	unmarried, died at Charleston, S. C., May 4, 1811.
Hannah,	Dec. 1792,	married Captain Alex. Dobbs, Royal Navy; died January 4, 1839.
Thos. Robinson	Jan. 19, 1799,	married Miss Fisher, died June 26, 1826.

Stephen Henry,	Jan. 24, 1801,	died aged 13.
John Solomon, and Robert David,	Twins, Sept. 4, 1804,	married Sarah Hayter, Macaulay, died January 15, 1845. married Harriett Dobbs, died 1843.

CHILDREN OF REV. ROBERT DAVID CARTWRIGHT AND HARRIETT DOBBS.

Two sons who died young.

A daughter, Mary Jane, and

Rev. Conway Cartwright, Protestant Chaplain of Kingston Penitentiary, Canada.

Sir Richard John Cartwright, born December 4, 1835; married, August, 1859, Miss Frances Law.

The Hon. Richard Cartwright, son of the Loyalist, was in partnership at Niagara with the (afterwards) Hon. Robert Hamilton. He settled in Kingston about 1790. Was a merchant and forwarder and an extensive mill-owner, one of the earliest magistrates, and was appointed by Governor Simcoe a member of the First Legislative Council of Upper Canada, which office he held at the time of his death. He was also a prominent officer in the Militia, Chairman of the Land Commissioners for this section of the Province (Napanee). He had grants of six thousand acres of land, of which a considerable portion was in the vicinity of Napanee. The land, with water privileges, was on both sides of the river. The town of Napanee was built on land which once was his. He obtained the first Government flour mill erected there in 1785. He was a member of the Church of England, and was interested in educational matters.

Of the late Sir Richard Cartwright, Minister of Trade and Commerce, it is sufficient to say his career is well known to the present generation.

APPENDIX IV.

Dec. 1778.

To the Honorable Frederick Haldimand, Esq., Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Province of Canada and the Frontiers thereof in America, and Vice-Admiral of the same.

The petition of Mary De Forest humbly sheweth:

That your Excellency's petitioner, with seven children, have suffered much and are greatly distressed by being plundered of all their effects, and her husband imprisoned, by the Rebels in Albany, in the year 1777, occasioned by his Loyalty and Attachment to the Interests of Great Britain.

And as your Excellency's petitioner, with her children in these distressed circumstances, will become naked for want of clothing and in want of other necessaries requisite in a family, as she has received no other assistance than provisions.

Your Petitioner Humbly Requesteth that your Excellency will take her suffering condition into your most serious consideration, hoping your clemency will grant them some relief, and your Petitioner, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

MARY DE FOREST.

Endorsed.—The Humble Petition of Mary De Forest to the Honorable Frederick Haldimand, Esq., &c., &c.

Pray for relief of her and seven children.

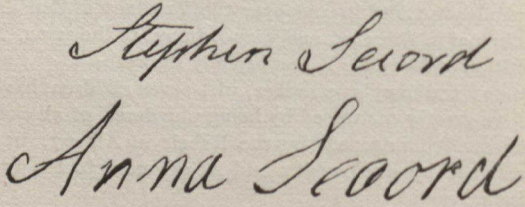
This Mary De Forest is the mother of Hannah (or Anna), wife of Stephen Secord.

FAMILY OF STEPHEN SECORD AND HANNAH (OR ANNA) DE FOREST.

Name.	Born.	Married.	Died.
Mary,	Feb. 20, 1785,	Richard Robinson,	Dec. 30, 1865
James,	April 19, 1787,	unmarried,	Jan. 3, 1852
David,	July 19, 1790,	Ann Carscallen,	July 27, 1846
Elizabeth,	Mar. 7, 1793,	unmarried,	Aug. 22, 1814 (at Napanee)
Esther Magdalen,	June 1, 1795,	George Keefer,	Sept. 7, 1871
William Edwin,	Mar. 26, 1797,	Frances Holden,	Jan. 5, 1881
Richard Henry,	May 12, 1799,	Catharine Elizabeth Stull,	July 7, 1866
Stephen Alexander,	May 15, 1801,	unmarried,	Feb. 27, 1884
Julia Ann,	May 8, 1803,	William Stull,	Jan. 13, 1868
Samuel Robison,	Dec. 18, 1805,	Elizabeth Weaver,	Aug. 15, 1875

Hannah De Forest, wife of Stephen, born July, 1767, died October 10, 1841.

Hannah Secord was buried at the Warner burying-ground, near St. Davids.



APPENDIX V.

When St. Davids was burned, July 19, 1814, these were the losses of Major David Secord:

One three-story frame house, which had seven fire-places and three chimneys. It was a hotel, 22 x 80 feet, with stables and out-houses.

One stone dwelling, two stories, 24 x 30.

One stone dwelling, two stories, 24 x 60.

One grist-mill, stone and timber, 22 x 40, with appurtenances.

Blacksmith shop and tools.

New frame barn, 34 x 44, with two fanning mills, and other property.

Two log buildings, 22 x 20.

One thousand pounds candles, made by contract for British troops, two shillings per pound.

Seven horses, four cows, 20 fat hogs—from 150 to 200 pounds each.

One new wagon and a large yoke of oxen. The wagon was loaded with furniture.

Store of merchant goods, £500.

Fifty tons of wheat, which at that time was £8 per ton.

Two hundred sheep and other property.

Household furniture and family clothing.

In 1817 flour was $10.00 per barrel.

APPENDIX VI.

Copy.—Return of the names and rank of officers of the 1st Regt. Lincoln Militia, who have not received commissions, with the dates of their several appointments, up to the 22nd of October, 1812.

DATES OF APPOINTMENTS.

Rank and Name.	Ensigncy.	Lieutenancy.	Captaincy.	Remarks.
1st Capt.				
Jacob A. Ball	.....	.....	July 2, 1812	Captaincy
2nd Capt.				not issued
Geo. A. Ball	May 6, 1806	Jan. 3, 1809	ditto	ditto
3rd Capt.				
John D. Servos	.....	.....	ditto	ditto
1st Lieut.				
William Towers	.....	Jan. 4, 1806	.....	Issued & taken
2nd Lieut.				by the army
John Clark	.....	June 26, 1812	.....	Lieutenancy
				not issued

Rank and Name.	Ensigncy.	Lieutenancy.	Captaincy.	Remarks.
3rd Lieut.				
Henry Pawling	May 14, 1806	July 2, 1812	.....	Lieutenancy
4th Lieut.				not issued
Simon Stephenson	May 15, 1812	ditto	.....	ditto
5th Lieut.				
Elijah Secord	May 23, 1812	ditto	.....	ditto
6th Lieut.				
Anselm Foster	Jan, 5, 1809	ditto	.....	Lieutenancy
7th Lieut.				not issued
Adam Brown	ditto	ditto	.....	ditto
8th Lieut.				
William Smith	May 6, 1812	Oct. 25, 1812	.....	ditto
9th Lieut.				
George Hainer	ditto	ditto	.....	ditto
1st Ensign				
Court. T. Secord	July 2, 1812	.....	.....	Ensigncy
2nd Ensign				not issued
James Secord	ditto	.....	.....	ditto
3th Ensign				
Joseph Clement	ditto	.....	.....	ditto
4th Ensign				
Peter Warner	Oct. 25, 1812	.....	.....	ditto
5th Ensign				
John Robertson	ditto	.....	.....	ditto

(Sgd) W. Claus, *Lt.-Col.* (Sgd) Anselm Foster, Lt., *Act. Adjt. 1st Regiment Lincoln Militia.*

In B. 105, p. 399, appear the names of Silas Secord, Sergeant, age 28, his wife 23.

James Secord, age 53, his wife 49, 2 sons and 3 daughters.

Peter Secord, age 62, wife 40, 3 sons and 2 daughters. Page 395, B. 105.

APPENDIX VII.

School Agreement.

Article of Agreement made the first day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred thirty and one. Between Richard H. Secord, of Grantham, of the District of Niagara, of the one part, and the undersigned inhabitants, of the other part.

Witnesseth, that for the conditions hereinafter mentioned, he, the said Richard H. Secord, doth agree to and with the said subscribers for and during the term of three months, commencing on Monday the fourteenth instant. He, the said Richard H. Secord, shall teach a common day school in the said Township of Grantham, and shall faithfully use his best endeavors to teach and instruct such pupils as may, in behalf of the subscribers, be put under his care and tuition, the following branches of education, viz., Spelling, Reading, Writing and Arithmetic, and to understand them as far as the space of time and their respective capacities will admit. Secondly, he doth engage to maintain good order and exercise impartial discipline in said School, to suppress and discountenance all immoral habits and practices among his pupils, and to use all reasonable diligence to improve their education. Thirdly, for the purpose of teaching he doth agree to attend at the School House eleven days in every two weeks, from nine o'clock a. m. until four o'clock p. m. for the aforesaid term.

Lastly, if any charge should be brought against the said Teacher relative to his conduct in the performance of the duties of his school, on his being examined before the Trustees, and if found culpable of a misdemeanor, they are at liberty to discharge him on paying him for whatever space of time he may have taught.

For and in consideration of the due performance of the above conditions to us, the subscribers, on the part of the said Richard H. Secord, we do Promise and Agree to pay him, the said Richard H. Secord, the sum of eight shillings and nine pence currency per quarter for each pupil subscribed. And further, we do engage to furnish him in a school house with suitable writing desks, benches, &c., also each subscriber shall furnish an equal proportion of firewood (according to the number of pupils subscribed) delivered at the school house whenever it may be needful for the benefit of the said school.

Subscribers' Names.

John Vanevery	2	James Turney	1
John Bessey	2	Henry C. Ball	2
Nancy Wilson	1	Charles Mundy	2
David Grass	2	Thomas Wood	2
John Grass	2	Elizabeth Ball	1
William Price	1		

The agreement is a remarkable specimen of penmanship. There are five varieties of writing in the document, delicate as though engraved.

Loaned by Miss Martha Secord, Stamford, Ont.

CHAPTER III.

THE INGERSOLL FAMILY.

RICHARD INGERSOLL was born in Bedfordshire, England, in 1600, and came to Salem, Massachusetts, in 1629. His descendants have been traced through four generations. John, a brother of Richard, born in 1615, came to Salem the same year, but not at the same time. He was in Hartford, Connecticut, for a short period, where he married in 1651. He removed to Northampton, Massachusetts, where his second marriage took place in 1657, and thence to Westfield, Massachusetts, where he married for the third time in 1667. This became his home, for he died there, September 3, 1684. Westfield appears to be the central point from which started so many of the families whose names were famous in the New England colonies, and whose descendants in these later times continue keeping in every State of the Union the honored names of their ancestors. Westfield is now a thriving city of over 25,000 inhabitants.

John Ingersoll built a house which, with many additions and improvements, was standing in 1884. It has since been destroyed by fire. It was repurchased by Chandler Lambert Ingersoll, of Brooklyn, of the eighth generation, in 1857, for a summer residence. The gravestones in the burying-ground were recarved by his order, but the tomb of the original settler could not be found. On the grave of Thomas Ingersoll, a magistrate in Westfield, who died in 1748, is the following inscription:

"This stone stands out to tell
Where his dust lies;
That day will show
The parts they acted here below."

This house was called the seat of the ancient aristocracy. In its early days it was used as a fort, where the people resorted for safety at night during the Indian troubles. Many traditions were connected with it. Among them, "that Greylock, a famous Indian chief, who had killed ninety-nine persons, had skulked around the place for a long time to kill Mrs. Ingersoll, and had nearly succeeded but for the timely

arrival of her husband, who fired his gun while Greylock was trying to scalp her, at which he fled and was never seen afterwards."

Through the history of the United States the name of Ingersoll constantly occurs in all the conditions and avocations of life,—the settler with his axe, the mechanic and inventor, the merchant, teacher, the singing-master, magistrate, judge, diplomat, historian, the soldier, the patriot, the exile. The record of nine generations and over eight hundred names have been followed. The families connected with them by marriage are also from that New England stock which bore their part in the colonial days and in the formation of the American Republic. They were a long-lived race, and in looking over the genealogical records, there are found many men and women who lived over ninety years. Thomas and David are frequent names among the Ingersoll descendants, and the name is sometimes spelled Ingersole.

Their names, connected with many others, are found in all matters pertaining to church, educational and municipal affairs. Wherever they lived—and you will find them all through the colonies—they were useful citizens, doing their share in promoting the prosperity of the place they had made their home.

The town of Great Barrington, Massachusetts, was settled by families from Westfield in 1724. To form the settlement one hundred and fifteen persons united together, and, choosing a committee to represent them, went through the usual formalities in regard to the acquiring, laying out and settling the land. Two tracts of land, each to contain nine square miles, were purchased, to be laid out on the Housatonic River. These were divided into four townships. On April 25, 1724, Konkapot and twenty other Indians, in consideration of the payment secured to them of four hundred and sixty pounds in money, three barrels of cider and thirty quarts of rum, executed a deed to the committee of the lands above mentioned. Among these first settlers were Moses and Thomas Ingersoll. Other Ingersolls followed. Peter Ingersoll built a house in 1766, which is still standing. A David Ingersoll was among the early magistrates, and some extracts from his records as Justice of the Peace may be found instructive. The stocks and the whipping-post were a common form of punishment.

Aug. 14, 1754.
The King,
Ag't Eliner Ward } for stealing sundry goods from Mr. John Brown. She confest she stole 3 caps and ½ M. pins. Ordered to pay 32 shillings and ye goods; being 3 fold damages and cost, and to be whipt 20 stripes. All were performed.

At a court before Justices Dwight and Ingersoll, October 5, 1754,

Samuel Taylor, Junior, and Ebenezer Crowfoot, of Pontoosack, complained of for making and spreading a false alarm and digging up and scalping an Indian which was buried. They confessed themselves to be guilty. Taylor ordered to pay a fine of 20 shillings, or be whipped 30 stripes. Neglected to pay s'd fine and was whipped. Crowfoot to pay fine of 13 shillings, 4 pence, to be whipped 20 stripes. Omitted paying and was whipped. Both to pay £6 7s 6d, committed until performed. In addition they were bound for their good behaviour in the sum of £5 each.

Oct. 7, 1754.

The French at this time were offering a bounty for English scalps, and this false alarm and the effort to obtain a bounty for an Indian scalp obtained in this manner brought upon them deserved punishment.

In those days a few had negro slaves. They were hired out to work, and "Sophia Green" was sold by the same David Ingersoll for £20.

A Thomas Ingersoll of the fifth generation, born in Westfield in 1749, removed to Great Barrington in 1774. He married Elizabeth Dewey, daughter of Israel Dewey. The Dewey family came from Westfield also, and there had been intermarriages between the families previous to this. The troubled years of the Revolution had already commenced. The colonies were in a ferment, and the time that was to see the formation of another form of government on this continent soon arrived. From 1726 to 1775 there had been many added to the Ingersoll name. As soldiers during the Indian and French wars, they had taken their share of danger, and when the Revolutionary War took place they were on the Continental side. One David Ingersoll, a lawyer and a magistrate, remained a Loyalist. Sabine says: "During the troubles which had preceded the shedding of blood he was seized by a mob, carried to Connecticut and imprisoned. In a second outbreak of the people's displeasure his house was assailed. He was driven from his home and his enclosures laid waste." He mortgaged his property and went to England. He married there, and left children at his death in 1796. The front door of his house bore the marks of the hatchets and swords used at that time. It was afterwards used as a young ladies' boarding school. In those days it was not possible to be neutral. Men were drafted and compelled to go in person, to find a substitute, or pay a fine of £10. It is the old story, no freedom of speech or thought. everywhere suspicion surrounds, and selfishness and lawlessness reign. The lengthy wars of those times bereft the people of everything. To those who fell on the battle-field, or perished from the hardships of war, must be added those who were driven from their homes, leaving behind

them all their earthly possessions—glad to escape with their lives. War always leaves hard times. Continental money had sunk to its lowest depreciation, when it took a punch bowl filled with bills to buy a meal, and $72 in paper was worth only one of silver. The majority of the people were without resources. Work was not to be had. Rebellion was again the cry in New England, culminating in Shay's Rebellion, 1786 and 1787. Captain Ingersoll gave the new government his assistance in putting it down, and for this he was made Major Ingersoll.

It was shortly afterwards that Thomas Ingersoll made arrangements to move to Canada. He was a man of enterprise, respected by his fellow-citizens, for he had held various town offices. He was a lieutenant of militia from 1777 to 1781, when he became captain, and after the war a major for four years, and at various times performed military service. He never claimed to be a Loyalist. A letter written by his son, James Ingersoll, for many years Registrar of Oxford, which appeared in the Woodstock *Sentinel-Review*, January 31, 1879, and re-printed June 17, 1899, by request, gives many details of his father's removal to Upper Canada. Major Ingersoll saw the proclamation of Governor Simcoe, offering tracts of land to settlers on easy terms. The forests and rivers of Canada with the fertile soil were glowingly depicted. Ingersoll made up his mind to settle under the old flag and commence the pioneer life of his ancestors of one hundred and fifty years before. He had met the famous Indian chief, Joseph Brant, in New York, who promised him, if he would come to Canada, to show him the best lands for settlement. Brant had already selected for the Six Nations the present Mohawk Reservation. He advised him to select lands on River La Tranche, now called the Thames. Brant, true to his promise, sent six of his best young men to show Major Ingersoll the lands most desirable for the settler. The parties who were willing to join Mr. Ingersoll in this venture selected him as their agent in the application for a township. Government was then held at Newark. The Order-in-Council was passed March 23, 1793. There were no roads in those days, only the Indian trail from Ancaster to Detroit. The place selected had been the summer camping-ground of the Indians for many years. Work was commenced at once by Mr. Ingersoll and his associates, Mr. Ingersoll with his own hands felling an elm tree for the log house that was to be his future home. [On the site of this log house a brick store on Thames Street, occupied by Mr. Poole, was afterwards erected.—Letter of James Ingersoll, January 31, 1879.]

The conditions of the grant were that there were to be forty settlers, each to have two hundred acres or more upon the payment of 6d sterling per acre. The balance of the sixty-six thousand acres was to be held in

trust by Mr. Ingersoll for the benefit of himself and his associates by paying the same price, 6d sterling. Arrangements had been made to bring in one thousand settlers from New York State, when representations were made to the Home Government that such settlers would be injurious to the country and deprive others from settling. The order was rescinded, and his grant cancelled, as well as those of his associates. Between eighty and ninety families had already settled. Col. Talbot suffered the same treatment, a man of whose loyalty there could be no possible question. Having influential friends in England, he returned home, and by his representations and their help Col. Talbot's rights and lands were restored. He advised Mr. Ingersoll to do the same, but he had not the time to spare, neither the money nor friends there to aid. Discouraged, he left the settlement in 1805, removing to Etobicoke. We find that during the few years that he was in Oxford County he was appointed Justice of the Peace, and as such performed the marriage ceremony. The first Registrar of Oxford, Mr. Thomas Hornor, was married by him in 1801. [Vol. 15, G, Dominion Archives, is found the entry dated September 15, 1805, "Thomas Ingersoll, Captain of the Militia of Oxford District."—From Mrs. Curzon, "Life of Laura Secord," second edition.] His last home was on the River Credit, where he died in 1812, leaving a large family, whose descendants are found through the length and breadth of the Dominion. [The River Credit is so called because the fur traders met the Indians on its banks and delivered goods to them on credit. The Indian never broke an engagement to pay. If by any accident he could not bring the number of beaver skins promised, his friends or relations made up the promised number.] His eldest son Charles, at the time of his father's death, was employed as a clerk in the house of Messrs. Racey and McCormick, merchants in Queenston. When the War of 1812 commenced, he, along with the late Hon. William Hamilton Merritt, raised a troop of dragoons, called the Provincial Light Dragoons. Mr. Merritt was captain, and Charles Ingersoll lieutenant. They served until the end of the war, and received grants of land for their services. Charles was at the battles of Queenston and Lundy's Lane. While taking despatches to General Proctor, he was present at the battle of the River Raison, and came near losing his life at that time. After the war was over he commenced business with Mr. McKenna, at the Twelve Mile Creek, and was also a business partner of Mr. Merritt. He married Anna Maria Merritt in 1816, a sister of his friend and companion in arms. In 1817 he repurchased his father's Oxford farm at sheriff's sale. The log house where James Ingersoll was born in 1801 was still standing, but in a ruinous condition. James Ingersoll was the first white child

born in Ingersoll. The brothers went earnestly to work. First a saw-mill, then a grist-mill, a store, a potashery and distillery were built. Charles Ingersoll brought his family there in 1821. Soon after he became a magistrate, postmaster and a Commissioner in the Court of Request. He was also appointed Lieut.-Colonel of the Second Oxford Militia, twice was returned member of Parliament, and died in 1832 of cholera. His eldest son died at the same time. Ingersoll was named by him in memory of his father.

James Ingersoll received the appointment of Registrar on the death of Mr. Hornor, holding that office from 1834 until his death, August 9, 1886, aged 85 years.

APPENDIX VIII.

Elizabeth Dewey, born Jan. 28, 1758, married Feb. 28, 1775, died Feb. 20, 1784.

Children of Thomas Ingersoll and Elizabeth Dewey Ingersoll.

1. Laura (Mrs. Secord), born December, 1775, married James Secord, died October 17, 1868.

2. Elizabeth Franks (Mrs. Pickett), born October 17, 1779, married Rev. Daniel Pickett, January 15, 1806, died August 15, 1811. [There were "refugees" from Canada in Great Barrington during the Revolutionary War. Among them there was a Jacob Vanderheyden and a family by the name of Franks, who came from Quebec in 1775. Of this family there was a Miss Elizabeth Franks, a young lady and a belle, who made her home in the family of Col. Elijah Dwight. She married and resided in Vermont.]

3. Myra (Mrs. Hitchcock), born 1781, married in Canada to Mr. Hitchcock, died in Lebanon, Madison County, N. Y., in 1847.

4. Abigail (Mrs. Woodworth), born September, 1783, married Guy Woodworth, September 9, 1804, died February 27, 1821.

Thomas Ingersoll's second wife was Mrs. Mercy Smith, a widow. Married Capt. Thomas Ingersoll May 26, 1785; buried May 18, 1789. There were no children by this marriage.

Sarah Whiting, born April 26, 1762. Married, 1st, John Backus; 2nd, Thomas Ingersoll, Sept. 20, 1789; died at Ingersoll, Ont., August 8, 1832.

CHILDREN OF SARAH AND THOMAS INGERSOLL.

1. Charles Ingersoll, born at Great Barrington, Mass., Sept. 27, 1791; married Anna Maria Merritt, Sept. 5, 1816; died August 18, 1832.

2. Charlotte (Mrs. Marigold), born at Great Barrington, 1793; married Mr. Marigold, died at London, Ontario.

3. Appy (Mrs. Carroll), born at Great Barrington, April, 1794; married Mr. Carroll, died at Lakeside, Ontario, January 12, 1872.

4. Thomas Ingersoll, born 1796, died at St. Mary's, 1847.

5. Samuel Ingersoll, died at St. Mary's, 1861.

6. James Ingersoll, born Sept. 10, 1801; married Catharine McNab, 1848; died at Woodstock, August 9, 1886.

7. Sarah (Mrs. Mittlebergher), born January 10, 1807; married Henry Mittlebergher, of St. Catharines; died at St. Catharines, November 17, 1826.

HOME OF LAURA INGERSOLL, GREAT BARRINGTON, MASS.
Built 1772. Presented by Chas. J. Taylor, Esq.

CHAPTER IV.

LAURA INGERSOLL SECORD.

MR. SABINE, the biographer of the U. E. Loyalists, says: "Men who, like these, separate themselves from their friends and kindred, who are driven from their homes, who became outlaws, wanderers and exiles, such men leave few memorials behind, their papers are scattered and lost, and their names pass from human recollection."

If this is true of men, in narrating the lives of women who have performed heroic deeds the narrator encounters still greater difficulties. The scanty records of their youth tell us little of the influences that developed and formed their character; and the exciting period in which they lived, crowded with remarkable events, prevented the just appreciation of their services. Even at this late day there is a littleness which would like to ignore the importance and dignity of the work. But if the past is discouraging, there is hope that in the years to come the searchlight of history will be turned on woman's work, so that what she has done, and what she can do, will receive due recognition and be valued as it deserves.

Thomas Ingersoll, the father of Laura Ingersoll Secord, removed from Westfield, Massachusetts, to Great Barrington, in the same state, in 1774. He married February 28, 1775, Elizabeth, daughter of Israel Dewey. Land was purchased, a home built, and Mr. Ingersoll commenced businuss. This house, built in 1782, is still standing. It is on the east side of Main Street. The lot is large, being five-eighths of an acre. It was larger in Major Ingersoll's time, containing between four and five acres, and running back to the Housatonic River. A street has been taken off the southerly side. The house is broad and low, and has been renovated and somewhat remodelled in later years. The glass panes in the windows were formerly 6 x 8 inches. The property is now owned by the town, and is called the Great Barrington Free Library and Reading Room. A house in the background, at the extreme right, was formerly the shop of Major Ingersoll, and is on a side street.

Elizabeth Dewey was born January 28, 1758, and was but seventeen years of age at the time of her marriage; she died February 20, 1784,

leaving four daughters. Laura, the eldest, was only eight years old at the time of her mother's death. Elizabeth Franks, the second daughter, married Mr. Pickett, and died in Canada. Myra, the third daughter, was married in Canada to Mr. Hitchcock, and after a few years returned to the United States. Abigail, the youngest, at the time of her mother's death was adopted by her aunt, Mrs. Nash, and afterwards married Guy Woodworth, of Vermont.

Mr. Ingersoll married, May 26, 1785, Mrs. Mercy Smith, the widow of Josiah Smith. There were no children by this marriage. She was buried May 18, 1789. Both the marriage and burial are recorded by the Rev. Gideon Bostwick, who was the first Episcopal clergyman in Great Barrington. [Previous to the Revolution the Documentary Records of the Colonies furnish abundant materials for the historian. During that time they were imperfectly kept, and semetimes ceased altogether. Fortunately, the church registrations kept by the Rev. Gideon Bostwick, of Great Barrington, the first Episcopal minister settled there, are continuous. He was one of the applicants for land with Mr. Ingersoll, but died before the arrangements were consummated. Two of his sons came to Canada. One was Sheriff of Norfolk, and another, Colonel Bostwick, lived at Port Stanley.] Little is known of the second Mrs. Ingersoll, but there are letters wherein she signs herself "Your affectionate step-mother, Mercy Ingersoll"; another where Mr. Ingersoll's name is mentioned, and signed in the same manner. Thomas Ingersoll married, September 20, 1789, Sally Backus, widow of John Backus. Mrs. Backus was the daughter of Gamaliel Whiting, and sister of General John Whiting. The Whitings came from Westfield, and there had been marriages between the Ingersolls and Whitings. The old homestead of the Whitings was purchased by the town of Great Barrington for a town hall, and a monument to the soldiers who fell in the late Civil War stands upon the hearth-stone, which has never been removed. Mrs. Backus had one daughter by her first husband, called Nancy, who married a Mr. McKinstry, a name prominent in American annals. Mrs. McKinstry died in Cairo, Egypt. Of the girlhood of Laura Ingersoll scarcely a memory remains; of her sisters, also, few records are left. This much can be safely said, that Laura and Elizabeth were old enough to receive impressions that could never be effaced. War leaves memories that do not pass away. Great Barrington was on the highway where soldies were passing to and from the war. Prisoners were also sent there. Among them, sick and dispirited, came General Burgoyne, after his surrender at Saratoga. With him were Baron Riedesel, the Hessian commander, and many English officers. Her father's experiences had been many. He had taken the Continental

side, along with the numerous Ingersolls whose home was in Great Barrington.

The days of the Revolution had passed away; the reaction which follows war took place. A depreciated currency; lack of business and work—for the soldier does not readily go back to the toil and monotony of the farm—insurrection in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, were taxing the capacity of the builders of the new nation to the utmost. Thomas Ingersoll, who had risen from the ranks to be major, suffered, with many of his friends, from these discouragements, and they were willing to make new homes on the fertile Canadian lands.

It is at the sale of her father's property in Great Barrington, preparatory to bringing his family to Canada, that Laura Ingersoll's name first appears in history. [See Appendix X.] On January 11, 1793, she, with Mr. Ives, witnessed the sale. Two years later, on April 21, 1795, she is again a witness with Heber Chase, at the relinquishment by her stepmother, Sally Backus Ingersoll, of her rights in her husband's property. These records are valuable, as showing their preparations to come to Canada. They lived in Oxford County, where is now the town of Ingersoll. James Ingersoll was five years old when his father removed to the County of York. Four of the children by the third marriage were born in Great Barrington, and three in Canada. At the final sale of the property in Great Barrington Laura Ingersoll must have been in her twentieth year. It is more than probable that she came with her father before the other members of the family.

Of Laura Ingersoll's early life in Canada, the date of her arrival, and her marriage to Mr. Secord, nothing can be found. Probably the marriage took place soon after her arrival here. Her granddaughter, Miss L. Louisa Smith, of Guelph, says she lived at St. Davids a short time after her marriage, and there are records showing James Secord was living at Queenston in 1802. Everything shows that James Secord shared in the prosperity of that time. He was a successful merchant, and they kept two colored servants.

The Secords were a numerous race, and were U. E. Loyalists, not settlers. Being among the earliest arrivals they received lands in the Niagara District, and were among the most prominent and prosperous people. An old ledger, dating from 1806 through 1807, 1808 and part of 1809, shows that they were living in Queenston at that time. Mr. James Secord's name frequently occurs, and the entries show that they were for articles of household use and what women wear. As they are read over, paper and quills are of frequent mention. The articles of dress are expensive. There are slippers and fine hose. The dress of that period for common use was a petticoat and short gown, the skirt

of stuff goods, the short gown of calico and expensive, being worth from $1.00 to $1.50 per yard. All other goods were high in price. Mr. Secord was a merchant also, and it can easily be seen that there was an exchange of goods.

We can little imagine the dismay of the people as the war-cloud dimmed and overspread the sky. Nearly thirty years of peace had changed the wilderness to fertile fields and orchards. The log cabin had given place to ample stone and brick houses, many of which still remain as testimony to the industry and prosperity of the settler. Niagara was the social and military center; Queenston was the head of navigation, where the merchandise from Montreal was transhipped to the remotest settlements. Her own relatives and her husband's were among the most influential of the people. A Miss Secord, of Niagara, was called the belle of Canada. The name of a Miss Ingersoll is given among the belles in the period from 1792 to 1800, and we have often asked ourselves, was it Laura Ingersoll? Perhaps some future searchers among the records of those times will be able to give the answer. Of the causes of the war it is needless to write. On that memorable morning of October 13, 1812, when the invaders crossed the Niagara River, General Brock rose very early. His colored servant, as he assisted him to put on his sword, said, "You are very early, sir." "Yes, but the Yankees are earlier," was the reply. With a small staff he hurried to Queenston to direct and inspire his followers. The attack, and his death in the early morn, are a part of Canadian history. Laura Secord's husband was one of those who bore the remains of the dead warrior from the field to the house where they remained until the afternoon, when they were removed to Niagara. The next attack was followed by the death of Colonel Macdonnell. At the close of the third and last attack in the afternoon, word was conveyed to Mrs. Secord that her husband was wounded and lying on the hillside. She hurried to the spot. What follows is best told by her grandson, the late James B. Secord:

"Just as she reached the spot three American soldiers came up, and two of them raised their muskets to club him to death. My grandmother rushed in between them, telling them to kill her and spare her husband. One of them spoke very roughly and told her to get out of the way, and, shoving her to one side, was about to accomplish his murderous intention. Captain Wool, coming up at that moment, sternly inquired how they dared attempt such a thing, called them cowards, sent them to Lewiston under guard, where afterwards they were tried by court-martial and sentenced to several months' imprisonment for their breach of discipline. Captain Wool ordered a party of his men to

take Mr. Secord to his own house in Queenston, and did not even make him a prisoner on parole. After his promotion, and when he had risen to the rank of colonel, he several times visited my grandfather, and their friendship continued until my grandfather's death."

It is pleasant, amid the cruelties of war, to record the kindness of a brave and honorable foe.

At the time when the great exploit of Laura Secord was performed, Niagara and Queenston were in possession of the American forces. Few of the inhabitants remained in Queenston. The order of General Dearborn (American commander), "that every man of the serviceable military age should be considered and treated as a prisoner of war," had deprived the homes of helpers and protectors. From Niagara to Fort Erie scouting parties had gone in every direction. Within two days nearly two hundred persons were arrested and sent as prisoners to the United States. Among them were the Rev. Mr. Addison, the first rector of St. Mark's, Niagara, six of the leading merchants, lawyers and others. Jacob Ball was taken from his bed at night. Men working in the fields, many too old and many too young for service, and men helpless from wounds, were sent away. General Vincent had evacuated Fort George and retreated to Burlington Heights, at the head of Lake Ontario. When evacuating Fort George the guns were spiked and the ammunition destroyed. The military records of the fort, as well as FitzGibbon's private papers, were destroyed at that time. Previous to this a depot of provisions and ammunition had been formed near the Beaver Dams. By General Vincent's orders these were deposited in a stone house occupied by Mr. DeCew.

Colonel Bisshopp had retreated from Chippewa and Fort Erie, placing DeHaren at the Ten Mile Creek, where there was a junction of three roads, and his own command at Jordan. These positions materially interfered with the enemy, compelling them to live on their own resources. Lieutenant FitzGibbon was well known throughout the country as a man of valor and discretion, remarkably self-reliant and resourceful, and an adept in military strategy. He was well known also as the faithful companion and friend of the lamented General Brock. Soliciting the privilege of raising a volunteer company of fifty men, to be used as scouts, the permission was granted, and on the 13th of June, within three days, the number was made up. [The jackets worn by FitzGibbon's scouts were red on one side and grey on the other, and reversible. They used cow-bells to signal instead of bugles. FitzGibbon himself could give an Irish yell or an Indian war-hoop. They were constantly on the alert.—"Veteran of 1812."] He was obliged to decline the

services of many who desired to be under his command. To these, two days later, there was added a party of Caughnawaga Indians, under Captain Ducharme, of nearly one hundred and sixty men. FitzGibbon's headquarters were at the stone house, formerly mentioned, of Captain DeCew (after whom the falls are named), and who was at that time a prisoner in the United States. [The story of Captain DeCew's escape is given in the "History of Thorold Township."] DeHaren was at the Ten Mile Creek with some Indians and men from New Brunswick. Throughout the peninsula there were only about sixteen hundred troops. They were in rags, many without shoes and often in want of food, yet they were ever ready to face the enemy.

From the time the volunteers came under FitzGibbon's command their work commenced, ever on the alert by day, and never sleeping twice in the same place. On the 20th they had a skirmish with the Americans at Niagara Falls. The next day they were at Chippewa and Point Abino, then to Lundy's Lane, where FitzGibbon had a narrow escape. Ducharme and his Indians were equally busy. They had been near Fort George more than once, killing men and making prisoners. Annoyed beyond measure at their audacity, the American commander determined by a vigorous blow to dislodge FitzGibbon and overawe the inhabitants. At a council of war in Niagara, on the 18th of June, Colonel Bœrstler of Maryland, a man distinguished for gallant services, was selected, himself being present. [*Vide* James B. Secord.] Under his command were placed six hundred and thirty men, a company of light artillery, two field-pieces, mounted infantry, and a troop of dragoons.

At Mrs. Secord's house, in Queenston, some of the American officers were billeted. On the 23rd of June Bœrstler dined with them. They talked freely of their plans, and of the importance of securing the Beaver Dams as a base of operations, whereby a large force could be concentrated to advance on Burlington Heights. The capture of FitzGibbon was to be the commencement of the enterprise. "That position once captured," said Colonel Bœrstler, "Upper Canada is ours." He spoke truly, and military men of the present day acknowledge it was worth the venture.

Laura Secord was a quiet but eager listener. When Bœrstler returned to Niagara to assume the command, and the other officers left her house to perform their allotted part, she consulted with her husband on the best course to pursue. For Mr. Secord to go was impossible, and there was no one else to send. The decision was soon made, for she was a woman of action and of few words. Said her niece, Mrs. Gregory:

"On that ever-to-be-remembered morning, Aunt left her home before daylight (the cow and milk-pail are a fable), and came to St.

Davids. [On June 24th the sun rises at 4.36. She reached St. Davids as the sun was rising.] She rested at Grandma's, [Mrs. Stephen Secord] for a few minutes and then left, Aunt Elizabeth Secord accompanying her as far as St. Catharines—then called Shipman's Corners—after which she proceeded on her way alone. [Mrs. Shipman came from New Jersey, a distance of over five hundred miles, on horseback, with her children. The first name of St. Catharines, Shipman's Corners, was in memory of her family. It was where the Imperial Bank now stands.] I never heard Mrs. Neville's name in connection with the affair until I read it in a sketch copied from the *Methodist Magazine*. I remember well of sitting, in childish astonishment and terror, listening to Aunt and Grandma talking over the affair, and of hearing her relate the fears she entertained of meeting and being taken prisoner by the American Indians before she had reached the British lines, and given the information she was periling freedom and life itself to give. She did not seem to think she had done more than a sacred duty."

From Niagara to the Beaver Dams by way of Queenston is between seventeen and eighteen miles; from Queenston to Beaver Dams between twelve and thirteen.

The Beaver Dams before the settlement of Upper Canada was a place where those ingenious and clever animals, the beavers, had constructed dams and made this their resort. The place was surrounded by beech woods. These were long visited by the curious, and those wishing to see the engineering skill of the industrious animal that is conspicuous on our national arms. In Bœrstler's plan of attack the artillery was to take the main road; the other detachments, marching by different roads, were to meet and join in the attack upon FitzGibbon, while a portion were to attack DeHaren and hold him in check at the Ten Mile Creek, thus preventing his assisting FitzGibbon. [In the "Veteran of 1812" is a map used by Colonel Bœrstler at the court which exonerated him from blame for the disaster.] It was this portion of the plan, never carried out, that caused Mrs. Secord so much difficulty, and extended the distance for her to travel. The fear of being intercepted at the Ten Mile Creek kept her from taking the direct road.

Such was the situation on the evening of the 23rd of June. The advance guard of the enemy had reached Queenston. Silence had been enjoined, no lights or fires allowed, patrols thrown out, and pickets placed to prevent information of the movement being given. [The first sentry was at her own gate.—*Vide* Mrs. Dunn.] With a hurried farewell to her husband and children, Mrs. Secord took her fate in her hands, and went forth with the inspiration which comes when duty calls. It was before the early light of the summer morn.

and long before the last of Bœrstler's troops had halted at Queenston, when she started on her way. Her brother, Charles Ingersoll, was lying dangerously ill at St. Davids, and this excuse satisfied the sentinel for her early trip. He was at the house of her sister-in-law, the widow of Stephen Secord, at the southeast end of the village. She was there but a few minutes, but in that brief time resisted all persuasions to change her purpose, and induced her niece, Elizabeth Secord, to go with her. [Elizabeth Secord died at Napanee the following year.] This she did as far as Shipman's Corners, where her feet became so sore she was unable to proceed farther. From that point Mrs. Secord's journey was performed alone. It had been a very rainy season, the streams were swollen, and where the rude bridge had been swept away, on her hands and knees she crept over on a fallen tree. To avoid danger she had to recross the stream more than once, and to travel beyond the ordinary route. As she neared the vicinity of FitzGibbon, in coming up a steep bank, she came upon the Indians who were encamped there. They sprang to their feet upon her appearance, with piercing cries demanding to know "What white woman wanted?" Though terrified, her presence of mind did not forsake her, but to the last years of her life she never could speak of that time without emotion. They were Caughnawagas, and did not understand English. With difficulty the Chief, who partially understood English, at last comprehended that she had a message of importance for FitzGibbon, and must see him. It was seven o'clock in the morning when she came upon the Indian encampment. After what seemed a long detention, she was at last conducted to FitzGibbon, and told him of the coming attack. There was no waste of words on either side; FitzGibbon recognized the danger, and his arrangements were promptly made.

Ducharme asked permission to post his men at a ravine in the beech woods, which only the day before had fixed his attention as a good place for an ambuscade. FitzGibbon gave the desired permission, and he with his twenty-five Caughnawagas and sixteen Mohawks started on a run for the desired spot. Lieutenant Jarvis, who saw the exhausted condition of Mrs. Secord, brought her a drink of water, and FitzGibbon, as soon as the disposition of his men was made, sent her to Mr. Turney's as a place of safety, where, as she graphically expressed it, "I slept right off." Very soon after the Indian scouts came rushing in, with loud cries announcing Bœrstler's approach. Thanks to Mrs. Secord, every preparation had been made, and FitzGibbon rode two miles down the road to see the advancing lines of the enemy. [The Beaver Dam is at least three miles from DeCew's house, and the falls are only a short distance beyond the house, which is of stone, and was selected by Gen-

PLACE WHERE THE INDIANS ENCAMPED

eral Vincent. Thither the ammunition and other supplies were removed for safety, as the house could not be taken without artillery. If FitzGibbon rode two miles after his arrangements were made, and saw Bœrstler approaching, it must then have been nine o'clock, for Bœrstler says the action commenced at ten. Bœrstler never reached the Beaver Dams nor DeCew's house, only the neighborhood of both.] Soon after nine Bœrstler appeared, and the action commenced at ten. The weather was intensely hot, and as he neared the ravine the Indians kept up an incessant firing from the woods. The artillery made ineffectual efforts to drive them out. Their repeated attempts to march forward were baffled, and Bœrstler changed his direction, to everywhere meet an invisable enemy. He was wounded twice, his horse was killed, his men were falling on every side, his officers disabled, and no advantage gained. He retreated to a hollow, where for a while he was partially sheltered. Then the Indians pressed forward with exulting shouts. Bœrstler had conducted himself bravely, but he knew that aid for FitzGibbon would soon arrive; he was no longer on the offensive, but the defensive. FitzGibbon saw his advantage, and brought up his troops which he had held in reserve. Bœrstler rallied his men once more, placed his wounded in wagons, and with his artillery commenced to retreat. [Bœrstler sent to General Dearborn for reinforcements, and three hundred men were sent under Colonel Christie. They reached Queenston, but hearing of Bœrstler's surrender, returned to Fort George. The force that was to have made an attack upon DeHaren and hold him there did not reach the Ten Mile Creek.] Captain Hall, of the Provincial Cavalry, arrived at this time, and three Kelly brothers who had been working in a hay-field at some distance, and had heard the firing, seized their muskets and hurried to the beech woods, picking up eight or ten more of the militia on the way. The Americans were at the last in David Miller's apple orchard, and there Bœrstler surrendered. [Note 36, page 192, Mrs. Curzon.]

Bœrstler was surrounded, and FitzGibbon thought if he could be detained for a little while the capture would be effected without further blood being shed. Captain Hall was instructed to personate DeHaren, and was sent forward with a flag of truce. A soldier of the 49th was to personate Colonel Bisshopp. Bœrstler was unnerved by defeat and the pain of his wounds. It was represented to him in the strongest language possible how difficult it would be to hold the Indians in check. Some frightful examples of recent date were recalled to his memory, and while they were being told, FitzGibbon's troops were marched and remarched across the field. ["We frightened the enemy," says Judge Jarvis, "with our Indians and from sounding the bugle in different

positions, to make them suppose we were numerous and had them surrounded." Bœrstler asked time to decide. This was refused, and five minutes only were given. FitzGibbon was more than anxious to have the surrender accomplished before the arrival of superior officers, DeHaren with reinforcements being immediately expected. The terms of the capitulation had scarcely been accepted before DeHaren arrived, and it took considerable strategy on FitzGibbon's part to finish the work that thus far he had so successfully carried out. [The capitulation was signed by DeHaren, but everything was prearranged by FitzGibbon.] The late Judge Jarvis (then lieutenant) said in after years, "When the Yankees did surrender we wondered what FitzGibbon was going to do with them." Bœrstler said the action lasted three hours and ten minutes. The surrender took place at 4 p. m. FitzGibbon's ruse proved successful, and the articles of capitulation were signed. Thirty Americans had been killed and sixty wounded. Ducharme had fifteen Indians killed and twenty-five wounded. In addition, there were surrendered the colors of the 14th United States Infantry, two cannons, two baggage wagons, and five hundred stand of arms, as substantial tokens of the victory. No massacre stained its laurels.

To Ducharme and his Indian allies belongs the glory of the fight; to FitzGibbon the tact, skill and humanity which made the victory so great. Many years after, in constructing the new Welland Canal, the burial-place of the dead was discovered. The remains were carefully gathered, and a stone obelisk marks the spot where our Indian friends and the invading foe sleep their long sleep together.

The effect of the victory at Beaver Dams, combined with the previous successful night attack by Colonel Harvey at Stony Creek, on June 5th, when the enemy were driven back to Niagara, and two of their generals, Winder and Chandler, captured, had a most inspiring effect throughout the country. [Lieutenants Ingersoll and McKenna took them to Quebec.] The enemy thereafter was compelled to keep within their entrenchments, and though there was frequent skirmishing, few gains were made by the Americans. The farmers who were left, and the volunteers who could be spared, returned to their homes to gather, as well as their limited numbers permitted, the harvest and fruits of the year, though much remained unreaped and ungathered for want of hands.

Laura Secord returned from the house of Mr. Turney to her home, happy in the knowledge that her sacred duty had been performed. No words of pride or triumph crossed her lips. The grandson who has been previously quoted, says: "She was a modest and unassuming woman,

FITZGIBBON'S HEADQUARTERS, 1893

and did not attach the importance to her exploit that it merited." Neither at that time would it have been wise to have given it publicity. Queenston, as most other places on the frontier, was one day in possession of the invading troops, perhaps the next in that of their defenders. Darker days were yet in store for Canada, deeds of relentless cruelty, followed by swift and remorseless retribution. The foe was driven back to his own land, but before he left Niagara was laid in ashes. On December 10, 1813, in the midst of a snow storm, and at only an hour's notice, the terrible order was given. On July 19, 1814, St. Davids, where the first days of her married life were passed, met the same fate as Niagara. She saw the homes of her kindred, the labors of thirty years, swept away, while their owners were prisoners or serving on the various battle-fields. These years of warfare tested her discretion and courage to the utmost.

Mrs. Curzon gives the following, which is quite characteristic of her quickness of speech when moved:

"Three Americans called at her house in Queenston to ask for water. One of them said, 'When we come for good to this country we'll divide the land, and I'll take this here for my share.' Mrs. Secord was so nettled by the thought expressed that, although the men were civil and respectful, she replied sharply, 'You scoundrel, all you'll ever get here will be six feet of earth.' When they were gone her heart reproached her for her heat, because the men had not molested her property. Two days after two of the men returned. They said to Mrs. Secord, 'You were right about the six feet of earth, missus.' The third man had been killed."

Mr. H. C. Mewburn, of Stamford, heard Mrs. Secord tell the same story.

Her granddaughter, Miss Smith, already quoted, relates that she saved a number of gold doubloons in a copper kettle which was hanging over the fire. Miss Smith still possesses the tea-kettle, which is more than one hundred years old.

Another incident, related by her granddaughter, Mrs. Cockburn, probably occurred about this time.

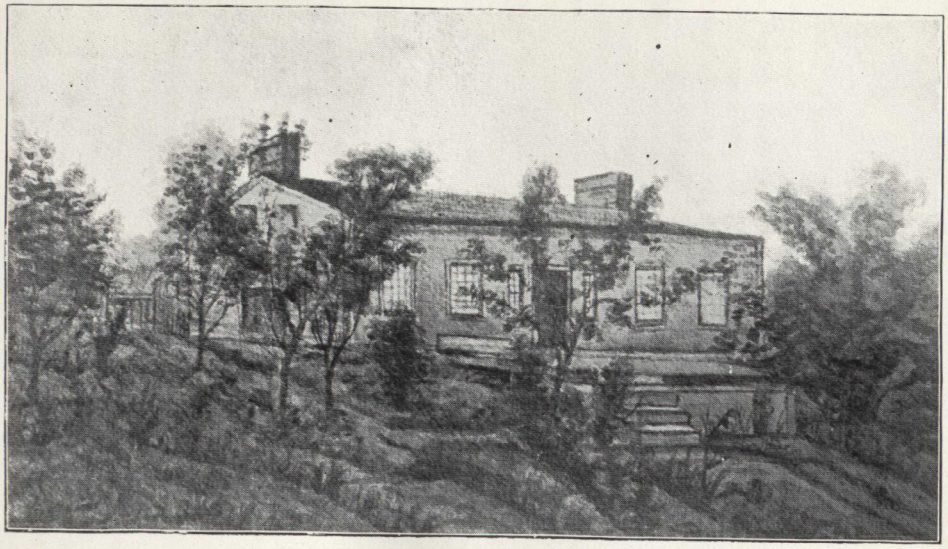
Mr. Secord had received quite a large sum of money, which by some means must have become known. One night soon after, when she was alone with her young children, and only a colored boy called Bob and a colored girl called Fan in the house, a man appeared asking admittance, saying he was pursued. My grandmother refused to admit him at that time of night. Then he said he could and would come in. Changing her voice to an Irish brogue, she threatened to set the dog upon him. The colored boy was told to growl like a dog, which it seems he could

do to perfection. The man went away, but soon returned, when my grandmother presented an old horse-pistol, telling him she would shoot if he did not leave. He went off declaring he would yet get in. Grandmother afterwards heard that a desperate character had been seen about the village at the time the money was received.

When the war ended and the welcome days of peace came, and the prisoners returned to their homes, her eldest daughter was married to Dr. Trumbull, assistant surgeon of the 17th Regiment. The engagement took place during the war, and the marriage followed, April 18, 1816. Her brother, Charles Ingersoll, was married the same year to Sarah Maria, sister of the late Hon. W. H. Merritt, his companion in arms. Both of these marriages are recorded in the parish register of St. Mark's Church, Niagara. Having gone to Jamaica, in the West Indies, Dr. Trumbull died there. Mrs. Trumbull, with her two daughters, visited her mother before she went to Ireland, which she made her home. Mary Trumbull, the eldest, never married. Elizabeth Trumbull, the second daughter, married Mr. Davis, President of the Bank of Ireland in Belfast.

Four of Mrs. Secord's daughters were married while she lived in Queenston. Of two of these marriages the date has not been found. One daughter, Charlotte, never married, and died at Guelph. Appollonia died at the early age of eighteen, and was probably buried at St. Davids, in the burying-ground given by Major Secord. Harriet Secord married David William Smith, a lawyer, November 23, 1824. This marriage, by license, was performed at Queenston by Rev. Mr. Turney, Chaplain of the forces; it is also entered in the St. Mark's Parish Register. Mr. Smith practised law at St. Catharines, and, dying there, was buried at Fort Erie; Mrs. Smith died at Guelph. Hannah Cartwright married a Mr. Williams, from England. After his death she married a Mr. Carthew, who was also an Englishman. Their home was in Guelph, and they are buried there. Mrs. Secord's only son, Charles Badeau, married Margaret, daughter of W. Robins, of New York, who had been in the English service, but the number of his regiment is not known. This son Charles lived for many years in the house where General Brock was taken for a few hours before the removal to Fort George. He was Registrar of the Surrogate Court at Niagara, dying there in 1872, leaving two sons and one daughter. Occasionally we come upon traces of Laura Secord's life in Queenston. We find—

On July 14, 1817, Thomas Dickson, of Queenston, merchant, conveyed the Thorburn Homestead property to James Secord, merchant, for £25.



HOME OF LAURA INGERSOLL SECORD, AT QUEENSTON, 1894

On December 4, 1817, James Secord and his wife Laura conveyed the same land to Samuel Street, for $625.

Mr. James Secord received a pension for his services at Queenston, and an appointment in the Customs Department at Chippewa. The year of his removal from Queenston has not been obtained. An incident of Mrs. Secord's life in Chippewa is related by her granddaughter, Mrs. Cockburn:

"My grandmother was a woman of strong personality and character, and her word carried great weight with it, as the following incident will show. Upon one occasion a negro in whom she was interested was very ill with the smallpox, Of course there was no isolated hospitals in those days, the patient having to be treated at home, precautions being taken to prevent contagion from spreading. Grandma heard that the doctor intended smothering the poor negro, and accordingly challenged him as to those reports. He admitted the charge, saying at the same time, 'He is only a nigger and not much account any way.' 'As sure as you do,' my grandmother answered, 'I will have you indicted for murder.' This seemed to set him thinking, and putting forth renewed efforts he pulled the poor fellow through, who, in after years, testified his gratitude in many ways for the saving of his life. She was a great favorite with the young people, who, on returning from school for their holidays would say, after a brief time in the house, 'Now, we must go and see Mrs. Secord.' "

Mrs. Secord's home in Queenston was well back from the street and on rising ground. It was a frame building. A niece of her husband's says that both sides of the path were thickly set with roses. The hand of the renovator has done its work. Fortunately a sketch of the place in water-colors was taken the year previous to its renovation. The house in Chippewa, fronting the river, where her last years were spent, has also been renovated; but the front of the house, the small glass in the front windows, and the porch still remain. The large stone house built by DeCew in 1810 is in good preservation, and can stand the storms of many a year to come. It is over a century since it was built. The walls are very thick; the casings of the windows in the hall, the wainscotting, and the stairs also are of solid walnut. The frieze and casing of the windows in what was the drawing-room show that it was a handsome as well as a convenient house.

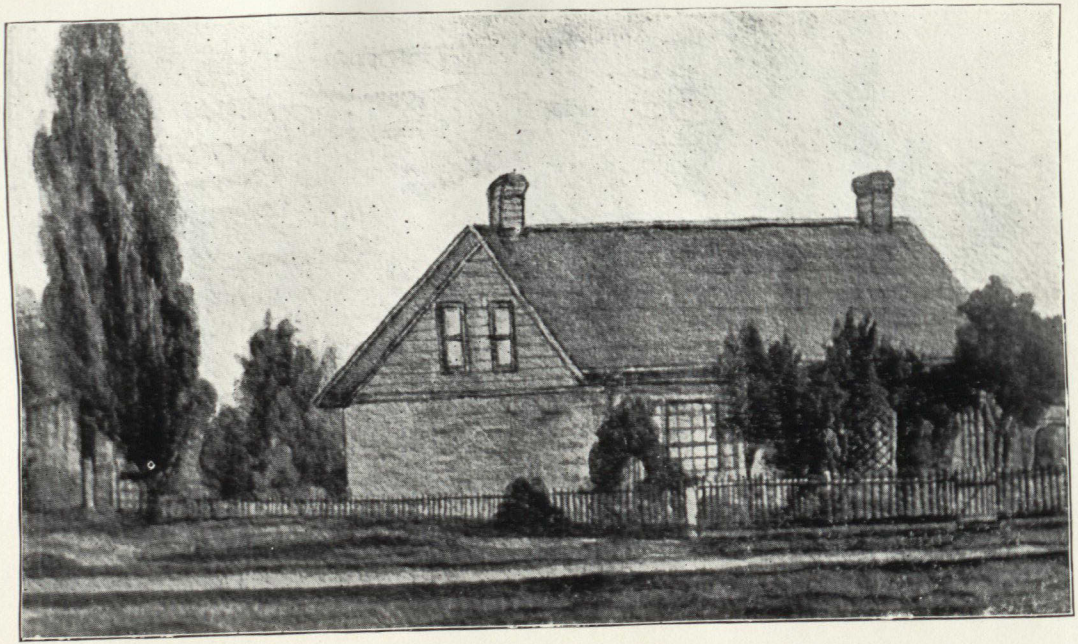
Mr. and Mrs. Secord were living in Chippewa when the rebellion of 1837 took place; it must have recalled the scenes of Laura's earlier days. Here were the headquarters of Colonel (afterwards Sir) Allan McNab, and from this same place went Captain Drew to cut out and burn the steamer *Caroline*. It was the beacon light at the mouth of the

Chippewa Creek—only a short distance from her home—that guided him to and from the night's adventure.

When the great gathering took place at Queenston Heights, July 30, 1840, to take measures for the reconstruction of Brock's monument, destroyed by Benjamin Lett, April 17, 1840, Mr. Secord spent the night with his brother, Major David Secord, at St. Davids. Mr. James Secord, Major Secord and Mr. William Kirby (the author of "Chien d'Or," who was then a young man living at St. Davids), went to and returned from Queenston together. The War of 1812 was the principal topic of their conversation, yet, strange to say, neither her husband nor his brother made the slighest allusion to Mrs. Secord's heroic deed. Mr. Secord died at Chippewa, February, 22, 1841, and was buried at Lundy's Lane. With his life the pension ceased. Mrs. Secord never received any recompense from the Canadian Government. Twenty-seven years of widowhood were to follow—a long struggle with limited means, and many bereavements to herself and daughters, borne on her part with uncomplaining patience, grateful for help, and but seldom asking for it. How grateful she was, and how kindness touched her heart, is well told in this incident: A nephew of her husband's had to the last years of his life been exceedingly kind. With tears she used to put her old arms about his neck and say, "You have been more than son or brother to me."

In 1860 the Prince of Wales visited Canada, and spent several days at Niagara Falls, occupying the residence of the late Samuel Zimmerman, which had been specially refurnished for himself and suite. On Sunday he attended church at Chippewa. During his stay at Niagara Falls a petition was presented for his approval, and Mrs. Secord's name being the only woman's name upon the petition, the Prince made inquiry as to its being there. When he was told of her meritorious action, he continued his inquiry in regard to her circumstances, and sent her a check for £100 sterling. This was the first and only remuneration she ever received for her services, and is gladly mentioned as one of the kindly acts of the eldest son of our beloved Queen Victoria. The first time her brave act had been recognized as worthy of notice was in the *Anglo-American Magazine*, Vol. III. In the November number of 1853, was a report of the action at Beaver Dams, one of a series of articles upon the War of 1812. Mrs. Secord's narrative was given and the certificate of FitzGibbon which established the fact, and elicited her grateful thanks. Even then some doubted, and as time passed along some denied its truth.

Her life commenced with the Revolution, her father and kindred fighting for the Republic, while her future husband and his mother



CHIPPEWA HOME OF MRS. SECORD, AND WHERE SHE DIED, 1894

were among the first fugitives to find safety in Canada. The son of the refugee and the daughter of the settler were united by marriage, and participating in the War of 1812, gave invaluable services to their country. Together they saw the beginning and end of the rebellion. The year 1866 brought the Fenian Raid, and her brave heart must have beat with quickened throb, and the old eyes gleamed with their youthful fire, as she saw among the volunteers many of the old names of her kindred hastening through Chippewa to Fort Erie.

The great age attained by Mrs. Secord had been years of loneliness and bereavement. Of the large family of brothers, sisters and step-sisters but four survived her. Among those of her husband's relatives who had been her companions in the trials of more than three-quarters of a century, there were none remaining.

On October 17, 1868, at the age of ninety-three,

> "Life dropped the distaff from the hands serene,
> And loving neighbors smoothed the careful shroud,
> While death and winter closed the autumn scene."

Her granddaughter, Miss L. Louisa Smith, says: "I feel a nation's gratitude should have appreciated the noble act of Laura Secord, and have raised a monument to her memory on the spot selected by her husband as their last resting-place."

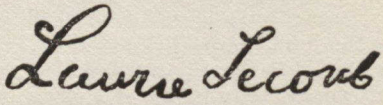
Mr. and Mrs. Secord are buried in the burying-ground at Lundy's Lane. The battle-field was then as now the burying-place. The head-stone of Laura Secord is three feet high and eighteen inches wide, and has the following inscription:

HERE RESTS
LAURA,
BELOVED WIFE OF JAMES SECORD,
DIED OCTOBER 17TH, 1868.

IN MEMORY OF
JAMES SECORD, SEN.,
COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS,
Who departed this life on the 22nd of February, 1841,
In the 68th year of his age.
Universally and deservedly lamented as a sincere Friend, a kind and indulgent Parent, and an affectionate Husband.

"Laura Secord was of fair complexion, with kind, brown eyes, a sweet and loving smile hovering about the mouth. This did not denote weakness. She was five feet four inches tall and slight of form." [Mrs. Cockburn.]

A simple wooden paling surrounds the graves. [Given by Mrs. Dunn.]



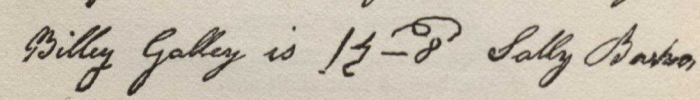
APPENDIX IX.

CHILDREN OF JAMES SECORD AND LAURA INGERSOLL.

Name.	Married.	Died.
Mary,	Wm. Trumbull, Asst. Surgeon of 37th Regiment, April 18, 1816.	In Ireland
Charlotte,	Unmarried.	
Harriet,	David William Smith, barrister, at Queenston, by license, November 23, 1824.	
Hannah Cartwright,	Hawley Williams, first; Edward Carthew, second.	1879
Laura,	Dr. William Clark, first; Captain Poore, second.	
Charles Badaeu,	Miss Robins.	In 1872, aged 63 years.
Appollonia,	Unmarried.	At Queenston, aged 18.

There are thirteen grandchildren living in the present year, 1900.

James B. Secord, Jr., married Miss Flint; died in 1899, at Niagara; no children.



Loaned by Charles J. Taylor, Esq.

STATE OF LAURA SECORD'S GRAVE, 1900

APPENDIX X.

Thomas Ingersoll to Samuel Whiting } Certain real estate. Deed dated Jan. 11th, 1793. Acknowledged the same day before

THOMAS IVES,
Justice of the Peace.

"In the presence of
LAURA INGERSOLL,
THOMAS IVES."

BOOK 33, pages 106, 107.

Thomas Ingersoll to John Whiting } Certain mountain lands. His ¼ part which he owned jointly with Thomas Ives and John Burghart.

Deed dated April 20th, 1795. Acknowledged April 21st, 1795, before

MOSES HOPKINS,
Justice of the Peace.

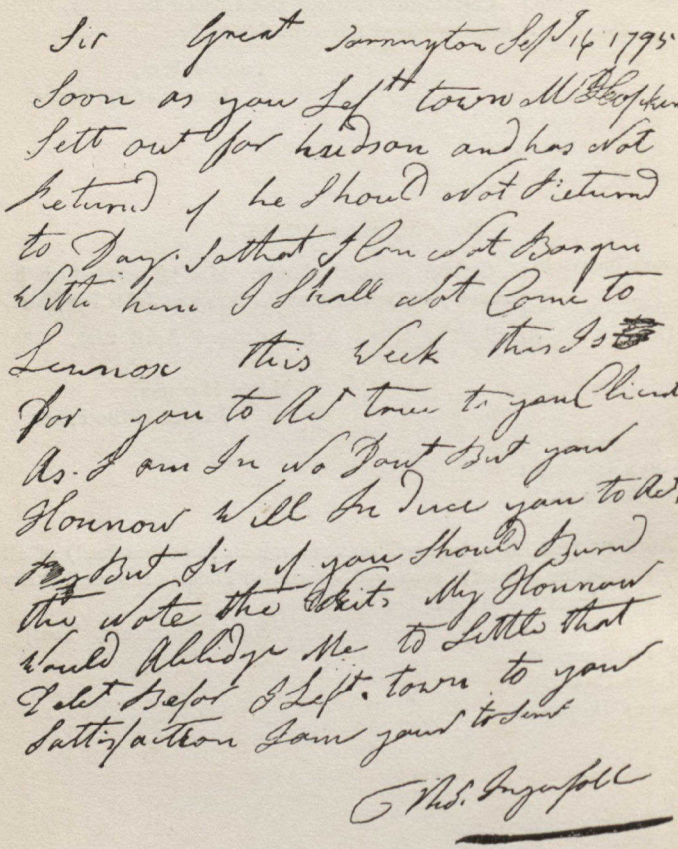
"In presence of
JARED INGERSOLL,
HEBER CHASE."

April 28, 1795, Mrs. Ingersoll makes a release (on same deed) of all her rights in the property, conveyed as wife of Thomas Ingersoll, "my present husband," and signs her name

SALLY INGERSOLL. [Seal]

In the presence of
HEBER CHASE,
LAURA INGERSOLL.

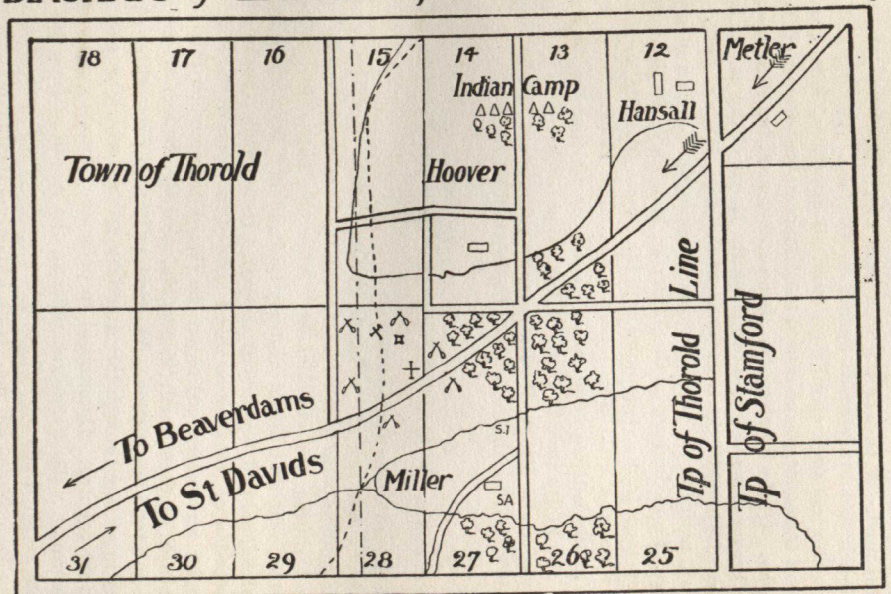
LETTER OF MAJOR THOMAS INGERSOLL.



Sir Great Barrington Sept 14 1795
Soon as you Left town Mr Hopkins
Sett out for Hudson and has not
Returnd if he Should not Return
to Day I shall not Bargain
With him I Shall not Come to
Lennox this Week this Is
For you to Act Town to your Client
As I am In no Dout But your
Honnour Will Excuse you to Act.
But Sir if you Should Burn
the note the Suit My Honnour
Could Abridge Me to Little that
I Left Befor I Left town to your
Sattisfaction Iam your to Serve
Thos Ingersoll

Loaned by Chas. J. Taylor, Esq.

DIAGRAM of BATTLE of BEAVERDAMS JUNE 24TH 1813



Explanations, ←— Road taken by Boerstler. This road no longer open across lots 12.13.27.28. ⅄ Battleground.
+ Guns in action. □ Obelisk. _ _ _ Welland. RR .... New Canal. S.I. S.A. Places of surrender of Infantry and Artillery.

Diagram of Battle of Beaver Dams—June 24, 1813.

It is well to remember that three Indian trails converging on Niagara were still used. A part of the road over which Bœrstler passed has been closed, and other roads opened in its place. The old and new canals, with a network of railways from all directions, have changed the face of the country, and caused the disappearance of most of the old landmarks. Of the beech woods, then so extensive, but little remains, and the beaver dams will soon be among the things of the past. In the "History of Thorold" there are views of the place taken in 1897. The reader will notice in the accompanying diagram the position of several buildings. From the barn on the Metler lot Mrs. Philip Metler watched the engagement from its beginning until the close. Mrs. Metler also said Bœrstler passed a little after nine o'clock. The Hoover house, being so close to the battle-ground, was forsaken by its inmates for a safer place. The Kellys were in David Miller's apple orchard. The diagram is kindly given by Mr. A. W. Reavely, an old resident who has studied the locality, and is familiar with its history and traditions.

Statements of Mrs. Secord and Captain FitzGibbon.

Mrs. Secord's own statement:

"I shall commence at the battle of Queenston, where I was at the time the cannon-balls were flying around me in every direction. I left the place during the engagement. After the battle I returned to Queenston, and then found that my husband had been wounded, my house plundered and property destroyed. It was while the Americans had possession of the frontier that I learned the plans of the American commander, and determined to put the British troops under FitzGibbon in possession of them, and, if possible, save the British troops from capture and total destruction. In doing so I found I should have great difficulty in getting through the American guards, which were out two miles in the country. Determined to persevere, however, I left early in the morning, walked nineteen miles in the month of June to a field belonging to Mr. DeCamp in the neighborhood of the Beaver Dam. By this time daylight had left me. Here I found all the Indians encamped. By moonlight the scene was terrifying, and to those accustomed to such scenes might be considered grand. Upon advancing to the Indians they all ran and said, with some yells, 'Woman!' which made me tremble. I cannot express the awful feeling it gave me, but I did not lose my presence of mind. I was determined to persevere. I went up

to one of the chiefs, made him understand that I had great news for FitzGibbon, and that he must let me pass to his camp, or that he and his party would all be taken. The chief at first objected to let me pass, but finally consented, with some hesitation, to go with me and accompany me to FitzGibbon's station, which was at Beaver Dam, where I had an interview with him. I then told him what I had come for and what I had heard—that the Americans intended to make an attack upon the troops under his command, and would, from their superior numbers, capture them all. Benefiting by this information, Captain FitzGibbon formed his plans accordingly, and captured about five hundred American infantry and fifty mounted dragoons, and a field-piece or two was taken from the enemy. I returned home the next day exhausted and fatigued. I am now advanced in years, and when I look back I wonder how I could have gone through so much fatigue with the fortitude to accomplish it."—Taken from the *Anglo-American Magazine*, Vol. III, November, 1853, No. 5.

The following is copied from "A Veteran of 1812," by Mary Agnes FitzGibbon, granddaughter of Lieutenant-Colonel James FitzGibbon. [Lieutenant-Colonel FitzGibbon, born November 11, 1780, died at Windsor, December 10, 1863, aged 83.]

"I do hereby certify that Mrs. Secord, wife of James Secord, of Chippewa, Esq., did, in the month of June, 1813, walk from her house near the village of St. Davids, to DeCou's house in Thorold, by a circuitous route of about twenty miles, partly through the woods, to acquaint me that the enemy intended to attempt, by surprise, to capture a detachment of the 49th Regiment, then under my command, she having obtained such knowledge from good authority, as the event proved. Mrs. Secord was a person of slight and delicate frame, and made the effort in weather excessively warm, and I dreaded at the time she must suffer in health in consequence of fatigue and anxiety, she having been exposed to danger from the enemy through whose lines of communication she had to pass. The attempt was made on my attachment by the enemy, and his detachment, consisting of upwards of five hundred men and a field-piece and fifty dragoons, were captured in consequence. I write this certificate in a moment of much hurry and from memory, and it is therefore thus brief.

"(Sgd.) JAMES FITZGIBBON,
"*Formerly Lieutenant 49th Regiment.*"

Mrs. Secord possessed the original, December, 1863.

Letters of Laura Secord.

Chippewa, July 2nd, 1841.

My Dear Sister,—

You must think that I have forgotten you, far from that. My grief has been such that I could not write. I was so disappointed in my anticipations. What a change. My dear James and myself thought to pay you a visit. My pleasure was changed to sorrow and grief. God sees fit to take My Dear Husband. You can not think what grief we are in. Such a loss is great—you—my dear Sister, know his worth. One of the best of Fathers and Husbands. I never knew any one so much lamented as he is by every one that knew him. He suffered very much in his sickness—but died very easy. He took the sacrament in the morning and died at eight o'clock in the evening. My dear Sister, how I wish to see you. I fear I never shall. If God so decrees I hope to meet in a better world. I often think that if I could be with you what a consolation it would be to me. This world has no pleasure for me. I only hope I may soon meet my Dear Husband in Heaven never to part.

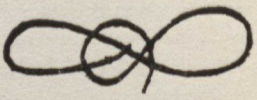
Before I could finish I have new grief—I have heard my youngest daughter's child lays at the point of death. I fear she is no more. My Dear Sister, my grief is so great I do not know what to say or do.

I hope, my dear sister, you will come and see me once more, and your daughters. Our sisters would be so happy to once more see you. Do come and let us once more meet in this world. If God so decrees that we are not to meet here I hope to meet in Heaven never to part.

Give my love to your family and tell them that I love them and wish to see them.

I remain your loving sister till death,

Laura Secord.



Chippewa, August 1st, 1843.

My Dear Sister,—

I received your letter last week. I was very unhappy to hear of your ill-health. What is this world to us if we do not enjoy our health —nothing. I know that by experience. I hope, my dear Sister, to hear that you are well when I hear from you again. I was in hopes that I should have paid you a visit this summer. I fear I will not, as many things prevent.

My dear Sister, I am very much agitated this moment, at the sudden Death of Mrs. ——. What is life; all is vanity. I fear that she was not prepared to meet her God. She thought so little of a future state. Her belief was that all would be saved at the last day, let them be bad or good, that Death is the punishment. She was a kind-hearted woman, always kind to the poor. I hope she is at rest is my most sincere wish.

I received a letter from our brother James; he says the Brothers and Sisters are all well. Thomas has moved from Oxford about Fifteen miles and has bought Mills. I hope that he may do well. Our Brothers and Sisters all wish very much to see you.

I could wish we could once more meet in this world together, it would be a happy meeting. My dear Sister, how often I wish I could be near you to tell you my griefs. I feel so lonely; all will soon be in the grave. I only hope that I may be prepared to meet my God, is all I ask.

You know I would like to hear from my family. Harriet is with me, and her family. We are well, which is the greatest blessing in this life. My love to you and all your family. Tell them that I love them and would wish to see them.

I remain your affectionate sister,

LAURA SECORD.

Postage, 18½ cents.

Mrs. Julius Hitchcock,
Lebanon Post Office,
Madison County,
New York State.

CHIPPEWA, June 17th, 1844.

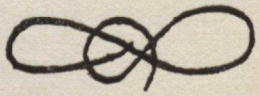
MY DEAR SISTER,

I was glad, my dear Mira, to hear from you and should have answered it immediately. I was waiting to hear from my son, while he was waiting to hear from headquarters to know how to proceed. He finds that it will be attended with a great deal of trouble and expense, and when got you know not where to take it up, as the lands are

mostly sold to the Canada Company. I have given up the idea of trying to do anything about mine. If you would still wish to go on with trying you will have to send a power of attorney. I was very much pleased to hear that your health is better. I much wish to see you once more. I fear I never shall without you should take the trouble to come and see us. We should be happy to see you, the family always talking about you. You wrote that your family are all married. I hope that they may be a pleasure and a blessing to you. I feel so unhappy, my dear sister, that I know not what to write, to think we are the only ones of our family on earth. We must soon expect our summons. My only hope is to be prepared. How often I do wish to be with you and think what pleasure it would be to us. I have always thought I should have the happiness of paying you a visit. I now despair, it is a great grief to me, indeed. I hope, my dear sister, that you will come and see us. Your friends at Oxford wish it very much. I wish you could come and we would go and see them together. What a happy meeting it would be. I think it would almost be heaven on earth. Do not let me dwell too long on such anticipations. It is too much for a poor unworthy person like me. My family are all well and send love to you and all your family. You will accept mine.

I remain your affectionate sister,

LAURA SECORD.



Postage 18½ cents.

Mrs. Julius Hitchcock,
Lebanon Post Office,
Madison County,
State of New York.

RECOLLECTIONS OF MISS SMITH, OF GUELPH, GRANDDAUGHTER OF LAURA SECORD.

My grandmother was ever sensible and courageous. Her great fortitude and courage were exhibited under all circumstances. Mr. Secord was a customs-house official at Chippewa. During the summer months there was a daily steamer from Chippewa to Buffalo. At all seasons of the year there was traffic between the two countries. Mr.

Secord had been notified that a party of smugglers would be in a certain direction at night. My grandmother at once said, "There are only two of you and there will be great danger. I will represent the third person." She dressed herself in an overcoat and cap of my grandfather's, his boots also, and went to the boat with them. She stood by when the seizure was made, which was very valuable. When there was an alarm of burglars at the house she would say, "Now, James, you stand back with the light and let me go forward—they will not injure a woman as they would a man."

She was an excellent nurse. On two occasions—one of three months and another of six weeks,—she never undressed at night, but sat beside the bed in an armchair. She was a remarkably fine needle-woman, for it was an accomplishment and one of the fine arts of those early days. I remember seeing her sit working on a little white dress one time when I was ill. It was put together with open work stitches. In their prosperous days she was called extravagant. When her daughters attended the balls at Niagara or elsewhere she took great pride in having their satin boots or slippers to match their dress. These she made with her own hands. She also made their long gloves, as there was nothing of the kind to be had nearer than Montreal. She was hospitable and every one had a welcome. A relative told me of her gifts as a cook; that she had the happy faculty of making everything "tastey" from limited materials.

People wondered how she could leave her home and children and go into danger she knew not what. The few letters she has left tell of her strong religious principles, her strong affections, and the "sacred duty" foremost in her mind of doing good. Last, but not least, was her strong faith in God. My dear sister and myself often referred to the beautiful prayer she would make upon our departure after making her a visit. These are some instances of her private life. Her motto was, "It is ever the darkest hour just before the daylight."

[In Miss Smith's family there was one brother and the two sisters—Louisa and Augusta. Miss Louisa died in 1908. The brother died in 1904, in Minnesota. The deaths of many of the grandchildren are rapidly taking place. Mrs. Secord was remarkably reticent in regard to herself—never boastful. All her grandchildren with whom communication has been made speak spontaneously of this characteristic.]

Death of James Secord, Husband of Laura Ingersoll Secord.

The *Commercial Herald* of Toronto, in a March issue, 1841, contains the following notice.

"At Chippewa, on the 22nd instant, James Secord, Senior Collector of Her Majesty's Customs, long known as an old and much respected inhabitant of the Niagara District, universally and deservedly regretted, both in public and in private life. Mr. Secord came into this country at a very early age and has always sustained the character of a good and loyal subject of his country, which was evidenced in the eagerness with which he flew to the British Standard in the late war with the United States of America. He was severely wounded in the memorable battle of Queenston, the 13th of October, under Sir Isaac Brock. Mr. Secord was wounded in the final attack in the afternoon, when General Sheaffe was victorious. The story of the rescue of Mr. Secord is given in another place by his son. Mr. Secord died on the 22nd of February, 1841."

Passage from the Funeral Sermon of James Secord, by the Rev. Mr. Leeming.

And here I think you will agree with me when I say of our departed friend that no one has passed through life and descended to the grave with an unblemished reputation. That he was a conscientious and upright man, amiable in all the relations of life, a kind husband, an indulgent parent, a sincere friend and an obliging neighbor. And in the discharge of the duties of his public trust as the Collector of Customs at this place I have repeatedly heard him spoken of in terms of high commendation. Of a considerate and benevolent disposition he performed those duties with such moderation as to gain the good will of the community with whom he had to do, with credit to himself and with greater advantage to the Government than a more severe and exacting course has been known to produce. Nor should we omit to notice, whilst paying this last tribute of respect to the memory of a departed friend and respectable man the meed of praise which was due to him for his loyal and patriotic principles. Those principles which under all circumstances he maintained steadily to the last, had been evinced in an honorable defence of his country's dearest rights throughout the last American war. For those rights he fought, and to his dying day I believe suffered from the wounds which he received whilst engaged in maintaining a cause which reflected honor upon himself and his fellow soldiers in arms and loss and disgrace upon an unnatural foe.

PROBATE OF THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF LAURA SECORD.

SURROGATE COURT OF THE COUNTY OF WELLAND. } In Her Majesty's Surrogate Court of the County of Welland:

Be it known that on the Fifteenth day of January, A. D. 1869, the Last Will and Testament of Laura Secord late of the Village of Chippawa, in the County of Welland, Widow, who died on or about the Seventeenth day of October, A. D. 1868, at Chippawa, aforesaid, and who at the time of her death had a fixed place of abode at the Village of Chippawa, in the said County of Welland, was proved and Registered in the said Surrogate Court, a true copy of which said Last Will and Testament is hereunto annexed, and that the Administration of all and singular the personal estate and effects, rights and credits of the said deceased and any way concerning her Will was granted by the aforesaid Court, to Charlotte Secord, of the Village of Chippawa, aforesaid, Spinster, the sole Executrix named in the said Will, she having been first sworn well and faithfully to Administer the same by paying the just debts of the deceased, and the legacies contained in her Will so far as she is thereunto bound by law, and to exhibit a true and perfect Inventory of all and singular the said Estate and effects, rights and credits, and to render a just and true account of her Executorship whenever required by law to do so.

Given under my hand and under the Seal of the said Court at Welland, in the County of Welland, the Fifteenth day of January, in the year of Our Lord, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty-Nine, and in the Thirty-Second year of Her Majesty's Reign.

(Signed) D. D'EVIRARDO,
Registrar of the said County.

Probate of the Last Will and Testament of Laura Secord, late of the Village of Chippawa, in the County of Welland, in the Province of Ontario and Dominion of Canada, Widow, deceased:

In the Name of God, Amen.

I, Laura Secord, of Chippawa, in the County of Welland, Relict of James Secord, late of the same place, Esquire, deceased, being of sound mind and memory: Do make this my last Will and Testament, in manner following:

First: I give and devise unto my two Daughters, Charlotte Secord, and Harriet Smith, Widow of David Smith, late of St. Catharines, Esquire, deceased, as Tenants in Common, all and singular my whole Messuage and Tenements situate lying and being in the Village of

Chippawa, in the County of Welland, whereon I now reside, to have and to hold to my said two Daughters, Charlotte Secord and Harriet Smith, as Tenants in Common, their heirs and assigns forever.

Secondly: All the rest, residue, and remainder of all my estate and effects, real and personal, whatsoever and wheresoever, not hereinbefore disposed of, after payment of my debts and personal expenses, I do give, devise and bequeath unto my two daughters aforesaid, share and share alike.

Lastly: I do hereby constitute and appoint my said Daughter. Charlotte Secord, sole Executrix of this, my Last Will and Testament, hereby revoking all former Wills by me made.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this Tweny-sixth day of November, in the year of Our Lord, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Fifty-seven.

Signed, Sealed and Delivered, by the Testatrix as for her Last Will and Testament in presence of
(Signed) ANNE HEPBURN,
WM. M. CHRISTIE.

(Signed) LAURA SECORD, [L.S.]

SURROGATE COURT,
COUNTY OF WELLAND,
PROVINCE OF ONTARIO.

I hereby certify that the foregoing Document written on this page is a true copy of the original Last Will and Testament of Laura Secord, deceased, as produced for Probate in this office and registered the fifteenth day of January, A. D. 1869.

(Sgd) D. D'EVIRARDO,
Registrar of the said Court.

SURROGATE COURT,
COUNTY OF WELLAND.

Probate of the Last Will and Testament of Laura Secord, late of Chippawa, Widow, Deceased. No. 3632.

I certify that the within Probate is duly entered and registered in the Registrar Office for the County of Welland, in Book A, for the Village of Chippawa, at three o'clock P. M., of the 23rd of January, A. D. 1869, Number 23.

(Signed) D. D'EVIRARDO,
Registrar.

Tributes to the Memory of Laura Secord.

Mrs. Chamberlain, of Ottawa, whose first husband was Colonel FitzGibbon, writes: "I heard quite often from Colonel FitzGibbon about Mrs. Secord. In my eyes she was more of a heroine than is generally known. Like Lady Godiva, her journey was performed not without clothing, but next to nothing, being only a flannel petticoat and what old people called a bed-gown, or short dress worn over the petticoat."

Mrs. Harriet Smith, who was the mother of Miss Smith, says: "I remember seeing my mother leave the house on that fateful morning, but neither I or my sisters knew on what errand she was bent. A flowered print gown, I think it was brown with orange flowers, at least a yellow tint, is connected with that particular morning."

Lady Edgar, in her first book, "Ten Years of Peace and War," in telling Mrs. Secord's story says: "As to Laura Secord's reward, it has come to her in the fame that rests on her name wherever the story of 1812 is told. The heroine lived until 1868, and sleeps now in that old cemetery at Drummondville, where lie so many of our brave soldiers."

Mrs. Herbert says: "It gave General Herbert the greatest pleasure to visit Niagara and its ever memorable surroundings, especially the field of Lundy's Lane. I trust the spot where Laura Secord rests will be marked by a monument worthy of the brave and noble spirit we all must honor."

Mrs. Curzon says: "FitzGibbon's prompt action, his success and promotion are matters of history. To Mrs. Secord he was ever grateful and never failed to show it on occasions. Promotion came to him but there was no reward to Laura Secord, whose self-devotion to her King and country led to it, nor did she ever look for reward save that achieved by the success of her errand.

FOUR MILE CREEK, BELOW ST. DAVID'S, 1894

CHAPTER V.

ST. DAVIDS AND VICINITY.

ST. DAVIDS received its name in honor of Major David Secord. It has had more than one name, the first being Four Mile Creek Mills. The spring originates in the township of Stamford, near the Grand Trunk Railway. It was afterwards called Davidsville and Davidstown, and finally merged into St. Davids, by which name it was known during the war, and which it still retains.

In 1793, Governor Simcoe established salt works at Louth. People were allowed to make their own salt. The Rev. Mr. Addison had certain rights in the works given him.

Mineral springs are of frequent occurrence, both above and below the mountain ridge. There was one on the farm of the late Joseph Thorn, and another on or near that of the late John McKinley.

The mineral springs at St. Catharines have long been celebrated for their curative properties, especially in all forms of rheumatism. If better known they would bring numberless sufferers to be cured.

Two hundred and fifty years ago the missionary Daillon pronounced the peninsula of Ontario incomparably beautiful, the most extensive and fruitful land he ever saw. Others followed, expressing the same admiration. Time has proved the truth. This land reaches from the shores of Lake Erie to Burlington Bay. The bloom and beauty of the orchards in the early spring, and the odor of the vineyards, are the promise of what the autumn days will bring. Fruits of unrivalled excellence are carried by the iron horse to the remotest hamlets of the Dominion, and the greyhounds of the Atlantic carry them from the "garden of Canada" to the tables of Europe.

Major David Secord gave the land where stands the present Methodist church, and along with it the burying-ground. Queenston never had a public burial-place, and most of her dead are buried here. The site of a school-house was also included in the gift, and here the church and school-house stood, side by side, until 1871, when one more in unison with modern requirements was erected nearer the village. Its removal gave enlargement to the burial-ground, which was much needed. A small creek is the boundary on the eastern side. The

church was commenced before the division of the Methodist Church into the two branches of Wesleyan and Episcopal Methodist Churches. The building was of substantial materials, and was well on its way to completion when the division took place. It was left in this unfinished state for many years. The late Bishop Richardson is authority for the statement that the old Warner meeting-house was the only one the Episcopal Methodists called their own. This church is on the Thorold Road, and, with its burying-ground, can be seen from the Grand Trunk Railway. This building has been renovated and made much smaller.

During the winter of 1842 and 1843 the Niagara Temperance Association sent a lecturer through the Niagara District. After the division the Methodists of both denominations held alternate religious services in the school-house. The school trustees refused to allow the school-house for temperance lectures. A few of the residents, at their own expense, partitioned off part of the old church, put in a table, stove and benches, and commenced meetings. Very soon religious meetings were held there, as it was much larger than the school-room. This lasted for a year or two, when all united to put the whole church in repair. It has had other renovations to make it more modern. The first pulpit was a lofty one, ascended by many steps. It has been cut down twice, if not oftener.

In the burying-ground rest many of the Secords, Clements and Woodruffs. Judge De Veaux, the founder of De Veaux College at Niagara Falls, N. Y., and his wife are buried here. Mrs. DeVeaux was the sister of Richard and William Woodruff. There were three brothers in the Clement family—Joseph, "John, the Ranger," and James. Their lands were all in this neighborhood. When Mrs. Joseph Clement died, in 1842, considerable of the estate of Joseph Clement was purchased by his nephew, Major Joseph Clement. [Mrs. Clement gave to each of her daughters—Mrs. Lowell, Mrs. Dunton, Mrs. Richard Woodruff, and Mrs. William Woodruff—building sites on the main road.] At his death he directed that a monument be erected on the north side of the road. This monument commemorates the name of himself and his wife. In the same field with the monument, and where the Presbyterian church stands, was the headquarters of General De Rottenberg's forces during the War of 1812.

At the north-east end of the village, where Mr. Neil Black now resides, was the home of Mrs. Stephen Secord and the first Secord mill. Mrs. Secord's husband died previous to the War of 1812. All her sons served in various capacities during the war. Mrs. Secord often ran the mill with no assistance, and furnished the flour to the British forces —we are glad to say at remunerative prices. When St. Davids was

burned, she, with another woman, succeeded in saving one of her buildings from the flames, and with her own hands helped to rebuild another. After the war the mill was rebuilt, but the Secords building a larger one nearer the Queenston Road, caused this one to be disused, and its picturesque ruins are among the recollections of the past.

At the south-western side of St. Davids there was for many years a settlement of colored people, mostly escaped slaves. They lived by cultivating vegetables and fruit, by picking berries—of which there was a profusion in those days—and by gathering nuts. They were ever ready to do all kinds of jobbing and domestic work. They also made splint brooms and husk mats, for which a ready sale was found. They were not permitted to attend the school. A white teacher came from Pennsylvania and taught for a short time among them. To their credit, be it said, they did not disturb the melon patch or carry off the poultry. They had a small church, and their exercises during revivals and at their baptisms drew large audiences. When the attempt to carry Mosely from Niagara to the United States was made, in 1837, the excitement among them was intense. A recollection of that time can never be forgotten. A wagon-load of colored men, driving at furious speed, passed through the village. None but the driver had a seat, and the men stood with hands and arms holding one another up. Mosely was rescued, and escaped. One of the men, whose name was McIntyre, returned with a bayonet wound through the cheek. There was a larger settlement at Niagara Falls.

In the days of the early settlement it was not an uncommon thing, in a dry time, for the women to make up a party and go to the Niagara River to wash their clothes. Even at the present time, with plenty of streams, many have to bring water from a distance, and the domestic animals suffer much in consequence. The years 1787 and 1788 were notable for the visitation of drought and famine, never to be forgotten.

When the days of peace came, after the Revolutionary War was over, the refugees and the settlers brought cuttings of fruit and small trees, as opportunity offered, from their old homes, more especially from the Mohawk Valley and Pennsylvania. These were a reproduction of French and German fruits. Thus Cobas Middaugh brought a summer sugar pear which ripened in August, that was most delicious to the taste. The apples have not been surpassed in excellence by our modern productions. Pippens and russets were of several varieties. Swayzie Pomme Gris is a native variety of russet. Plums—the blue, the damson, green gage and egg—were abundant. Peaches had not attained the perfection of the present time, but were so plentiful that they were gathered in heaps, and carried in wagons to the distillery. The wild

grape grew where it could find a place to climb upon. Dried fruits—such as peaches, plums, cherries and berries—were in every house for winter use. The "paw-paw," now so seldom found, was common then.

The old-fashioned flowers were everywhere. Roses grew in abundance, especially the damask and Lancaster, and a dark double crimson rose. Single and double white roses were common, and a striped rose now seldom seen. A small Burgundy rose, called the button rose, was used as a border. White lillies, crimson peonies, tulips of every hue, and fragrant pinks were cultivated along with annuals, by the careful hands of our ancesters. Each begged and shared with her friends anything new. The conservatory and nursery were then unheard of.

Part of the semi-annual visitations were from Indians. One aged squaw, named Mary, came from the Tuscarora Reservation, beyond Lewiston, N. Y. It was her custom to enter without knocking and silently take a seat by the fire. Whatever was given her to eat she took without thanks, never sitting at the table. She made no attempt at conversation, nor could she be drawn out to say more than yes or no, and this was generally given with a nod or shake of the head, and an occasional "Ugh." She was always well dressed. Her moccasins were decorated with colored porcupine quills; a skirt of dark-blue broadcloth reached nearly to the ankles; below were leggings of the same, embroidered with beads. A calico jacket was fastened from the throat to the bottom with silver buckles about an inch in diameter, as closely as they could be placed. A blanket was worn on the head, and a large basket containing articles for sale, with a strap to go over the head, held the blanket in place. The baskets were of all sorts and sizes, made of splint and of various colors, also bead-work. We were always glad to see her, and she knew she was welcome. She was old when we first knew her, and always walked with a staff. When she came no more, we felt that one of the old landmarks had passed away. The male Indians brought large baskets, also hickory whip-stocks, axe-helves, and husk door-mats, and occasionally furs; but the fur trade was vanishing with the advance of civilization and the increasing number of settlers. The Indian man dressed like the white man, his only peculiarity at that time being that he used a blanket instead of an overcoat and a beaver hat. Such were the Indians of sixty years ago. Now both sexes dress more and more like the white people.

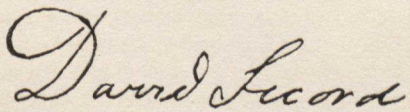
The Methodist ministers, who suffered everything in the way of hardship and privation, are first among those whom this age should honor for the noble work they did in evangelizing and educating the people in the remotest settlements. No place was too difficult of access

for their visitation. It was necessary, too, for their comfort and respectability, that, as much as possible, the wife should accompany her husband in his ministrations. A minister's wife told the writer that often on their journeyings their washing was done at one place, the wet bundle dried at another stopping-place, and ironed at the third. This was done with her own hands, she taking the soap, the blueing and the starch with her, for often some one or other of these necessaries could not be had. She also said that her needful sewing and mending were done under the same circumstances. They suffered from cold, insufficient clothing and unwholsome food, and their scanty salary was seldom paid in full.

A clergyman eminent in his church, said that his studies were made while travelling his circuit, his wife driving while he studied; and when she could not go, his children took their turn in driving with him. They were not discouraged, for three of his sons became clergymen.

Their frequent change of residence was especially arduous to the wife and family. Many were moved every year, generally at two years, and to live three years in a place was a remarkably happy event. With the years and prosperity came the furnished parsonages, which have lessened the inconvenience of removals.

It has been frequently said that the ministers were unlearned men. That, no doubt, was true, but, unlearned as they were, they were ever striving to improve themselves, and impressing upon all with whom they came in contact the advantages of education. The first libraries in the rural districts were the Sunday-school libraries, and the Sunday-school teachers had often to teach the alphabet to the children. Testaments and hymn-books given as rewards in Sunday-school were, in many cases, the first copies of the Scriptures in their homes. Their parents, perhaps, could not read, and had no means to send their children to the common school.



PART II.

CANADIAN REMINISCENCES.

CHAPTER I.

FRENCH REGIME.—MADELAINE DE VERCHERES, 1696.

CANADIAN annals contain nothing more heroic than the narrative of Marie Madelaine de Vercheres, aged fourteen years, who, attacked by the Iroquois, held the place built by her father, called Fort Vercheres, for eight days. The attack commenced at eight o'clock in the morning of October 22, 1696.

During the night Mlle. Marie Madelaine (sometimes called Magdelon) heard sounds which disturbed her. Her father was in Quebec, and her mother in Montreal. Rising early she went some distance outside the fort to ascertain the cause. She soon perceived that the settlers were being attacked. A servant cried, "Fly! The Iroquois are upon us." She saw a party of forty-five coming towards her. Commending herself to God and the blessed Virgin, she sought safety in flight, crying as she fled "To arms! To arms!" The way seemed long, but she reached the gate in safety and closed it. So close had been the pursuit that an Indian took her neck-scarf. Safe within the fort her first measure was to replace the stakes, herself assisting and directing. This accomplished she collected the resources for defence, which consisted of her two brothers, the eldest twelve years of age, two soldiers, and an old man of eighty. Some women and children had already fled there for safety. When she entered the fort the two soldiers were making preparations to blow it up. Ordering them to desist, she put on a soldier's casque, saying to those around her as she took a musket in her hand, "Let us fight to the death for our King and our holy religion. Remember what my father has so often told you, 'It would never do to let the Indians capture a fort.'" There were two four-pound field pieces. Silencing the lamentations of the women, whose husbands had been captured, and some killed, she made preparations for the defence, and assisted by the two soldiers, they commenced firing upon the foe.

As she looked towards the river front she saw a canoe with M. Pierre Fontaine and his wife and children in it. She went to the landing and brought them within. This added to the defenders, who could fire upon the enemy and make good use of the small field pieces. Towards

night a furious northwest wind with hail and snow set in. Arranging the watches for the night Pierre Fontaine and the two soldiers were assigned to the redoubt. As that was the strongest place, the women and children were sent there. Addressing them, she said, "Never surrender, even though I should be cut in pieces and burned before your eyes." Then posting her two brothers in charge of the two bastions, she, with the old man of eighty, took the fourth. At intervals during the storm and wind the cry was given from sentinel to sentinel, "All is well!" About two hours after midnight the sentinel at the gate said, "I hear something." Thinking it might be a device of the enemy every precaution was taken. A group of cattle was seen. They did not open the gates until satisfied that it was no Indian device. With muskets in their hands she and her brothers took in the cattle.

In the morning she gathered the garrison around, and, putting on a joyful countenance, said, "God is helping us, and relief will soon come." Fontaine's wife wished to escape with her children, but was told by her husband that if she went with the children he would remain as long as Mlle. Vercheres held the fort.

During the interval before relief arrived there were continual alarms. Twice she neither ate nor slept for twenty-four hours. During the night of the eighth day M. de la Monniere reached the fort. Approaching in silence one of the sentries heard him, and called out in French, "Qui vive!" She was sleeping at the time with her head on a table and a musket across her arms. Calling out, she asked, "Who are you?" The glad reply came, "It is Le Monniere, to your assistance." As soon as she saw him she said, "Welcome, I surrender my arms to you." Quick came the reply, "They are in safe hands." After inspection, "Kindly relieve my sentries, for eight days we have not left our posts."

On the second day of the siege they had seen the houses of the settlers burned, and their cattle killed or driven away. At that time some linen and some quilts were outside the fort. With her brothers armed they made two trips and took them in. The Iroquois made no attempt to capture them. "I felt then that when God overrules matters there is no danger of failure."

She married M. Le Naudiere. In 1722 she was in greater peril than in 1696. At this later period she saved the life of M. de la Parade, her husband and herself.

Two Abenaquis, of giant stature, entered her house to seek a quarrel with M. de la Parade. Upon his command to leave they did so, but returned, one with a tomahawk, the other with a hatchet. Breaking open the door, they said, "You are a dead man." M. de la Parade

attempted to defend himself, but was too feeble. Fortunately a settler, who was near the house, went to the rescue. The Indian who had the tomahawk attacked her husband. Rushing to him she wrenched the weapon from his grasp. When the Indian sprang upon a trunk she felled him to the floor with the tomahawk. Then she was seized by four Indian women. One seized her by the throat, another by the hair, and two by the body to throw her in the fire. She expected to die, for two of their husbands were lying apparently lifeless on the floor. Her son Tarien, twelve years old, rushed to his mother, and seizing a weapon, dealt such blows on their heads and hands that they released her. She rushed to the aid of M. de la Parade. The squaws had attacked him in hopes of getting the hatchet, but by this time other settlers arrived to their rescue.

Such were the dangers and warfare of that period.

Madame Le Naudiere petitioned for a pension, and, failing that, promotion for her brother in the military service. These facts were verified by M. de Vaudriel, who made the inquiries along with the Governor, M. de Beauharnois, but there is no mention of the pension for herself, or failing that, the promotion of her brother being given. Further mention in the Archives are found, but, being "only a woman" she received no reward. Her youth, wisdom, courage, loyalty and christian dependence, deserve recognition. It is not too late to place before Canadian women the long delayed claim of Madelaine de Vercheres, the heroine of the French Regime.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, among other noble acts, made an appropriation of $25,000 for a memorial for the heroine of the French Regime.

CHAPTER II.

CHRYSLER FAMILY AND ITS BRANCHES, 1735–1839.—SLAVERY IN CANADA.—REGIMENTAL RETURNS, WAR OF 1812.

THE annals of the Chrysler family cover a period extending from 1741 to 1838. These are from documents in the possession of Mrs. John Chrysler of Niagara Falls, illustrative of the times, bringing back the names of those who in their varied spheres laid the foundations of the American Republic and Canadian Dominion. Four generations of Chryslers held commissions as officers under English rule. The first commencing in the French Wars, before the taking of Fort Niagara. The fourth in the Rebellion of 1837-38, Governors, emigrants, merchants, soldiers. As you turn over these time-worn documents there are brought before you our Indian allies, great military leaders, the school-house, the teacher and scholars, churches and their ministers, Masonic lodges and their gatherings,—names that live in history, poetry and legislation. These documents tell the work they did. Records,—not a connected story, of the men and women doing their duty, according to the opportunities, the means, and the lights that those days brought. They made mistakes, but when we look upon the selfishness and greed displayed in these times we lay down these papers with the feeling that no nobler type of men and women could be held up to our people as examples of gratitude, fidelity, bravery and courage. Jeronimus Chrysler, the ancestor, served his adopted country in the French Wars. His appointment as lieutenant was made by George Clinton, Lord Dorchester, on July 9, 1746, thirteen years before the conquest of Canada by Wolfe. Jeronimus died in 1763 and his son Adam was appointed administrator to his father's estate. This document was given by Robert Moncton at Fort George, in the City of New York, in 1763. Andrew Chrysler, Ensign, was appointed captain on October 14, 1768, by Sir Henry Moore, then Governor.

Life and property have been freely used. Two branches are promnient:

First: Where the Battle of Chrysler's Farm was fought during the War of 1812.

Second: The family of Mrs. White of Coburg in the Coventry Collection.

The records of the Chrysler family commence with the arrival of Jeronimus Chrysler in America in 1741, and continue through the Rebellion of 1837-38. Continuous service of his descendants has been rendered to the country of their adoption.

Jeronimus Chrysler came to America before the Revolution and settled in Scoharie. His son Adam came to Canada during the Revolution and settled on a tract of land four miles from Newark (now Niagara). His only son, John, settled there also. His wife, Elizabeth Morden, and himself were buried in their family burying ground. She was born in Pennsylvania and came to Canada with her parents during the Revolution. The children of John Chrysler and Elizabeth Morden were as follows:

Ralph Morden, born December 22, 1795.
Adam.
John.
James Chrysler lived at the Four Mile Creek, now called Virgil.
Elizabeth was the first wife of Louis Clement.
Ann and Catharine, twins.
Ann married Elias Durham.
Catharine married Jacob J. Ball.
Eleanor died in 1832.
Hannah married Abraham Markle in 1828.
Jane married George Stull.

Ralph Morden Chrysler married first Sarah Overfield; second Elsie Gansevoort of Albany, July 21, 1830.

Children of Ralph Chrysler:
John.
Catharine Maria.
Ellen.
Leonard.
James Van Ransaaler and James Cornelius.

Extracts from the obituary of Hermanus Chrysler, taken from the Niagara Falls *Review*, June 20, 1884, in possession of Mrs. William King, a granddaughter:

"Not to know Hermanus Chrysler was to be a stranger not only on the frontier but in Upper Canada. Mr. Chrysler's great grandfather, Jeronimus Chrysler, with his wife, Maria Margreetta, came from Germany in the reign of George III, about the year 1735, and settled in

the beautiful valley of the Mohawk. Here he with several German associates took up some sixty thousand acres of land. The following partial description contained in one of the patents of these lands speaks of early days. "A tract of eighteen thousand acres of land by them purchased of the native Indian proprietors situated lying and being in the County of Albany, six miles west of Schahury, between the Mountains of Schahury and the hill called by the Indians Onuntadasha, and further described by trees, courses and measurements." One of his earlier titles for land bears date of 1737. Mr. Chrysler's grandfather, Baltis Chrysler, joined the royal army and was doubtless killed, as he never returned. Mr. Chrysler's father, John Chrysler, cherished no pleasing recollections of the war which had deprived him of his father and caused him when a boy to be cruelly beaten in a fruitless attempt to make him divulge the supposed hiding place of his father. The Chryslers were too distinctly marked as Loyalists to render their remaining at Schoharie agreeable. In 1799, John with his wife and family, his son Hermanus then being an infant, abandoned a home of luxury, and like many another U. E. Loyalist sought a new home in the wilderness, under the flag he had been taught to honor. He drew his land within a few miles of Niagara Falls. During the War of 1812 he was in active service and on many hard fought fields balanced the account of his boyhood.

"The boy Hermanus looked with pride upon the musket captured by his father at Queenston and wished to carry one by his father's side but his youth prevented. He served with his father's team carrying supplies instead. The boy having acquired a practical education, and being to manhood grown, commenced business for himself where success awaited him. Associated with him was his talented sister, the late Mrs. Catharine White of Niagara Falls, Ontario, and from 1825, the loving wife who has just gone before him. With Mr. Chrysler's genial disposition he could not be otherwise than popular as the host of the Clifton House which he had built. His brother kept the Pavillion House, afterwards the residence of ex-Consul Buchanan who was British Consul at New York for many years. Hermanus Chrysler died June 1, 1884, aged 84 years."

The brothers and sister of Hermanus Chrysler were Adam of the Pavillion, Baltis, killed while young, and Catharine (Mrs. White), who died in 1907. He also had a half-brother, William. Mrs. White's

daughter, Jane, married Donald McKay of Toronto. The children of Hermanus Chrysler were:

Hermanus.
Austin Abner.
Flavius.
Sarah Vandersluys.
Harriet, (Mrs. Biggar).
Maria, (Mrs. Lundy).
Edna, (Mrs. Fairbanks).
Sylvia, (Mrs. Eggleston).

Hermanus Chrysler's Golden Wedding.

Hermanus, or Morney, Chrysler of the Clifton House did not obtain a pension, though justly entitled to it. We give his own words uttered at his golden wedding on October 5, 1875. His wife was Edna Cook, daughter of Haggai Cook. The following is a selection from what he said in addressing Mrs. Chrysler on that occasion: "Neither of us can trace our lineage back to William the Conqueror, but we know that our fathers were honored and respected. It was a common saying "if Haggai Cook said so it must be true," and my father bore the name of "Honest John Chrysler." We know, too, that they were loyal and true to their sovereign. They left homes of wealth and affluence to come and live in the forests of Canada, and it is only the first pioneers who know the sufferings they had to pass through. Your father was a fine old English gentlemen. He and his eldest son bore arms in their country's defence. My father was a sturdy German who emigrated with his father, Baltus Chrysler, to America in 1768, and settled in Scoharie, N. Y. My grandfather joined the British army in the time of the Revolutionary War, leaving my father, who was then about nineteen years of age, to take care of the home, and whom the rebels tied across a stump and whipped unmercifully to force from him the secret of his father's hiding place, for they supposed he was secreted somewhere in the neighborhood and wished to capture and shoot him, as he was known to be a staunch Loyalist. I remember hearing my father tell how his mother watched and wept, and waited, for tidings from her husband, but all they ever heard was that he reached the army in safety and were forced to conclude that he had died on the field of battle. My father also fought for his King in 1812. I remember hearing him tell that he had been home on a furlough for a few days and was on his way back to join FitzGibbon's Company when he met three of the enemy, armed with pistols and swords. One of them leveled his

pistol at my father's head, ordering him to lay down his musket. Now my father prized that musket very highly, for it was one that he captured at Queenston Heights where brave Brock lost his life. So instead of laying it down he placed it to his shoulder and demanded that they should lay down their arms and march on before him. Seeing he was in earnest they obeyed orders and thus he marched them into camp. One proved to be a British subject, and was shot as a spy. The other two were Americans and were exchanged as prisoners. Although I was only thirteen years of age at the time, I wanted my father to give me a gun to go and fight the Yankee too. This was refused on account of my youth, but I performed my duty as a British subject by being a teamster to bring in the supplies. Many a time I was weary, wet and cold, and the enemy's bullets seemed very close, causing me to think how comfortable I would be at home. But I felt my country required my services and I filled that position all through the war. I know that I have as good a right, and perhaps better, than some who got the pensions for being veterans in the War of 1812, while my claim was rejected. I say all this, wife, to show we had an honorable name, if not noble, to hand down to our posterity. When we began we had no money to spend on the luxuries of life, but we had everything necessary for our comfort and happiness. We were blessed in all our undertakings and I may say we amassed wealth. We never turned anyone away hungry from our door and have always given a helping hand to friends in need, which help has sometimes been given unworthily and been very heavy upon us. We have known fair and cloudy weather. Through all you stood bravely by my side to help and cheer me on, never wavering from the promise made just fifty years ago. Can I ever forget the untiring care you gave me in the year 1832, when the cholera was raging and I laid so long hovering between life and death, while scarce a house in the neighborhood did not mourn some departed loved one. I always felt that your care did more to save my life than the doctor's medicine, and if it had not been for that care I could not now tell you we were married fifty years ago. We have been blessed with twelve children. Three God took to himself in their infancy, and, wife, though we mourned their loss we know they are safe in heaven. The children that have been spared to us have been a well-spring of comfort, and although we have had vexations, cares and trials in rearing them, we have no reason to be ashamed of them. They are all scattered so far from the old home that it has been impossible for all to join us on this occasion. My eldest son is detained by sickness. Of all our children only one, our baby, remains to comfort us, and although he is now "six feet three" that I cannot daddle him on my knee or you

huddle him to your bosom as of yore, still in our hearts he is held in as tender and fond embrace as in his helpless infancy, and may God help him and all our children to return to us in our old age, the love so lavishly bestowed upon them. In a few short years, perhaps only days, we will be gathered to our fathers and the land that has known us will know us no more."

Flavius Chrysler, son of Hermanus, lived in Oxenden, Ontario. The following is a copy of his grandfather's letter to his wife:

NIAGARA, 10th August, 1800.

DEAR WIFE,—

I embrace this opportunity to acquaint you I and my son are in very good health and all our friends in this place. I hope you will not be oneasy as the time is getting shorter when my Brother will be down your way in order to fetch you, which will be the very first sledding. I still find this place more to my liking the longer I am here as everything I have undertaken has turned out to the best of my expectations. I have nothing strange to write you except only my respects to enquiring friends. I remain your

Loving husband,

JOHN CHRYSLER.

N. D.—I still expect John Hermanus will come with you according to promise, and hope he will keep himself in readiness.

Mrs. Maria Chrysler.

OXENDEN, Feb. 5, 1907.

MRS. E. A. CURRIE,

Dear Madame,—Inclosed I send you copy of my grandfather's letter dated 1800. I am afraid what other information I will send you may not be worth quoting for history. However, I will tell you what little I know or have heard my father say, and if it is of any use to you will be very much pleased. As you know, my grandfather came to Canada the same as hundreds of others for his loyalty to the Crown. He settled near what is now called Allanburg. All new settlers had many hardships to contend with in those days, to cut down the forests, clear up their land, pulverize their grain in stumps of trees hollowed out for that purpose, to make the flour which was very coarse and sifted through a hand sieve. That is what they made their bread from. The second year that he was on his farm he had three sheep sent to him from Schenectady which he put in a high log pen close to his log cabin for safety against wolves, but all he could find next morning of his sheep was some small pieces of wool and bones. Grandfather took a

hand in all or most of the battles on the frontier in 1812 and 1813. He was with Colonel FitzGibbon.

The following is an incident that happened at my Grandfather Cook's, who lived at Lundy's Lane. My grandmother was a daughter of Haggai Cook. There were roving bands of Indians in the country going from house to house taking whatever was of use to them. At my Grandfather Cook's their eyes fell upon some cloth that had just been taken out of the loom. It was built in folds a yard wide. One of the Indians caught hold of the cloth to carry it away. My mother and Aunt Katy took a hand in too. She caught hold and pulled. She and the Indian had about equal parts of the cloth and both were pulling with might and main when another Indian stepped up and drew his knife and cut the cloth in two, telling the other Indian "Keep what she has."

Sincerely yours,
F. J. Chrysler.

Chrysler Certificates of Lands.

This Certify that Lt. Adam Chrysler has the possession of six hundred acres of land for himself and family.

Number 38,
" 39,
" 47,
" 48,
" 60,
" 51,
} Lots Adam Chrysler.

This Certify that John Chrysler has the permission of one hundred acres of land, number 52.

Grant to John Chrysler, one hundred acres in the Township of Newark, County of Lincoln and Home District. January 14th, 1799, Libere folio 18, B, 25th of December, 1798, Peter Russel.

Patent of land, 30th of May, 1804. Notice. That there are half fees paid in the name of John Chrysler, in Blenheim, for two hundred acres, 7th of November, 1804. Also a deed in the name of Betty Chrysler for two hundred acres of land, half fee paid. Signed by John McGill.

Indenture of Apprentice—Dennis Ackerson and William Chrysler.

This Indenture witnesseth that I, William Bouck, of Scohary, in the County of Albany, and Province of New York, Do put William Chrysler with his free will and Consent and apprentice to Dennis Ackerson of Scohary, in the County and Province aforesaid, Blacksmith, to learn his art, trade, Misstery and with him after the manner of an Apprentice from the first Day of the Date hereof for and during the term of five years next ensuing, during all which term the said Apprentice his said Master shall faithfully serve, his Secrets keep and all his lawful Commands everywhere obey, he shall do no damage to his said Master nor see it done by any others without telling or giving notice thereof to his said master, he shall not waste his said master's goods, nor lend them unlawfully . . . . . he shall not contract matrimony During the said term, he shall not play at Cards or Dice nor any other unlawful game whereby his said master may be indemnifyed, with his own or others he shall not absent himself Day or Night from his said master's services unlawfully, nor haunt ale houses, taverns or play houses, but in all things behave himself as a faithful apprentice to ye trade or Mistery he now followeth and the said Master shall procure and provide for the said apprentice sufficient meat drink Lodging and reasonable Cloes during five years that ye said William Chrysler doth faithfully serve his time if not then to pay the Cloes which he had of said Master and for the performance of all and every the Covenants and agreements.

Each party bindeth himself to the other firmly by these presents. In witness whereof we hereunto Enterchange and set our hands and seals this twenteith day of March Anney Domy 1763 in presence of us.

Thomas Ackeson, Junior
Benjamin Smidt

Dennis Ackerson [seal]

Journal of Adam Chrysler commencing in the year 1777 at Scohary: I thought it my Duty to get as many Men and Indians for Government as laid in my Power which will be seen as follows and my Proceedings.

In March 1777 I had to maintain all the Indians that were at Scohary which was Twenty-Five until that 10th August. In the mean Time I recruited all the Men for Government that laid in my power, which amounted to 70. In the Month of June I received a letter from Captain Brant who desired me to remain at Schohary in readiness, till he came to me. On the 7th August Captain McDonald joined us with 26 men from Charlotte Creek, and I found them all in provisions for one Day

and Night, and from thence we went down the River about 4 Miles, to the Lower end of Vrooman's Land where we remained the Day and Night, when we were informed that the Rebels had got a Reinforcement and we thought it proper to retreat until we saw a convenient Place for to make a stand which was at my House, from whence I detached 35 men to intercept the Rebels at Brackabran if they should take that Rout, in the mean while the Rebels advanced until they came to the place where we laid in Ambush waiting for them until they came within Gun Shot, and then we gave them a Volley, Killed and Wounded Three Men, and Nine of their Light Horse. It being such a great shower of Rain that we could not pursue them and our Men being in Two Divisions, at the same time I was informed they were 400 Strong, and we retreated back in the Woods which was the 10th August—where we held a consultation and Concluded that with the small Number of Men we had it would be madness to re-attack their increasing Numbers which was already 4 to ours, but collect all together and proceed to Oswego to the Army, for which purpose Mr. David Brass went in search of the 36 men which were detached to Brackabran, on his return he informed they were all dispers'd, and are at present in Sir Johns Core. Captain McDonald and myself proceeded on our way for Oswego with 35 of my Men and about 20 of his, the 4th day of March I fell Sick and was obliged to stay behind at the Butternuts but sent my men on with Captain McDonald in hopes of following them in a Day or Two, but was not able to proceed till I heard of Gen. St. Leger's Retreat, and then the Indians thought that I should continue with them in the Indian Country till I should get some intelligence from General Burgoyne, when ill fate put me again at a stand, at Length proceeded with about 100 Indians to Niagara in the Latter End of November—at which time I acquainted Col. Butler with my proceedings as above upon which he promised payment for the expenses I had been at but never received any and allowed me four Shillings per Day from the time I came to Niagara and was here Three or Four Weeks when I received Col. Butlers Orders to proceed to Unandatta to watch the motions of the Rebels and to keep the Indians in favor of Government as laid in my Power where I continued all winter, and in May I received Col. Butlers Orders to come to Canatasago and Accordingly I did and brought Nineteen Men with me which are with Col. Butler's Rangers at present, at which time he made me Lieutenant and from there I went under the command of Col Butler to Wayome where we had an engagement and killed about 460 of the Enemy, and from there went to Aughguagy, and in the Month of September I went with a party of Rangers and Indians to Mr. Jumsliffs and returned again to Ahighguagy, then I went under

the command of Capt. Caldwell to the Cook House and then returned to Aughguagy again and I went under the Command of Capt. Caldwell to the German Flats and destroyed the whole Settlement and then returned until we came to Capt Butler near Shemung and the whole of the Rangers went and encamped at the Shemung under the command of Capt Butler, and in the month of November I went with Capt. Butler and under his Command to Cherry Valley and destroyed that Settlement and returned to Niagara in the month of December, 1778—in 1779 the Spring, I went to Canatasago under the Command of Col. Butler, and in July I went to the West Branch of the Suskahannah under the Command of Capt. McDonald with Rangers and Indians and took 30 prisoners and 40 killed and destroyed that whole settlement, and then we returned to Col. Butler at Canatasago and from there went to Shemung where we faced the whole Army of Rebels and was forced to retreat to Oyenyango where we attacked them again and from there we retreated to Niagara In October 1779. On Col. Johnsons arrival at this Place I was Ordered by him to attend Capt. Brant with 80 Indians to the Three Rivers by Land to meet Sir John Johnson, on our arrival there we sent a party to Oswego, who returned and brought us accounts that nobody was there, from which we proceeded to Oswego and from that to Niagara. On the 25th of May 1780 I received Col. Johnsons Instructions to proceed to the Indian Country and Collect all the Indians that laid in my Power, and to join Capt. McDonald with a party of Rangers to go to Schohary, we proceeded as far as Oneida where we had Consultation with the Oneidas and brought off the Oneidas as far as Canossarago where I turned back with Seven Indians and proceeded to Furlough where I took Nine Prisoners and returned to Niagara June 7th 1781, received Col. Johnsons Instructions to proceed with a party of Aughquagas and upon which to proceed to Schohary where I had a Skirmish with the Rebels and took 4 scalps 2 Prisoners & 18 Horses and burnt some Houses and Barns and lost one Indian and one wounded from thence returned to Niagara, Septr 20th 1781 and received Col. Johnsons Instructions to proceed with a party of Aughquagas and consisting of 28 men to Schohary. on the November when we came to Schohary we killed one Man near the fort and drove off 50 Head Cattle and burnt 2 Houses and a number of Horses, on our retreat the Rebels turned out with a party consisting of 30 Men in pursuit of us, they overtook us about 4 Miles from the Fort, and began to Fire on us upon which we returned the Fire and Killed one of their Men, upon which they retreated and I went on with the Cattle, the next Morning the Rebels turned out a Second time with 150 Men, and overtook us about 23 Miles from the Fort. we had another Skirmish

and Killed 4 of their Men and some wounded and they retreated but at the same time we lost all the Cattle upon which I had consultation with the Indians and they concluded not to pursue the Rebels since we were all safe and they to strong for us but make the best of our way to Niagara where I arrived on the 11th of December.

Losses During Revolution of 1776.

To Col. Thomas Dundas and Jeremy Pemberton Esq. Commissioners appointed for His Majesty for inquiring into Losses of those persons who have suffered in their Rights, Properties and Professions during the late unhappy dissentions in America:

The Memorial of Adam Chrysler late of Schoharie in the County of Albany in the Province of New York but now of Niagara in the Province of Quebec

Humbly sheweth—

That our Memorialist at the beginning of the late unhappy disturbances in America was settled at Schoharie, in the County of Albany in the Province of New York and was at that time possessed of one valuable & extensive Farm with Dwelling House, Barn and other out Houses, Live Stock and Furniture and Three Lotts of Land Lying in Albany County in the Province of New York aforesaid, a Saw Mill & Grist Mill. The whole valued at that time of upwards of £2455—11—0 New York Currency. That when the troubles broke out he took all occasions to Testify his Loyalty to his Sovereign, for which he was taken Prisoner by the Rebels, tho, after some time he was permitted to return home under the penalty of immediate Death, for the least assistance to the Kings Cause, he was esteemed as a suspicious person among them, and in the year 1777 to avoid the Oath of Allegiance to the United States and to give all the assistance in his power to his Sovereign set off with 35 Men in order to meet his Kings Army then on their way to Fort Staniaux but falling sick on the way he was left in the Indian Country where he remained for Two Months and upward and then joining the Kings Forces at Niagara as a Lieut. in the Indian Department. That understanding his Most Gracious Sovereign by & with the Consent of the Lords Spiritual & Temporal and Commons had taken into consideration the distracted State of his Loyal American Subjects and propose granting them such relief as may appear just and reasonable in proportion to their Losses.

Your Memorialist in behalf of himself & Family humbly prays that you will be pleased to take his case into your serious consideration and

that you will be pleased to grant him such relief as may appear reasonable and your Memorialist shall ever pray.

Statement of the Effects of Adam Chrysler late of Schoharie in the County of Albany in the Province of New York consisting of Lands, Mills, Live Stock, Farming Utensils and Household Furniture at the time he left Schoharie in the year 1777, Viz.—

A Farm situate at Schoharie aforesaid all clear Land in the Patent of Vroomans with the Dwelling House Barn and other out Houses thereon valued at	1,000	—	—
A Lott of Land situated at Schoharie aforesaid & contiguous to the aforesaid consisting of 89 acres in the Patent of Wm. Bouck & others valued at	89	—	—
A Lott of Land situated at Schoharie aforesaid & contiguous to the aforesaid consisting of Two acres in the Patent of said Wm. Bouck with a Grist Mill valued at	802	—	—
Fourth share of a Saw Mill in the Patent of said Wm. Bouck & others valued att	50	—	—
A Lott of Land on Colus Hill in the County of Albany aforesaid consisting of 34 Acres in the Patent of Jacob Boist & others valued att	34	—	—
A Lott of Land situated on Charlotte River in Tryon County in the Province of New York aforesaid consisting of 80 Acres in the Patent of Asaias Swart & others valued att	80	—	—
14 Head horned Cattle 60 shillings	42	—	—
8 Horses 200 shillings	80	—	—
5 Sheep 10 shillings	2	10	—
20 Hoggs 16 shillings	16	—	—
300 Wheat 4 shillings	60	—	—
Farming Utensils & household furniture	200	—	—
	£2,455	10	—

I do hereby solemnly Swear that I have by the Loss of the above Effects suffered to the full amount of Two Thousand Four Hundred and Fifty Five pounds and Ten Shillings New York Currency

So help me God.

Slavery in Canada.

Copy of a Bill of Sale of a Negro man called Tom, by Adam Vrooman to Adam Chrysler, 25th August, 1792.

Know all men by these presents, that I, Adam Vrooman, of the District of Nassau, in consideration of the sum of Ninety Pounds, N. Y. Cy., to me in hand paid by Adam Chrysler, of same place, at and before the sealing and delivering of these presents, the Receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, have bargained, sold, released, granted and confirmed, and by these presents do bargain, sell, release, grant and confirm unto the said Adam Chrysler, a Negro man named Tom, aged about Thirty years, to have and to hold, all and singular, the said Negro, and by these presents bargained, sold, released, granted unto the said Adam Chrysler, his Heirs, Executors, Administrators or Assigns forever, without any contradiction or claim of any person whatever, and I, the said Adam Vrooman, for myself, my Heirs and Executors, Administrators or Assigns, all and singular, the above named Negro, unto the said Adam Chrysler, his Heirs, Executors, Administrators or Assigns against me, the said Adam Vrooman, my Heirs, Executors, Administrators or Assigns, and against all and every other person or persons whatsoever, shall and will forever warrant and defend by these presents, and I, the said Adam Vrooman, have put the said Adam Chrysler in full possession by delivering the above mentioned Negro at the sealing and delivery hereof. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 25th day of August, in the year of our Lord 1792.

James Clement,
Aaron Stevens.

Adam Vrooman. [A. V.]

Copy of Bill of Sale of colored girl at Niagara, November 6th, 1786. Street and Butler to Adam Chrysler.

Know all men by these Presents, that we, Street and Butler, for and in consideration of Forty Pounds, New York Currency, to us in hand paid, the receipt of which we hereby acknowledge, have bargained and sold, and by these presents do Bargain, Sell and Confirm to Adam Chrysler, his Heirs and Assigns, a Negro Wench named Sarah, about nine years old to have and to hold against our heirs and assigns and against all persons and persons we do hereby warrant and defend howsoever.

In witness whereof we have set our hands and seal, at Niagara, this Sixth day of November, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty-Six, in the presence of

Wm. Chalmers, Witness.

Street and Butler.

Regimental Returns.

Field Return of Captain John Chrysler's Company of the Regiment of the Third Riding, Lincoln Militia, January 22, 1808:

Distribution	Captains	Lieutenants	Ensigns	Sargeants	Rank & File	Farmers	Quakers & Mennonites
Present on Parade.....	1	1	1	1	49	...	...
Absent	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
Infirm	...	...	...	...	2	...	...
Quakers and Mennonites...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	1	2	1	1	51	...	...

Names of Absentees: Lieut. Frederick Murkle, George Conck, Hermanus Vanalstine.

(Signed) John Chrysler, *Captain.*

Dec. 8th, 1807.

Roll of Captain John Chrysler's Company of Volunteers:

Adam Bowman, Sargeant
Martin Dashambert, Sargeant
Benjamin Schram
William Smith
Lewis Smith
George Read
John Reece
Frederick Smith
Martin Miller
John Flummerfelt
Jacob Williams
Abram Nevils
Peter Fralick
Epheraim Hopkins
Joseph Watterhouse
Conrade Dennis
John Brown
John Watterhouse
William Weaver
John Wilkinson
Daniel Rork
John Kelly, Jr.
Charles Ryan
Victor Brown
Arron Dennis
John Vanverbarrick
John Mellatt
Adam Chrysler
Silas Tooles
James Nevils, Jr.
William Lee, Jr.
Obadiah Sweazy
Garret Vanverbarrick
Frederick McFarson
Adam Hunt, Jr.
Henry Younge
Blackley Robbins
John Stivers
William Petty
George Strigley
George Main
William Everingham
Joseph Berger
James Brown
Cent Nevil
George Strigley
James Carrol
Thomas Heislip
Samuel Hopkins

Return of Men who have Blankets:

George Keefer 2
T. Willson.....1
Ezekiel Younglove 1
Henry Louks 1
Jacob Wilkinson 1
John Tonton 1
Cornelius Vanderburgh 1
George Kane.....1
Thomas Lacy 1
Jacob Nevils.....1
David Younglove.....1
Andrew Wilson.....1
Jacob Vanderburgh.....1

Return of Men who have Guns:

P. Bowman 1
Fred Glass.....1
David Younglove.....1
Loyal Davis 1
Andrew Wilson.....1
John Chrysler 1
Jacob Vanderburgh.....1
John Johnson 1
Ezekiel Younglove 1
Mathias Emerick.....1
John Wilson 1
Jacob Nevils 1
Thomas Lodge 1
John Howels.....1
Phenes Smith 1
George Kane.....1
Henry Louks 1
John Kevenburgh 1
Levi Howell 1

Distribution of the Officers of the 2nd Regiment Lincoln Militia to their Respective Companies, May 14, 1810:

Captains	Lieutenants	Ensigns
John Rielly	John Busch	Robert Brooks
Robert Campbell	Frederick Markle	C. H. Buchme
John Rowe	John DeCloi	Dennis Clement
Christain Warner	James Cooper	John McMicking
Elijah Phelps	David Bastido	Jacob A. Ball
John Chrysler	George Kuorr	Gar. Vanderbarrick
James Macklin	Nicholus Smith	John Wismer
Lathum Stull	Anthony Upper	Alex. Brown
George Turney	Thad. Davis	John McClelland
Robert Hamilton	Joseph B. Clench	Abrm. Bowman

To Captain John Chrysler. (Signed) James Kirby, *Adjt.*

Return of Captain John Chrysler's Company of 2nd Regular Lincoln Militia, January 17, 1814:

Names	Present	Absent	Sick	On Duty	On Roll
John Chrysler, Captain.....	1	...	...	...	...
Antony Upper, Lieut.....	...	...	...	1	...
Christopher Boughner, Ensign.....	...	1	...	...	...

Names	Present	Absent	Sick	On Duty	On Roll
Peter Bowman, Sargt	...	...	...	1	...
George Mallet, Sargt	...	...	...	1	...
John Wilkinson, Sargt	...	...	...	...	...
John Bouk	1	...	...	...	...
Robert Wilkinson	...	...	...	1	...
Abram Nevils	...	...	1	...	...
Thaddius Ostrander	...	...	...	1	...
William Ostrander	...	...	1	...	...
Isaac Vansleet	...	1	...	...	...
George Lacy	1	...	...	...	...
Jacob Wilkinson	1	...	...	...	...
Hull Davis	1	...	...	...	...
John Johnson	1	...	...	...	...
Andrew Wilson	1	...	...	...	...
Isaac Kelly	1	...	...	...	...
Joseph Shiltel	1	...	...	...	...
Andrew Nevils	...	...	...	1	...
Hiram Lee	...	...	...	1	...
John Lee	...	...	...	1	...
Silas Toles	...	...	...	1	...
John Kelly	...	...	...	1	...
John Hictt	...	1	...	...	...
Durius Williams	...	1	...	...	...
Hurmanes Vanderburg	...	1	...	...	...
Thomas Lodgr	...	1	...	...	...
John Chrysler, Genl	...	...	...	...	...
Adam Chrysler	...	...	...	...	...
Loyal Davis	...	...	1	...	...
Jonathan Done	...	...	1	...	...
Hiram Twayli	...	...	1	...	...
Matthias Emerick	...	1	...	...	...
John Vanderbugh	...	1	...	...	...
Frederick Glass	...	...	...	...	1
Joseph Badsly	...	...	...	...	1
Samuel Twisgy	...	...	...	...	1
John Bowman	...	...	...	...	1
James Ryan	...	...	...	...	1
Hugh Hagerty	...	...	...	...	1
John Hiton	...	...	...	...	1
Total	41				

On Duty with Prisoners at Niagara:

Captain Chrysler
Anty Upper, Lieut.
Peter Bowman, Sargt.
George Marlett
Robert Wilkinson
Thaddeus Ostrander
Isaac Ostrander
Andrew Nevils
Hiram Lee
Silas Toles
John Kelly
George Lacy
Jacob Wilkinson
Hall Davis
John Johnson
Isaac Kelly
Joseph Shiltel

[The names and persons living in the locality of Beaver Dams, Grimsby, etc.]

CHAPTER III.

CUSTOMS AND HABITS OF EARLY DAYS.

MANY of the incidents in these reminiscences are given as nearly as possible as they came from the lips of the narrators. They are not history, but the experiences of those who made new homes for themselves and their posterity, and exemplified the perils which beset them during the troubled days of war. Posterity is reaping now what a noble ancestry planted, and should give more than silent remembrance to the fathers and mothers of this Dominion.

It was my privilege in early youth to have heard much relating to the War of 1812. It was the custom of those days for the women to take their sewing or knitting and spend the afternoon with their friends. The number was not large, and they were mostly of the same age. As old soldiers, when they meet, talk over their battles, with the triumphs and defeats of the past, so these women told again their share in the perils and trials of those eventful years. A quarter of a century had not passed, and they were still vivid in their memories. Stoves were few; only the open fire with shining brass andirons and fender, with bright candlesticks on the mantle-piece, which was generally so high that it was safe from the depredations of the children. There were no pictures, and very few books. Occasionally could be seen those silhouettes which we are gathering up now as precious relics of the past. The brass knocker and the brass door-handle were in evidence, but there was no lock and key, only a stick hanging by a string to place over the latch, and this often forgotton. Visitors arrived between two and three p.m.

Every married woman, young or old, wore a cap. It would have been undignified not to do so. In the making and trimming of these caps much taste was displayed. The lace, gathered or plaited at the sides, was usually real English lace, now called Mechlin. There was a plain space over the forehead where a large bow of ribbon, of color most becoming to the wearer, was placed, and strings of the same. A large collar trimmed with lace, or else of embroidery, completed the dress of the younger matrons, or those not in mourning. Widow's caps were of muslin, with a full puffed frill. This had a black ribbon passing back

of the frill and tying under the chin. A widow's dress was black bombazine, open to the belt, with white Muslin kerchief carefully folded. This she was supposed to wear until death or re-marriage. Middle-aged ladies wore dresses of pressed flannel, generally brown. Of what we call gossip there was but little. The conversation soon drifted to the war. As one after another told her tale of suffering, there arose a hatred of war in my heart, which has grown stronger with advancing years. Our aged male friends often related their own experiences and those of their friends. The description of Colonel Butler and his Rangers was a combination of bravery and cruelty, which was the fascination and terror of my childhood. Years after, when from the lips of those who knew the man, who had been his comrades in war and his neighbors in the better days of peace, we heard the story of his later years, it was to find a different character—a brave soldier, a loyal and useful citizen.

An amusing incident was related by an aged friend. When a very young child, Colonel Butler visited at her father's house. Her father held a commission in the Rangers also. Butler was accompanied by a colored servant who dressed his wig. It was the fashion of the age to have what was called "body servants," and they were generally colored. Colonel Butler wore one wig and carried a second. This was dressed on a blocked head with a painted face. The child entered his room one day when this was standing on the dressing-table, and ran frightened and screaming from the place, telling them "someone had cut off Colonel Butler's head." It took considerable time and reasoning to convince her that this was not true.

Marriage customs sixty years ago had peculiar features. The invitations were written, and had a bow of white ribbon at the left-hand corner. The ceremony was generally in the evening. The bride was attired in white, and was always supposed to wear some simple thing that was borrowed, to bring good luck. At the supper the first piece from the wedding-cake was cut by her. After supper she changed her dress for a silk one. The next day the bride and bridegroom, bridesmaids and groomsmen, with many of their friends, drove to Niagara Falls. The bride wore a long white gauze veil, and afterwards wore this for a few Sundays to church. The evening following the marriage, or soon after, the bridegroom's parents gave what was called an "infair" at their home to the bridal guests. An elaborate supper was provided, with cards for the elderly people and dancing for the younger, in which the fathers and mothers joined.

The deaths and funerals of that time were also notable family events, with many usages now passed away. The custom of "sitting up" with

the dead has only been discontinued a few years. The dead were kept many days before burial, and elaborate preparations were made for the funeral. The family, from the oldest to the youngest, were put in garments of the deepest woe, the whole neighborhood working to prepare the mourning. A table, with refreshments to eat and drink, was laid out the day of the funeral. These refreshments were according to the social rank and financial standing of the deceased. There were long crape bands and black scarfs of various kinds, and gloves for the pall-bearers, the physicians, clergymen, etc. The funeral garments went through various stages of grief, taking from two to three years before they could be left off. The diary of Colonel Clark says that the family sleigh was painted black at his mother's death.

Attendance upon the sick devolved upon women, for there were no trained nurses. Any woman who, by careful observation, had learned some of the requirements of sickness, was a valued member of the community. There were few women who did not feel it a sacred duty, at all times and all places, to minister to their sick neighbor, undeterred by darkness, by distance or the danger or contagion. Whoever was "handy" in sickness was a frequent topic of conversation. Vaccination had not yet taken the place of inoculation, and whole families were inoculated at the same time, followed with the best preventive results.

The late Colonel Clark, of Port Dalhousie, left a diary which contains much useful information regarding the times in which his father lived.

The volunteers went back to their ruined homes, their wasted fields, to struggle with poverty of which we can form no idea or estimate. The church and the school-house, the minister and the school-master, had disappeared. The children of that generation grew up in the most deplorable ignorance. As soon as the struggle for food, clothing and shelter was over, these were the first things that secured attention. There were villages in which there was not a clergyman to be found of any denomination. In sickness those who made any appearance of piety, whether male or female, were called upon to give what spiritual consolation could be given the dying in the last hour. The writer remembers a lady who came to St. Davids, and whose infant was evidently dying. The mother was very anxious that her child should be baptized. An aged woman, who was a Methodist, performed the rite, to the comfort and satisfaction of the about-to-be-bereaved mother.

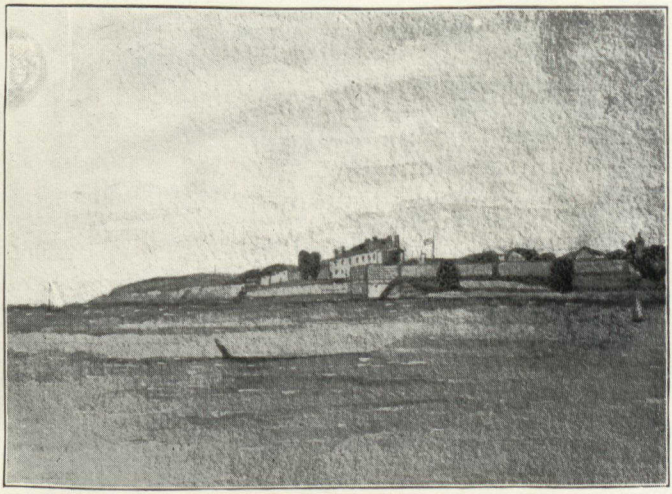
It has been asked why did not England give more aid to those who had so bravely upheld the flag of their common country. There is one answer that should be sufficient. She was gathering her resources for that mighty struggle which culminated in Waterloo and gave peace to

the nations for many years. The settlements, commenced so auspiciously, were put back by the invasion for another half century. Between two English-speaking peoples there were left the wounds which take so many years to heal, and the evil influences which war ever brings. Amid it all, Canadians felt that they had preserved their country and the prestige of that great Empire which had ever been their protector, that England's flag still waved on the ramparts of Quebec and on Queenston Heights, and that "these sons of a mighty mother" would ever be a part of that race whose drum-beat is heard around the world.

The only resource of Canada was her fertile lands, and these were as unknown to the world as to herself. The tide of emigration from Europe was turned to the homes offered by the United States. It was that happy period when they sang—

> "Come along, come along, make no delay;
> Come from every nation, come from every way;
> Lands, they are broad enough; don't be alarmed,
> Uncle Sam is rich enough to give you all a farm."

And they did come, until there was no more to give. Canada, unknown, belittled, misrepresented, is only now beginning to realize the greatness of her domain, the worth of her possessions, the magnitude of her wheat fields, the timber and the fisheries of the Pacific coast, the gold of British Columbia and the Klondike, the iron, copper and nickle of other provinces; while the coal from her mines is coming into the market to replenish the decreasing resources of other countries, and to help the industries and commerce of the world.



FORT NIAGARA IN 1888

CHAPTER IV.

FORT NIAGARA.

"THE Indians were ever sensible of the importance of this point. Repeated attempts had been made by the French to get possession. At last, by strategy, they succeeded. A French officer, who had been a prisoner among the Iroquois, became naturalized among them, thereby gaining his freedom. He communicated to the Governor a plan for the French to establish themselves at Niagara. He returned to the Iroquois, pretending love for a nation that was now his own, and asking to bring his family among them. To do this he must have a house where they could live in a suitable manner, and offering to trade with them from this place. The house was built. As trade grew rapidly, the house extended until it soon became a fortress, which alike awed the Indians and the English."

The above extract is from a work published in 1760, called a "Military Dictionary," compiled by a military gentleman, and dedicated by the author, "To the Right Honourable Edward Boscowen, Admiral of the Blue Squadron," etc.

Another account, given by F. H. Severance in his "Old Trails on the Niagara River," is corroborative of the attempted settlements. It is the narration of the Chevalier De Trigay for the year 1687, soldier to the Sieur De Brissay, Marquis Denonville, Governor and Lieutenant-General in New France.

"I was with the troops numbering some hundreds that the Marquis Denonville took through the wilderness into the cantons of the Iroquois, and afterwards employed to build a stockade and cabins at the mouth of the straits of Niagara on the east side, in the way they go beaver hunting. 'Fort Denonville,' the Sieur De Brissay decreed it should be called. He let none rest day or night until he had made a fortification in part of earth surmounted by palisades. On the plain about the fort were no trees, but some of us went into the forest on both the east and west side of the river and cut the trees. It was hard work getting them up the high bank, laboring in fear of an attack, But in three days we built a pretty good fort with four bastions, where we put two great guns.

"We began to build some cabins on the four sides of the square in the middle of it. Duluth and De Tontaye, as the work progressed, left for Detroit, Mackinaw and Duluth. Then the Marquis himself went back to Montreal, leaving one hundred men, with officers, to hold the new fort. He left on the 3rd of August. The men worked hard, and got up the cabins for the soldiers and a place for the commandant, built a bakehouse and oven and a storehouse, digged a well. Vaudreuil soon followed Denonville. The men were left with insufficient implements and ammunition. The stores proved bad, and the dreadful winter was accompanied by starvation, disease and death. The brave De Troyes, lying on his dying bed, felt his hand grasped by a friendly Miami, who brought relief. The men who had gone out to get wood had been devoured by wolves, for their powder was exhausted. Among the rescued was Father Milet. A spot was marked in the square, and they knelt for mass. An oak was felled, and while the carpenters prepared the cross, Father Milet traced with his own hand the legend, "Regnat, Vincit, Imperat Christus." The cross was raised on the spot where De Troyes and his fourscore comrades were buried.

"The friendly Miamis helped, but the Iroquois constantly tormented them. Finally the order came to leave. The palisades were torn down, the guns put on board a vessel, and the cabins alone were left standing On the 15th of September, 1688, they had their last mass. The cross was left standing, but the standards went with the builders of Fort Niagara to Montreal. Previous to this there had been an attempt by La Salle and La Motte De Lassure. They called it Fort Conty, but these had failed. In 1721, Charlevois, in his canoe, came up the Niagara. Four years passed, when the French again attempted, with success, to erect a fort. De Longueuil superintended, and a Royal Engineer named De Levy directed the construction. The stone came from Lewiston, the cut stone from Frontenac, the wood from the west side of the river. The oldest part is nearly two hundred years old. It has been enlarged and altered many times."

During the Revolutionary War Fort Niagara was the refuge of the Loyalists from all directions. The Indians, driven from their homes, flocked here in great numbers. All these had to be fed and clothed, the Loyalists to be housed, and the Indians given ammunition to help provide for themselves.

1779.	
February 12th.	1,364 drew rations, besides sixty-four families.
September 21st	Food for 5,036.
October.	Though many had been sent away, there were still 3,768 to maintain.

Bolton, who commanded for three years at Fort Niagara, wished the Indians whose villages had been destroyed by Sullivan to go to Montreal, and those who lived near home to return and take care of the corn, for it was impossible to feed all the Indians.

Sullivan in his raid had destroyed all but two of the Indian villages, and to Fort Niagara the despairing and broken-hearted remnants of the doomed people gathered as their last refuge. Even with the help given, many died from cold and starvation.

Governor Simcoe at one time thought of making London the capital of Upper Canada, but when Michigan was ceded by treaty to the Americans he selected Toronto. Newark, with Fort Niagara in American hands, could no longer be thought of as the capital.

No other place has a more varied history. Gained by strategy, held by force since English arms took it from France in 1759, it has never been taken by arms from their grasp. Ceded to the United States by treaty, it was handed over to them in 1796. It was re-taken in 1813, and held until peace restored it in 1815. Such is the history of Fort Niagara.

One of the incidents occurring in 1812 is given in a pamphlet written by a lady who lived in Lewiston. Her father was surgeon at Fort Niagara, and often attended service at St. Marks's Church. She and her sister, both little girls, usually accompanied him. A short time previous to the invasion they were at the church. General Brock walked to the ferry with them. He bade the little girls a kindly farewell, and, shaking hands with their father, said, "I suppose we will soon have to be enemies." This lady also says there was a large orchard in front of the fort at that time. Wind and waves have swept it away.

Another tradition, characteristic of the period, is told by Mr. Kirby. Between the officers of Fort George and Fort Niagara there had been many pleasant social interchanges. Some American officers were dining with their British friends the evening that the news came that war had been declared. The news was kept back. When the repast was over, the British officers went with their guests to the ferry. Then the news was told, and, shaking hands, they parted to meet as friends no more.

CHAPTER V.

ISABELLA MARSHALL GRAHAM.

ISABELLA MARSHALL (afterwards Mrs. Graham) was born July 29, 1742, in Lanarkshire, Scotland. Though her father was one of the elders of the Established Church, who left with Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine, she was educated in the principles of the Church of Scotland. She had watched with assiduous care her dying grandfather, and in his will he left her a legacy of some hundreds of pounds. Though only ten years old, she asked that the money should be used to give her a thorough education. Her wish was granted, and for seven successive winters she attended the school of a Mrs. Morehouse. Her father rented the farm of Ellerslie, which had been the habitation of the patriot William Wallace. Here her childhood and youth were passed. At the age of twenty-three she married Dr. John Graham, of Paisley. About a year after their marriage Dr. Graham was appointed surgeon to the 60th or Royal American Regiment, and was ordered to Canada, where the Regiment was stationed. Mrs. Graham accompanied him, hoping to make a permanent home in America. Dr. Graham wished to sell his commission and purchase a farm on the Mohawk River, and Mr. Marshall (Mrs. Graham's father), was to follow and superintend the farm. The voyage occupied nine weeks from Greenock to Quebec.

Quebec at that time was a gay and fashionable place, and during her short stay she formed many pleasant acquaintances. They were soon ordered to Montreal, and here her eldest daughter, Jessie, was born. An infant son had been left with her mother in Scotland, but he died soon after his mother's departure. Their stay in Montreal was brief, Dr. Graham being ordered to Fort Niagara on Lake Ontario, to join the second battalion of his regiment. Mrs. Graham followed him as soon as possible. Here they lived for over five years, and it was the birthplace of Joanna, the second, and Isabella, the third daughter. Her servants were two Indian girls who, under her careful training, became highly useful. Mrs. Graham taught them everything relating to housekeeping, to cook, to take care of her children, to read and to sew.

For some time she was the only wife in the fort, but the latter part of her stay saw other ladies, and a pleasant society, whose friendship

for her extended through life. It was here she met an officer's wife, Mrs. Brown, whose mother was Mrs. Vanbrugh Livingston, of New York. She ever spoke of those years as the happiest of her life. She had a congenial husband, and their circumstances were easy.

Mrs. Graham tells of the Indians, and of a chief of the Senecas bringing his sick daughter a long distance for her husband's medical treatment. There was no chaplain or religious service of any kind in the fort, and Mrs. Graham took her Bible to the woods surrounding the fort, to read, to meditiate and to pray. Already the newspapers of the day were full regarding preparations for what was to be the Revolutionary War. As that part of the regiment was mostly composed of Americans, it was thought best to send them to Antigua, in the West Indies. Dr. and Mrs. Graham, their three children, and the two Indian girls, were sent by boat to Oswego, thence through the woods by the trail to the Mohawk River, and to Schenectady in bateaux. Here Dr. Graham left them and proceeded to New York in hopes to sell his commission and settle upon the Mohawk. Mrs. Graham followed, and during her stay in New York made many friends. Dr. Graham did not sell his commission, and they embarked for Antigua, November 5, 1772, with the regiment. An insurrection was raging among the Caribs in Antigua, and three weeks after their arrival the regiment was sent to the field, Dr. Graham accompanying it. In her letters to him she hopes they will not entail slavery upon their prisoners, and bids him, should any fall to his lot, to set them at liberty. Thus, ninety years before it was abolished by the Civil War had she learned to abhor slavery and speak for freedom. Mrs. Graham sent her eldest daughter, who only five years of age, to her mother's care in Scotland, to escape bad influences, but before she arrived the grandmother died. This was a great affliction, but she was destined to a greater trial. On the 17th of November, 1773, Dr. Graham was stricken down with a violent fever, and in a few days she was left a widow in a foreign land. Kind friends did all they could in this hour of desolation. The widow's weeds assumed at that time were never laid aside, and the style in which they were made, through her long life, was not changed. She was then thirty-two years of age. Though her means were limited and she was urged to sell her Indian girls, she refused to do so. One of the girls died before she left Antigua, the other went to Scotland with her and married respectably. To the surgeon of the regiment who succeeded Dr. Graham—a young man who had been helped by her husband—she presented his library and sword. Dr. Henderson, ever after, as his means permitted, sent her remittances until the year 1795. After the birth of her son she made preparations to return to her native land. Upon her departure Major Brown gave

her a letter to the agent in Belfast. No vessel was going to Scotland, so she sailed for this port. This letter, when delivered to the agent, was found to be intended for her, whereby the officers, as a mark of respect and affection for the memory of her deceased husband, had paid the expenses of her voyage. Her widow's pension was but £16 a year.

On reaching her home she found that, in addition to the loss of her mother, her father had lost everything by becoming security for a friend, and was living in a very small house. His health failing, she assumed the care of her parent. He lived with her until his death, nine years after, receiving the assiduous care of herself and children. The only income upon which she could rely was £20 a year. She kept a small school in Cartside for a while, when she removed to Paisley. These were days of poverty and loneliness, for her acquaintances had forgotten her. She had a cow, and made and sold butter. The children fed on the skim milk; their breakfast and supper was porridge; dinner, potatoes and salt; and they were dressed in homespun. A rigid determination to owe nothing carried her through this painful period. Upon the advice of friends, she made a small venture to increase her funds. This was unsuccessful at first, for the vessel in which she had made her consignment was captured by a French privateer. Her friends proposed a boarding house or a boarding school. After mature consideration, she chose the boarding school, and removed to Edinburgh. A natural magnetism made her friends, whose friendship lasted through life. At this time she received the insurance upon her lost venture. She ever made it a point to return borrowed money with interest to those who helped her in her hour of need, and these were people who had loved and honored her husband. The school, through their efforts, became a great success. People of piety and influence committed their children to her care. Her superior education was of great service. She felt deeply the teacher's responsibility. She watched their studies and their spiritual welfare, and to these she added the useful accomplishments which fitted them to fill a distinguished place in life, for her pupils were many of them from the highest ranks. A code of laws for their governance was adopted and carried out. When any offence against these laws was committed, pupils held a court, the offender was tried by her companions, they fixed the penalty, and this sentence was submitted to her approval. Thus there was no hasty, arbitrary or capricious punishment. In sickness she watched over them with unremitting care, and no expense was spared to restore them to health. She educated the children of clergymen at half price. As her school prospered, she grew in greatness with it. She insisted that the payments be in advance. She helped by lending money and

taking work in return, and asking no interest. Business on correct principles was conducted by precept and example. Her school caused constant thought and watchfulness. Her daughters were trained to be her assistants in every way. No false pride prevented her accepting what she could not do herself. Thus Lady Glenorchy sent Mrs. Graham's eldest daughter to Rotterdam, paying her expenses and keeping her in pocket money, that she might become proficient in the French language.

This Lady Glenorchy was of an ancient family, and had married the Earl of Breadalbane. Together they had travelled on the Continent, and their beauty and accomplishments made them welcome in nearly every court in Europe. He died in early youth, and thenceforward Lady Glenorchy, when the light of her life went out, devoted herself to good in every form. She took the management of her estates, she kept an account of her income, and to what object it was applied. She built chapels for ministers of various denominations; no good object but had her helping hand. Idleness and pride she could not tolerate. Her charities were not published; but to be good, and to do good, was her constant aim. She gave liberally during her life, for she believed in spending her money while she lived.

After Lady Glenorchy's death Mrs. Graham felt she would like to return to America. We must remember that a women of Mrs. Graham's character and attainments ever made friends, who felt it a privilege to promote her views. We have mentioned before Mrs. Brown, whose husband was in the 60th Regiment. She, with others, urged her to come to New York. There was no first-class school for young women in America. Lady Glenorchy had left her £200, and Dr. Henderson's remittance gave her the means to return. This was done after careful deliberation. She chartered a small vessel, as Algerian pirates swarmed the seas. Into the details of the voyage we will not enter. She landed in New York the 8th of September, 1789. She received a glad welcome from her many friends, who felt every confidence in her ability to teach the higher branches of education. She opened her school on the 5th of October, 1789, with five scholars, and before the month closed she had fifty. A favorable change was soon perceptible in the minds, manners and accomplishments of the young women committed to her care. In the highest social circles of New York City at the present time, it is considered an honor that their great-grandmothers attended Mrs. Graham's school, and there are frequent allusions made by the descendants of her pupils. Mrs. Graham ever inculcated religious principles as the only solid foundation of morality and virtue. Her conversation and example were ever an inspiration. Gen-

eral Washington visited her school in New York, and honored it with his patronage. The venerable Bishop Moore, of the Episcopal Church, never missed an examination. Jessie, her eldest daughter, married Mr. Stephenson, a merchant of New York in 1790. When her beautiful life ended, Mrs. Graham, as she saw her depart, calmly said, "I wish you joy, my darling." The second daughter, Joanna, and the third, Isabella, married merchants. Her only son, born a few months after Dr. Graham's death, had, under the advice of friends, been left in Scotland to complete his studies. His first instructor was faithful, and he was sent to Edinburgh. Here he was left, in a measure, to himself, and, dissatisfied with study, prevailed upon his friends to get him into the merchant service. He was shipwrecked on the coast of Holland, and a friend of Mrs. Graham's took him to his house and enabled him to come to the United States. He remained with his mother for some months. Mrs. Graham thought it was his duty to return to his employers to finish his term of service. She fitted him out handsomely, and he embarked for Greenock with the son of her pastor, Dr. Mason, who was going to Edinburgh to attend theological lectures. Three months after, she learned a press-gang had boarded the ship. He was saved by a stratagem of the passengers, but his effects were taken. Early in 1792 Mrs. Graham heard that her son had been ill of fever, and after that subject to epileptic fits, which unfitted him for the service. Mrs. Graham had him carefully provided for, and the gentleman to whom he was apprenticed permitted him to leave, she wrote urging him to come home. He wrote her from Demerara, in 1794, stating that he had sailed from Amsterdam in a Dutch vessel, which was taken by the French and re-taken by the English. He had arrived at Demerara in the ship *Hope*, and would return to Europe and to her with a fleet which was to sail under convoy. A vessel named the *Hope* was captured by the French. What was young Graham's fate was never known, though every inquiry by herself and her sons-in-law was made. Mrs. Graham ever regretted she had not kept him with her, and the advice was given to friends "to ever keep your children about you."

Mrs. Graham's school had brought her prosperity and influence. She always gave a tenth for religious and benevolent purposes. Upon the marriage of her daughters she closed the school. A lease of the property she had taken from Trinity Church Corporation was sold at an advance of £1,000. "Quick, quick," she said, "let me appropriate the tenth before my heart grows hard." Thenceforward her active mind and life were spent in carrying out schemes for good. She helped to form the first Missionary Society in New York. The Methodists and Moravians in Antigua had been her friends at the time of her husband's death,

and she sent £50 to aid their Christian work. In 1797 she founded a society for the relief of widows with small children whose fathers and protectors had died with the yellow fever. Her son-in-law, Mr. Bethune, a member of the St. Andrew's Society, found how indequate were the society's means. His wife and her mother started this society, and Mrs. Graham was its first directress. They sent circulars to their friends, and they met at Mrs. Graham's house. It is not possible to enumerate the societies founded by her in those sixteen years which were devoted to the good of humanity. Her son-in-law, Mr. Smith, had purchased a colored man and set him at liberty. "Brother Pero," as he was called by Mrs. Graham, ever had her friendship and help. His Christian principles were recognized by all. She used to read to him and watch over him in sickness.

Every society had the help of her charity and her business methods. When pestilence came to the city she appealed to her old pupils for their aid and their ministrations. Emulating her example, they went among the dead and the dying. She had taught them to rise above class and creed. We should remember that in those days there were no schools such as at present instruct our youth. To organize day schools, to have her old pupils go among them as instructors, to found Sunday schools and tract societies are but a few of the lines of work. The crowning work was the first orphan asylum in America. Assisted by Mrs. Hoffman, they with only $250 commenced their labors in 1806. In fourteen months they secured land and a larger building, and even this was only fifty feet square. This grew and prospered, and the land on which it stood was sold in 1836 for $39,000. With this, on the banks of the Hudson, was built the beautiful Bloomingdale Asylum. Tablets to Mrs. Graham and Mrs. Hoffman, its founders, adorn the walls. She founded a school to assist young women of limited means to a higher education, and her old pupils taught them voluntarily. She formed loan societies, and helped others to materials, paying for the work, when finished. The Hospital and female convicts were helped, and the Magdalen House established. Such was the work of this great teacher. The last time she met her workers, was to form a society "for the promotion of industry among the poor." When the summons came, she sent for a dear friend, a Mrs. Crystie, to be with her. They had mutually promised that whoever should be first called would be assisted by the other. Surrounded by her children, Isabella Graham died July 27, 1814.

The noble work of Isabella Graham has been carried on by Mary Lyon, Mrs. Emma Willard, and many others. We see its fruit in Mount Holyoke, Vassar, and Wellesley.

As a child she saw those scenes so admirably depicted by Sir Walter Scott in "Waverley," when the heart of Scotland, stirred to its depths, made its ineffectual effort for the restoration of the Stuarts. She escaped the Revolutionary War to have the "Father of the Republic" place his relatives under her care to be educated. [At his death she makes this comment: "Great things were said of Washington, and they were due. A nation blest him while he lived, and with all the form of language lamented his death."] Her eyes closed before the war commencing in 1812 had terminated.

We can believe that the woman who would not own a slave, who wrote to her husband in the same clear tone, whose sons-in-law followed her example, must have done much to create the principles which led to the extinction of slavery in America.

In 1896, at Fort Niagara, when was commemorated the one-hundredth anniversary of the withdrawal of the British flag, among the memories of that day the two who were uppermost in my thoughts were the brave discoverer and soldier, La Salle, and the equally noble woman, Isabella Graham.

[The foregoing article was compiled from the "Life of Mrs. Isabella Graham," written for the Woman's Literary Club, its object being to stimulate and encourage "higher education among women," to show its value in all the conditions of life to those who are fortunate enough to acquire it, and that no sacrifice is too great to obtain it. Her life shows what it did for her a century and a half ago, and the enduring influence which it gave.]

CHAPTER VI.

MEMOIR OF JOHN WHITMORE, NIAGARA TOWNSHIP.

THE late John Whitmore, Esq., of Lake Road, Niagara Township, Ontario, was born 1775, in the Province of New Jersey, North America. His father, Mr. Peter Whitmore, was a farmer, a man of honorable character and loyal principles. He had a family consisting of wife, three sons and five daughters.

During the revolutionary troubles in New Jersey, Peter Whitmore and two neighboring farmers like himself in principle were harassed and persecuted by the rebels to such a degree that they resolved to leave their homes and move to the frontier settlements on the west branch of the Susquehanna, in the Province of Pennsylvania. The three families removed there accordingly sometime in 1776, built houses and commenced clearing the land and farming the wilderness of the Upper Susquehanna. There were many Indians about, but the Whitmore family had no fear of them, being Loyalists and on friendly terms with them, as all being on the same side in the Civil War then raging in the colonies. They were, moreover, quiet, industrious people, who strove to live in the fear of God and with good-will towards whites and Indians. The least thing they expected was to be attacked by any of the Indians, who were continually coming and going on the warpath to fight for the King's cause in the colonies.

So far as regards the Six Nations and other loyal tribes they were quite safe. But the rebel Congress had incited a number of the Indian tribes—principally Oneidas and Delawares, with deserters and vagabonds from other tribes—to take up arms for the rebel cause, and these Indians, seeking opportunity in the absence of protection to the Loyalist settlers, committed outrages and murders during the whole course of the war, in which they were aided by bands of white marauders, called "Sons of Liberty"—a bad set, whose career need not be followed out in this memoir.

Sometime in the early spring of 1779, a band of Delawares, with some white ruffians disguised as Indians, made their appearance in the woods near the house of the Whitmores. They acted as if not intending any harm, and the family, having been so long accustomed to Indian

guests and visitors, felt not the slightest fear of them. Indeed, their daughter Mary had seen and spoken to them at a spring where she had gone to get water, and they spoke to her as if not thinking of any injury. She told her people in the house, but they suspected nothing.

Their confidence was rudely broken in the night. When the family were all in their beds, the savages suddenly burst in the unprotected door. The family in the house that night consisted of the father, mother, one son grown up, a younger son George, and John Whitmore, four years old, as well as three daughters and a baby not a year old.

Peter Whitmore and his son jumped up to defend the house, but they were both instantly shot; the mother, too, was killed. The children were seized and carried away captives by the Indians, who instantly took to the woods to avoid pursuit. The children were dragged along by the savages, but the baby, which was carried by one of them, cried and wailed so much that an Indian, in order to stop its noise, took it by the heels and dashed its head against a tree, fearing probably that its crying would discover their track to pursuers.

The children, when the band encamped, were compelled to witness the scalps of their father, mother and brother stretched on hoops and scraped by the Indians for preservation. This shocking sight was ever vividly remembered by Mr. Whitmore, although but four years old when it occurred. Personally he had only a faint recollection of the massacre, but his sister Mary, who was fourteen years old at the time, remembered everything distinctly. She resided near the Long Sault, Hoople's Creek, near Cornwall, Ontario, and related these particulars to the writer of this, on the occasion of a visit which her brother, John Whitmore, accompanied by the writer, made her in the year 1850, he not having seen her for seventy years.

It was only about 1846 that he discovered where his sister was living near the Long Sault. She had married a U. E. Loyalist named Hoople, and her descendants are still living at that place.

The American Indians are not by nature a cruel people. It is only in war that they act cruelly to their enemies and to their prisoners. Their practices in regards to the latter are in accordance with a code of traditional usages, and to avenge the deaths of any of their own tribal warriors, they torture and kill and burn their prisoners, as many as they have lost of their own tribe.

The children of the Whitmore family were adopted into different families of the Delawares. John and Mary were adopted by an Indian woman who had lost her husband in the war. They were, as was generally the case in such matters, kindly and even affectionately treated in every respect as the Indians treated their own children. John was

also regularly adopted into the tribe. He underwent the ordeal of fire, that is, endured the laying on of hot coals upon his inner arm, the marks of which he carried all his life. His ears were pierced for pendants and his nose for a ring, in the Indian fashion. He was declared in council to be a brave boy and worthy of being a member of the Delaware nation into which he had been adopted. Of course, he and his sister forgot their own language, and spoke only Delaware when they were, after some years, rescued from captivity.

Their Indian foster-mother was entirely devoted to them, and did all in her power to make them happy, and I think did so, for the Indian life of John and Mary Whitmore was always referred to by them as a happy period of their lives. Their foster-mother used to visit John Whitmore occasionally, and was treated with the utmost respect by him.

The other children became separated from John and Mary Whitmore. One of them, taken by the Oneidas, was afterwards taken from them by the Senecas, and she married Horatio Jones, chief interpreter of the Senecas on the Genesee River. Some of her descendants, the Joneses, living near Attica, New York, are still there. One son of Horatio Jones by an Indian wife—William Jones—is at the present time head chief of the Senecas, on the Cattaraugus Reservation, New York. The other sister was never heard tell of. No trace of her was found after being taken captive. George Whitmore, the brother of John, was also rescued, and a grandson of his is now living in Jersey City, N. J.

John Whitmore and his sister Mary were rescued from the Indians in 1783 by Captain Daniel Servos, of Butler's Rangers. Captain Servos took John to his home at Niagara, adopted him as his own, and in time gave him his daughter Magdalene to wife, and a share of his large property the same as his own sons. Eliza Magdalene, only surviving daughter of John and Magdalene Whitmore, was the wife of William Kirby, the writer of this memoir.

John Whitmore was a man of excellent understanding, and character, of a kindly, cheerful disposition, honorable and just in all the conduct of life. One of the worthiest of men, he deserved the sincere and general respect in which he was held by all who knew him. The character of "Farmer Gay" in the Canadian Idyll of the "Harvest Moon," is taken from John Whitmore and describes him well.

His benevolent heart and Christian principles conquered in one great trial and temptation of his life, and is worth recording here as a proof of the possibility of love conquering the fiercest passion of revenge for great and cruel wrongs.

In 1813, when the American army, having taken the town of Niagara, occupied it for near seven months, there was among the Indians who accompanied their army an old Delaware chief named De Coignee, who had been one of the party which had massacred the Whitmore family in 1779. John Whitmore knew him well, and hearing of his presence in the American army, was fired with a great spirit of revenge to slay him for the murder of his father, mother, brother and baby sister. He came into the town, saw the chief and spoke to him, upbraiding him for the murders. The chief took his words patiently, and excused the act as taking place in war time. But John Whitmore would not accept the excuse. He could not kill the chief in the midst of the camp, but resolved to take his life on the first opportunity that offered. He learned from some of the Indians that De Coignee was to go at a certain hour on some business to the house of Captain John D. Servos, on the Lake Road, then occupied by an outpost of American dragoons and Indians. He resolved to waylay him on the road and kill him. He accordingly took a musket and bayonet, and went and posted himself in the woods by the roadside where the chief had to pass, and where he could make sure of his enemy. The hour came, but the chief, for some cause, had delayed his departure. John Whitmore sat under a tree, waiting hour after hour for his appearance, and thinking, at one time thoughts of revenge, and afterwards asking himself what it was he was about to do. He thought of his duty to God, who bids us forgive our enemies, yea, even love them. His mind underwent great changes and perturbations. After three hours' waiting in the woods, the resolution to shoot De Coignee melted away, and when at last the chief appeared, alone, painted and plumed, John Whitmore, asking pardon of God and men for sparing him—if it were wrong to do so—allowed him to pass by unscathed within a few yards, and unwitting of the danger which was so near to him.

This triumph of Christian love over justifiable revenge for the deepest of injuries was a source of thankful satisfaction to this good man, who sometimes, although only in the bosom of his family, would refer to it. He lived to a good old age, one of the most successful and prosperous farmers in the district, and died in 1853. His son and family still occupy the old home on the Lake Road. A fine portrait of the good old man is in the possession of his son-in-law, William Kirby.

His worthy partner in life, Magdalene Servos, had also been a witness to the murder of her grandfather, Thomas Servos, who was killed by a troop of dragoons sent by General Washington to take him prisoner, dead or alive, as a spirited, active and brave Loyalist—a class of men whom Washington feared and hated and persecuted to the utmost

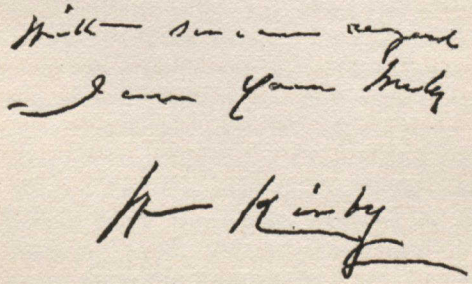
of his power. Thomas Servos lived at his mills and farm on the Charlotte River, near Schoharie, N. Y. As an officer of the militia of the province he had served in the French war, and was present at the siege and capture of Fort Niagara when it was taken by Gen. Sir Wm. Johnson, in 1759. The Servos murder was a cruel, vindictive act on the part of General Washington, who was ever incapable of a generous feeling towards the Loyalists, who were as sincere and conscientious in their sentiments and opinions as he was himself, perhaps more so.

Magdalene Servos was a child in the cradle when her grandfather was murdered by Washington's dragoons. Four of his sons—ardent Loyalists—were actively engaged in Butler's Rangers and with the Northern Confederate Indians all through the Revolutionary War. They served with honor as officers of the First Lincoln Militia in the War of 1812, and in the rebellion of 1837, when Colonel John D. Servos commanded the regiment. A brave, loyal family on all occasions.

Magdalene Servos Whitmore was a worthy daughter of such a family; a pious, good, quiet, tender wife as ever was; a woman beloved by all around her. She died in the house of the writer in Niagara, in 1854.

This worthy couple are buried in the Servos burying-ground, Lake Road, Niagara Township. Mr. Peter Whitmore, their son, still living, resides in the old home.

Such were the men and women who laid the foundations of Upper Canada, and gave it the ever-loyal character and impress of justice and integrity which distinguishes this Province, and, indeed, our whole Dominion. May it last forever.



CHAPTER VII.

THE NELLES FAMILY.

AMONG the early inhabitants of the Niagara District were the Nelles family. Some were United Empire Loyalists, and others were settlers. There are many of the name of Nelles living in Lincoln, Haldimand and Brant counties.

Many of the U. E. Loyalists came from a settlement in the Mohawk Valley, from that section called the Palatinate, in memory of the land from which they came. The Palatinate in Europe, which was their home, was a portion of Germany lying on both sides of the Rhine. It had been cruelly devastated by the French during the Wars of Louis XIV. Under the protection of Queen Anne, about three thousand emigrants, nearly all Lutherans, were landed in New York in June, 1710, and land were assigned them on the banks of the Hudson; but these not proving satisfactory, they changed, until a final settlement was made in the Mohawk Valley. Many of their descendants remain there at the present time. It was here that their ancestors dwelt happily and became very prosperous. At the time of the Revolution it was considered the garden of New York State. Two Nelles brothers came in 1710 with the other emigrants. They had numerous descendants. On the military rolls of New York, from 1776 to 1783, there are no less than fifty-seven Nelles soldiers. The Nelleses had large possessions, and were prosperous in every way. When the church at Stone Arabia was built, six of the Nelleses gave £360, while another built the spire, and another gave the ground on which it was built. The church still exists. Henry Nelles, a Loyalist, had been obliged to find a refuge in Canada. When a retaliatory expedition was being arranged to devastate the Mohawk Valley, Henry Nelles stipulated that the church of his fathers should be spared. That stipulation was faithfully kept. During the French and Indian Wars prior to the Revolution, the Nelles names showed they did good service.

These facts are from a paper by Judge Nelles, read October 17th, 1894, before the Kansas Society.

In the "Old Trails on the Niagara River," by Mr. Severance, the name of Captain Nelles is found as being at Fort Niagara in September, 1781.

As before mentioned, Mrs. Nelles's name is the first in the honor roll of the five women refugees of 1776.

CHAPTER VIII.

VISIT OF PRINCE EDWARD, DUKE OF KENT, IN 1791.

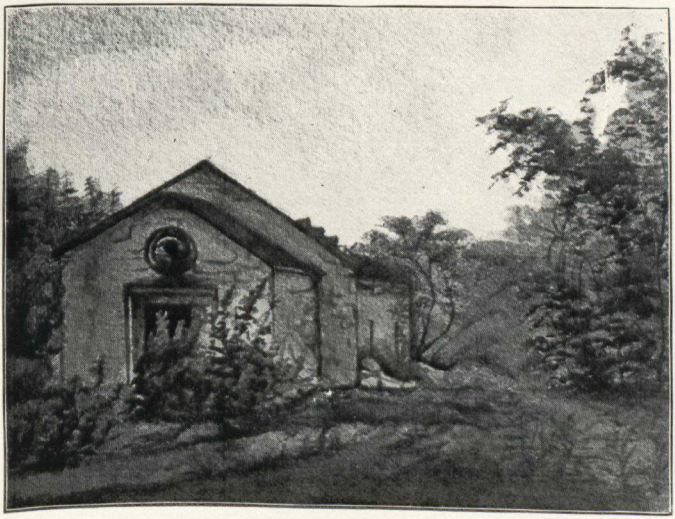
PRINCE EDWARD, Duke of Kent, and father of Queen Victoria, who was commander of His Majesty's forces in America, resided for some years in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and was extremely popular. He had a summer residence about six miles from Halifax, called the Prince's Lodge. All that remains at the present time is a wooden pavilion called the Music Room. [Picturesque Canada.] An incident that recalls the fast-fading memories of that period is given in the "Life of Rev. Jacob Bailey," who with his family were refugees from Maine. Mr. Bailey suffered much from his loyalty. It was through many difficulties and dangers they escaped to Halifax. He had a son who was baptized by the name of Charles. It had been the intention of Mr. and Mrs. Bailey that his name should be Hugh Percy, but Mrs. Callahan, the god-mother, seeing so many patriots in the church, was afraid to give the name, and called him Charles, the name of her husband. He was baptized Charles, and always signed his name so. He was a remarkably handsome person, and when the Prince was visiting Annapolis he observed the lad, who among many others, had assembled to bid him welcome. He inquired who he was, and was so pleased with his person and address that he prevailed upon his father to allow him to be taken under his own care and provide for him. Accordingly the lad was placed in the Military Secretary's office, and was subsequently given a commission in his own regiment, the First Royals, where he served with honor until the War of 1812. The regiment was ordered to Canada. He was then a captain high up on the list. Being at Fort Niagara when it was re-taken in 1813, he was conspicuous for his bravery. He was killed at the battle of Chippewa.

The Prince visited Niagara in 1791, and while there went to Niagara Falls. To get a view at that time below the Falls the branches of the trees were cut, to make steps to get down to the water's edge. On his return from the Falls he dined at Queenston with Judge Robert Hamilton.

During the famine years of 1787 and 1788 the settlers had been aided by the Commissary Department, who were now demanding

payment. [Annals of Niagara.] A deputation waited upon the Prince, who heard them with sympathy, and ordered the officials to cancel every charge. "My father," he said, "is not a merchant to deal in bread and ask payment for food granted for the relief of his loyal subjects."

The Prince spent two weeks at Niagara. Numerous entertainments marked his visit, and the generation of ladies who lived at that period never ceased to relate the introduction they had, and the balls in which they had danced with the Prince as their partner. The people came from the remotest settlements to pay their respects to the son of the good King, under whom they enjoyed the protection of British subjects.



ARSENAL INSIDE FORT GEORGE, 1888

CHAPTER IX.

THE BURNING OF NIAGARA AND ST. DAVIDS.

THE burning of Newark (now Niagara) took place on December 10, 1813, under circumstances which produced a hatred long cherished, and a retaliation swift and vindictive. It had been necessary for General McClure to evacuate Fort George. To destroy the fort was not considered sufficient, but the torch was ordered to be applied to the town. The winter of 1813 set in unusually early. The cold was intense and the ground covered with a deep snow. In the midst of a snowstorm the inhabitants were commanded to leave their homes. Half an hour's notice was all that was given. Those who could do so carried their furniture into the streets, others fled to the country. Mrs. Lowell, the grandmother of the late James Lowell, M. P., rose from a sick-bed, and on horseback went to the Short Hills. Mrs. Dickson, whose husband was a prisoner in Fort Niagara with many others, was carried by the soldiers out of her house on a bed and laid upon the snow. Lying there she saw her home and its contents reduced to ashes. A fine library, for which Mr. Dickson had paid £600, was also consumed. Scarcely a book was left. The public buildings were destroyed, among them the registry office. A few books withstood the flames. The charred covers and discolored pages bear evidence of that day's destruction. St. Mark's Church, which had been used by both parties as a hospital, was also burned, its stone walls alone remaining. Fortunately the home of the rector, Rev. Mr. Addison, was on the lake shore, three miles distant from the town. At an early period the parish records had been conveyed to this place for safety. The marriage register of St. Mark's from 1792 to 1832 is valuable as it is interesting, containing much that corroborates the history and customs of the time.

Mr. Merritt, in his diary, says: "During the night, by the glare, they discovered Niagara was on fire. As they advanced near the burning town, a sad sight presented itself—heaps of burning coals, and the streets full of furniture. Mr. Gordon's house was the only one left standing. Niagara was in ruins, a heap of smouldering ashes."

The attempt to blow up Fort George was a partial failure. The

enemy retired in such haste that their tents were left standing. Colonel Murray at once took steps to retaliate for this departure from the usages of war. On the night of December 19th of the same year, an attacking force of six hundred and fifty men surprised and captured Fort Niagara. [One of the traditions of the re-capture is, that when the attacking force entered so unexpectedly, the officers were playing whist, and one asked, "What is trumps?" The answer came, "British bayonets!"] The storehouses, full of clothing and camp equipage, twenty-seven pieces of cannon, three thousand stand of arms and many rifles fell into their hands, a prize of great value to the captors. Colonel Chapin and Captain Leonard were taken, and sent as prisoners to Quebec. Youngstown, Lewiston, Manchester and Buffalo were burned, and the whole American frontier was made to suffer. The revenge of war is more terrible than the cause which produces it.

Burning of St. Davids.

The burning of St. Davids by the American forces, July 19, 1814, was another of those unjustifiable and indefensible acts which added to the cruelties of the struggle and increased the hatred towards the invaders. It was never defended by the Americans, and the officer at whose command the torch was applied was court-martialed and dismissed from the service. The circumstances, as related by Mrs. Secord, wife of Major David Secord, were verified by her daughter, Mrs. Woodruff; and her husband, Mr. Woodruff, gave additional information.

A picket of Canadian volunteers was stationed under the command of Cornet Henry Woodruff near the place now owned by Mr. Fairlie. This point was on the direct road leading to Shipman's Corners (now St. Catharines). Another road leading to the same place, striking the main road at the Ten Mile Creek (now Homer). A few rods from Mr. Fairlie's was the road leading to the Short Hills, called the Thorold road, and another road leading to the township of Stamford. An American scouting party attempted to pass through the line, but was warned not to make the attempt, as it would be fired upon. In spite of the warning the party pushed on, and was fired upon. No one was injured, but the horse of the commanding officer was killed. He made terrible threats of vengeance, upon which Cornet Woodruff told him "he should be thankful that it was his horse instead of himself." No one thought anything serious would result. Two days after, in the afternoon, notice was given to the people to leave, as the place was to be burned. One cannot describe the surprise and terror with which these tidings were received. The women were busy at their usual avocations. Their husbands and brothers were away. Hurriedly the

children were sent to a place of safety, Mrs. Secord directing them to go to her brother's, Mr. Thomas Page, of Pelham. Few had horses, wagons or conveyances of any kind; mostly all had to go on foot. Mrs. Secord placed some of the more valuable articles of furniture in a wagon, hoping to save them, but she was unable to get them away. Then collecting her own cows and those of her neighbors, she drove them to Lewis Smith's, a farm about a mile from St. Davids. It was near 6 p. m. when she left, and she could see the gleam of the bayonets as the Americans came on the Queenston road. She said: "During the evening we could see the smoke and flames rising from our burning homes. The road was filled with people, and I had hard work to find my children. The next morning my husband was on patrol duty with another officer. As he saw the crowd, 'That looks like my flock,' he said to his companion, and rode rapidly forward to see what was the cause. He soon heard the dreadful story, that his home, the mills and other buildings were nothing but a heap of ashes. We stayed some days in Pelham, and when I came back I found, in pure wantonness, they had destroyed a number of young pigs and burned them in the ruins of our house. This at the time seemed my greatest loss, for I had depended upon these for winter use."

Said Mrs. Sarah Clement (sister of Lewis Smith): "My bread was about ready for the oven when the word came. A neighbor suggested that the bread should be taken with us, and baked when we reached a place where it could be done. It was turned from the bread-trough into table-cloths, and we started on our way. The afternoon was hot, and the bread kept on rising and escaping from the table-cloths. You could have tracked us by the dough along the road. At last when I came near a field where there was a pool of water, I climbed the fence and shook the dough into the water as well as I could. When we returned some days after, the dough was still floating upon the water. I said, 'Cast thy bread upon the waters, and thou shalt find it after many days.' Sad as we were we laughed." That portion of Scripture and Mrs. Clement have ever been inseparably connected. Only one house was left—a house occupied by Mr. Quick. Mrs. Stephen Secord with another woman managed to save an outbuilding. After the fire she repaired another with her own hands.

In the country every house was filled to repletion, not only with the homeless, but the sick and the wounded. The neighboring places offered help. Ancaster opened its hospitable doors. As we look upon the numerous thriving towns and the populous cities of our day, it is hard to realize that these places at that time had no existence. There is a book by the Rev. John Carroll, which gives some reminiscences of

that time which are worth repeating. He says that after Proctor's defeat his mother with her five children, and another family with children, found shelter in a log cabin, with a bark roof, near the Upper Ten Mile Creek. They made a fire in the grove near the house, and there was an orchard with nearly ripe fruit. Here they stayed for some weeks. As the weather grew colder they moved to St. Catharines, then the Twelve Mile Creek. After this they went to Hamilton in a cart drawn by two oxen, for the use of which they paid $30. Here they lived in a log-house with one room and an open fire, the flooring loose. A sick officer was already there, and, as the children's noise could not be borne, a fire was made outside to warm themselves. This was done till "warmer quarters" were found. The warmer quarters are thus described:

"The sappers and miners dug places ten feet square, with an entrance at one side by means of a trench, like the descent to a root-house. The roof of slabs rested on the surface of the ground and met in the center. The only light came from the chimney, which was low and capacious, and a hole in the door without glass. If this was left open the snow drifted in, and it had to be shovelled out through the small hole."

Such were the quarters where Hamilton now stands. On the retreat from Niagara a sick soldier, lying by the roadside with the ague, asked Mrs. Carroll for a handkerchief to tie around his aching head. She had not this to give him. Then he asked for a string, and she had not even that. Prices of food were very high, and the volunteers often were allowed to return to their homes to sow the grain, then afterwards to reap.

Mrs. Secord tells the following: "The Indians were constantly asking for money to buy liquor. It was dangerous to refuse, and more dangerous to give, for a drunken Indian cannot be controlled. One time an Indian demanded money. I told him I had none, though a belt was on my person containing my husband's pay, which he had sent to me for safe keeping. He soon raised his tomahawk, thinking to frighten me, but I knew my only safety was to stand my ground. Had I given him anything, there would have been no end to his demands. We had trained our children to obey signals, and they knew when help was needed without speaking."

There was no paper money at that time. It was all gold, silver and Brock coppers. Leather stamped and used for change is one of the traditions of the war.

Another aged friend says: "A young officer, son of an English baronet, was brought from Niagara to my house in the month of August. He had been severely wounded in one of the frequent skirmishes.

MAGAZINE INSIDE FORT GEORGE, 1888

There was a man to take care of him, but he succumbed to his wounds on the following day, and was buried in the Presbyterian burying-ground at Stamford." The name is unfortunately forgotten.

In the private burial-places were buried many whose names are now forgotten. It is one of the saddest features of the private burying-grounds, as they pass from the possession of the original proprietors, that no provision is made that the graves of the dead should be respected. The ploughshare of the new occupant soon levels the spot where the forgotten brave and the ancestors of our country sleep. The old and the new possessors alike show the odium of the desecration and destruction of those sacred spots.

It was at the house of this same friend, Mrs. Richard Woodruff, whose kitchen was taken possession of by the Indians, that a large pig was killed and roasted before the fire. The grease ran across the floor and over the doorstep. She was upstairs attending to the children. As the feast went on, the chief in command came to her, asking, "Had she a mother?" On being told she had, he said, "White squaw go to mother," for he feared his followers would be uncontrollable. She needed no second warning, and went to her mother.

Mrs. David Secord said: "There had been some of our own Indians staying in my house. They had occupied unfinished rooms in the upper part of the house. Unknown to me, when leaving, they put their unused war-paint under some loose boards in the floor. A few days after some American Indians occupied the same place. The loose boards attracted their attention, and the war-paint was soon discovered. With fearful yells they commenced to question and threaten me. Fortunately my young son ran to the American quarters for help. The officer came at once, bringing soldiers with him, and none too soon, for one of the Indians was brandishing his tomahawk. The Indians were taken away and soldiers put in their place. There was a ravine running back of the house we occupied. The front and upper rooms were always taken by the officers and soldiers. We lived in the back part of the house and cellar kitchens. But," she added, "I will say this, the officers were courteous and endeavored to see that we were well treated. Both British and American officers were alike in this respect."

Such is war. Is it any wonder that women hate its name? None but women who have passed through the perils of war can realize what ruin it brings to the home, the wasted life and property, and the aftermath of hatred which always is sure to follow.

Said another: "We had long before buried our silver and many articles of value. They were taken up and put in fresh places. Some-

times the place was forgotten. Long years after, the spade and the plough turned up those forgotten treasures ruined and useless."

An aged friend said: "One morning a large American force marched through St. Davids. I sold over $100 worth of whiskey from one barrel before breakfast. I had a barrel of whiskey and a barrel of water. As the whiskey was sold I kept replenishing with water, and towards the last it would not have hurt your conscience to sell a drink of it, for it was so weak it could hurt no one."

St. Davids never regained the size and importance of former times. Those who owned rebuilt, some on the old foundations, but none as large as before. Many moved away, and though it had breweries, distilleries, furniture manufactory, mills and the other occupations of village life, the grist-mills are about all that at present remain. There was a bank for a short period, and Mackenzie issued his paper here a few times, but in what building has not been positively ascertained.

Another incident of that time was related by Mrs. Secord: "I was very ill when my baby was born. The woman who took care of me had the baby on her lap before the fire. She had been warming its feet, and as the baby cried, I tried to waken her. She had gone to sleep. I called in vain, then I got up; but my poor baby's feet were blistered, and she died in a few days."

Such was the life of the women—to toil in the house and in the field, in constant terror for the lives of all most dear to them. Mrs. Secord lived to a good old age, and is buried with others of the honored dead in the graveyard of St. Davids. Her portrait is given, one of the noblest of women of the olden time.

Mrs. Woodruff (daughter of Mrs. Secord) relates that a party of British Indians had a young girl whom they had taken captive. Our hearts pitied her, but we dared not interfere. Where she came from, or her name, we could not learn, but afterwards were told that she had been restored to her friends. Whether this was true or false we never knew, and could only hope it was so.

To add to the miseries of that period a set of miscreants who follow in the wake of armies, called "Grey-coats," who were white men disguised as Indians, plundered everything upon which they could lay their hands.

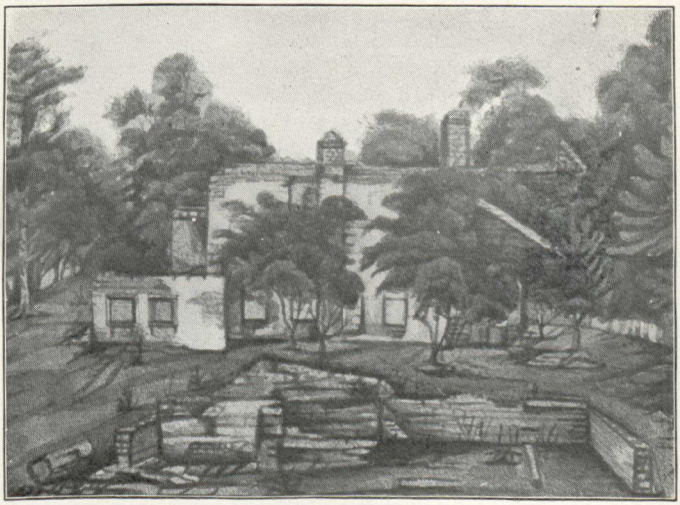
The home of the writer was for many years a brick house which had been built upon the foundations of the place burned in 1814. In making some changes a charred beam was brought to view; it was evidently a relic of the past. In straightening a creek in the rear of the house a 24-pound cannon-ball was found. It was a frequent occurrence to pick up balls of various sizes in the neighborhood.

The following is copied from Mr. Lossing's "Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812," page 815:

"Colonel Stone, of the New York Militia, while out on a foraging expedition, wantonly burned the little village or hamlet of St. Davids, a short distance from Queenston. Similar unwarrantable acts caused great exasperation against the Americans. General Brown promptly dismissed Stone from the service, as a punishment for his crime, in accordance with the sentence of a court-martial."

Lossing has a foot-note to the above, written by an American officer:

" 'The militia have burned several private dwellings,' wrote the gallant Major McFarland of the Seventy-third Infantry, who was killed a short time after at Niagara Falls, 'and on the 19th burnt the village of St. Davids, consisting of about thirty or forty houses. This was done within three miles of the camp. I never witnessed such a scene, and had not the commanding Colonel Stone been disgraced and sent out of the army I should have resigned my commission.' "



STAMFORD PARK, 1853

CHAPTER X.

STAMFORD PARK.

"STAMFORD PARK, the residence of Sir Peregrine Maitland, was built on a range of rising ground which overlooks the country and Lake Ontario for a great distance. Near this spot, by the blowing down of a tree, were found a quantity of human bones. A number of skeletons were found on digging, with Indian beads and pipes; also some conch shells, shaped apparently for musical instruments, under several of the heads. Other perforated shells were found, such as are said to be known only on the western coast of the continent within the tropics. Brass and copper utensils were also found. The ground looks as if it had been defended by a palisade."—*Northern Traveller*, 1830.

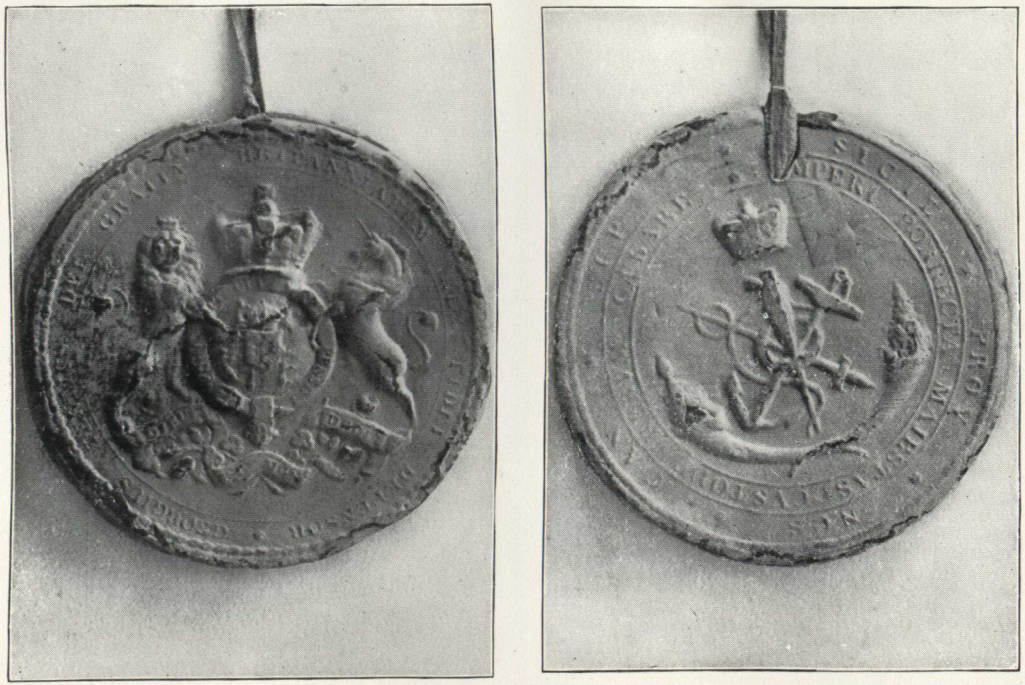
Stamford Park was visited in 1837 by Mrs. Jamieson, wife of Vice-Chancellor Jamieson. She writes: "It is the only place in Upper Canada combining our ideas of an elegant, well-furnished English villa and ornamented grounds, with some of the grandest and wildest features of the forest scene."

Sir Peregrine Maitland, who was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada in 1818, while living in Toronto, built a fine summer residence in the township of Stamford. It faced towards Lake Ontario, and was one on of the highest points of land in the township. The building was of brick and stuccoed, and contained twenty-two rooms. The kitchen and servants' hall were in the detached building in the rear, and connected with the main part by a covered way. The trees surrounding the place were planted with an eye to beauty. At the right was the children's garden, and the "Governor's House," as it was called, for many years was a pleasant resort. In the drawing-room were marble mantle-pieces, the carvings being scenes from the Iliad.

This circumstance was related by Mrs. Hobson, wife of Sherriff Hobson, of Welland, and before her marriage Miss Eliza Clow, of St. Davids. During the residence of Sir Peregrine and Lady Sarah, they and their children often attended church in what is now the Methodist Church, in St. Davids. Their seat was at the right of the pulpit, under the west window. Mr. Richard Woodruff prepared cushioned seats for

them. When they left Upper Canada, upon Sir Peregrine's appointment as Governor of Nova Scotia, there was a sale of their house-furnishings. Mr. R. Woodruff bought some of the wine-glasses and a small gilt circular mirror. Mr. William Woodruff bought some of the drawing-room chairs. Many homes still possess relics purchased at that time. After his departure the place was occupied by Mr. Green, a banker. It passed through various hands, until it was destroyed by fire in April, 1842. A sketch of the ruins was taken in 1863. No vestige of the house now remains. A valuable deposit of sand was found near the site. A short branch of the Grand Trunk Railway was laid to the spot, a derrick and other appliances were erected, and soon the demolition was complete. The children's garden and the trees planted by them were destroyed. The lodge at the entrance to the grounds is all that remains to remind us of one of the early Governors of Upper Canada.

Among the people of the Niagara District, Isaac Brock and Peregrine Maitland were popular names bestowed upon their sons.



SEALS ATTACHED TO PATENTS FROM THE CROWN, 1822

WHILE SIR PEREGRINE MAITLAND WAS GOVERNOR

They are four and one half inches in diameter and nearly one half inch thick, attached by a ribbon to the parchment

Loaned by Mrs. J. Oille

CHAPTER XI.

RECOLLECTIONS OF 1837 AND 1838.

TO many the incidents about to be related may seem trivial, but they were not considered so at that time, and they illustrate the intolerance which over-rides the right of every man to his own opinion.

That portion of the Niagara District which was represented in the Assembly of Upper Canada had sent men of Liberal opinions. Major David Secord at the time of the rebellion was an aged man. [It was customary at that time to call successful business men "kings." Major Secord was called "King David," and Mr. Richard Woodruff "King Dick."] The preceding pages have shown the sacrifices made by himself and relatives, the loyal services they gave and were willing to give as subjects of the English Government. The arbitrary measures of the Family Compact previous to 1837 met his disapprobation, and he took the only legitimate way of condemnation, by voting as a member of Parliament for reforms.

Mr. William Woodruff was also a Reform member, and voted as he believed for the best interests of Canada. He had been in the battle of Queenston Heights, and served as a volunteer through the War of 1812. Richard Woodruff, his eldest brother, was a member at the commencement of the rebellion. ["King Dick" commenced his life as a merchant in James Secord's store at Queenston.] He had also as a volunteer been at the capture of Detroit and Chrysler's Farm, for which, many years afterwards, he received a medal.

These men all lived in St. Davids. They had taken the only constitutional way of expressing their disapproval of the high-handed actions of the government of the day. Mackenzie's rebellion met their distinct disapprobation, though they had a personal friendship for the man. Major Secord, as before stated, had given Robert Gourlay a shelter and kindly care for many weeks at his house, when he was sick and friendless, and when no one else dared to do so. St. Davids thereafter acquired the name of a "Rebel hole." As the regulars and volunteers passed and repassed on their way to and from Chippewa, many threats were made, and the hope expressed that the place would be

destroyed. In the spring of the year 1838, Mr. Woodruff's father died at Niagara Falls, N. Y., and was buried at St. Davids. [A facsimile of Mr. Woodruff's signature appears at the end of this chapter.] His son-in-law, Judge De Veaux, at whose home he died, was at the funeral. He was a small man, and how or when the story originated that he was Mackenzie in disguise was never known. But so it was. A detachment from Queenston was sent to St. Davids. Mr. Woodruff's servants were first interrogated, and he was then taken from his bed to Queenston for examination. Fortunately for himself, he was able to prove that he was not harboring a rebel. Even as late as 1840, when the meeting was held at Queenston for the re-construction of Brock's monument, Mr. Woodruff was not permitted to speak, and the letter published in this volume was written to his friend, Mr. Thorburn at that time.

Another incident of that period may be given. A young man, on the 4th of July, rode on horseback through the village, dressed in a pink cambric jacket, and carrying a lance with pennon, in imitation of the Lancers, which were stationed as Queenston. It was evident that it was the foolish prank of a young man who had taken too much of Canada's curse. He rode up and down the street more than once. It enraged an old pensioner, who went to Queenston and informed the officer stationed there that the people of St. Davids were celebrating the 4th of July. The officer took some men and marched to the place. His men were halted in front of the Methodist Church, and scouts sent forward to reconnoitre, and see what was going on. Mr. William Woodruff had heard of their approach. When the scouts arrived every house was dark, and the streets quiet, but from behind the curtains many anxious hearts were watching for the outcome. Mr. Woodruff took the officers to his house and treated them, and they returned to Queenston satisfied that their march had been unnecesssry. The writer had American visitors at that time. They went to bed very late, and left as early the next morning as they could conveniently get away.

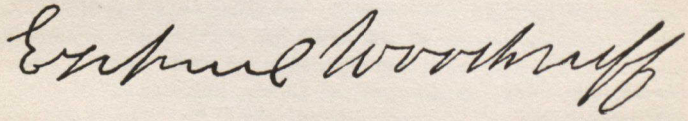
During the winter of 1837-38 the front part of the house was closed and the curtains drawn. A bed was put in the sitting-room, our cloaks and hoods on chairs, for a hasty flight, and the children slept in the adjoining bedroom.

We took the *New York American*, published in New York City, and most of our news came that way, and was from one to two weeks old. The usual saluation to visitors or persons on the streets was, "What is the news from the seat of war?" The super-loyal wore a narrow band of red flannel around their hats. Another fad at that time was long red woollen socks, worn by the men over the boots, and reaching to the hips.

One night, when my mother was sitting by her fireside later than usual, she heard a slight tap at the window. Thinking it was a call to go to a sick neighbor, by some one who did not wish to disturb the house, she went to the door. A gentleman stood there holding his horse by the bridle, who, in an agitated voice, asked to be directed the nearest way to the Niagara River. The directions were given, and the inquirer rode carefully away. Who he was we never heard, but whoever he was he escaped, and the circumstance was not mentioned till long after.

The Sunday before Moreau was hung (for the execution took place on Monday morning) wagons were passing all the day and night, filled with men, women and children. There were but few carriages in those days. Chairs were placed in the wagons, covered with quilts and blankets. Such was the usual way. A liberal price in money and in land had been offered for a hangman, but none appeared, and the sherriff, most unwillingly, had to perform the duty. Moreau sleeps in the Catholic burying-ground at Niagara. He acknowledged he had been deceived into a useless adventure.

Before the invasion from Michigan took place, my mother's relatives informed us such a project was contemplated, and advised us to leave. My father could not leave his business, and my mother preferred to remain with him. Such was the way people on the frontier and near it lived in those days—the fear of invasion, and the unjust suspicion which outweighed and forgot a life of honorable service.



CHAPTER XII.

BURNING OF THE STEAMER "CAROLINE."

THE destruction of the steamer *Caroline* during the rebellion of 1837 is one of the oft-quoted incidents of that time. Perhaps an account given by one of the participators may not be unacceptable.

On Thursday evening, December 29, 1837, A. C. Currie and Walter Wagstaff were doing patrol duty on the Niagara frontier along the river above Chippewa. When returning to Chippewa, and near the bridge which crosses the Welland River (then called Chippewa Creek), they saw a crowd on the bank, and heard a call, "Volunteers for this boat!" Currie at once dismounted, and gave his horse to Wagstaff to take back to the camp. Offering his services, he was asked if he could row, and replying in the affirmative, was immediately accepted. The party consisted of seven boats, the men armed with pistols, cutlasses and boarding-pikes. They left Chippewa about eleven o'clock, not knowing their destination, or what they were expected to do. It was supposed they were going to Navy Island, where the patriot army was encamped, They proceeded up the river above the island, and approached the American shore. In the darkness and fog two of the boats lost their way and returned to Chippewa. The other five were grouped together a short distance above Schlosser. Captain Drew, the commander, then told them the object of the expedition was to cut out and carry off the steamer *Caroline*, which for some days had been employed in carrying supplies to the so-called patriots on Navy Island. They were ordered to let the boats drift down the river towards the wharf, where the *Caroline* was fastened, to keep perfectly still, to be at their oars, and when challenged or fired upon, to at once board and capture the vessel. When near the *Caroline* they were challenged and immediately fired upon. That shot wounded Lieutenant McCormac, the officer in charge of the boat in which was Charles Currie. They pushed forward, boarded the *Caroline*, and were soon in possession, the few on board quickly escaping to the shore. In the excitement, one person by the name of Durfee, from Buffalo, was shot. This was the only life lost.

An attempt was made to get up steam to take the *Caroline* across to

Chippewa, but this requiring too much time, and it being reported that a large number were coming from the island to the rescue, she was towed into the stream and the torch applied. Before this was done search was made to see if any one was concealed. The only person found was a boy from Lower Canada, who was taken across to Chippewa and afterwards returned to his friends. The *Caroline* soon drifted into the rapids, lighting her path to destruction and illuminating the shores as she was borne along. A fire had been lighted at Chippewa at the mouth of the Welland River, for which the boats were steered. When passing below Navy Island they were fired upon, but the shots did no harm. Mr. Currie took from the *Caroline* a pillow and a water-bucket. On the wharf he picked up the butt end of a pistol, which he kept as a relic of his experiences in 1837.

Among the volunteers in the boat was Mr. John Mewburn, son of the late Dr. Mewburn, of Stamford, and brother of Dr. F. Mewburn, of Toronto, and of H. C. Mewburn, Esq., of Stamford, in the County of Welland. Mr. John Mewburn soon after went to England, where for fifty years he was in the Bank of England, retiring after half a century of faithful service with a handsome allowance and a recognition of honorable service.

(Rev. Canon Bull says that Captain McCormac was wounded in the wrist, and that his mother dressed the wound for several days.)

CHAPTER XIII.

SAMUEL ZIMMERMAN.

IT is but a slight act of justice to recall the name of one who seventy years ago was the foremost man in the Niagara Peninsula, and whose brief career was the commencement of great improvements, not only at Niagara Falls, but throughout the Province of Ontario.

Samuel Zimmerman was born in Huntington County, Pennsylvania, March 17, 1815. His parents were not wealthy; the family was a large one, and their education the ordinary school of that period. Upon the death of his father and mother he assumed the charge of his three younger brothers and his sister. He educated them, and trained his brothers to assist in carrying out his plans.

He came to this country as a contractor in 1842. Along with the late James Oswald, of Stamford, and others, he constructed four locks and the aqueduct on the Welland Canal. His first venture was successful, and he turned his attention to larger enterprises. Railways and bridges were becoming the necessities of the age. Quick in his perceptions, he realized the possibilities of Niagara Falls and the surrounding country. In 1848 he made extensive purchases at Niagara Falls and in the locality of the first suspension bridge. This place was first called Elgin, then Clifton, and now Niagara Falls. People are still living who remember when the "forest primeval" was cut down to make way for what is now a great railway terminus. They recollect the cable that first crossed the river with its iron cradle, and the first passenger bridge. Now from Lewiston to Fort Erie there are five bridges, representing the highest type of engineering skill, strength and beauty. These also represent four others that have been taken down or destroyed. The International Bridge at Black Rock and the Cantilever are the only original ones remaining.

Previous to Mr. Zimmerman's purchase of the Clifton House and other lands, the buildings were of the most unsightly kind. "There is but one Niagara Falls in the world," and his ideas were in unison with the place. He bought, at liberal prices, the rights of the property holders. When one man refused to sell, he bought land and built the man a substantial stone house. As prosperity attended his efforts his

views enlarged. During his short career he visited England and the continent more than once, and came back with the determination to make still more attractive the natural beauties of the place. After his marriage in 1848, to Miss Woodruff, daughter of Richard Woodruff, Esq., of St. Davids, he at once commenced his improvements. Clifton House was renovated, a concert hall and six cottages built. The grounds which now make the entrance to the Queen Victoria Niagara Falls Park were laid out, and the fountain put in. At Clifton improvements of the most substantial character were made. The post-office, bank, blocks for dwellings, stores, and water-works, were constructed in the most approved and modern manner. He encouraged the same spirit in others, and was ever ready to assist them in their enterprises. He built one hundred and twenty miles of the Great Western Railway (now the Grand Trunk), the Cobourg and Peterboro', the Port Hope and Lindsay, the Erie and Ontario railways, and at the time of his death arrangements were being made to build the Great Southern. [Before the Great Western Railway was built there was a horse railway from Queenston to Chippewa, only used during the season of navigation. This was probably the first railway of any kind in Canada.]

He did much for the town of Niagara. He built the steamer *Zimmerman*, and was part owner of the steamer *Peerless*, afterwards celebrated as a blockade runner in the Civil War of the United States. The town of Niagara presented him with an elegant silver vase as a recognition of his services. In 1855 he sold the Clifton property to Messrs. Pierson and Benedict for $200,000. A frequent remark of his was, "I have no politics, and I will support any party who will aid my railway policy." And he did so. The people had unlimited faith in his plans. The faculty of impressing others with his ideas, to draw around him as fellow-workers the men who could realize their importance, was possessed by him in a supreme degree. He made and unmade many political candidates.

He had intended building a magnificent residence at Niagara Falls. Plans had been furnished by Mr. Upjohn, a prominent architect in New York. Four of the lodges and the stables were built. These still remain. The foundations of the house had been commenced when Mr. Zimmerman's untimely death took place by the terrible railway disaster at the Desjardins Canal, near Hamilton, March 13, 1857. It was intended at that time to build a monument on his estate. A temporary vault was constructed, and on March 17, 1857, his remains were placed there with high Masonic honors. The monument was never built. Upon the death of the first Mrs. Zimmerman, in April, 1851, he had built a vault and erected a monument to her memory in the old

burying-ground at St. Davids. His young sister was also buried there a few months previous to his death. When his estate passed into other hands, his remains were removed to the vault in St. Davids, where they rest beside his wife and sister. No inscription marks the resting-place.

The house where Mr. Zimmerman lived was substantially built. The woodwork in the drawing-room and dining-room was of solid walnut, highly polished; the second floor of oak. A veranda went around the building. From this, in summer, the views of the Falls were very fine, and also from the long French windows in the drawing-room and dining-room. To sit outside in summer and at the windows in winter was one of the pleasures of his busy life.

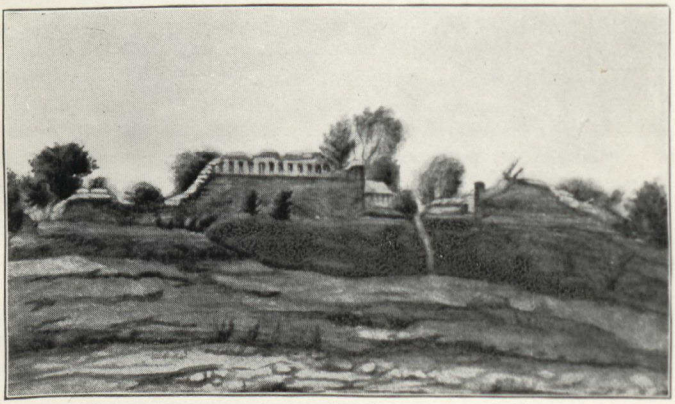
When the Prince of Wales visited Canada, in 1860, this house was rented and furnished for himself and suite. No one who was present at the illumination of the Falls and the river the evening of his arrival can forget the surpassing beauty and grandeur of the scene. Our American neighbors joined with us to make it worthy of the place and its visitor.

When the Clifton House and other portions of the estate were bought by the Hon. John T. Bush, the house was taken down, and the present mansion built on the foundations commenced by Mr. Zimmerman.

The portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Zimmerman, his two sons, Miss Zimmerman, and his brother, Martin Zimmerman, were painted by Mr. Wale.

The well-known portrait painter, Mr. Huntington, of Boston, Mass., and Godfrey Frankenstein, of Springfield, Ohio, also painted a portrait of Mrs. Zimmerman. Mr. Zimmerman was twice married, his last wife being Miss Emmeline Dunn, of Three Rivers, Quebec. His sons and his brothers are dead. John, the eldest son, married Miss Henry, of Toronto. There are two daughters from this marriage.

Clifton House, so memorable, was destroyed by fire on Sunday, the 26th of June, 1898.



FORT ERIE, 1890

CHAPTER XIV.

THE FIRST FENIAN RAID OF 1866.

FOR some time before the Fenian Raid the press of the United States in various places gave intimations that Canada would be invaded. Canadians were incredulous as to the loud talk of disaffection, and did not believe anything so foolish possible. They had laughed over that popular air, "The Wearing of the Green," which told the world that "The Shamrock is forbid by law to grow on Irish ground," that Irishmen "No more St. Patrick's Day we'll keep," and worst of all, that "They're hanging men, and women, too, for wearing of the green." When the Fenians did come but one man joined them, and discomfitted and dismayed, they returned on the second day to Buffalo, the place from which they came.

The raid takes its place in history to be dwelt with, and it is only what were the impressions and scenes of that time in St. Catharines that will be related here.

During the winter of 1865–66 a letter was sent from Lewiston, N.Y., saying a gathering of Fenians was to be made from there. A person was sent to confer with the writer, but the conclusion arrived at was that there was no cause for immediate alarm. Another letter was soon after sent from a person in Philadelphia, who had been a resident in this locality for many years, and who felt it his duty to report the state of feeling and accompanying threats made in that city. These letters were forwarded to the military authorities. They felt that something should be done as a measure of prevention and intimidation, so that an invasion would be prevented. They ordered a few companies of volunteers to be called out, to place upon duty along the frontier, and they were to meet at St. Catharines. Should any demonstration be made by the Fenians, the firing of a cannon would be the signal to call them together. During the night of March 7th, 1866, after midnight, the order came, "Call out the volunteers." The cannon was fired, and its echoes awakened the slumbering citizens. There was a rush of the volunteers to the town hall. Many persons hired conveyances and took their most valued things away to the neighboring villages. The wildest rumors were abroad—that 18,000 Fenians were crossing Suspension

Bridge, and the warm reception they were going to meet—but no Fenians came. There was a second alarm on the eve of the 17th of March. Soon after, the volunteers returned to their homes; but none the less there was an intuitive feeling that an attempt would be made. Arms and ammunition were distributed, and more than the usual drill took place. A gentleman from St. Catharines attended a meeting of Fenians in Buffalo, heard their wild talk, saw their arms and their parade, without a word of remonstrance from the authorities.

Early in the morning of the 1st of June, 1866, news came that the invaders were landing at Fort Erie. There was hurrying to and fro in hot haste, and the volunteers were sent forward. It is the part that St. Catharines took that is recorded. The troops left here on Friday afternoon. About three o'clock on Saturday morning a detachment of the Queen's Own passed through the streets on its way from the Grand Trunk to the Welland station, singing cheerily, "Tramp, tramp, tramp, the boys are marching." Some of them were University students whom many of us knew. A few hours after, about 10.30 a. m., came intelligence of the fiasco at Ridgway, and the order following, "Call out the Home Guard." The streets were full of people, and arms were being distributed in the Town Hall. With the bell ringing, the husbands and fathers, brothers and sons, with pale faces descending the steps, the impression made has never been forgotten. Soon after, word came that the wounded were to be sent here, and that the Town Hall would be used as a hospital. The women gathered and went to work, under the direction of Dr. Mack, making bandages, pillows, sheets and other things needful for their reception. Carpenters were already at work, and soon after midnight the place was ready. The number of beds was over twenty. It was perhaps six o'clock on Sunday morning when the sad procession of wounded on stretchers passed from the Welland Railway station to the temporary hospital. More were brought Sunday afternoon, and along with them two wounded Fenians and some prisoners. The first thing to be done was to prepare breakfast, as most of them had gone without food for over twenty hours. The weather had been very hot, and their appearance was in keeping with what they had undergone. None were allowed breakfast until after examination, which was speedily done. Some were fatally, some dangerously, and others lightly wounded. Every care and comfort was given. On Monday their friends arrived. Those that could be removed with safety were taken to their own homes. The regular army surgeon took his position on Sunday evening. Some went from here maimed for life, and some died.

The Fenian prisoners were brought here and put in the police cells

until they were transferred to Toronto jail. A few months after, they were tried, with an American lawyer watching the proceedings to report if they had a "fair trial." These men were found guilty, imprisoned for a few months, pardoned, and with a ticket to Suspension Bridge, N. Y., and five dollars in their pockets, were returned to the land of their adoption, no more, let us hope, to be deceived by tales of British cruelty, and that they would be welcomed by Canadians as deliverers from British tyranny! So ended the first Fenian Raid.

CHAPTER XV.

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON AND JOSEPH BRANT.

COLONEL, afterwards Sir William Johnson, was born in Ireland in 1715, of good family and education. Of his earliest years but little is known. His uncle, Admiral Peter Warren, sent him to America at the age of twenty-three to overlook his estates in the valley of the Mohawk, acquired through his wife. With his own hands he girdled the trees, and cleared the land for cultivation. His uncle writes him as "Dear Billy," and gives him most sensible advice. Its key was ever "keep well with all mankind," and to this must be attributed his great success. The Mohawk Valley was the garden of the New York Colony. Influenced by Johnson came the provident and industrious Hollanders, the Scotch, and the English as settlers. His first enterprise was a country store. The country swarmed with Indians, and his treatment of them was such, that no man before or since, acquired such influence over these children of the forest. He learned their language, attended their councils, conformed to their customs, danced and played their games, was adopted into the Mohawk nation and made a War Chief. Painted and plumed he marched into Albany at the head of his adopted people. His doors were ever open to them. His large estate had a corresponding mansion, and hither came both the Indian and the white man. Treating the Indian fairly, he won their confidence and they ever followed his bidding. When war broke out between the French and the English, they responded to his call, and were entertained by him. Appealing to them in Indian style he said, "My war-kettle is on the fire, my canoe is ready to put in the water, my gun is loaded, my sword is by my side." Then throwing his war belt among them it was eagerly passed around, and the war dance followed. A great tub of punch was brought, from which they drank the health of the King. It was not only in this way he won their good will. Land was laid out into farms, and here the Indians, under instructors, were taught to cultivate the soil. What we would call "fairs" in modern days, were established, and prizes given for their products. There were frequent gatherings of the various tribes, and they rarely failed to come under his influence. After the death of his German wife he married in

Indian fashion, Molly Brant. This pleased the Indians and increased his influence. Successful in war, and, promoted by successive Governors, he became General. Prosperity reigned in the Mohawk Valley, and he was created Baronet.

To one of these gatherings in 1755, came Joseph Brant, then a boy of thirteen. The water route from the St. Lawrence, up the Richelieu, was through Lake Champlain to Ticonderoga, thence through Lake George, and by Portage a few miles to the Hudson River. This had been for years the war path of the Indian, and henceforth the white man was to travel the same route. How forts were built, to be taken by the savage, and retaken by the white man has been related by the historians of those times. Through these scenes Brant passed to manhood, under the guidance of Sir William Johnson. For a brief period he was at the Moor School, at Lebanon, Connecticut, along with other Indian boys. This school was conducted by Dr. Wheelock in such a manner that Brant was not the only Indian that profited by Dr. Wheelock's teaching. This was afterwards called Dartmouth College. Under Dr. Wheelock these Indian boys became gentlemanly in deportment, honest, truthful, and magnanimous. Nothing is more honorable to both instructor and pupil that after the Revolution that Brant sent his sons to Dr. Wheelock to be educated.

Here Brant perfected himself in penmanship, and his ways of doing business, were superior to those of many who have had longer and greater advantages in these modern days.

Brant translated the four gospels into Mohawk, and many hymns into the same language. Sir William, after his return, was his friend, and made him the medium of intercourse to the Indians, to make treaties, and to inquire into their difficulties. With candor, Sir William praised, blamed, or punished, as the circumstances required. Brant was Sir William's private secretary until his death, and their interests ever continued together.

Englishmen had been far behind the French in conciliatory treatment of the Indian. Johnson conciliated them with gifts, kept the Iroquois in subjection, and thus saved the settlements from many attacks. Through four perilous years he guided affairs in such a manner that the Iroquois held back from Pontiac's conspiracy, and smoked the pipe of peace with him. His crowning glory was the capture of Fort Niagara, and making it an English fort, thus paving the way to the downfall of France upon the Plains of Abraham. Later on was his punishment of the Senecas for the massacre of British soldiers at Devil's Hole near Niagara Falls.

After the conquest of Canada they had a brief period of rest. Choice

breeds of domestic animals were brought to the Mohawk settlements. and fruit trees were planted. While the cultivation of the soil was spreading, homes were built. In his own house, Johnson Hall, he was gathering a library. Brant was of pure Mohawk blood. His father and mother were both of that tribe. His father was one of the sachems who visited England in the time of Queen Anne. Brant lived at Canajoharie, in a furnished house. Here the missionaries stayed, and here he entertained his Indian friends. He had the confidence of Sir William, and was ever employed by him. His wife was an Oneida, who died in 1771. At Canajoharie was a Masonic hall, and it is more than likely that Brant was initiated here.

After the death of his wife he went to Fort Hunter, living with Dr. Stuart, the Indian missionary, and had his assistance in preparing the Gospel and Hymnal. He united with the church and was ever working for the improvement of his people. When a friendship is made with an Indian, he is nearer and dearer than any by the tie of blood. Lieutenant John Provost, a young Englishman, living in the Mohawk Valley, was the friend of Brant. When his regiment was ordered to the West Indies, Brant for a while was inconsolable. Brant wished to marry the half-sister of his deceased wife, and when Dr. Stuart refused, they were married by a Lutheran clergyman in 1773. The period of peace soon ended, followed by the Revolutionary War. Sir William was presiding at an Indian Council on a very hot day in July, 1774, when he was seized with his fatal attack. His son arrived, only to witness his death. Grief and consternation reigned. Well it might, for to his King his services were invaluable, and the Indian had lost his best and truest friend by the hand of death. His son, Sir John, succeeded him and ever conducted himself with undoubted loyalty. Sir William's daughters were married, one to Colonel Claus, and the other to Colonel Guy Johnson, his nephew, who afterwards became Indian Superintendent. Brant became secretary to Sir John Johnson.

The Revolutionary War of 1776 to 1783 is familiar to all students of American history. Brant and the Six Nations ever remained through the years that followed, true to England. Brant had visited England in 1775. There he was lionized and courted by the great and invited to their stately homes. He was presented to the King in magnificent Indian costume. He did not kiss the King's hand, but that of the Queen received his homage. Many gifts were bestowed upon him, and he returned greatly impressed by everything he had witnessed. He kept his people faithful through these perilous years to British interests. They took, with other Loyalists, the chances of the battlefield and the mid-night raid. The craft of the Indian, the skill of the white man,

sharpened by education and his services with Sir William, made him pre-eminent as the one man whose words and conduct were to be respected and sought.

The Indian allies led by him were proud of their leader. "It will never do for us to break with England, let what will become of us." Danger, hardship, hunger and defeat were often their lot. Letters were carried in the heads of their tomahawks, or hidden in the ornaments of their costume. Much as Brant respected Dr. Wheelock, he withstood his solicitations to change his allegiance. Brant said, "You have taught me to fear God and the King, and will I not forsake him." Accused of barbarous deeds, maligned and misrepresented, his life is an evidence of his humanity, under temptation to destroy. At Cedar Rapids he saved the life of Captain McKinstry. They became friends, and during their trips up and down the Hudson River often visited him. He saved the lives of prisoners from massacre upon their promise to release British prisoners. They were given freedom, but their promises were never kept. General Carlton had not allowed the Indians to inaugurate the war along the frontier. All solicitations to change his allegiance from England he ever repelled. Threats and bribes could not change the treaties made by his ancestors. Through victory and defeat, he was ever the same.

Brant was at Oswego, Oriskany, and Oquaga with a price for his scalp, and no quarter allowed, yet he still observed the decencies of humanity. He sent one of his swiftest runners to return an infant to its mother. He gave a banquet to the starving Indians to give safety to his prisoners, who thereby entered Fort Niagara, escaping the peril of running the gauntlet. He hung up his wampum belt in the cabin of a woman, and put his war paint on her children, thus saving their lives. Through the raids in the Cherry Valley (and there were many), the traditions are most honorable in association with his name. An old friend by the name of Vrooman had been brought in a captive. Brant sent him into the woods to get some elm bark, hoping he would escape, but he returned with the bark. Brant brought him over to Canada, where he became a loyal subject. At one time an American officer was left dying on the field. Brant knew, if found, he would be tortured to death, if not destroyed by wolves. He despatched him with his tomahawk. At another time a prisoner deceived him by intimating that he was a Free Mason. Brant treated him with scorn, but spared his life, and the prisoner, when his captivity was over, made it his first act, to become a member of the order in reality.

In reasoning and debate he was equally skillful. His grasp of thought was far-reaching. He said after a long argument, upon important subjects, "These issues will perhaps pass away before we do, at any rate

they will soon be dead issues." Royal in his benefactions to his friends, ever open to the interests of his country and his race; numberless are the anecdotes, told by friends and foes, of his magnanimity, and generosity. When the war ended, Cherry Valley was in ruins. The son of Sir William escaped to Canada. A faithful negro servant burying the family plate, returning it to his master in safety later. Brant visited England the second time, to be received with distinguished honors. When peace came, the services of the Indian allies were overlooked; this tested their loyalty to the utmost. He was offered a place in the Genesee Valley by the Americans, but he kept true to the old promise, "that he would sink or swim with the English." At last he and his friends received, in lieu of their rich lands and ancient home in Central New York, extensive grants on the Grand River, six miles on each side of the river from its source to the mouth, making in all twelve miles in width, one hundred miles long. Brant was dignified in manner, and his countenance was manly and intelligent. Baroness Reidesel says his manners were polished, and his conversation fluent. The American officers treated him with respect. Aaron Burr wrote his daughter, "When Brant visits New York receive him with respect. He is a gentleman and does not drink rum. He understands, and practices what belongs to propriety, and good breeding. He has daughters; send a little present to them; a pair of earrings would please him." Theodosia received him loyally, gave a dinner party in his honor, and invited the most eminent gentlemen to meet him. She and her husband afterwards visited him at the Grand River. Brant built a home on Burlington Bay. One of his daughters married Dr. William Johnson Kerr, a grandson of Sir William Johnson, and they lived at Brant House. He died in 1807, at the age of 64. His last words to Chief Norton were, "Have pity on the poor Indians. If you can get any influence with the great, endeavor to do them all the good you can." Noble words, worthy of William the Silent of Holland, and our English Cromwell.

In 1794 the United States held a great Indian Council. In former times, the Ohio had been the boundary line. Sixteen hundred Indians were present, including Brant, Cornplanter, and other celebrated Chiefs. Brant was three times married, and his wives were all of his own race. His last marriage was at Niagara, when a British officer was married. Brant improved the opportunity to be married also. His leggins, and breech-cloth were of fine blue broadcloth. Moccasins, beautifully ornamented with beads, a short green coat, silver epaulets, and a small round hat, trimmed with lace. At his side hung a silver mounted cutlass, and over all a blue broadcloth blanket, with a gorgeous red border. This was dropped off, that the epaulets might be seen.

Brant had four daughters, Margaret, Mary, Katherine (or Christina), who married Mr. Hill, and Elizabeth, who married Dr. Kerr, mother of Simcoe Kerr, and Mrs. Osborne. Stone's "Life of Brant" is worthy of study, and no nobler name exists upon the American historic page, than that of Joseph Brant.

Sir William Johnson had two fine houses built of stone at Johnstown. There was a third, destroyed by fire. Johnson Hall was erected in 1773. On the grounds a battle was fought in 1781. The Americans were commanded by Colonel Willett. One thing should never be forgotten. Though a member of the Church of England, there was freedom of thought in his wide domain. The Lutheran, the Presbyterian, the Roman Catholic, could enjoy his own belief. The Indian was being civilized, educated, and instructed in religion. Sir William Johnson for his services in the war with France, had one hundred thousand acres, of land granted him, north of the Mohawk River. He went to England, and brought tenants from the Highlands, generally Roman Catholics, the men of Glengarry and their descendants. They went there in 1773, and Johnson died in 1774. When the Revolution commenced, Schuyler prevailed upon Sir John Johnson and others to take the oath of neutrality, intending to keep them as hostages with other prisoners. Sir John heard of this barely in time to escape. Through incredible hardships they reached Canada in safety. At the great meeting held at Niagara in 1764, Sir William Johnson ceded to Great Britain the lands given him by the Indians, and all the islands which were given to himself personally. The Chippewa Indians came from Virginia to the lands above Niagara Falls.

Sir William Johnson's forethought, and kindness, developed Joseph Brant, with others, making him and them England's faithful allies with unbroken faith, and treaties kept, through years of neglect and sploiation. On many a field they laid down their lives. Maligned, despoiled, and neglected, they have acted with dignity, and magnanimity. In the evil days of the Revolution there was no peril or hardship too hard for them to undertake, to bring the women and children of the Loyalists to the sheltering walls of Fort Niagara.

Sir William Johnson's first wife was Katherine Weiserberg, daughter of a Lutheran minister, who was missionary and interpreter to the Indians. She bore him three children—Anne, sometimes called Nancy, Mary, and John. Anne (or Nancy) married Colonel Daniel Claus; Mary married Colonel Guy Johnson, and John became Sir John Johnson. Sir William Johnson's will reads as follows; "The natural children of Caroline Hendrick's and Mary (or Molly) Brant." By Caroline Hendricks he had three children, and by Mollie Brant, nine.

Dr. Francis O. Dee married Mary Smith, daughter of Charlotte Brant, granddaughter of Joseph Brant.

Dr. Robert H. Dee married Elizabeth, daughter of Charlotte Brant, granddaughter of Joseph Brant. Robert has two daughters both living.

Extracts from "Chrysler Documents."

Monthly Return of Captain Joseph Brant's Company in the Corps of Indians, Whereof Guy Johnson, Esq., Superintendant of Indian Affairs, is Colonel. Niagara, November 30, 1780:

Nation	Village	Chief	Men	Women	Children	Total
Mohocks	Tiantoroga	Aaron	53	57	65	175
Aughquaghos	Aughgrogo	Capt. Jacob	46	76	95	217
Oneidas	Canajoharie		41	85	42	168
Cayugas	Owegy	Dog's Breeches	29	30	13	72
Mohecans	Aughguago	Aaron	19	28	18	65
Total			188	276	233	697

Niagara, May 3, 1781.

Captain Brant's Company, total 871. Twenty-eight are gone to war with Captain Brant. A large number of men, women and children have gone planting to Buffalo Creek.

Return of Captain Brant's Company, Niagara, June 1, 1781:

	Men	Women	Children	Total
Mohocks present, Aaron, Chief	35	40	34	109
Mohocks, 15 to Buffalo Creek	1	1	...	2
Conogadarys, DoRarahoga, Chief	21	24	29	74
Mohocks at LaShine	32	33	34	99
Congoharys at LaShine	10	4	2	16
Congoharys at Carleton Island	3	4	2	9
Onedias present, Skonondo, Chief	40	79	49	168
Gone to Buffalo Creek	16	11	4	31
Aughquagas present, Capt. Jacob, Chief	63	74	75	212
Aughquagas at Chinpio	3	1	3	7
Mohicans, present from Aughquagy, Aaron Chief	14	17	14	45
Gone to Buffalo Creek	15	11	9	35
Cayugas, from Owego, gone to Buffalo Creek, Dog's Breeches, Chief	27	20	18	65
Total	281	319	273	875

Return to Guy Johnson, Niagara, August 30, 1781, of the different tribes. On service; at Buffalo; at other places—Total, 891.

NIAGARA, June 24, 1784.

Brant certifies to £208 and 13 shillings, New York Currency, as the amount of provisions from 1777 for services and that nowhere else has it been charged in the public account. He had examined the Indians and signed it as correct.

(Signed) JOSEPH BRANT.

Witnessed, SAM'L THOMPSON,
JOHN SABINE.

LETTER OF JOSEPH BRANT.

Mohawk Village Feb^y 1801

Orders

That Mr. Hambly begin at the mouth of Creek called Fairchilds Creek and Traverse the Creek to its Source or to the head of the Settlement laying off the Lots of 200 Acres each of 15 Chains wide fronting on the Creek and to plot and return the same some of the lots not laying Conviniant with the plan must be returned according to their measure as they now lay

Jos. Brant

Loaned by Chas. J. Taylor, Esq.

JOSEPH BRANT

(THAYENDANEGEA)

CHAPTER XVI.

BRANT MEMORANDA.

PRE-EMINENT in historic fame stands the name of the famous Thayendanegea (Joseph Brant), the great chief of the Mohawks. Of rare abilities, of unquestioned bravery, princely generosity and fortitude under many misfortunes, the wisdom of his views and the statesmanship with which he managed and held his people together, are proofs that the red man has ability which, under just treatment, well deserves recognition and encouragement. Brantford has honored itself both by its name and erecting the statue to his memory.

No one has suffered more from the untruths started by literary people than Brant. He was not at Wyoming, and though this misstatement was called to the poet Campbell's notice, and undoubted proof furnished, it still remains uncorrected. At that time he was in the Scoharie Valley seeking to bring out the Loyalist refugees of that region.

Brant was born in 1742, and died at his home in Burlington, Ont., November 14, 1807.

"Brant gave Major Nelles, one of his Ranger friends, nine square miles of land. A homestead was erected thereon, which still remains. It was famous for the good cheer and hospitality of its owner."—*Picturesque Canada*, p. 488.

Mollie Brant, wife of Sir William Johnson, and sister of the famous Joseph Brant, had great influence among her people. She had the respect of the English, who wished her to live at Niagara on account of this influence over the various tribes who were constantly coming and going from that point.

The readers of American history will recollect that in 1775 and 1776 Montgomery and Arnold attempted the conquest of Canada. For a few months they were successful, but were compelled to retreat in June, 1776. One of the episodes of this mission was the surrender of an American force at the "Cedars," when Major Isaac Butterfield with three hundred men surrendered to Captain George Foster. Probably it was there that the following occurrence took place.

"He saw some service in the French war, though young, and at the

commencement of the Revolution joined the American arms; was at the battle of Bunker Hill and the principal northern battles. He was taken prisoner at the 'Cedars' in Canada, and came near losing his life to gratify savage revenge. He was bound to a stake, and the faggots piled around him, when, it occurring to him that the Indian Chief, Brant, was a Mason, he communicated to him the Masonic sign, which caused his immediate release and subsequent good treatment. He was afterwards promoted to a Colonelcy in a New York regiment, and served during the war. He died at Livingston, N. Y., June 9, 1821; his widow, April 7, 1833."

This story was told Mr. Taylor by his father many years ago, The fact that Mr. McKinstry's life was saved by a Masonic sign to an Indian chief is true, and Mr. Taylor's father said it was Brant.

Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. 13, p. 42, 1859:

"The John McKinstry mentioned here was a brother of Charles McKinstry, the father of David Charles McKinstry, who married Nancy Whiting Backus, daughter of Sallie Backus, the third wife of Major Ingersoll."

This John McKinstry was born 1745, died June 9, 1822.

Extract from Charles J. Taylor's letter of May 27, 1900:

"The Mr. Hambly to whom the 'orders' for laying out the lots near 'Mohawk Village' are addressed, was one William Hambly (said to have been an Englishman), who was a land surveyor and school-master at Great Barrington, Mass., the latter years of the eighteenth century, married here in 1788, later went to Canada. This paper, the autograph, came to me about thirty years ago, in a lot of old papers of Captain Freeman Wheeler, who was next neighbor to Mr. Hambly, and who purchased Hambly's house and land after Hambly's removal from this place. In one old paper of August 30, 1805, Hambly is described as of Township of Woodhouse and District of London, Upper Canada."

CHAPTER XVII.

THE DEVIL'S HOLE.

THERE are facts which recall the period which mark the close of French occupation, and commencement of English settlements on the western banks of the Niagara River. From Lewiston to the rapids above Niagara Falls was a road called the Portage Road on the southern bank. Navigation ceased at Lewiston. All supplies were conveyed over this road until the rapids below and above the Falls were passed. On the southern bank was a cave, or chasm, which the Indians deemed the abode of an evil spirit. To enter it would bring death to the intruder within a year. LaSalle had entered it, and his defeat and death followed in the allotted time. A terrible catastrophe occurred which makes it memorable in the history of the Niagara River. The causes are well known to historians, perhaps not to many others. Mr. Kirby, in his "Annals of Niagara," and Mr. Porter, in his admirable "Guide Book," make very clear the cause of this disaster to British arms. It had been an especial privilege during the French rule for the Seneca Indians to transport the needed goods and supplies over the road, receiving in return rum and tobacco, as compensation for their services. When French rule ended, the transportation was no longer done by the Indians. The road was widened for horses and oxen. The enraged Senecas decided that the opening of the road should be marked by disaster. Placing themselves in ambush (for the primeval forest was everywhere), an attack was made. The horses and oxen were seized, the drivers massacred, their bodies being thrown into the chasm or river. A detachment sent to their aid met the same fate. This event was on September 13, 1763. Sir William Johnson was appealed to, to save the Indians from the retribution to follow, and from which there could be no escape. It was all important that Fort Niagara and the Portage Road should be safe from danger of future massacres. Sir William demanded fourteen miles in length and two miles in width on each side of the river should be given to the British Government and the confirmation of the treaty to be made at Fort Niagara. The largest gathering of Indian tribes on this continent took place in 1764. Sir William Johnson was present and General Bradstreet also with a large

military force. The Senecas had not intended to be present, but they were informed by Sir William that their presence was necessary. Their conduct had given an excuse that the previous grant of land should be extended from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario. They were obliged to submit to this alteration from the original plan. The government became possessor of nearly one million acres of land and Fort Niagara secure as a military station. After the Revolution there was a Portage Road from Queenston to Fort Erie. Fort Chippewa was merely a block-house, built at the same time by Montresor at Fort Erie.

In closing this reminiscence the price paid by the Indians was one thousand acres of land for each scalp. Sir William Johnson's share of land was transferred by him to the British Government, as the law did not at that period permit military officials to accept gifts. Two hundred Senecas had been employed by the French. Fort Erie was built by Montresor. It was re-built in 1791, and in 1807, made stronger. It is now a picturesque ruin. The Park Commission have erected a memorial to mark the place where the encounter took place during the war of 1812.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FRENCH RULE.—ITS CLOSE IN 1759.

CARTIER, Champlain, Frontenac and LaSalle have left the record of patient, undaunted courage, as the heritage of the historian. Brebeauf and other martyrs have left imperishable names to the Church they represented. With them are associated the women of heroic faith who crossed the stormy seas, to rear the convent walls, and lead the daughters of the Indian race to the Cross of Christ. Partners in a great cause, we, daughters of another race, give them the praise which is their due; with reverence recall their virtues, and the noble devotion of their lives. Their efforts for the benefit of the Indian race have not failed, their good work is worthy of everlasting remembrance. Thwarted at every step by the jealousy and opposition from other organizations from both without and within, to which must be added the thieving companions of Bigaud, whose chief aim was to enrich themselves regardless of the sovereign and country they represented. As the historic page is turned, the record of one grows brighter. As the centuries pass the shadow comes. The valiant heroic Montcalm goes forth to his last battle on the Plains of Abraham, closing his career on the field of honor, thankful that the explorers who had carried the lilies of France across the Atlantic, through the St. Lawrence to the head of the Great Lakes, and down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, had passed away, before the evil days of disaster, defeat and humiliation came. The memories of Wolfe and Moncalm are forever mingled as kindred spirits, whose lives represent the noblest part of England and France. It also tells how the Indian race has vanished, not before the explorer or the conqueror, but the pernicious greed of men, who sacrifice everything for gain, while Church and ruler were impotent before the rapacity of the trader. He who said "My kingdom is not of this world" proclaimed an unchangeable truth, and no solvent has been found in the alembic of the past that can combine these principles "The World and Mammon" together.

Father Daillion's estimate of the Niagara Peninsula has proved true. The golden fields, orchards and vineyards, rewarding the toil of the worker have made the homes of our people. These, combined with the

mining interests of British Columbia and the Yukon, the newly discovered silver ores of Cobalt, and the gold of the far North, are substantial evidences that Canada is taking her place among the nations.

Father Daillon, while his heart was gladdened by the vista nature spread before him, tells of the hospitality of an Indian woman, who dared to show kindness to the lonely explorer. She took him to her lodge, and when joined by his companions gave them food and shelter. When the spring days came she brought fresh fish from the river. This kindly heroine of a vanishing race has left no name to perpetuate her memory, but in the unseen register "her good deeds live forever."

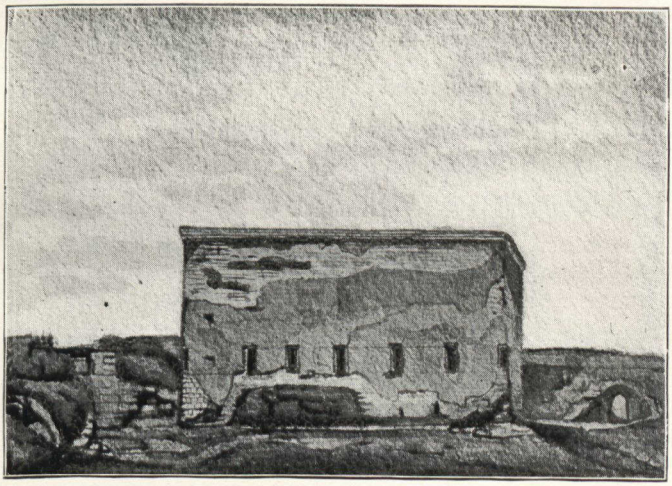
Woman's work and woman's sacrifices ever had their part in creating this Dominion.

During the French regime the habitant who tilled the land, the courier of the wood (de bois), the trapper—none of these could read. The Seignor and the Church were masters of body and soul. Our emigration laws are not liberal and many obstacles raised by the different Provinces of the Dominion to prevent emigration are often unwise and unjust.

CHAPTER XIX.

MRS. JOSEPH CLEMENT.

AMONG the U. E. Loyalists who settled in St. Davids and vicinity were the three Clement brothers—Joseph at St. Davids, and John the Ranger, and James took land below the ridge. All had large families, and their descendants of the fifth and sixth generation are the men and women of today. Mrs. Clement was a French-Canadian, whose maiden name was Margaret Duffett, born in Montreal during the French regime, educated at the Hotel Dieu Nunnery, and always retained the French accent. She was small in person with keen black eyes, and strong individuality. Her father was a surgeon in the French military service. Mr. Clement was in the English Commissary Department during the war, and also the American Revolution, serving in the Rangers. The Clement brothers were all in the English service. Dr. Duffett strongly objected to the attention paid his daughter by Joseph Clement. In those days medical men went to their duties on horseback. Whenever Dr. Duffett went a letter was carefully concealed in the padded part of the saddle, and an answer returned in the same way. An elopement and marriage was the result of this correspondence, and a home in Upper Canada. Mrs. Clement visited Montreal but once afterwards. Her only brother some years after settled in Michigan. On a map of Michigan there is a small stream called Duffett's Creek. This brother visited her on his journey to Detroit. This story was told by her and is a true milk-pail story. As she was going to her evening duty to milk the cow, her brother clad in knee-breeches, silk stockings, shoes with buckles like the gentlemen of his time, accompanied her. As he saw the hardships of her life he put his head on the rail-fence and wept. This was the only time they met. In her house were Majolica plates, brought by her ancestors from France and are now treasured heirlooms of her descendants. Mr. Clement's life ended before the War of 1812. She reared a large family and possessed remarkable business ability. In her later years she became a Methodist. She always carried a large-type black velvet covered hymn book with gilt clasp. She is the Widow Clement mentioned in John Ross Robertson's "History of Masonry in Canada," which shows she had colored slaves. The oldest Masonic document in Upper Canada tells that Brother Joseph Clement was in the Eighth Regiment.



FORT MISSISSAUGA, 1888

CHAPTER XX.

SOME INTERESTING LETTERS.

THE remains of earthworks in the rear and west of Brock's Monument, on Queenston Heights, has occasioned many surmises as by whom and for what purpose they were constructed. The following letter given to Hon. J. G. Currie by Mrs. Saxon, wife of the late Frederic Saxon, Esq., written by his aunt, Mrs. Jenoway, has been accepted by the Niagara Falls Park Commission, and placed on record as a satisfactory explanation as to the cause and time of their construction:

HOPE COTTAGE, FORT GEORGE,
4th September, 1814.

Miss Jenoway—
To the care of R. O. Middleton, Esq.,
Cowper Street, Salford,
Manchester, England.

MY DEAR SISTER,—It is with great pleasure I write these few lines to you to tell you of our good fortune so far, and I hope and trust in the Almighty for its continuance. It it now about five months since your brother was made Assistant Engineer at this place, and am glad to say his emoluments are very great, and so are his exertions. I only fear he will be ill with his great assiduity. We are living in a cottage of his own building. I assure you I am quite delighted with it, but am greatly afraid of our good fortune not lasting long, as it seems to me to be too good to remain any length of time. We have a fine horse and carriage of the country, which just holds our family and a little baggage. I have now been with my dear husband three months, which is the longest period we have lived together since we came to Canada. After I left Mrs. Robinson's family at Kingston, which was on the eleventh of December, Mr. Jenoway having got leave of absence for three weeks to take us up to York, where I remained at a boarding-school. I had one room and boarded with the family, and paid at the rate of a hundred a year. I stopped there until the sixth of June, when I left to join my husband, who was at Queenston, having been ordered from Fort George to erect the fortifications there. I had only been a fort-

night there when five thousand of the Yankees landed above Fort Erie. Mr. Jenoway was left to command Queenston and the fortifications he had constructed, but unfortunately our army had to retire after a hard battle, with only fifteen hundred of the British to oppose so many of the enemy. Consequently your brother had to blow up the batteries and make the best of his way to Fort George with his men and guns. Previous to that, about eleven o'clock in the night, I was obliged to make my retreat with the children. When we had got four miles from Queenston, six Indians rushed out of the bush and asked me for my money. The servant was so frightened he durst not speak to them, but I had courage enough to make them understand that I was an officer's lady, when they immediately went away. You may easily suppose what a tremor I was in. As we went towards the Twelve, before we got within six miles of it, our servant upset us. Fortunately we had no limbs broken, only much bruised. We were near a Mr. Thompson's, where we staid three weeks, with the Yankees within four miles of us and came a few times within a mile and a half of us. After the Americans had retired to St. Davids and Queenston, my dear husband fetched me to Fort George, made the family a present of twenty-five dollars and drove off. My poor little Richard and his brother is, and has been for several weeks past, extremely ill of the ague and lake fever. 'Tis a second attack of it this time. It is nearly as bad here for that disease as in Walcherine, only not so dangerous. Hannah is well and grows a fine girl, but very backward in her talking. Your brother has pretty good health at present, but is almost hurried off his legs. I assure you that he is so very much employed that I have little of his company, as he has the entire command of the Engineer Department at Fort Mississauga and Fort George. The former is a large new fort, which he had the direction of at the commencement, and considered the largest and most important of any in Upper Canada. Not doubting you will participate in our good fortune, we hope the accompanying order on my brother will be acceptable.

(The remainder of the letter is family matters.)

Believe me, your affectionate sister,

HARRIET JENOWAY,

Address to us—R. O. JENOWAY,
Assistant Engineer,
Fort George or elsewhere,
Upper Canada, America.

PRINCETON, ONT., Feb. 12th, 1900.

My mother, Mrs. G. T. Hornor, wishes me to answer your letter. She knew James Ingersoll, the Registrar, and his brother, Charles

Ingersoll, and one sister, Appy, who married William Carroll. She also knew a Mrs. Whiting and her daughter, Miss Sarah Whiting, from Long Point, or near there, relatives of the Ingersolls, whom she met at Charles Ingersoll's.

You say, "Any information in regard to your family will be welcome." I will copy some extracts from the *Oxford Gazetteer*, by T. S. Shenstone, the Registrar of Brant, published in 1852, where he speaks of my grandfather, Thomas Hornor, the first Registrar of Oxford County.

"The late Thomas Hornor, the first white settler of the County of Oxford, and for many years its representative, was born March 17th, 1767, at Bordertown, New Jersey, then a colony of Great Britain; was married in 1801, by Colonel Ingersoll, J. P., the father of our much-respected townsman, James Ingersoll, Esq., the Registrar of the County, and died in Burford, August 4, 1834, of cholera. He came to the County of Oxford in company with his cousin, Thomas Watson, in 1793, before ever a surveyor's chain had jingled in its woods, and probably they were the first white persons who ever trod its soil. Mr. Hornor proceeded to Albany, N. Y., to purchase the materials and engage the mechanics to erect his saw-mill, the first erected in the County of Oxford. He packed his goods in two small, roughly-made boats, which he launched on the River Hudson, near Albany, proceeded up the Hudson to the River Mohawk, and up the said river about one hundred miles, then carried their goods and boats across the Norner Creek, thence down the Norner Creek to Lake Oneida, across the lake to the Oswego River, thence into Lake Ontario; along the southern coast of that lake to the Burlington Bay Beach, drew their boats through a small outlet of the bay, and then proceeded across the bay and landed near where Sir Allan McNab's castle [Dundurn, now Dundurn Park, Hamilton] now stands. The boats were then made fast for future use, and the goods drawn by oxen on roughly-made sleighs to their destination in Blenheim. The mill was got up and in working order in the latter part of 1795.

"Mr. Hornor's principal reason for leaving the United States was his great attachment to the British Crown.

"In the War of 1812 several unsuccessful attempts had been made by different parties to get the Grand River Indians to join the expedition, then being formed by General Brock, to attack Detroit. Colonel Norton, the Indian agent, could only muster nine men. Mr. Hornor, knowing his own influence with the Indians, collected seventy-five warriors and marched to the scene of action, notwithstanding the American general Hull had issued his proclamation refusing to give quarter

to any white man found fighting beside an Indian. After remaining on the enemy's frontier for two or three weeks he was dismissed and sent home, or rather toward home, for he and his men had only proceeded as far as Pike's Creek, on Lake St. Clair, when he was summoned back in great haste by General Proctor. This summons was instantly obeyed, and he and his men returned to the frontier and remained there until discharged a second time. The whole expense of this expedition was paid for out of his own pocket, nor was he ever paid one penny of it back. Again, in the following winter, when General Winchester was advancing against Detroit to re-take it, Mr. Hornor shouldered his musket took his place in the ranks as a private, and so remained until duly discharged."

Mother's father, Capt. Turner, from Bennington County, Vermont, came into the country in 1823, and with two others took the contract of surveying the townships of Zorra and Nissouri, and settled a mile and a half west of where Woodstock now is. Hoping I have not wearied you,

I am, yours truly,

(Signed) (Mrs.) Annis M. Thorn.

St. Davids, July 29th, 1840.

Dear Sir,—As you may be in want of some historical knowledge respecting the Battle of Queenston Heights, etc.

On the morning of the 13th of October, 1812, a little before daylight, the American army commenced crossing the river.

Our forces consisted of the Grenadier and Light Company of the 49th Regiment (the whole before Gen. Brock arrived was commanded by Capt. Dennis of the 49th Reg.). Two companies of the York Flanks, two from the head of the lake, the two flank companies of the 1st Regiment L. M., also two from the Forty Mile Creek, lay at Niagara. We were put under arms about daylight.

I saw the late Gen. Brock start from the Government House at Niagara, followed by his aide, the late Col. Macdonell. He left orders that as soon as the troops and militia could be got into line, to march to Queenston.

We left Niagara about sunrise, and arrived at Durham's soon after. We made a small halt, and then marched up the hill to about where Mr. Stephens now lives; but before we got there we saw a small firing on the hill about the place where the hustings are erected, when we were informed that, after the death of Gen. Brock, the gallant Col. Macdonell had led up a small force to oppose the Americans, where he received his death wound. We then met our small force on retreat. Gen. Sheaffe arrived

BROCK'S MONUMENT AND HOME OF WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE, AT QUEENSTON, 1835

about this time and assumed the command. We then deployed through S. Vrooman's, Mr. Hamilton's and Philip Middeau's fields, and gained the hills without any opposition through the fields where James Williams now lives. We marched by old Mr. Chisholm's house, and formed a line in which are now Dr. Hamilton's fields, the Americans occupying the point of the mountain with a front of about a quarter of a mile, it being covered with brush and timber, we being wholly without covering of any kind. [The Chisholm house is at present occupied by Mr. Smeaton.] We here waited eyeing each other for about an hour, waiting for the two flank companies of the 2nd Regiment Militia, and the Grenadier Company of the 41st Regiment. The former arrived.

We were then ordered to advance. Our little field-pieces commenced firing. It was returned by the Americans, with a six-pounder masked in the brush. A rapid advance was ordered, without firing a musket-shot on our part, until a short distance from the enemy under cover of the woods and underbrush. We were then ordered to halt and fire, which was done. About this time the company of the 41st joined us on the extreme right.

We stood still but a short time, until, I supposed, we were ordered to advance with a double quick time. The musketry made such a noise I heard no orders, but as others moved we all followed. The object, I supposed, was to dislodge them from their cover, and, if possible, take their field-piece, for without knowing or seeing (for the smoke was dense) we, our company, came smack against their field-piece, which when we advanced, I suppose they had abandoned.

The General and his aide, no doubt, as they ought to do, had a position where all was clear to them, but as the wind blew from the enemy we had their smoke and ours in our faces. To be more brief, the Americans, not being under discipline, would not be brought up again after they broke, but sought concealment under the bank. Our regulars and militia forces numbered about eight hundred and perhaps from eighty to one hundred Indians. I must observe that the most severe and destructive part of the engagement to our people was in the morning before and a little after the death of General Brock. The prisoners after the engagement numbered about nine hundred, exclusive of the dead and wounded.

Sir, all this is from personal observation by myself. I may err in some minutiæ, but it is correct in the main features.

I have written a great deal without conveying much intelligence.

Yours,

(Signed) W. Woodruff.

David Thorburn,

Queenston.

CHAPTER XXI.

PAST AND PRESENT NAMES OF PLACES.

IN the early period of discovery, from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the head of Lake Superior was called on the ancient maps the St. Lawrence. Governor Haldimand had first named the district Nassau. Governor Simcoe changed the name to Niagara. He also named the ridge of land from Queenston to Burlington, Mount Dorchester, the highest point being at Grimsby.

In looking over letters and documents it is found that some places have changed their names more than once.

Past Name.	Present Name.
Fort Conty Fort Denonville	Fort Niagara, N. Y.
West Niagara Onghiara Butlersburg Newark (by Governor Simcoe, New Ark Refuge) Niagara-on-the-Lake	Niagara.
Niagara Falls, Ontario, including the present Niagara Falls Park, together with the islands, Bridgewater Mills, and what was formerly Clifton Elgin Suspension Bridge Clifton Street's Grove, sometimes Street's Creek, west of Chippewa, on the Chippewa Creek	Niagara Falls.
Lundy's Lane Drummondville Drummond Hill	Niagara Falls South.
Four Mile Creek Mills Davidsville St. David's Town	St. Davids.
Short Hills comprise what is now	Pelham, Fonthill and St. Johns.
Fort Riall, so named after General Riall	Fort Mississauga.

Lawrenceville Four Mile Creek	Virgil.
Ten Mile Creek and Upper Ten Mile Creek	Homer.
Twelve Mile Creek Shipman's Corners	St. Catharines.
Suspension Bridge, N.Y., and Manchester are included in	Niagara Falls, N. Y.
Twenty Mile Creek	Jordan.
Forty Mile Creek	Grimsby.
Ball's Mills	Glen Elgin.
Merrittville	Welland.
Crookston	Chautauqua, Niagara.

BRIDGEWATER MILL, 1893
In Queen Victoria Niagara Falls Park

CHAPTER XXII.

AN OLD LEDGER.

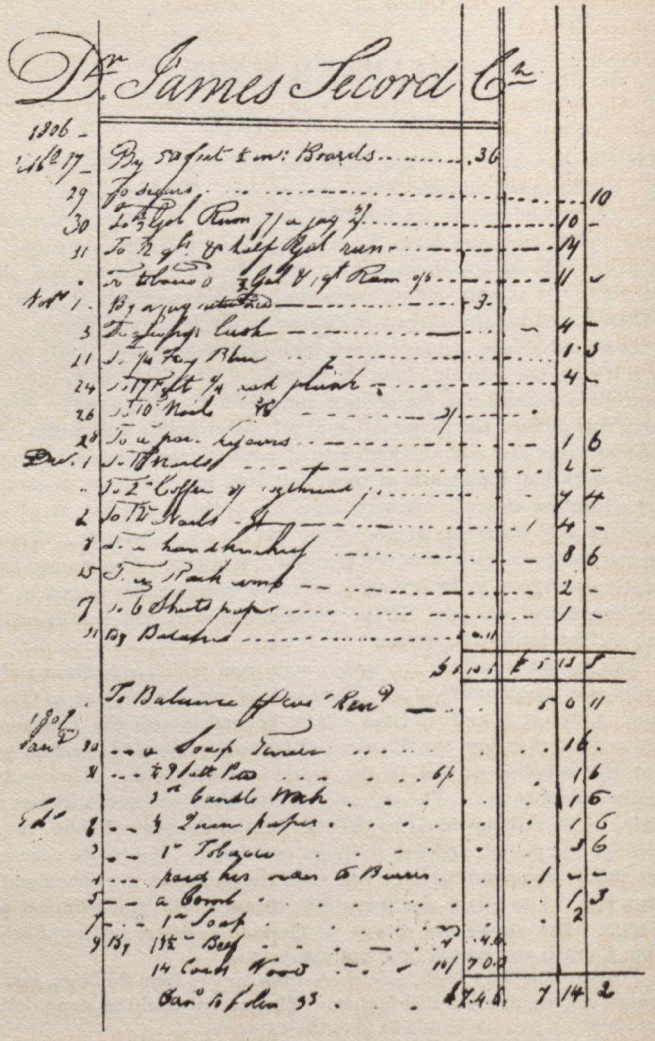
IN the endeavor to bring back the past, there is often great disappointment in questioning aged people. We have been told that early impressions are indelible, but when an attempt is made to particularize facts and dates, we seem to come upon the impossible. If we ask for old letters, there are but few; for diaries or records, there are none. It is only fading memories, seldom recalled, that can be gathered, and tangled threads which we vainly try to straighten.

In an old ledger, happily saved from destruction, and kindly loaned by a friend, the late Dr. John A. Carroll, of St. Catharines, there are some good reasons for the silence and obscurity of the past. Everything was against the preservation of private or public documents. The price of paper and ink, the high rate of postage, the imperfect ways of communication, the length of time, and last, but not least, the imperfect education of our forefathers, are a few of the obstacles. Many men could scarcely sign their names. They did not spell correctly. Very few women could write; it was not thought necessary. If a woman could muster courage to make her mark on some extraordinary occasion, this was considered enough. If the pioneer life was hard for the man, it was still harder for the woman.

The ledger of which we write, and from which selections will be made, was the property of Mr. Thomas Dickson, a merchant in Queenston. Queenston at that time might be considered the commercial center of what is now the Province of Ontario. From Queenston were sent the supplies needed in the remotest settlements. These settlements had no names. The currency of that time was not in dollars and cents. One shilling would be twenty cents of the present time, twenty shillings one pound, and five shillings one dollar. It is quite necessary this should be remembered as you read the prices of over one hundred years ago. The ledger was from 1806, through 1807 and 1808 and part of 1809. The names are mostly of German ancestry, a few French, some English and Scotch, and not many Irish.

Postage was very high, anywhere from two to four shillings, and on foreign correspondence still higher. Whenever it could be done, letters were sent by private hands to save the expense.

LEAF FROM AN OLD LEDGER.



Dr. James Secord Cr.

1806 –
Nov 17 By 50 feet 2 in: Boards ... 36
29 To sundries ... 10
30 To ½ Gal Rum 7/ a pay 3/ ... 10 –
31 To ½ gl. Rum help Gal run ... 14
" To blanket ½ Gal 8/ ½ Rum 9/ ... 11 –
April 1 By a pay retained ... 3 –
3 To Lasting Cush ... 4 –
11 To ½ Pay Blue ... 1 3
24 To 1 Gal ½ red plush ... 4 –
26 To 10 Nails 2/ ...
28 To a pair Sheaves ... 1 6
Dec. 1 To Wheels ... 2 –
" To 2 Coffee @ 1/ Rum ... 3 4
2 To 12 Nails ... 1 4 –
8 To 1 Hand Shackles ... 8 6
15 To 1 Pack cards ... 2 –
17 To 6 Sheets paper ... 1 –
31 By Balance ... 2 11
£ 6 12 5 £ 5 13 5

To Balance of Acct Rend ... 5 0 11
1807
Jan 30 To 1 Soup Funnel ... 1 6
" To 9 Lath Pins ... 6d ... 1 6
3 Candle Mark ... 1 6
Feb 6 To ½ Quire paper ... 1 6
" To 1 Tobacco ... 3 6
" To paid Mrs Nash for Beans ... 1 – –
5 To a Comb ... 1 3
7 To 1 Soap ... 2
9 15 To 15 Beef ... 4 6
14 Cords Wood ... 10/ 7 0 0
Bal. to folio 33 ... £7 4 6 7 14 2

Paper,	per Quire, 3/ to 4/6	Pasteboard,	per Sheet, 1/3
Sealing Wax,	per Stick, 2/6	Bible,	12/
Almanacs,	1/2; Dutch, 2/	Testament,	5/
Lottery Ticket,	3/4	25 Quills, 4/; by Bunch,	5/
Primer,	1/	Postage,	from 1/6 to 4/

The necessities of life were very expensive; luxuries were not much indulged in. Here are some of the prices:

Muscovado Sugar,	per lb., 2/4	Hyson Tea,	per lb., 8/ to 10/
Loaf Sugar,	" 3/6	Bohea Tea,	" 5/
Maple Sugar,	" 1/	Salt, per bush., 12/; per bbl., £2	
Coffee,	" 4/	Tobacco,	per lb., 3/ to 6/
Chocolate,	" 4/	Candles,	" 18d
Pepper,	" 5/	Starch,	" 2/6
Snuff,	" 4/	Ginger,	" 4/
Ham,	" 1/3	Allspice,	" 5/
Indigo,	per oz., 3/	Nutmegs,	apiece, 1/6
½ cwt. Flour,	13/	Potatoes,	per bushel, 3/
Eggs,	per doz., 1/3	Vinegar,	per quart, 2/6

Articles Worn.

Printed Calico,	per yard, 5/6	Thread,	per spool, 6d
Flannel,	" 5/6	(Ball and skein thread most commonly used.)	
Striped Cotton,	" 8/6		
Needles,	per paper, 1/	Sewing Silk,	per skein, 1/
(Generally sold by the ½ doz.)		Morocco Slippers,	per pair, 10/
Stockings,	per pair, 9/	Brown Holland,	per yard, 4/6
Man's Fine Hat,	£3 12s. 6d	Cotton,	" 3/
Bandana H'dkerch'fs,	9/ to 13/	Muslin,	" 10/
Set Knitting Needles,	1/	White Vest,	£1 4s

Cotton Handkerchiefs, 3/ to 4/ apiece.

Articles for Domestic Use.

Copper Tea Kettle,	£1 18s	Tin Canister,	3/
Iron Pot,	7/6	Brass Tacks,	per hundred, 1/6
Frying Pan,	18/	Pudding Dish,	4/
Shears,	3/6	Whip-lash,	3/
Cow Bells,	8/6	Pins,	per paper, 3/
Spade,	12/	Comb,	4/
Skates,	16/	Brass Candlesticks,	per pair, 16/

Building Material and Tools.

Nails,	per lb., 2/	Lock,	each, 9/
White Lead,	3/	Hammer,	" 4/
Gimlet,	9/	Door Latch,	" 4/
Glass, 7x9,	per pane, 1/	Chamber Lock,	" 16/
Brick,	per hundred, 6/2	Screws,	" 2½d

Luxuries.

Locket,	£1 6/	Sword, Sash and Belt,	£3 4/
Watch,	£8 12/	Proportion for a Dance,	£1 6/
Breast Pin,	6/	Pair of Boots,	£3 4/
Watch Key,	3/	Silk Handkerchief,	13/
Snuff Box,	3/	Windsor Soap,	per cake, 1/6
Tobacco,	per lb., 3/ to 6/	Wine Glasses,	apiece, 3/

Useful Articles.

Iron Kettles,	from £1 to £4	Brass Kettles,	£2
Japanned Pitcher,	£1	Wash Tub,	12/
Pewter Tea Pot,	16/	Mouse Trap,	6/
Tumblers,	apiece, 1/6	Sad Iron,	6/
Gun Powder,	per lb., 6/	Turpentine,	per pint, 3/
Chairs,	apiece, 12/	Cradle,	8/
Folding Bedstead,	16/	Making a Cupboard,	£1

What They Drank.

Rum, per gal., 14/;	per qt., 3/6	Whiskey,	per qt., 2/
Brandy,	per gal., 16/	Barrel of Cider,	£2
Spirits,	" 16/	Beer,	per keg, 16/
Wine,	" 18/	Teneriffe Wine,	
Port Wine,	" 18/	Madeira.	

Among the more commonly used medicines were glauber salts, turlington and sulphur (brimstone).

For horse-shoeing, repairing of furniture, freight transportation from Detroit to Montreal, and to every hamlet, pork, beef, flour, everything marketable, were taken in exchange.

The stores had in stock everything needed for domestic use. Much of the trade was in exchange for articles raised, or of home manufacture. There are charges for making men's best suits of expensive material and those for common use. As Queenston had other stores, there were supplies for all kinds of vessels, from His Majesty's warships to the fisherman's bark and the Indian's canoe. One can readily

see what were the necessaries and what the luxuries of that time. There were gilt-edged china, cut glass and all grades of cutlery. There were medicines and drugs. Brimstone was always necessary, as also pills and ointments. The women were not forgotten, for frequently we see untrimmed bonnets, ribbons, etc., and occasionly thread-lace and velvet. Furniture also, for common chairs were twelve shillings apiece. There was probably a coopershop, for barrels were in great demand. A blacksmith shop also in connection, as there are charges frequently made for work of this kind. The only difference between the general store of a hundred years since and the departmental store of the present is, that the wants of that age were less, and there were no bargain days!

Value of currency used one hundred years ago:

York currency, $2.50 to the £.
Eight York shillings, 12½ cents, $1.00.
Halifax currency, $4.00 to the £.
Five shillings at 20 cents to the $1.00.
The military accounts were kept in sterling money.
Guineas, 21 shillings.
Twenty shillings sterling, £1.

The money in circulation was English and Spanish gold, Spanish silver dollars and quarters, York shillings and sixpences, copper pennies, half-pennies and farthings.

Mr. Morris, an old resident of Beamsville, long since dead, gave the following anecdote of the War of 1812. He had served as a volunteer and had furnished supplies to the troops. At the end of the war he came to Queenston to receive his pay. He was paid in Spanish silver. which he put in canvas bags and started to walk to Beamsville. Before long the bags became very heavy. They were shifted from one pocket to another in the vain effort to make them balance. The money was at last taken from the bags, and divided in the best manner possible. "It was the first and only time in my life that I ever had too much money."

CHAPTER XXIII.

MRS. GROVER, OF SEATON HALL, COLBORNE.

A FRIEND has placed in my hands certain "Recollections" of the school of experiences and daily life of Mrs. Grover, of Colborne. The selections from them form a connecting link between the period when the settler had overcome the difficulties of the first settlement and the invasion of 1812. It shows how the women of Canada were educated after the war, and what was thought necessary for a finished education. Mrs. Grover's ancestry was from families who were most prominent in revolutionary times, and is an addition to the honored names of the U. E. Loyalists. These recollections were written for her grandchildren when she was between seventy and eighty years of age.

Mrs. Grover is the granddaughter of Matthew Goslee and Ann Schuyler mentioned in the following pages.

No name stands higher in New York annals than that of her uncle, General Philip Schuyler, the brave soldier and courteous gentleman, of kindly heart to friend and foe, the wise counsellor and the right hand of Washington; the two united by a friendship commencing before the Revolutionary War and ended only with their lives. Such is the brief record of his noble life.

It will, no doubt, be a matter of surprise to find that a woman who had suffered so cruelly in every way as did Ann Schuyler, should choose for a husband a Loyalist, and, turning away from all that was pleasant in the life of those days, resolve to share his lot in the Canadian wilderness.

Mrs. Grover's recollections commence with the following obituaries. The precise dates are not given:

In the Colborne *Express*, of 1850, appeared the following obituary:

"On Monday, the 21st instant., 1850, in the village of Colborne, at the residence of her son, Ann Schuyler, relict of the late Matthew Goslee, and mother of J. D. Goslee, Esq., in the 88th year of her age.

"Mrs. Goslee was a niece of General Schuyler of Revolutionary fame. She was born in Albany, and spent the early part of her life in the United States. She accompanied her husband at the end of the Revolutionary War, in 1783, to Canada, with other Loyalists. They

left their home and their all from pure attachment to their sovereign, and suffered all the privations consequent upon settling in a new country. Mr. Goslee died in 1830, since which period the deceased lived with her son (her only child). She retained full possession of her faculties till the last of her life."

Other obituaries follow, the dates not given:

"Elizabeth Hamilton, cousin of Mrs. Goslee, and wife of Alexander Hamilton, died in Washington on Thursday. The remains were brought to New York City, and the funeral service took place in Trinity Church today at 1 o'clock. Mrs. Hamilton was the eldest daughter of General Philip Schuyler, born at the old family mansion, Albany; married to Hamilton in that city, December, 1780. At the time of her marriage Hamilton was aide to Washington, with rank of lieut.-colonel, and had just completed his twenty-fourth year. Mrs. Hamilton survived her husband over fifty years. Both she and her sister Catharine were cousins of Mrs. Goslee, whose obituary we publish to-day."

Mrs. Grover copies from an old register the following marriages, celebrated in 1780:

"Married in Albany, Elizabeth Schuyler, eldest daughter of General Schuyler, to the gallant Hamilton, aide to General Washington, with the battle guns of the Revolution firing a salute, and Liberty Bell ringing a merry peal." [Alexander Hamilton, killed in a duel with Aaron Burr, Vice-President of the United States, July 11, 1804.]

Again, two years later:

"The marriage of Ann, niece to General Schuyler, at the old Manor House in Albany, to Matthew Goslee, a soldier of the Revolution, took place on the 11th day of August, 1782."

Catharine, the second daughter of General Schuyler, married Colonel Cochran, and settled in Oswego. She visited Mrs. Goslee, and at her death the funeral sermon was printed and sent to Mrs. Grover's mother.

Mrs. Hamilton lived to be ninety-six years old. They had no children. Their graves are in Trinity church-yard, New York. Mrs. Goslee's mother died when she was quite young. Her father and only brother were killed at the same time, fighting on the Revolutionary side. General Washington, before those troublous times, had been god-father to her cousins, Elizabeth and Catharine Schuyler, and herself.

There are many anecdotes connected with these "recollections." One that Hamilton and Aaron Burr came together to General Schuyler's, and were given a cup of coffee by the sisters, Hamilton saying, as he took the cup, "May the Lord preserve you." In an old letter of Kate

Schuyler's she says, "I have cut Aaron Burr, never to speak to him again."

An anecdote of Washington and General Wayne is given, very characteristic of both. Washington asked General Wayne if he could storm Stoney Point and take it from Clinton, who had strongly fortified it. "I will storm hell if you plan it, General," was the reply. "Try Stony Point first," said Washington, solemnly. Wayne did, and took it on the evening of July 16, 1779.

Mrs. Grover gives a selection from an old song, popular in 1776, evidently written to show the Mother Country how well the colonists lived:

"Of turkey, fowls and fishes
Most frequently they dine;
With gold and silver dishes
Their tables always shine.

"Wine sparkles in their glasses,
They spend the time away
In merriment and dances
In North America."

Mrs. Grover describes the scene where her grandmother, seated on the fence under a cherry tree, saw her father and brother, with a company of volunteers, march to their last battle, and heard her brother's parting words, "Look out you don't fall, Sis!" Through the afternoon, from this position, she listened to the boom of the cannon, and saw their defeat. She then ordered a colored man, their slave, to saddle two horses and secrete them, until needed, in a hickory grove near by. Her friends were rushing past, telling everyone to save themselves, for the British was victorious and were burning their homes and driving off their cattle. They saw the burning barns and knew their homes would soon follow. Her father's last letter had told that her uncle, General Schuyler, was stationed in the Jersey woods. With her attendant she rode night and day to put herself under his protecting care. While passing through a wood on the second day they saw tents in the distance, and hurried on till stopped by a sentinel with the command, "Dismount!" The girl was suspected of being a spy. She stood on the ground and began to tell her pitiful story, while the slave was trying to disengage an enormous horse-pistol from his garments. Just at that time a young officer came riding up, and she noticed that his red coat showed one sleeve gone, and the place supplied by a blood-stained bandage. She knew at once that she was in the enemy's camp, with evidence of battle surrounding her. She was weak and faint for

want of food, and wearied with her long ride. The officer sent for food and wine, and told the colored man to put up his pistol, "for the young lady will come to no harm. Is she your mistress, and who is she?" he asked. "Yes, massa; she is my mistress, Miss Annie Schuyler. The Britishers have killed my massa and Mr. Philip, then burn us up, and we ran away to find my missus' uncle. We thought he was in these woods; guess we're mistaken." "My God!" exclaimed the officer, "a niece of General Schuyler in this wood with no protection but this slave!" He begged her to take the food. When she had done so he assisted her to remount her horse, and, leading the way, gave the necessary directions, following which, a few hours after, she found herself with her uncle at his headquarters. From there she was sent to the old Schuyler mansion near Albany, and remained with her cousins until her marriage, which was from his house and with his approval. It was there she again met the officer who had shown her such considerate kindness in those hours of bereavement, defeat and danger.

Scarlet riding-habits were the fashion of that time. The one worn on that memorable day was afterwards made into a cloak with a chapeau, long used during her Canadian life, and the saddle is now in Mrs. Grover's possession. Matthew Goslee was the name of this brave man, who afterwards became her husband. His family lived in Maryland, and six brothers served in the Continental army. He served under Cornwallis, and was in the 33rd Foot, participating in many battles of the Revolution. He was with Cornwallis in his unfortunate campaign, and was among those to give up their swords at the surrender of Yorktown, October 11, 1781. He ever referred to this as the most unhappy day of his life.

Mr. Goslee owned a plantation and fifty slaves. These were confiscated at the close of the war. The plantation was bought in by his brothers and offered to be restored if he would return and live there. He choose, however, the life of the Loyalists along with his faithful wife, Ann Schuyler.

Mr. Goslee settled near Colborne, and had one thousand acres of land. The log-house was built among the pines to protect it from the heat of summer and the cold of winter. They lived the old story of the settler's life in its earliest days; the log-house with its immense fire-place and the large logs piled upon each other. Here the Indians, hungry and almost naked, slept before the fire. In Matthew Goslee's house they ever found help and shelter.

The only son and child of Matthew Goslee married at twenty-one the daughter of a U. E. Loyalist, and settled beside the old homestead, only a stream dividing them. They had three daughters and one son.

One of the daughters was Mrs. Grover. She was born and lived for many years in her grandfather's house, and was ever asking from both her grandparents "stories about the war." They will not be given here, as they are familiar to the readers of American history, and corroborative of what has been so often told. She tells of her dress of striped linen, spun and woven by her mother, the stripe brown, colored from the bark of the butternut tree. "Grandfather made me shoes from cloth."

The main road ran past her grandfather's house, with the "forest primeval" on each side. In summer they went in an ox-cart when not on horseback; in winter in a sleigh. Mrs. Grover's school life commenced with her grandfather taking her to school, which was a log building and kept by a young man whose name was Daniel Cummings, a member of the Baptist Church. Mr. Goslee would put the child on horseback, hang her lunch-basket on the horn of the saddle, and lead the horse to the school, coming for her at four o'clock. There she learned her A, B, C's, but "never mastered the multiplication table!" She was sent to an American boarding-school when twelve years old, much against her grandfather's wishes, where she stayed a year without coming home. At that school Harriet Beecher, afterwards the celebrated Mrs. Stowe, graduated the same year. Many Canadians were there. She gives some of her studies—geography, history, rhetoric, philosophy, mythology. With the others she made a drawing of the map of the world, which pleased her father very much. She made a drawing, also, of a mourning piece with a large tombstone and a lady standing under a weeping willow. While absent the beloved grandfather died. He could never be prevailed upon to visit the United States. On her return home she came partly by the stage coach and the Erie Canal to Rochester, and then crossed the lake to Presqu' Isle, where she was met by her father and taken home.

The following year the young student was taken to York (now Toronto) to the school of the Misses Purcell and Rose. This was in May, 1831, her father giving her a ring engraved with her initials, and twenty-five dollars for spending money during the term. The school was under the patronage of Lady Colborne, whose husband was Governor at that time. She gives the names of the teachers, and the persons attending the school, who were the daughters of the leading people in Ontario. "Miss Purcell was like a mother to us, and the school life was happiness and perfection." She tells of an invitation from Lady Colborne for the school to attend a bazaar, and for which a holiday was given.

"On the day appointed we marched down the street, two teachers

in front, two behind, and the boarders two by two between them. The soldiers of the 71st Highlanders lined the corridors and room where the bazaar was held, and their band gave such heavenly music. I was fifteen then, and had never seen soldiers dressed in this manner, and I felt my face redden as I saw the bare knees. The bearskin caps, too, surprised me. The tables were beautiful. Lady Colborne was at one, and her sister, Miss Young, at another. The young ladies at the different tables wore white dresses, and small black silk aprons with pockets. Sir John was present, walking up and down the hall leading his little daughter by the hand. I knew he had been at Waterloo, and I thought of Washington, Cornwallis, and the people I had heard grandfather talk about."

Our narrator met at other times two ladies in deep mourning, one a Miss Shaw, the *fiancee* of General Brock, who wore black to the day of her death, and a Miss Givens, "who was engaged to a son of Sir Peregrine Maitland by his first wife. This gentleman went to England for his health, and died on the return trip. Miss Givens lived to be ninety-one years of age, faithful to the love of her youth. I never forgot that beautiful day in June, and can see it still."

Mrs. Grover's house in Colborne, in after years, was named, in memory of those pleasant days, "Seaton Hall," Sir John Colborne having become Lord Seaton.

The recollections do not say what was studied in the Toronto School, but there were "pencil drawings, wonderful embroideries, with shaded silks to imitate engravings, and still more wonderful samplers." They had a French dancing-master, but the waltz and the polka were unheard of. After her return home at Christmas time there were private theatricals, her brother figuring as David, and a very tall serving man as Goliath. They had an ancient piano, and her brother had a guitar for serenades.

Mrs. Grover tells of a trip to New York with her father and mother, driving from her home to Brighton, taking tea at Presqu' Isle, and leaving there by steamer for Charlotte, the port for Rochester, United States. They stayed there two days, visiting places around the city. From there they went by the Erie Canal to Albany. The boat was drawn by three horses abreast, and they thought it a most delightful way of travelling.

"Twenty miles this side of Albany we saw the first railroad and enjoyed the change; then on a floating palace from Albany to New York. . . . New York City was a wonder to us. I supplied myself with everything new. Father took us to the Park Theatre. We heard Tyrone Power, who was afterwards lost on the ill-fated *President*.

Father hired a private carriage and we drove about the city, Brooklyn and various places on Long Island Sound. We were in New York six weeks, and greatly admired the character of the people. While in New York we were present at the farewell of Fanny Kemble to the stage, and were fortunate to have good seats. The play was 'The Wife,' and the Opera House and all other places of amusement were closed, as every one wished to hear the talented actress for the last time. The house was full, and she acquitted herself worthy of her fame before the assembly of beauty and fashion. The excitement of feeling was of the most intense nature. Smiles, tears, wit, applause congregated there to give a dazzling effect to the whole. Many who had never entered a theatre before flocked to hear the great Kemble and his daughter as she took her farewell. At the end they came forward, and Mr. Kemble said, 'We bid you farewell,' amid the waving of handkerchiefs, fans, play bills, etc. After our return father sold his land and moved into Colborne. My sister went to school in Montreal, my brother to college. My father bought a horse for me, and I ever used the Revolutionary saddle."

Well might Mrs. Grover say:

"Those lives were noble in their missions, strong in their fortitude, sublime in their patience, and tenderly humane in unselfishness and neighborliness. Often my grandmother, after her own duties for the day were ended, would carry a pine torch and waive it to protect herself from wild animals while going through the woods to a neighbor whom sickness or death had visited. It may be these are better times, but the more we catch the spirit of those days the nearer we shall be to nature's God."

CHAPTER XXIV.

DR. THEOPHILUS MACK.

AMONG the first to utilize the medicinal properties of St. Catharines mineral water was the eminent physician and surgeon Dr. Theophilus Mack. Facing great difficulties, he commenced and established the present St. Catharines Hospital. This institution, for half a century, has proved a refuge for suffering humanity, a restorer to lives of health, and years of usefulness to thousands. Its humble beginning was an old frame building still standing on the Western Hill, leading to the Grand Trunk station. With a few devoted helpers, mostly women, he commenced the work which has made St. Catharines and himself justly celebrated in medical annals. The discovery of anasthetics induced a visit to Scotland to acquaint himself with the revolution they produced in alleviating suffering while aiding the operations of surgical skill. Under his magnetic influence Springbank and the Stephenson House were built for those benefited by his medical advice and operations. The Fenian Raid in 1866 will long be remembered. Under Dr. Mack's supervision the City Hall was prepared to receive the wounded from the disaster at Ridgeway, June 2, 1866. Early on Sunday morning the wounded were borne through our streets. There were no ambulances in those days, but friendly arms bore them from the Welland station to the improvised hospital.

Improvements since those days are many. Old systems with their prejudices have passed away. Dr. Mack lived to be appreciated for the work he initiated. The hospital on Queenston Street received a visit from the Marchioness of Lorne, daughter of our late beloved Queen Victoria. The Princess was accompanied by her brother, the Duke of Albany. It was during the Duke of Argyle's administration as Governor-General of Canada that Dr. Mack's Hospital was honored by these royal visitors. His medical skill received appreciation from the profession also.

When George Brown, the founder of the *Toronto Globe*, fell by the assassin's hand, Dr. Mack was summoned to his assistance. These are some of the memories that cling to his name.

Should not some memorial be erected to embalm the work of Dr. Mack among Canada's honored sons?

Dr. Mack married Jane Adams, daughter of Elias Adams, a U. E. Loyalist. She died November 29, 1909, at the residence of her niece, Mrs. H. L. Watt, aged eighty-five years, and was buried in St. Catharines Victoria Lawn Cemetery.

Dr. Mack was born April 23, 1820, and died October 26, 1881.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE HAMILTONS OF QUEENSTON, KINGSTON AND HAMILTON.

THE most prominent man in Upper Canada more than a century ago was the Honorable Robert Hamilton. The Hamilton family was a numerous race whose ancestors came from Scotland. Energetic and ambitious they had unbounded influence in their day. They were among the most successful men of their time, amassing great wealth in their varied undertakings. They could justly lay claim to almost royal ancestry. Their ancestor was Alexander Hamilton of Silverthorne Hill, whose tenth descendant was John Hamilton, Minister of Bolton, born in 1714 and died in 1797. His wife was Jane Wright, and had by her three sons and one daughter.

The eldest son of the Minister of Bolton was Honorable Robert Hamilton of Queenston, Upper Canada, who died in 1809. He is described as a merchant of Niagara, member of the Land Board at that place, member also of the first Executive Council of Upper Canada in 1791, and first Judge of the District of Nassau, extending from the River Trent on the Bay of Quinte to Long Point on Lake Erie. During the American Revolution Mr. Hamilton, in partnership with Richard Cartwright, established a store on Carlton Island near the military post which was known as Fort Haldimand, carrying on an extensive trade with the Indians. After the war closed Mr. Hamilton removed to Queenston and was appointed one of the local judges, having Lieut.-Colonel John Butler as his colleague on the bench.

Captain Patrick Campbell, who visited Niagara in December, 1790, wrote: "Mr. Robert Hamilton, a gentleman of the first rank and property in the neighborhood, and one of the Governor's Council, came also to wait on me and invite me to his house, an honor I readily embraced. He and Mrs. Hamilton were so very obliging as to go along with me in their oak sled to see the grand Falls of Niagara."

When the Duke of Kent, the ancestor of our present King, visited Niagara Falls, he and his party lunched at Mr. Hamilton's on their way back, where the Indians performed a war dance.

The Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt wrote in 1795: "Mr. Ham-

ilton, an opulent merchant who is concerned in the whole inland trade of this part of America, possesses in Queenston a very fine house built in the English style. He has also a farm, a distillery and a tan-yard. This merchant bears an excellant character. He is at present in England."

The following entry in Mrs. Simcoe's diary, dated at Niagara, July 30, 1792: "We stopped and breakfasted at Mr. Hamilton's, a merchant who lives two miles from here at the landing, where the cargoes going to Detroit are landed and sent nine miles to Port Chippewa. Mr. Hamilton has a very good stone house, the back rooms looking on the river. A gallery the length of the house is a delightful covered walk both below and above in all weather."

J. Ross Robertson writes: "Hamilton built a large stone residence at Queenston, also a brewery and a ware-house. In 1791 he was appointed a member of the Legislative Council, an office he retained through life. For some time he distinguished himself with Mr. Cartwright, his old partner (also a member), by opposing Government measures, thereby incurring Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe's lively displeasure."

In one of the Governor's despatches he denounces Hamilton as an avowed republican, but when it was hinted that certain privileges would be taken away from them the opposition ceased. Governor Simcoe acknowledged that he had received much valuable information respecting the commerce of the country, and particularly the Indian trade of the far west, from Mr. Hamilton.

John Ravenhurst, chief clerk in the office of the Surveyor General for many years, states in his evidence before Lord Durham's Commission in 1838, that the general price paid by speculators for the two hundred acre lots granted to the sons and daughters of the U. E. Loyalists was from a gallon of rum up to perhaps six pounds, and he mentions Honorable Robert Hamilton as among the largest purchasers of these lands. Mr. Hamilton's acquisitions amounted to about one hundred thousand acres.

Dr. William Canniff says, in his "Settlement of Upper Canada," that when Governor Simcoe's scheme for the promotion of higher education was under consideration, the Honorable Robert Hamilton of Queenston had a brother living in Scotland and it was through him that an offer was made, first to the celebrated Dr. Chalmers, who, not desiring to come, mentioned the name of his friend Strachan to whom the offer was made. Mr. Strachan decided to come. Thus it was the veteran school teacher, the divine, the father of universities, was led to Canada to become the occupant of one of the most conspicuous places

in the Province of Upper Canada. He arrived at Kingston the last day of the year 1799, being over four months on the way. When Strachan arrived Simcoe had been recalled and his scheme was for awhile in abeyance. A school was established at Kingston in 1800 by the Honorable R. Cartwright for his sons, having Mr. Strachan for teacher, and among the other pupils were two sons of Honorable Robert Hamilton. James and Samuel. Honorable Robert Hamilton married first Mrs. Robertson, and secondly, Mrs. Catharine McLean, in whose honor the name of the Village of Shipman's Corners was changed to St. Catharines in 1809. (See Biography of Honorable W. H. Merritt, page 49.)

By his first wife he had five sons.

1. Robert, married Mary Biggar; died in 1856.
2. George, of whom hereafter.
3. James, who married Catharine Warren. Had a son Henry and a daughter Catharine.
4. Alexander, who married Hannah Owen Jarvis, and died in 1839, leaving issue.
5. Samuel.

By his second wife, Mrs. McLean, Honorable Robert Hamilton had three sons and one daughter.

6. Joseph.
7. Peter Hunter.
8. John, of whom hereafter.
9. Mary.

George Hamilton.

George Hamilton, who died in 1836, married Maria Lavinia Jarvis, who was born December 31, 1788. She was the eldest daughter of William Jarvis, Provincial Secretary of Upper Canada under Governor Simcoe, born 1756 and died in 1817, a native of Stamford, Connecticut, the fifth son of Samuel Jarvis and his wife Martha Seymour. William Jarvis rose from Ensign to Colonel in the Queen's Rangers, or First American Regiment, commanded by John Graves Simcoe. Married December 12, 1785, Miss Hannah Owen Peters, daughter of Dr. Peters, Episcopal Clergyman of Hebron, Connecticut. The children of George Hamilton were:

1. Robert Jarvis, born 1812, died 1892.
2. Catharine Hannah.
3. Samuel Askin.
4. Marie, who married W. H. Fitzgerald, and had issue.
5. George.
6. Augusta Hannah.

7. Catharine, who married Samuel Black Freeman, and had issue.

8. Caroline Augusta, who married Alfred Boultbee, and had issue.

A paper written by one of George Hamilton's granddaughters states that when the War of 1812 broke out he was living at Niagara-on-the-Lake with his wife, and deeming the frontier town an unsafe place they moved to the head of Lake Ontario. The young mother with her baby boy (Robert Jarvis Hamilton) in her arms, rode on horseback through the bridle paths till they reached the haven of refuge on the mountain side, what is now the City of Hamilton, above the beautiful waters of Burlington Bay, and on the spot now occupied by the handsome residence of Samuel Barker, Esq., M. P., the young couple built their log house, long famed for its generous hospitality. Here the red men of the forest were welcome guests. George Hamilton was a public spirited man, taking a deep interest in those about him. He laid out a number of streets in the town of Hamilton and presented to the Corporation the Court House square, the Wood market on John street, and the pretty little Gore Park on King street. For a number of years he was Treasurer of the Counties of Wentworth and Halton and took an active part in the politics of the day, being for a long period member of the Parliament of Upper Canada. In the War of 1812 he held the rank of Captain. Charles Durand, who knew Mr. Hamilton well, writes: "No account of the early settlers of Hamilton would be complete without the mention of George Hamilton, who for over a quarter of a century was the best known man in Hamilton."

Hamilton has not been unmindful of his services. In Hamilton cemetery, that beautiful city of the dead, where Harvey and Vincent had their camp on Burlington Heights when the decisive battle of Stoney Creek was fought during the night of June 5, 1815, there stands in the vicinity of the chapel a handsome monument of polished granite erected to his memory by the Corporation of the City of Hamilton. What his descendants love best to remember was his kindness to the poor and needy. No suppliant was ever turned from his door. The late Major Glasgow told the following story about him:

"In the year 1832 a party of emigrants sailed slowly up the bay. Tired and worn by their long voyage from the old land and longing to set their feet once more on the green grass, dreading a longer stay on their infected vessel, for the deadly cholera had sadly thinned their numbers. As they neared the desired haven a new difficulty confronted them. A crowd of townspeople opposed their landing in fear of the dreaded scourge. In this dilemma a Christian gentleman stepped forth and said: 'Friends, we cannot leave these women and children cooped up in yonder boat to die. Let us go to work and build them a shelter

and supply their necessities.' That man was George Hamilton. Many hands made light work, and temporary houses were soon erected for the grateful strangers."

George Hamilton had not been long the owner of property in Barton Township before the Gore District was formed with the Town of Hamilton as its capital. His own residence was close to the base of the mountain, on what is now called John street. The highway from Niagara to Ancastor followed the line of King street (called the Ridge Road because it kept to the driest ground), and thence along John street up the mountain. He owned large quantities of land and the transfers of property are among the prominent names of that time—James Durand, Daniel Springer, John Springer, Thomas Dexter, Ann Kribbs, —— Aikman, Samuel Barker, Philip Crips or Kribbs. These patents and records cover a long period and give an idea of land values covering ninety years. George Hamilton lived to see the village he had founded become a flourishing and important town. Hamilton is now among the large cities of Ontario. On his death Robert Jarvis Hamilton became the head of the family.

Robert Jarvis Hamilton.

His first wife was Catharine Robinson; the second, Mary Wright. By these marriages there were twelve children.

Robert Jarvis Hamilton was a prominent and influential citizen of Hamilton, but he did not, like his father, aspire to parliamentary honors. George Hamilton represented Wentworth in the Upper Canadian Legislature from 1821 to 1830, when he was succeeded by Allan Napier McNab.

The Hamilton family have ever occupied a prominent position in the history of Upper Canada. They were a manly, generous and progressive race, doing much to develope this country. The living descendants of all branches of the Hamilton family are numerous.

George Hamilton died in 1836. He left two sons and three daughters. He died without a will. According to the law in those days the eldest son inherited if there was no will. His eldest son, Robert, came home from Texas. He divided the property and gave each of his sisters their share of property. These instances of generosity are not numerous and are gladly recorded to the honor of those who performed them.

Hamilton Brothers were owners of vessels plying between Kingston and Queenston. These vessels conveyed supplies of all kinds between these two points. On land their teams, ofter of oxen, conveyed these supplies to the most distant settlement. There was no business in which

the members of this family did not take a prominent part. They purchased the claims of the soldiers and officers and thus secured large landed possessions. When the Duke of Kent made his visit to Niagara he was entertained at Judge Hamilton's house at Queenston. This was the house destroyed by the American battery at Lewiston the day of the Battle of Queenston. He died worth £2,000,000.

John Hamilton.

Mr. Hamilton built the *Queenston*, *Great Britian*, *Lord Sydenham* (which was the first large boat that ever ran the rapids), *Passport*, *Canada*, *Kingston* and *Sovereign*, and chartered many others. For a long time he made a determined fight against the Great Western (now the Grand Trunk Railway) which became a competitor for the carrying trade of Upper Canada. John Hamilton also maintained a line of stage coaches. He was called to the Legislative Council in 1831, and served continuously in the Upper House for more than fifty years. In 1881 his colleagues in the Senate of Canada presented him with a complimentary address, which was read by Sir Alexander Campbell. He was chairman of the Board of Trustees of Queen's College from its incorporation in 1841 until his death. Senator Hamilton's figure was large and well knit; his countenance was marked by singular dignity and benevolence. Intelligence and refinement shone there, and were characteristic also his manners and conversation. He married in early life Francis Pasia, daughter of David Macpherson of Inverness, Scotland, by whom he had ten children, several of whom lived to occupy influential positious.

The history of the Canadian branch of the noble family of Hamilton began before the organization of Upper Canada as a separate Province, and its members had much to do with the development and progress of the country. The living descendants of Hon. Robert Hamilton are very numerous, and at the meeting of the Ontario Historical Society it was most appropriate that a word should be spoken concerning them and their achievements.

CHAPTER XXVI.

REVEREND JACOB BAILEY.

REV. JACOB BAILEY was born at Rowley, in 1731. The State of Maine at that time was the northeast corner of the State of Massachusetts. His parents were Puritans, belonging to the Congregational denomination. They emigrated to America thirteen years before the Pilgrims of Plymouth Rock. It was an age of inconceivable ignorance, bigotry and narrowness of mind. The refugees of European nationalities came to America to escape from the tryany of the ruler, and exactions of the Church, to encounter poverty and hardships before which the amenities and decencies of life vanished. Politeness and civility became a sin, while old customs and a stupid exactness ruled in the field, the home and the meeting as the rule of life. New England has not a fertile soil nor genial climate,—the poverty of the soil and the people corresponded. The father of Jacob Bailey was David Bailey. The family of brothers and sisters were large; their means limited. In an age where all were poor, constant toil and rigid economy only brought the necessities of life. Education was confined to the few who had means. The privations endured seem incredible, and that people could exist under such circumstances appear impossible. Mr. Bailey says that as soon as he learned to read he had an unconquerable desire to travel in foreign countries. The conditions of his life were such that these aspirations could not be expressed, and it was not till after his tenth year that his instincts found expression from the adverse influences that surrounded him. He had but few books, and little time for recreation. His leisure hours, few as they were, were spent in scribbling. It happened when doing this one evening he was called away and left his writing uncared for. A person picked it up and was so impressed that he showed it to others. Finally it reached the parson of the parish. He was also pleased, and called upon his father and wished to see him also. Bailey had such a respect for the minister that he could not enter his presence without fear and trembling. He hid, making no appearance until the minister had left. His father told him that the minister had offered to take him into his family for a twelve month, giving him instructions without consideration. This was the generous

offer of the Rev. Jedidiah Jewett, paster of the First Congregational Society in Rowley. This clergyman was ever his benefactor, adviser and friend. Mr. Bailey was painfully bashful in his youth, and would endeavor in every way to avoid the gentler sex. In after years he was their educator and was among the first to realize that women also needed higher education to meet the requirements of life. He was with Mr. Jewett for years, leaving to enter Harvard College in 1751, when he was twenty years old. His extreme bashfulness had passed away. The customs of that age were such that if not certified by others living at that time would seem incredible. He participated in the habits that surrounded him. As he saw their baneful influences, they were abandoned. He was among the first to believe that a higher and better life was necessary. Ardent spirits were a common beverage; card-playing was universal; dancing was indulged in by ministers and people. An account is given of the marriage of a clergyman's daughter. After the ceremonies lemon punch was served. The younger guests spent the time in singing, dancing, and a game called "wooing the widow." The next day the festivities were renewed. The bride was saluted, dancing and cards for two hours, followed by the dinner, after which the festivities continued.

His college expenses had been heavy, leaving him in debt, and he had almost made up his mind to go to sea. Calling on a clergyman, he was presented with two dollars, a pair of gloves and a Hebrew Bible loaned him. Consulting Rev. Mr. Jewett, he was advised to journey through New Hampshire, taking with him letters of introduction. Armed with these he went to Portsmouth, where many of his college friends lived. He was kindly received, and aid given by those to whom his letters were presented. From there he went to Sir William Pepperell's, where an amusing incident occurred. The fog was so dense, and cold extreme, that he entered by the kitchen door. The mistake was corrected, and the Governor and his wife, helped on his way by their attendants, and invited to come again. At other places from the ladies, he received needed necessaries,—stockings, lawn for bands and material worth ten pounds. He said: "I have every reason to esteem this town." These items are given as the kindness continued through the different States. There was one place, Providence, Rhode Island, where he speaks of irreverence at the Sabbath services, and yet here was no lack of kindness and help. The darker side is also shown among the poor. The roofless huts, without a floor in which they dwelt; the scanty clothing, black with dirt; of crime and its punishment; of the different Indian tribes, fast passing away. As he passes through these varying scenes he writes: "The golden age extolled by poets must be

similar to one's Indian neighbors." At New London he tells that women still wear hoops, the men wear caps, there is scarcely a wig to be seen in church, and the children go barefoot. At Lyme, dining with a relative of his friend, Rev. Mr. Jewett, all the household dine together, both white and black—sixteen persons in all. The best grass, wheat, and Indian corn, that he had seen anywhere were there. There were only two houses in sight. Religious intolerance existed every where. Wethersfield pleased him most of all the places he had visited. At Newburyport he visited the First Presbyterian Church, where Whitfield is buried, a view of which is given. Mr. Bailey graduated from Harvard in 1755. Among his classmates were John Adams, afterwards President of the United States, the Governors of New Hampshire and Nova Scotia, the Royal Governor of Bermuda, and other men distinguished in history. The heartfelt gratitude to his first friend is ever uppermost,—his benefactions, his efforts to advance Mr. Bailey's interest, and his watchful care, ever sending suitable clothing for Commencement.

New England from the earliest period provided for the education of her sons, but girls had no such privileges. The rudiments of knowledge were thought sufficient for women. They were not allowed in the public schools of Boston until 1760, and then only for six months as an experiment. A facsimilie of a letter from John Adams is given. He says that fuel from the pine woods is sooty, but he adds that the conversation is more sooty. At Hampton he appeals through the press for more seemly speech and conduct in church. At Portsmouth he received a gift of money for "his own especial use." We can scarcely believe of the state of life in which he lived. These selections are feeble in comparison with what remains untold.

He has not given the reason for leaving the sect in which he was born. He taught four years before his resolve was made to become a minister of the Church of England. It was necessary to be ordained in England.

In his application for testimonials needed, he was hindered by opposition and discouragements that made his efforts difficult. When these were overcome, as he trusted, he had again to meet and overcome them in England. The voyage to the old land, though on a British frigate, was disagreeable in many ways. He went on board the vessel January 10, 1760; February 16th the joyful cry of "land" was heard. There were many others went to England for ordination also. While there he received kind attentions. The clergy were anxious for information in regard to America, from others also the same desire for reliable information. To one whose surroundings and manner of life

had been so different, church architecture was an imposing surprise of beauty and admiration. His examinations in Latin, Greek and English were successfully passed. Ordination was also passed with impressive ceremonies befitting the importance of a life of religious service. The King's bounty to all Americans on ordination was £19—7—6.

Among those who entertained him was Benjamin Franklin. His son and four ladies, who were in full dress, did not remove their hats. Everything was most agreeable.

On March 26th they embarked for America, reaching there May 28th. Their return was mentioned in the Boston *News-Letter* of June 4, 1760, telling also that he is to be at Pownelsboro, on the Kenebec River. On the Kenebec and Penobscot Rivers were erected crosses in the name of the King of France. The land was called Acadia, and reached from Cape Breton to Long Island Sound. About the same time, James I of England gave a Royal Charter, first to Virginia, and second to Plymouth, and a few huts were erected there. On the shore at Atkin's Bay the ritual of the Church of England was first observed.

In 1751 a number of Germans arrived in Boston and generous offers were made by the Plymouth Company which induced them to make a settlement named Frankfort, afterwards changed to Dresden. The German emigrants were Protestants, but extremely poor. The Catholic Church was active in its work among those who were too poor to employ a pastor to share their poverty. Under these circumstances many became converts. In 1754 the Protestants presented a petition to the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel" to send a missionary. One was sent, the Rev. Mr. MacClenochan, who arrived in 1756, remaining until 1758; his home was Fort Richmond. The title was "Itinerant Missionary of the Eastern Portion of Massachusetts Bay." His family joined him there. Mr. Bailey's parish was one hundred miles long and sixty in breadth; travelling in canoe in summer and by sledge in winter. The limit was exceeded when an urgent call was made. There was no Court House until three counties had been taken off. In 1853 the ancient Court House in Pownelsboro still remained. It was built in 1761. Mr. Bailey went there in 1760. It served as Church and Court House. A communion service was presented them. As the settlement increased the pressure to forsake Protestantism increased, but the poverty did not diminish. The houses had no chimneys, and the beds nothing but straw. These selections were some of the difficulties surmounted. It was 1760 when Mr. Bailey returned, and his mission among the colonies re-commenced under the auspices of the Society. Throughout the years that prefaced the Revolution of 1776 faithful and incessant labors marked his life. New churches were built and schools

planted. But with the advancing prosperity of the settlers were the mutterings of a disaffected people. Every idle speech was quoted, until disaffection culminated from rebellion to revolution. Mr. Bailey married in 1762, Miss Sally Weeks, daughter of Dr. John Weeks of Hampton, New Hampshire. She was much younger than himself, and was a faithful wife and mother in all the misfortunes that befel them. Mr. Bailey won for himself respect where ever placed. A gentleman presented a communion service. Settlers were coming in, and the congregation increasing. The aid of his congregation was extended to others. Indians were their frequent visitors. A church convention was held in June, 1766. Fifteen clergymen in cassocks and gowns was a novelty in America. The Catholic Church visited the Indians, giving absolution once a year. Among Protestant Dissenting Churches he was popular. Eight different persuasions were around him, many people not able to read or write. The distribution of books and Bibles at cost in London was a great help. While insufficiently paid, his hardships were increasing. As Pownelsboro became the county seat, a new element predominated of people who had property, rank, and controlling influence, with power often abused. For years he lived in an unsuitable dwelling. Mrs. Bailey also worked among the people. His careful observation of the times continue without comment. Facts are recorded, leaving the inference to be drawn by the reader. Nothing escaped his observation. His home had been made comfortable. Fruit trees were planted, and outside of Boston there was no garden or orchard that gave such promise. On September 8, 1774, are noted the first threatenings of the approaching change. Mr. Bailey was obliged to leave his home and find safety in concealment. Letters could not be sent with safety. As time passed on the dangers increased. After Lexington Mr. Bailey was assaulted, and other clergymen were treated in the same manner, being made prisoners in their own houses. In 1777 Mr. Bailey was summoned before the Committee for not reading the Declaration of Independence, and for not omitting Prayers for the King. His property had been confiscated and sold, and his servant Macnamara was fined and imprisoned. "The Sons of Liberty" were the most violent among the persecutors. Mr. Bailey was obliged to leave his family without money or food, except what the garden afforded and the care of his faithful servant. Under a fog he escaped to Falmouth, and unexpected benefactions helped him to Portsmouth. Burgoyne's defeat was celebrated with Revolutionary rejoicings. At Christmas he returned to his home, a prisoner in his own house. English bankers supported him, and other clergymen in similar circumstances, to the amount of £50. His clothes were patched with materials unlike the original; his hat was full of

holes, and his wig in sad condition. Some young ladies sent him funds. On the 29th of July he asked leave of the Council to go with his family to Nova Scotia. A Mr. Erskine, an Irish gentleman, at this time sent him $217. This was not the first time that he had proved his friend. Mr. Erskine was highly connected and kept him and the family for three weeks before their departure, giving provisions for their voyage and a further contribution of £15, collected among his friends on his departure. A storm drove them back and Mr. Bailey went ashore. During his concealment his family suffered for want of food. From 1775 the Society had not sent his salary. Refusing to take the oath he was threatened with imprisonment if he preached. In November the Court of Boston gave him permission to leave for Halifax. There was no opportunity to remove until June, 1779. The distress was fearful. Others had no bread for months. Famine and nakedness came together. Those on the seashore had only clams. Tea, fruit and vegetables could not be had. During the winter months many were without stockings and shoes, and scanty clothing. Among those who had been wealthy he dare not take a meal, such was the need. All were in the extreme of hunger and the necessities of life. Mr. Bailey endeavored to perform his duties. About two weeks before his departure the Sheriff appeared at a funeral to arrest him, but a friend had given him timely warning to escape. On the morning of their departure they rose early to meet some friends who came to shed a parting tear. Their names are given. Others met them on the road with tears. One appeared at the last moment to have their infant baptized. The friends with whom they stayed the last night had risen early. Their parting gift was a pot of butter and a salmon. Other friends gave them from their scanty stores food for their voyage. Their bed and the remnants of their home were not worth $40. Other sufferers with same privations were companions. At last on the schooner they passed down the river to the sea. Their beds were in the hold spread on stones used for ballast. Keeping near to the shore they stopped frequently. Contributions of food were given, and even a little salt was acceptable at the house of a Mr. Rhodes, a German gentleman, who by industry had acquired a home and ample means had been reduced to want. Tales of suffering met them on every hand. Fogs were frequent, making delays. Storms were dangerous. At one time every sailor was ill and the captain stood for some hours at the helm alone. At last, after a voyage of two weeks, the welcome light of Sambro Islands was seen and Halifax was reached. Crowds hastened to the wharf. Friends recognized them in their delapidated state. Kind words welcomed them to a land of safety and shelter for the New England refugees. During these past years he had

received nothing from his people. They, as well as himself, were compelled to support Puritan congregations. His property had been destroyed. When they arrived in Halifax they were no longer persecuted, but the colder climate, the influx of others under the same conditions, and an unproductive soil brought unparalelled sufferings. They had escaped with their lives, but that was all. Halifax, from highest to lowest, shared their all with the sufferers. Food and raiment were given, and tea was a most welcome gift. Captain Callahan's report had prepared the way for what was to be their future home. Mr. Bailey was provided with a church and home. The emoluments were small and his income was eked out by teaching. Afflictions came; the brother who came with him died. Captain Callahan, his faithful friend, died in 1781. His school was small, and he removed to Annapolis. As the years passed there was hard work with scanty compensation for his labor. They sold their furniture; Mrs. Bailey parting with her clothing. In writing to a friend he said: "You can have no idea of travelling in a new country. How rapidly even decent clothing is destroyed. You go knee deep through mire." He describes the condition of life, and "that direct want will exist for at least some years for the settler. Only one apartment built with sods—men, women, children, pigs, fowls, fleas—such, at least, are the homes of forty families within a mile and a half of Annapolis. Brother —— can confirm what I say. The salt water brings cruel sickness." This was in 1787. He was too old for removal to a new people to learn the new circumstances which ensue. He had three sons and three daughters. One daughter conducted a female school of thirty-four scholars, thirteen of whom were charity scholars. Mr. Bailey died of dropsy on July 26, 1808. Mrs. Bailey died at Annapolis, March 22, 1818, aged seventy years. It was their son Charles Percy, the protege of the Duke of Kent, who fell at Chippewa during the War of 1812.

Mr. Bailey, in describing his arrival at Halifax, writes: "Since my arrival, August 17th, over seventeen hundred from New York, besides the 57th Regiment have arrived. Multitudes are without clothes. Nearly four hundred of these miserable exiles have already perished. This is in Annapolis, where between three and four thousand population have been added." This was written in 1783. During November the refugees were from every State except Georgia. Mr. Bailey said decent missionaries cannot exist without decent support. He ever shared his means with the suffering and desolute.

In closing the record of these perilous days it is completing Mr. Bailey's desire to preserve from oblivion the name of a man truly as loyal as himself. John Macnamara was born November 5, 1758. His

parents and friends were violent rebels. He was a member of the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel" at Kennebec. His honesty and loyalty made him recognized by the Government. Like Mr. Bailey he was a seeker of knowledge, becoming a member of his family about the commencement of the Revolution. Here his opportunity for knowledge was increased. His genius was developed, and many branches of knowledge, by books and Mr. Bailey's instruction at home and abroad, were his helpers to encourage and enlighten. Arithmetic, geography, navigation, astronomy, mensuration, and surveying were the developers of his capacity. His honesty and integrity were undoubted. When Mr. Bailey was forced to flee for his life, he was the protector of his wife and children when they were suffering for the want of food. When compelled to flee to Nova Scotia with only forty dollars worth of furniture, he became the companion of their exile, teaching in Annapolis for three years where he became postmaster. His income was ever used for the benefit of his pupils, in charity, and promotion of public designs. His reputation for diligence, sobriety and integrity were unquestioned. He died in the spring of 1798. Bishop Ingles, in a letter to Mr. Baily, says: "I very sincerely regret the death of Mr. Macnamara, who was a very worthy and useful man. In him the community has sustained a loss."

CHAPTER XXVII.

MR. AND MRS. WILLIAM FORTUNE, KAMLOOPS, B. C.

MR. and Mrs. William Fortune, Tranquille, Kamloops, British Columbia, were among the earliest settlers of that Province. William Fortune is commended to the young men of the Dominion as an example of persevering industry, whom no difficulties could discourage. He came to Canada from England in 1858, on the ship *Cerastine*, landing in New York, and coming from there to Buffalo. During his brief stay there he plowed the Square of Black Rock with eight mules. From there he came to Niagara Falls to see Blondin cross the river on a rope. From there he came to St. Davids, where he remained until the discovery of gold in British Columbia. A party was made up from the surrounding villages and towns, composed of twenty-six persons. As they proceeded on their journey others joined them at various points. After leaving Canada, which was early in the spring, they utilized railway and river transit as far as possible. At Minnesota railway travel ended. From St. Paul to Fort Garry (now Winnepeg, with over one hundred thousand inhabitants), they went by stage. At that time Fort Garry was a Hudson Bay post. A steamer was building, and here the party waited for a month to make the preparations for a journey across the continent. Necessary supplies were purchased. Dried buffalo meat, called pemmican, was one of the supplies. Here the party was joined by Governor and Lady Dallas. As the vessel was not large enough to take the party and their supplies, Governor Dallas went on horseback and a portion of the company on foot. The party increased in number. A few weeks after they left Minnesota the Indian massacre took place, and over one thousand lives were lost. The passage across the continent and over the Rockies will not be described. They had the usual experience of the explorer, prospector and settler. Over mountains, through forests, crossing rivers and streams. The object of these reminiscences is to show, that with health, honesty, industry and perseverance, there are no difficulties that cannot be overcome. Losses can be retrieved and the sunset of life will bring its reward. Now, over seventy years of age, Mr. Fortune has a large estate, with wealth honestly earned. It is his subsequent career, upon

reaching the Pacific coast that will be presented. The first thing on their arrival was to have what they called "a square meal," for which each person paid $1.50. Fortune was employed by the Hudson Bay Company for some years, often sleeping on the snow. When he left them he took up nine hundred acres of land and went into the saw-mill business. He built a steamer called *Lady Dufferin*, and was her captain for nearly ten years. The saw-mills and boat were successful. The papers allowing him to be captain were taken out in 1883. Insurance agents had not reached British Columbia in those days. When the first and second fires occurred (and he has been burned out three times) his losses were $90,000. He had a grist-mill also. In the last fire his insurance brought him $3,000. He was also engaged in mining, but his agricultural and fruit farms have been the great sources of his prosperity. He has kindly favored the writer with specimens of what British Columbia can produce. The "Northern Spies" sent have never been excelled in this "Garden of Canada" for beauty, size and flavor. A Glasgow paper that sent correspondents around the world contained a description of his home at Tranquille, Kamloops, and what he has accomplished by irrigation. Gold and other minerals have been sent, and though half a century has passed, prosperity has never made him forget his life in St. Davids, nor on my side his faithful service. Mr. Fortune has been fortunate in having a wife who has been truly a helpmate in his married life. In his various lines of occupation she has been his faithful helper. Enterprising as himself, rising early and toiling late, with courage equal to his own, it is a pleasure to indite their mutual success, and this reminiscence of the Pacific coast would not be complete without an "honorary mention" of her life. Mrs. Fortune was born in Ireland, the family consisting of four sons and four daughters. Her brothers are all dead. They had emigrated to America and the family name was McWha. The second brother lived at Lytton, B. C. While visiting her brother she met Mr. Fortune. Her brother told her that "he had known Fortune for seven years and that he was the best behaved man in the country and clever in every way." These encomiums of his future brother-in-law are an endorsation of character through all the experience of life. His words to young men are worthy of remembrance, "Any young man with health and industrious habits, honesty, good principles and courage will come out successful." Jane McWha was born in the County of Down, Ireland. She has one sister living with her; another married a Mr. Ferguson, and lives in Australia. One of her brothers was a sea captain and died at sea. He was part owner of the vessel on which he sailed, and his wife and son were on the vessel at the time of his death. Her brother William kept a hotel

at Lytton and the marriage took place there. The festivities lasted three or four days. They were married by the Rev. Mr. Good, of the Church of England, on January 28, 1869, and were the first white couple above Fort Yale in British Columbia. A nephew living with them was drowned on Christmas Day, 1904, which was a great loss and sorrow. Mr. Fortune was born in Yorkshire, England. He was the eldest son of Richard Fortune, and had three sisters and one brother. The brother is dead. The lives of Mr. and Mrs. Fortune have their lessons, that honesty, industry and courage will be rewarded.

Fortune's house was the first in Kamloops. It was a dug-out on a side hill, with merely a door. A picture of this dug-out shows Mr. Fortune and his partner in business standing beside it. Other views show the mills, the steamboat and the fine house with its background of the hills. Their horses, cattle and sheep are counted by the hundreds. There is a fishing station also. These many interests, with the farming and fruit growing, leave them no idle moments. The open door of their house, where so many have been welcome guests, tell of what the Dominion can do for the sons and daughters of the "mighty mother" across the seas. May this land, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, be the home of free people, taught by free schools and led to the better land by the teachings of a free church. "Tranquille" has now been purchased as a sanitarium for consumptives. May Mr. and Mrs. Fortune long live to enjoy the blessings which the years have brought them and which they so richly deserve.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

LORD STRATHCONA AND THE HUDSON BAY COMPANY.

DONALD ALEXANDER SMITH, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, was born at Ferres, Scotland, in 1820, and came to Canada in 1838, when eighteen years old, seeking in this country what he could not have attained in the land of his birth. For nearly thirty years he served the Hudson Bay Company, the hardest task-master the white man has ever known. At the bidding of the Company he endured hardships so painful and so terrible that he cannot now, with the halcyon days of prosperity and highest honors awarded him, venture to recall those days of hardship and peril.

After ten years of service he was promoted to be agent on the bleak coast of Labrador. Almost made blind by the snow of that region, on the verge of the Atlantic where the supply ship came only once a year, with two Indians he tramped two thousand miles to Montreal for help, to be told by Governor Simpson to go back to his post. Before the last two hundred miles of that desolute return his faithful Indians died from exhaustion, fear and hunger, and he stumbled into the Post alone. Such was the rule of the Hudson Bay Company in the yesterdays of the past, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Such it would have been in the future years which we call tomorrow if the presence of that statesman, George Brown, had not silenced the strife of years in the great Confederation of 1867.

In those thirty years, his experience under the iron rule of the Hudson Bay Company, developed his genius and ability for the government of men. His leisure moments were spent in reading with careful study. By these steps he rose from the foot to the topmost rung of the Company's ladder, becoming chief executive, with home offices in Montreal. Saving and thrifty he became a rich man. When it became an acknowledged fact that the Northwest was to be the limit of investigation, it was for him to make the terms which closed their iron rule, opening its fertile plains to the plough and reaper, to bring the golden wheat that feeds the millions of America and Europe. Through his guidance the conflicting interests of the Government, the Company, the Indians, and the half-breeds the rebellion was settled, to make the Canadian Northwest the highway of Europe and Asia.

None can forget the great struggle through which the Dominion passed when the Canadian Pacific Railway was constructed. Enough that Donald Smith could come out from the struggle of giants holding up "clean hands" to the gaze of friend and foe, and in November, 1885, with those same hands drive the golden spike that united the east and the west together.

Twenty-eight years have passed, and the great empire-builder, by his forethought and his friendship, is now acknowledged the head of Canada before the world. His wealth has increased by judicious investments, and Canada is ever the foremost recipient of his princely gifts. Honors have been heaped upon him, and nobody deserves them more. Hospitals in Canada have been enriched by his bounty, also in England and throughout the Empire. The higher education of women has also been remembered. Those of limited means and struggling to obtain an education have been aided by his generosity. It is pleasant to add that the high honors bestowed upon him are but the just reward of his public and private services. He is now ninety-three years old, with the health and vigor that promise many years of useful life. He was "Uncle Donald" to the late King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra of England, and to those who are in the circle of their friends. His marriage to Isabella Sophia Hardisty, of Labrador, is alike honorable and noble. An only child, a daughter, is married to Mr. R. J. Bliss Howard, of Montreal. The Barony, should male heirs become extinct, will be continued through the female line. In the honor roll of the empire-builders of this Dominion there is no nobler name than that of Donald Alexander Smith, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal. Perseverance and belief in the rights of all, have been his guide through life. Would that the young men of this broad Dominion emulate his example. His cousin, Lord Mount Stephen, is also a great man, but is overshadowed by the superior greatness of his kinsmen. The accession of new Provinces is generally inaugurated by contests and Legislative mistakes to be followed by rebellion. There were two rebellions in the Northwest Provinces after Confederation. The Hudson Bay Company, in 1868, surrendered to the Crown its territorial rights over the regions under their control. The Company to receive for this, £300,000 sterling ($1,500,000) in money, and grants of land covering its trading-posts to the extent of fifty thousand acres. In addition, to receive as it shall be laid out and surveyed in Townships, one-twentieth of the land in the great fertile belt south of the north bank of the Saskatchewan River, also the privilege to trade, but not an exclusive monopoly. Jealousies at once arose, fearing the titles of the present settlers would be prejudiced. The disaffected refused to receive MacDougal as Governor

in 1869. The details of the difficulties are matters of history. The price paid for our acquisition it is said amounts to one-half cent per acre, or one-fifteenth of what the United States paid for Alaska. Two rebellions have added to the price of the purchase. The first was put down by Lord Wolesley to be renewed by the half-breeds in 1884, of the Saskatchewan and Assiniboine territories.

They claimed that they could not get titles to their lands, and the grants to the land companies were over-lapping their holdings. These complaints were unheeded. Riel returned from Montana, where he had found shelter from his first rebellion, to champion the endangered rights of his friends. Again the rebellion was put down, and Riel perished on the scaffold. It seems as though there should be included in every fresh acquisition of territory a consequent rebellion soon to follow.

The Hudson Bay Company.

Canada is no debtor to the Hudson Bay Company. The conquest of Canada made its strength greater and more secure, increasing the number of stations and the Company's wealth. The Indian brought his furs to the Company, while the world was kept out, and its great wealth remained unknown. The rights of other companies were absolutely forbidden. Companies were formed and after unsuccessful efforts were amalgamated. This combine was as complete as the combine of our day—the prohibition of seal fisheries for the benefit of one nation. The Indians of the north were brought under civilizing influences no more than they were under the rule of France. Lord Selkirk's attempt to bring Scotch emigrants ended in ruin to himself and misery to those who joined him. Both French and English raised barriers to prevent civilization. As the history of the past is having its resurrection it causes no surprise that the kings of France and England, with their Ministers, looked upon their American possessions as a bottomless pit into which the treasures of both lands were thrown and brought no returns.

CHAPTER XXIX.

SETTLEMENT OF THE U. E. LOYALISTS' CLAIMS.

LORENZO SABINE, of Massachusetts, was among the first to notice the number, character and position of the Loyalists, and put before the American people the loss to the Republic which every State brought upon itself by the treatment of the men and women of that time. Without him our ancestors would have mingled their dust with mother earth "unwept, unhonored, and unsung." The Loyalists were accused of atrocious crimes, utterly untrue, with motives base and cruel.

Sabine and Parkman opened the doors of American history and proved the injustice of these assertions. The Dominion and Provincial Archives have abundant treasures rewarding those who use them. Historic Societies are gathering up local history. Historic Museums are awaking to the duty of preserving the relics and mementos of the brave men and women who followed the discoverers and navigators of the St. Lawrence. Thompson, Richardson and other Canadians adds their part to preserve the memories of their time. From Europe came people of many nationalities and languages to be welded together as Canadians. The only road for the settler was the Indian trail; the blazed trees his only guide through the limitless forests. With unparalleled industry they toiled, felling the forest, sowing the fields, and planting orchards. They lived in log cabins with few of the necessaries of life, until the virgin soil rewarded their labors. They dared the wolf and grappled with the bear to secure for their descendants the heritage we enjoy.

In December, 1897, Dr. Bourinot delivered an address at the University of Toronto upon the U. E. Loyalists of Canada. It was the jubilee year of the long reign of Queen Victoria. He contrasted the beginning of the Dominion with the magnificent spectacle presented there. What Dr. Bourinot more particularly dwelt upon was the mistaken idea of so many that the U. E. Loyalists were uneducated and poor. The Commissioners sent to England in 1786 forever settled the fact that even the generosity of the Commissioners could in no manner compensate the Loyalists for the loss of their homes. Her aid could only ameliorate in a slight degree the necessities of the present, and the

sufferings of future years. Blest with an enduring loyality which no wrong could weaken and no injustice destroy, it is with special pleasure that from Dr. Bourinot comes this measure of praise for their noble lives. Their influence will continue to extend as their descendants increase. From the forty-five thousand who came to Canada, seven hundred and thirty thousand can be traced. Among them are fourteen Lieutenant-Governors and eighteen Chief Justices. Since 1867 (Confederation) three Prime Ministers of the Dominion Government, seven have been Governors and Finance Ministers and sixty in the Legislatures. In science, education, and literature they claim the same honorable lineage. In law, medicine, and religion they are ever increasing their monument in the country they saved to form this great Dominion.

The claims made by the U. E. Loyalists to the Commissioners were of the utmost importance. It may not be out of place to make some extracts from the reply of Mr. Coke, one of the Commissioners, when questioned by the English House of Commons in regard to the action taken by them. Mr. Coke says: "That when he entered upon the execution of his duty, to investigate the losses of the sufferers, he was far from having a predilection in their favor. But in the course of his enquiries he had discovered such merit, and such sufferings—such fidelity and attachment to this government, that he now entertained the warmest sentiments in their favor. That he always considered the House pledged to grant the full amount of their losses, as they were liquidated, and under that idea he had been intent to pass them down and reject them unless they were proved in the utmost satisfactory manner. As the House had been called upon to grant seven hundred thousand pounds sterling for useless fortifications, there could not be any hesitation to comply with a demand so evidently founded in the principles of justice and humanity."

Mr. Wilmont, another Commissioner, coincided with Mr. Coke, and "that his opinion of the Loyalists increased as they proceeded in their work; and that during his four years of daily and hourly service, such proofs of fidelity, attachment, sufferings and distress, entitled them to every mark of favor which the Government could confer. Whenever a question arose, which, as a member of Parliament, he could decide, he would accede to every proposition in their favor. Double the sum named by the Commission could not indemnify them for their losses, and that in most cases there was the loss of husband, father, son or brother, who fell in the defence of the cause of this country. The time was extended by the Commission to those who by distance, infirmity, age, and poverty, could not appear in the given period. The Commissioners had to meet those, who, as they said, 'came with a lie in their

mouths.' You would be shocked to see the impudent demands from the States, and says at least two hundred thousand pounds sterling have been claimed by owners of privateers against us. They think such claims a good speculation in which they may gain and cannot lose." This letter was read to the whole Commission, and received their cordial assent and support.

South Carolina restored the confiscated property of certain Loyalists, and they withdrew their claims. But in many cases the property was so injured or destroyed that it was of little value. The Commissioners protected those whose property had been confiscated, on the pretence of debt. People who returned after the peace, were mobbed and driven away. It was most pitiful to read of the women whose husbands died in prision. To give food to a Loyalist brought a heavy fine. Slavery was common through all the States, but particularly in the State of New York. The slavery of those days was for domestic service, and most every land owner had one or two—some a larger number, but few had eight or ten. The treatment to which women were subjected was barbarous in the extreme. Sarah Slocum appears among the claimants; she testifies that her husband was killed in 1777. He was shot by rebels at his own door—one of the witnesses testifies that Slocum was murdered by one Babcock, for his loyalty. Another witness testifies that the Sherriff was a violent rebel. There was money in the house which Mrs. Slocum was accused of forging and issuing for rent. She stood half an hour in the pillory; had her ears cropped and her cheek branded. She was the mother of ten children at the time of her husband's death. Mr. Slocum had two hundred sheep, six or eight oxen, about sixteen cows, and a negro. His son was being seized, and he was killed by a pistol shot. The money she was accused of using, was forged Congress money.

The early settlers suffered from the suspicion which their treatment of the U. E. Loyalists during the Revolution brought upon them. The U. E. Loyalist brought with him the memory of wrongs to himself and family which even time has not effaced. Obliged to flee from his home, or be imprisoned, his property confiscated and sold for a trifle, to buy the arms and support the soldiers of the enemy. His wife and children treated with the greatest inhumanity, the only thing they brought with them was their life, and a memory of cruel treatment.

When peace was declared in 1783, one of the stipulations was that imprisoned Loyalists should be released, twelve months given to recover their confiscated property, and that confiscation should cease. Unfortunately these provisions were not kept. Annoyance and persecution continued, and the only alternative that remained was an exodus to the

Canadas. Driven from their homes the British Government gave them lands in Canada, for those they had lost, and in lieu of pensions, also. It is well to remember these facts. The settler paid for his land on easy terms. The Loyalists had their grants with additional help for past services, losses and present needs. Rapid surveys were made to meet these exigencies. During the Revolution many went to New York in the hope peace would restore their homes and vocations of the past, but a different fate awaited them. A fleet of twenty vessels carried seven thousand of these exiles to St. John, New Brunswick, in 1783. Twelve thousand had previously arrived. To Nova Scotia also came thirty thousand.

The sudden influx of so many people to the Provinces whose natural productions were of a limited kind, produced circumstances most disastrous.

Those who are living in the "Garden of Canada" can not imagine the misery this influx produced. A few went to England and the West Indies. The British Government made supreme efforts to help needy subjects. To Lower Canada came twenty thousand, to Upper Canada ten thousand. To these food, clothing, and blankets were given, for every necessity of life was needed. Land grants taxed every energy from 1783 to 1791. Employment, too, was to be found, tools to work with, and seeds to plant. Guns were given to help provide the supply of food. Four million dollars were spent in surveys, and the aid was so efficient that in a few years the land was cleared and substantial buildings erected. Commissioners were appointed to examine the claims for losses. These were of various kinds and the examination was conducted in a manner that met the approval of the claimants. The Commissioners appointed were John Wilmot, Daniel Parker Coke, Robert Kingston, Thomas Dundas, John Marsh, and Mr. Pemberton. Colonel Dundas and Mr. Pemberton came to Canada. Two-thirds of the claimants were from New York State. Those who had large fortunes went to England to have them adjusted. At first soldiers were allowed forty per cent. on their claims, and civilians thirty, and finally no distinction was made. Great Britain spent thirty million dollars upon the Loyalists for food, clothing, compensation, and annuities. The claimants of all classes expressed their gratification to the Commissioners for the manner in which they had performed the important trust committed to their charge, in these memorable words: "It will be the business of our lives and that of our offspring, to render ourselves worthy of the patronage and protection of the best of sovereigns, and to manifest our gratification to that nation who notwithstanding the weight of her own burdens, has so often and so cheerfully contributed to lighten ours."

CHAPTER XXX.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE LAND OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

EXTRACT from the Rules and Regulations for the Conduct of the Land Office Department, dated Council Chamber, 17th February, 1789: "The safety and propriety of admitting the Petitioner to become an inhabitant of this Province being well ascertained to the satisfaction of the Board, they shall administer to every such person the oaths of fidelity and allegiance directed by Law. After which the Board shall give every such Petitioner a certificate to the Surveyor General or any person authorized to act as an Agent or Deputy Surveyor for the District within the trust of that Board, expressing the ground of the Petitioner's admission. And such Agent or Deputy Surveyor shall within two days after presentment of the Certificate, assign to Petitioner a single lot of about two hundred acres, describing the same with due certainty and accuracy under his signature. But the said Certificate shall have no effect if the Petitioner shall not enter upon the location and begin the improvement and cultivation thereof within one year from the date of such assignment or if the Petitioner shall have had lands assigned to him before that time in any other part of the Province.

"The respective Board shall, on petitions from Loyalists already settled in the Upper Districts for further allotments of Land under the instructions to the Deputy Surveyor General of the 2nd of June, 1787, or under prior or other orders for assigning portions to their families examine into the grounds of such requests and claims, and being well satisfied of the justice thereof, they shall grant certificates for such further quantities of land as the said instructions and orders may warrant, to the acting Surveyors of their Districts respectively, to be by them made effectual in the manner before mentioned; but to be void nevertheless, if, prior to passing the grant in form it shall appear to the Government that such additional locations have been obtained by fraud. And that of these, the Boards Transmit to the Office of the Governor's Secretary and to each other, like reports and lists as hereinbefore as to other locations directed.

"And to prevent individuals from monopolizing such spots as mines,

minerals, fossils, and conveniences for mills and other singular advantages for a common and public nature, to the prejudice of the general interest of the settlers, the Surveyor General and his Agents or Deputy Surveyors in the different Districts; shall confine themselves in the locations to be made by them upon Certificates of the respective Boards to such lands only as are fit for the common purposes of husbandry, and they shall reserve all other spots aforementioned, together with all such as may be fit for ports and harbors, or works of defence, or such as contain valuable timber for shipbuilding or other purposes, conveniently situated for water carriage, in the hands of the Crown. And they shall without delay give full and particular information to the Governor or Commander-in-Chief for the time being, of all such spots as are herein before directed to be reserved to the Crown, that order may be taken respecting the same.

"And the more effectually to prevent abuses, and to put individuals on their guard in this respect, any certificate of location given contrary to the true intent and meaning of this regulation is hereby declared to be null and void, and a special order of the Governor and Council made necessary to pledge the faith of Government for granting of any such spots as are directed to be reserved under any pretence whatever, except by an act under the signature of the Board for the District in which the lands are situated which is to be indorsed on this certificate.

"Given at Nassau this Twenty-Eighth day of June, one thousand seven hundred and Ninety.

"(Sgd) Augustus Jones,

"Acting Surveyor for the District of Nassau."

Land Boards and Women Claimants.

Among the applicants were women who were justly entitled to have their claims recognized. The replies to these applications were generally in the following words. "That their claim was just, but other persons were at present in possession." Governor Simcoe bravely puts on record: "It is with real regret I am obliged to desire that the Order-in-Council for shares be strictly attended to. If, therefore, the Land Board of Essex and Kent can find out means to do justice to Mrs. Ainsie by the methods suggested in your letter and satisfy the present possessors, who until of late the unauthorized intruders on the land in question, I am persuaded it would meet their approbation. Signed, J. G. Simcoe."

This was not a solitary, but frequent case. Lord Dorchester, as well as Governor Simcoe, stood up for "women's rights" in their land claims.

Composition of the Land Board of the Niagara District.

The commanding officer, Colonel Hunter, was the chairman of the Board at Niagara, with Colonel Butler and Colonel Harris. The following were members of the Board: Peter Tenbroeck, Robert Hamilton, Benjamin Pawling, Nathaniel Petit, Mr. Sheenan, Clerk, and Mr. Jones, Acting Surveyor.

The grants were to date from 1787. Another duty of the Board was to arrange for the Portage Road on the West side of the river. The grants to Brant and the Indians were settled by the Board. The Board attempted to change the name of Niagara, but were not successful.

CHAPTER XXXI.

"OLD DAYS."

IN the record of a people the library and the museum have an important part. The books they read, the school books used, the domestic utensils, the clothes they made and wore, combine more than words to show the conditions met. The scanty materials and implements with which they conquered climate and soil were imperfect. The record is one of adaptation of everthing presented by nature, that could be helpful. Tea was made from the dried leaves of the black currant bush; coffee from the roots of the dandelion, dried and browned. Wild mustard was welcomed as greens; every herb was carefully saved for use in sickness, in a land where physicians were few and far away. The forest furnished game, rivers and streams an abundant supply of fish. In the spring and fall were the migratory birds. Wild pigeons came in myriads. They were expected and depended upon as a regular return of food. Wild berries of various kinds were plentiful. These were dried, and preserved with maple sugar for winter use. When the day closed and the tallow dip was lighted the knitting basket and sewing were brought out. When the school lessons were learned a portion of the evening was devoted to knitting. Men were not ashamed to knit, especially the Scotchmen. Germans also knit, but Englishmen did not.

As the better days came it was the ambition of old and young women to possess gold beads for the neck. The peddler of those times was the medium to acquire them. His visitations were periodical. A few beads were purchased from time to time, carefully put away until a sufficient number were purchased. Silver spoons were obtained in the same manner. Wooden spoons were in general use, and a few had German silver. The recollections of the Colonial days lived in their memories. For these comforts their hands never ceased to labor until they once more possessed them. Their scanty hoards were carefully treasured, until a dozen teaspoons could be purchased. Rarely was there a purchase of more than one large spoon at a time. Ready money was not much in circulation except in the cities. Barter or exchange was the rule, but the peddler must have cash for his wares. Seldom did a bride have more than a dozen teaspoons, three or four tablespoons, a pair of salt

spoons, and sugar tongs. The candlesticks were usually brass, with tray and snuffers of the same material. Pewter was also in vogue instead of silver. It was called Brittania ware. Gather up these relics and carefully preserve them. Precious they were in every sense to your ancestors. A silver spoon with a china cup was to go back to the civilization and plenty of Colonial times.

Taverns and inns abounded everywhere. There was not a corner, and seldom a concession road, that did not have one or more. Most of these were poorly kept, and the provisions for the traveller of the scantiest and poorest kind. Letters of travellers were full of complaints. Most taverns had a sign with some emblem upon it that told the traveller that here was the place for shelter, food and rest. Some of the old buildings still survive. The Black Horse Tavern on the Niagara River Road was a famous resort for the soldiers stationed at Niagara. At Queenston there was a large swinging sign, depicting the Battle of Queenston on one side and the death of General Brock upon the other. On the Ridge Road, from Lewiston to Sandy Creek, was a large oval signboard which made a deep impression. On one side was "Going to Law," which showed a young couple with a fine horse and carriage passing through the gateway from a pleasant home, a good house, with fruit and flowers on each side of the lane. On the other side, a solitary man, with a bundle and stick, sits on the bank outside looking at the tumble-down ruins of house and fence, a picture of poverty and desolution. This was the other "Been to Law." One pleasant sign was a beehive, and underneath, the couplet "This is the home of peace and plenty, always full and never empty." Queenston at one time had sixteen taverns, and Virgil nineteen.

In those early days there were no stoves. To heat their beds a "warming-pan" was used. It was usually of copper, shaped like a frying pan with a cover. In it coals were placed and passed between the sheets. When there was no warming-pan woollen sheets were used. These were not washed more than two or three times during the cold season.

In the old days, a glance from the school-room window the ever constant sight was the emigrant's wagon. It had its complement of children, and the few belongings it was possible to take. Under the wagon hung the iron pot and the water pail. As they passed through the village provisions were purchased to cook where neither inns nor friends had prepared the way before them. Hospitality was used and abused to its fullest extent. When the beds were filled, often sleeping on the floor. These were the days of emigration to the Western States. Fever and ague was generally the first enemy to overcome. Many a

SOURCE OF FOUR MILE CREEK, ABOVE ST. DAVID'S, 1894

delicate mother, and oftener still, young children, succumbed to the privations of the journey, finding nameless and forgotten graves in the villages through which they passed. The few letters are full of hardship, sickness and sorrow. Men and women toiled more than eight hours a day. From early morn till dewy eve the settler's axe resounded through the woods, while the hum of the spinning-wheel never ceased in the log cabin. Everyone did his or her share of the necessary work. Each season brought its allotted work and duties. In winter large quantities of wood were prepared for summer use. To heat the large brick ovens, ash-wood was split in long lengths and used. Stoves were brought from the Old Country and some still survive, capable of doing good service even yet. Mrs. Jamieson complains bitterly of the cold in Toronto, and the lack of stoves with no way of heating bedrooms. This was in 1836.

England's Colonies in New England.

The Hugenots purchased New Rochelle for eight thousand dollars. The old names still live on both shores of Long Island Sound. When England conquered Holland's possessions, a simple certificate confirmed the old titles. The Dutch made ample provision for religious instruction and education of their people, which has been successfully carried out. It used to be an old saying that "God made the world; but the Dutch made Holland." This was their record in Europe, and they have done a great part in the making of the United States. In this Dominion the same may be said, to their credit, especially in this peninsula. Dutch and German names still contribute to the noble work of Penn in Pennsylvania. It is due to these men and women to ever place before their descendants the unparalleled hardships and dangers they endured to make homes for their children. Think of it, we who live in these days, of women and children living in tents during the winter season at Sorel. It is a debt we owe to these ancestors, that in every locality where they made their homes, whether as Loyalist or settler, the old memories should be gathered and carefully preserved.

Masonic Order.

J. Ross Robertson's valuable researches upon the Masonic Order have done much to identify the early settlers of this district. Niagara, Queenston and St. Davids had the earliest lodges, commencing in 1778. The Masonic lodges often merged into each other as in Niagara, that place having more than one. On the records of these lodges are the names of Daniel Secord, James Secord, Thomas Ingersoll, Thomas Hornor, Stephen Secord. The War of 1812 prevented the meeting of

the lodge at St. Davids. In 1813 the building in which the lodge was held was for a time the headquarters of the commanding officer, General DeRottenborg. The last meeting was held on February 5, 1813, at Josiah Brown's tavern, and was the last in St. Davids until the war ended. When the war was over they met in St. Davids at Solomon Quick's in the same place, he being the landlord. Also at the house of Joseph Brown, U. E. Loyalist, on the River Road, as far back as 1782. The oldest document in Upper Canada is that of Brother Joseph Clement, dated September, 1780, and was issued by Lodge 156, in the Eighth Regiment of Foot. This regiment was at Fort Niagara in 1773, coming to America in 1766. When St. Davids was burned Solomon Quick's house was the only dwelling house spared. The lodge had been held there while different innkeepers had been occupants.

Names of Families.

In naming their children there is a recurrence of the same christian names in different branches of the family. In the Secord family there were many named David, James, Solomon, Richard, and Stephen. In the female line, Mary, Elizabeth, and after Laura's historic deed, her name has been perpetuated through five generations, often there was no second name. It has produced many difficulties in assigning their place.

Proclamation of Sir Peregrine Maitland.

The following proclamation was issued by Sir Peregrine Maitland on November 15, 1825: "The Lieutenant-Governor thinks proper to call the attention of the House of Assembly to a subject which he has long regarded as one of much importance to the Province and of particular interest to a large portion of its inhabitants. The House of Assembly is aware that of those persons who have come to this Province from foreign countries, and more especially at an early period of its settlement, may have been citizens of the United States of America and subjects of that government. Whatever of opinion may have formally prevailed with respect to civil rights of persons so situated from the circumstance of the United States of America having once been British Colonies, the solemn decision of the question in the courts of the Mother Country, whose laws we have adopted, leaves no room for doubt. And these inhabitants of the Province are exposed to the inconvenience of finding those rights denied which they have hitherto enjoyed, but which, whenever they may be questioned must be decided upon by those to whom the administration of justice is committed according to law and without regard to inconvenience, which might be much regretted. There are also in this Province a number of emigrants from foreign countries, and many discharged soldiers of foreign corps, who

not having strictly complied with the provisions of those British statutes under which they might have been entitled to the privileges of subjects, are equally by law exposed to the danger of being regarded as aliens. Of all thus situated the greater part became inhabitants with the knowledge of the Government; between these and others it will not be necessary to discriminate. In the persuasion that they might all be safely received and acknowledged as subjects with no other qualifications than those which the legislation of this Province has from time to time set forth."

EXTRACTS FROM AN OLD NEWSPAPER.

The *Spectator*, Printed and Published for the Proprietors at the Village of St. Davids, Upper Canada, Every Friday Morning at Four Dollars per Annum (one-half payable in advance; less than one year, payable in advance). Vol. 1, No. 16. Friday, May 17th, 1816. Elijah Secord, Secretary; Richard Cockerall, Editor. Among the advertisements are the following:

David Secord, Junior, merchant, Queenston—Dry Goods, etc.
Timothy Street and Ingram, tanners—Leather.
Hindman, shoemaker, Niagara—At the house of David Secord.
John and Elijah Secord—Merchants in Ancastor.
Sutton and St. George—Merchants in Queenston.
Timothy Street and Henry Woodruff—Partnership Dissolution.
Political—Ralfe Clench, Esq., elected for the Second Riding.
James Durand—Notified of Grievances.

Among the news items appear the following:

Expenses to make Boneparte prisoner at St. Helena, £300,000.

The proposed establishment for the Princess Charlotte of Wales was £60,000, and £10,000 set aside for her privy purse. There is an additional demand for a house in town. Camelford House selected. Nuptials to be solemnized in Easter week.

The valuable snuff-box of Boneparte enriched with one hundred and forty-two of the finest diamonds, found in his carriage after the Battle of Waterloo, has been sent from Brussels to England to be sold.

Proclamation of Governor Gore regarding our Indian Lands.

Obituary notice of Peter Middaugh in Stamford, in his 87th year. Died Tuesday 26th ult., 1816.

The next is an interesting epitaph furnished to the *Spectator* from Long Point, on Edward Barton, aged nineteen, who was killed at Malcom's Mills, in London District, on the 6th day of November, 1814, by a party of American Indians, under the command of Brigadier-General McArthur.

"This rude inscription bears a name
Ne'er coupled with reproach or shame,
Kind reader pause, and drop a tear
For youth and innocence lie here.
War's gloomy annals long shall tell
The cause in which poor Edward fell
A victim to the savage yell."

There are constant reminders of war. Merchants who have suffered by the war giving notice that in consequence, all claims must be settled. McKean and McEuen of Niagara, and George and Alexander Hamilton, of Queenston, are among the number. The Militia ordered payment by the Board to thirty-seven persons. Those who had furnished supplies and did teaming, Timothy Street and Ingram, of St. Davids, David Secord, of Queenston, are prominent. Among the foreign news, is that of Mr. Scoresby, of Whitby, England, commencing his explorations.

[Mr. Cockerall, referred to above, was at one time a teacher in Niagara of higher branches of education for boys. His daughter incurred their displeasure, and reported that whenever they saw her they would sing, "at her," "beat her," "damn her," "pelt her." These innocents declared they were only singing the Greek lesson, Alpha, Beta, Gamma, Delta.]

Mrs. Stanton.

Mrs. Stanton was born at Fort Frie in 1814 and spent her whole life there. She died in 1911. Her father, Col. Kirby, lived on the shore of Lake Erie until he removed to Niagara Falls, where he was promoted to the rank of Major, during the Rebellion of 1837. He returned to Fort Erie, dwelling in a cottage owned by Mrs. Stanton, which he occupied until his death from cholera some years later. During Mr. Kirby's early life, he, with Mr. James Stanton (Mrs. Stanton's husband) and Mr. Grant, of Queenston, built a flour mill, it being the only mill for miles around. This building was used by the Church of England for Sunday services before any church was erected. Mr. Kirby was presented with a sword by the Government for taking Fort Porter although it is authentically related that Col. Kirby accredited the actual taking of the fort to an Irishman, who upon entering and hearing the remark "hearts are trumps," replied "bayonets are trumps, be jabers," and immediately took the fort. The sword is now in the possession of Mrs. Grant Warren, of Buffalo, N. Y., whose husband was a grandson of Col. Kirby. William Kirby, a brother of Col. Kirby, married a granddaughter of Chief Brant. Mrs. Stanton relates the following: On the eve of the Battle of Queenston, General Brock handed to Mr. Stanton a

sachet given him by his fiancee, saying, "take this and if I die in battle keep it and give it to your eldest daughter." In later years at a dinner given in Hamilton to consider the rebuilding of Brock's Monument, the sachet was displayed, being passed by the late Bishop Fuller (then Mr. Fuller) to Sir Allan McNab, who kept it and would not return it to Mr. Stanton, who was the father of Mrs. Stanton's husband. Mr. Stanton was an Assistant Deputy Commissary living at Fort Erie until transferred to Amherstburg, where he died. His wife predeceased him and was the mother of twenty-one children, dying at the age of forty-five.

Queenston.

Queenston or Queenstown was named after Queen Charlotte the wife of George III. In its better and more prosperous days as the head of navigation on the Niagara River it hoped to have a suspension bridge. A bank had been established there called Suspension Bridge Bank, and the future bridge graced the bank notes. It was many years before the bridge became a reality. Suspension bridges had been built at Clifton and the bank had suspended its operations. The first suspension bridge at Queenston was built in 1851, collapsing in a severe storm in March, 1863. Some years passed before another took its place. Crossing the river before the bridges were built was in small ferry-boats. A horse-boat at Queenston took teams and freight. The horse stood upon a wheel which revolved by constant stepping upon it.

Colonel Talbot.

Col. Talbot had 518,000 acres of land in twenty-five townships. In the terms he made with the Government, and the disposition he made to the settlers, he was allowed four hundred pound sterling per year for his services. These terms made with the Home Government did not suit the Family Compact. They wished to have the land divided among their friends, and put him to much annoyance, but the Talbot influence defeated their projects. No man in Canada was intrusted with their disposal as was Col. Talbot. Up to 1831 he had brought nearly forty thousand settlers, poor men,—poorest of the poor, and his help and protection enabled them to surmount their difficulties.—[Page 65, "Life of Talbot."]

William Jarvis.

William Jarvis was Secretary of Upper Canada between the years 1792 and 1813. After the Revolution he, with others, went to England to obtain their compensation. He obtained his appointment March 31, 1792, and returned to Canada. He came here as Secretary, Registrar,

and also Grand Master of the Masonic Order in Upper Canada. He came on the transport which brought the Second Rangers. At that time there was not a legal grant of lands, but the settlers held their lands by letters of occupation to be made out upon his arrival. The Secretary of Lower Canada had been doing this work for years without fee or reward. In this division of the Provinces all the emoluments fell to Mr. Jarvis. From twelve to twenty thousand people were to pay Mr. Jarvis a guinea each. Mr. Jarvis called it a "petty thing." One of his New England relatives thought it a handsome salary. The voyage to Canada is not necessary to describe. They arrived safely, landing at Sorel, and welcomed on all sides, with unbounded hospitality, during their progress from Sorel to Kingston. They afterwards went to Niagara, where he said everyone had fever and ague.

Postal Communications.

Postal communication was entirely disarranged during the war. When peace came the postage was so high that every one improved the opportunity to send by private hands. Many letters never reached their destination. Postage on a two-ounce letter for England was one dollar. It took over a month for a letter from Kingston to York in 1815, and Kingston only one hundred and forty miles from York.

CHAPTER XXXII.

GENERAL BROCK AND THE WAR OF 1812.

WAR was declared by the United States on June 19, 1812. It was testing of principles which brought separation, with estrangement to many families. Some settlers returned to the United States, but the greater number remained, proving loyal to the land and the flag of their adopted country.

General Brock had not been unobservant of the designs against Canada, and far as possible made arrangements for the safety of the Province. Supplies were sent to distant settlements, and preparations made for what he expected. Drilling of militia was carried on without excitement. He knew well how important it was to England to have peace in America. The Napoleonic wars were nearing their end in Europe. What sacrifices and expenditures England made history tells. Brock kept Canada true to England in that day. Feeling that war was inevitable, he made arrangements with friends in New York for the earliest possible information when the decision was reached. On the part of the United States it had been intended that the proclamation of war, and the advance upon Canada, should be simultaneous, before the news reached the Provinces. War was declared on June 19, 1812. General Provost heard it on June 25, and immediately communicated with Brock. The message to General Brock was sent by John Jacob Astor, to Thomas Clark of Niagara Falls, the messenger receiving at Albany all the aid that money and horses could afford, reaching General Brock on June 27.

Hastening to Detroit at fiery speed, he captured and placed men to keep what he had gained. Upon the upper lakes, with the same zeal, Col. Roberts took Mackinaw and held the northwest without the loss of a man. Brock returned to Niagara and York to arrange for the invasion awaiting this part of the Province. His death on the morning of October 13, 1812, proved the accuracy of his foresight. The proclamation to the people of Canada, his advice to the militia and volunteers to bring overcoats and blankets with their supplies, are evidences of that attention to details which made him so beloved. The veterans of 1776 who trusted to his promises that every outlay would be repaid, stood in the ranks to

inspire their sons to fulfill the promises they too had made "that they would teach the lesson of duty of gratitude to their descendants." Batteries were erected between Niagara and Queenston. At Durham's and Scott's, beacons were raised to communicate with Fort George, but were not used.

After the disaster of the morning resulting in the death of General Brock, came the second repulse and mortal wounds of his successor, Col. Macdonnell, at Holcroft's battery, at ten o'clock. These repulses did not discourage the Canadian troops. It gave them a stronger resolution to face the difficulties which was before them. The third attack was made about four o'clock in the afternoon under General Sheaffe, who reached the heights in the rear of the Americans. Concealed by the forests he made a movement to the right and formed his command in battle array in Elijah Phelps' fields, on the Chippewa Road. This unexpected and unprovided for attack upon the invaders was successful in every way; the defeats of the morning being reversed.

The American general, Van Renssaelaer, reported a loss of fifteen hundred, nine hundred of whom were prisoners. This engagement only lasted fifteen minutes. The Canadians lost fifteen or sixteen men in this great victory, and some of these were in the early attacks.

From many narrators have been gathered the incidents of the day. Mr. Hamilton's house had been destroyed by hot shot from an American battery that covered the invading forces. Mrs. Secord's house was in a direct line with Mr. Hamilton's, with only a street between. Many left their homes, fearing a like result. As the day wore on and their defenders arrived, a hasty lunch was improvised. The men gathered the fuel, and willing hands from their homes brought food for their friends which gave the coming success. A Mrs. McCulloch wrapped her infant son in a soldier's overcoat while she made tea and coffee. Others assisted in every way.

Around that memorable day gather traditions which tell of the courage which knows no defeat. From every point where war's loud note was heard there was an immediate response. Many a bare-footed youth stood in the ranks and fired his first shot in Canada's defence on that eventful day. As the hours wore on the sun shone out and a warm breeze stirred the air. It had been a day of strenuous activity for both invaders and defenders. History tells us of the great results.

Notes of the Battle.

The morning of October 13th was ushered in by the first snow flakes of the coming winter, but it cleared off in the afternoon before the final and triumphant attack by General Sheaffe was made.

The battery at Vrooman's Point was two miles from where the Americans landed. Lewis Clement, eldest son of John the Ranger, was in charge of this battery.

Capt. John Ball, of Virgil, was in command of two of the four-pound field pieces in the last engagement.

General Brock was buried in the bastion at Fort George, which Brock had designed. Col. Macdonnell was mortally wounded in the second engagement which took place about ten o'clock in the morning, living until the following day, and was buried at the same time with General Brock.

Col. Winfield Scott and Capt. Wool, both celebrated in after years in the war with Mexico, were among the captured.

Brock's Monument.

The stately monument on Queenston Heights makes memorable forever in Canada's history the 13th of October, 1812, and the gratitude of the people for whom General Brock's life was given. The first monument was erected by the Government of Canada. This was destroyed by Benjamin Lett on April 17th, 1841. The present monument was built in 1856. It was erected by the militia and volunteer forces of Canada, they devoting their pay for a certain period for that purpose. James Whitten made the second coffin in 1824, when the remains of Brock and Macdonnell were placed in the first monument. Dr. Dee of Stamford tells the following: "A Mr. Tyne assisted in removing the remains of General Brock and Colonel Macdonnell after the first monument was destroyed. The remains were placed in a box and put in the private burying-ground of the Hamilton family until the final resting place under the monument was ready. Mr. Tyne gave Dr. Dee a fragment of the original coffin, of which Dr. Dee is still possessor.

An American Account of the Battle of Queenston.

Extracts from the *Union*, Manchester, N. H., September 18, 1910, by E. J. Burnham:

"The following local item appeared in the New Hampshire *Patriot*, September 29, 1812: 'That only one company of the British troops remained at Detroit, the arms and munitions of war being removed to Fort Malden.' "

"Governor Plumer of New Hampshire in a Proclamation for Thanksgiving, which is dated for Thursday, November 12, 1812, says: 'He has been pleased to permit the injustice of a foreign power to involve us in the calamity of a war, and invokes the Divine Power to make our enemies at peace with us.' "

"There was some maneuvering along the Niagara River with a view to the invasion of Canada and the Battle of Queenston. This, though fought with desperate bravery, was wholly fruitless of practical results. General Stephen Van Rensselaer, a Major-General in the New York Militia, had been placed in command of the troops along the Niagara frontier. On September 1st he had six hundred and ninety-one men, many of whom were without shoes and clamorous for their pay. By the 12th of October his force had increased to nine hundred regulars and two thousand eight hundred and seventy militia. With these he fought the Battle of Queenston. His plan was to begin the action by throwing across the river six hundred regulars and militia under Col. Solomon Van Rensselaer, who had seen service in the regular army. There was only one path leading to the water. The regulars, two hundred and twenty-five strong, went over first and made a bold assault. Their shouts of victory announced the capture of the heights, and the American flag was again on British soil. Col. Van Rensselaer, in giving his account of the "Affair at Queenston," omits telling the further crossing of the invaders, but gives particulars of the death of General Brock. He says Brock heard the canonading before dawn, aroused his aide-de-camp, and hastened to the scene of action. He rallied his troops and led them up the heights which were already in the hands of the Americans. His tall figure was a conspicuous object for the American sharp shooters. First a bullet struck his wrist, wounding it slightly, and a moment afterwards as he shouted 'Push on, brave York Volunteers,' another bullet entered his breast, passed out through his side, and left a mortal wound. He fell from his horse at the foot of the slope, and lived long enough to urge those around him to conceal his death from the troops and to send some token of remembrance to his sister in England. Col. Van Rensselaer was four times wounded, and later in the day was forced to give up the command. Most of the militia and regulars had crossed the Niagara and reached the heights. The New York militia refused to cross under the plea that they could only be called out to resist "invasion." Further on it is said that American troops stood for hours masters of the field, but the British being largely reinforced made another attack about four o'clock in the afternoon, retook the heights and drove the Americans down to the river, where for want of boats they were forced to surrender. Our loss was two hundred and fifty killed and wounded and seven hundred taken prisoners. One hundred and sixty of the killed and wounded were regulars, and ninety militia. The total forces engaged did not exceed a thousand men, but as it was completely wiped out the loss to the American side was very heavy."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE FAMILY COMPACT.

UNDER the rule of the Family Compact the sacrifices of the settler and soldier were ignored and unrewarded. The soldier remembered how nobly England had distributed food, and supplied implements to build the log houses. Mills had been constructed, and millers furnished to grind the grain of the soldier and settler. Disabilities had been removed from water privileges. The cry of bread in the famine years of 1787 and 1788 had been met with unexampled generosity. A bountiful distribution of land to himself, wife and children were not to him alone, but on easy terms to all settlers. Under the Family Compact the patents to lands were so hampered by fees that these gifts remained valueless and useless. Men waited in vain for patents to land. An anecdote related by Dr. Scadding in the fifth volume of the Historical Society is a specimen of what was a universal complaint of that early period. A deputation waited upon Governor Hunter in relation to this matter. Governor Hunter called the heads of the department, and demanded the reason, "why these gentlemen complain they cannot get their patents." One after another made their various excuses. At last the onus seemed to rest on the head of the Registrar, who made the pressure of business his excuse. Governor Hunter said, "Sir, if they are not forthcoming to these gentlemen here in my presence at noon on Thursday (it was then Tuesday) by George, I will un-Jarvis you." It is almost needless to say that the patents were ready at the appointed time. Mr. James Ingersoll, Registrar of Oxford, makes a similar complaint. His sisters wished to secure their grants. He replied, "It is not worth the trouble. I have never drawn mine, would rather purchase than given the high fees. I have given up many of my own grants rather than pay the exhorbitant fees to secure them." Mr. James Ingersoll was Registrar of Oxford for over fifty years. Major Secord's daughters did not obtain what Major Secord justly claimed.

When speaking of the Family Compact, the memory of Bishop Strachan and Chief Justice Powell are ever brought to mind. There were many others that share the obloquy of that time and whose

rule was so disastrous to Upper Canada. One of the sons of Bishop Strachan was for a while a resident of St. Catharines. He had a handsome face and fine form and what would be called in these days a "dude" in dress. Whether true or not it was intimated that he wore corsets to improve a form that needed no improvement. It was not considered incompatible with the dignity of a Bishop's son to be a distiller. History tells us that the monks of Chartreuse have only of late years closed their establishment centuries old of the most famous wine in Europe. Young Strachan during hilarious periods would announce that he governed Upper Canada. When questioned for this assumption of authority he would reply, "I rule my mother; she rules the Bishop, and the Bishop rules the Governor."

Another of the Family Compact was Sir John Beverley Robinson. Bishop Strachan had been the friend and tutor of Robinson and his pupil formed his opinions from him. The *Canadian Magazine* thus speaks: "The boy's opinions were formed by the master. The boy and master stood together in defence of autocratic government, in defence of the state, religious university, in defence of the Clergy Reserves. Neither ever yielded a jot in the opinions which had early become common, and together they went through life resisting to the last every inevitable popular reforms."

The bitter feeling in regard to the misrule of the Family Compact increased on every side, pervading all ranks and occupations. The authorities were implored to make preparation for what was inevitable. Even conservatives were indignant at the apathy of the Compact and Sir Francis Bond Head, to the spirit of disaffection. In Lower Canada (now the Province of Quebec) the French were ignored, and English rule was as injudicious and exasperating as in the Upper Province. In England, Lord Melbourne, with King William, and Lord Alymer in Quebec, realized that the day of peaceful settlement was passing away. The intention of the rebel leaders in both provinces was to make the appeal to arms simultaneous. But events in our own time show that with all the advantages of railways, telegraphs, and telephones impatience, lack of discipline and precipitation produce disaster. It was so in both provinces. The leaders, from being deliverers, were classed as rebels and traitors. Safety for their followers was to join in the cry against them. Amid the instances of kindness shown by conservatives to their unhappy friends was one told me by a lady whose father had been compromised by his sympathy for the rebels. Late one evening a conservative member of Parliament came to him and said "you will be arrested to-morrow. If you are wise you will leave the country at once." He did so, and escaped to the United States. His property

was confiscated. When the rebellion had been put down and an amnesty granted, this gentleman, with others, returned, to live and die loyal subjects.

The Compact had the ear of the Governor. In their day complainants were treated as disloyal and traitors. Men of loyalty and courage died in poverty; their grants and their war claims of 1812 unpaid. Many had been in prison for debt. In the old jail at Niagara aged and honorable men were imprisoned. A charitable association was formed by the women of Niagara to relieve their sufferings during the cold weather. It was a common occurrence in the jails of the Province, and not confined to the Niagara District alone. The letters of the time are full of these tales of sorrow, while the letters of the Compact tell of the honors and emoluments, which they, their children and relatives enjoy. In Lower Canada there had been similar treatment. The English filled all the offices. Mackenzie opened the door through which abuses, one after another left us. Primogeniture, a state church, an irresponsible Government. In their place we have free schools, a free church and the land as yet for the people.

Abuses increase upon what they feed. The Governor refused to receive the advice tendered him by his properly constituted advisers. The Hon. Robert Baldwin was the Reform Leader, and promptly resigned. The House refused to grant the supplies. Dr. Duncombe, a prominent member of the Liberals, had been sent to England by the Liberal Association, but the Compact had forestalled him, and he was refused a hearing at the Colonial office. He returned from his fruitless mission, and Sir Francis Head received marked approbation for "the foresight and moral courage he had displayed."

William Lyon Mackenzie gave the name, and organized the opposition to the Family Compact of Upper Canada. Many of the privileges we now enjoy originated through him. It was when all other means had failed that the rebellion came. No one who studies Canadian history with a search-light of years turned upon it to enlighten our people, can but feel that those who ventured life and property should have our pity and esteem. Through their defeat we have learned what is most valuable to good government. The right to petition was dear to Canadians in 1837, as it was when James II was deposed and another sovereign substituted in his place. Rebellion in that time was "no crime for those who win."

One-seventh of the public lands was to be set apart as Clergy Reserves, and the establishment of fifty-seven rectories showed that a state church was to be inflicted upon the country. It is admitted now that those who denounced these measures were true patriots. We en-

joy the benefits for which they labored, suffered obloquy, banishment, and some even met death on the scaffold.

For nine years this period of misrule had lasted. At last when every department had become corrupt, when, to use Sir Francis Bond Head's own words, "mechanics were flying in groups from the land as from a pestilence," the rebellion came. Emigration was virtually at an end, and all means of information were extinct.

Another source of irritation was the non-payment of the claims arising from the War of 1812. In the defence of Canada, from the first to the last, the militia had taken a very important part. Very few regular troops were in the Province at the time. Many of those who went forth to repel the invaders were men who had fought through the Revolution of 1776, and they remembered the generous compensation and the aid in every form for their loyalty and sacrifices. General Brock, in 1812, when calling them once more to the battlefield, reiterated the promises so honorably kept to the people of Canada. How they responded to the call history tells. They saw their homes from Detroit to Lake Ontario pillaged and destroyed, Niagara and St. Davids burned. When the war closed the flag they loved still waved its folds above them; Canada was still their own.

A commission appointed in 1816 met and decided upon the award. This remained unpaid. Another commission in 1823, when many of the actors and witnesses had passed away, met and cut down the claims, leaving them to be paid in instalments reaching to 1835. These, too, remained unpaid. Parliament gave smooth words, acknowledging their justice, but the claims remained unsettled though not denied. The Family Compact were having their golden harvest from official favors. Some of the aged veterans died in prison for debt, their children grew up in ignorance and poverty. The letters of that day are pitiful.

In the meantime the United States were being rapidly peopled by emigrants from the different nations of Europe. When the Napoleonic wars ceased, there was the stagnation of trade and the poverty that ever follows the track of war. England had to face the enormous debts incurred, and the high price of food, while the social problems of her statesmen, and philantrophists, were taxing the brains of both to the utmost.

Wilberforce and his friends, were proclaiming freedom to the colored race. Cobden was toiling for cheap food for the starving English people. Romilly and his friends were asking mercy for the men, women, and children who were being sent to the scaffold for trivial offences. Elizabeth Fry was giving her noble life, her brothers their means, to

bring about better days to the lowest of women criminals. These are but a few of the great questions appealing to the English people.

The newcomer who wished to live under the flag of his own land, the Loyalist of the times who periled everything under the two wars, found his rights at home ignored, and his children doomed to suffer cruel want. By misrepresentation in England the source of help was denied. Nine years had been spent in fruitless efforts to effect redress. Then brave men put themselves to the front, as true men ever has done in the centuries past, to deliver the oppressed from the oppressor. We too had men, whom Canadians are only beginning to realize, that to them we owe so many of the blessings we now enjoy.

It is not the wish to renew the asperities of the past, but to call the misgovernment of the Family Compact, by the mild name of a great mistake. The men who led the patriots in those evil days made their mistakes and their expiation. Their survived names have, through evil report, unparalleled sufferings and disgrace.

We read in Mackenzie's life how his escape succeeded by officials looking the other way. While we record cruelty, treachery and suffering, we also have the "sacred duty" to repeat the kindly help received by the sufferers from those who had ever opposed them. Both may differ, but both can admit that the rebellion brought many blessings to our Dominion. When it closed the jails in many places were filled with rebel prisoners and suspected persons. Eight hundred and eighty-eight persons were arrested during the Rebellion of 1837 and 1838, some were executed, some imprisoned, others transported, suffering different forms of banishment. February 6, 1838, there was a proclamation by Sir Francis Bond Head, for the victory over the rebels, in both Provinces, and their general dispersion.

Assassination of Capt. Edgeworth Ussher.

Mr. Ussher lived two miles from Chippewa on the Niagara River, opposite Navy Island. He was a militia Captain taking an active part in quelling the rebellion and guarding the border. In the fall of 1838 two desperadoes crossed the river at night in a small boat, calling up Mr. Taylor, a neighbor of Mr. Ussher's, and forced him to go with them to the latter's house. When they reached the house they asked Mr. Taylor to call up Mr. Ussher. At first he refused, but it was either obey or be shot himself. He then called Mr. Ussher, who in answer to Mr. Taylor's call came to the larger hall in the front with a light in his hand, but instead of opening the outside door, he turned, it is supposed, to go into the room where his company's arms were kept. As he turned one of the desperadoes shot him. Mr. Ussher fell, exclaiming

"That was Taylor." Mrs. Ussher rushed out in her nightclothes and followed the assassins to the boat. Mrs. Shirk was a girl ten years old and distinctly remembers the particulars of this sad tragedy. W. D. Gonder, Mrs. Shirk's father, next in rank to Mr. Ussher in the militia company, was also a marked man, for the assassins left word that he would be the next victim.

The inquest was conducted by Dr. John Mewburn of Stamford. Mr. Taylor was fully exonerated from any suspicion of criminality.

"Henry Miller, in the same locality, one of the men who suffered in life and the loss of property in defence of their country, should certainly rank as patriot as well as those who went into armed resistance. I hope you will collect all the facts you can in relation to this case and give them a place in your book."—A. B. Shirk.

Clergy Reserves.

In the final settlement of the Clergy Reserves, by which they were alienated from religious to secular purposes, the Church of England received $1,113,170.00, and one hundred and fifty clergymen counted. The Church of Scotland received $500,000.00, and the Wesleyan Methodists $39,083.00. Before the settlement their ministers had received £150 per annum. The Roman Catholic Church took no ostensible part. The separation was not promoted by their influences, but they shared in the benefits by receiving the same as the Presbyterian Church, and the discretionary power to devote one-fourth to the support of the schools. Both received £20,932 and fifteen shillings.

Sentiments in England.

Lord Aylmer thought that if some thousands of Irish Roman Catholics could be brought as emigrants to Quebec it would help to remove the ill-feeling caused by the dominating influence of the English who were ruling Lower Canada in the same manner as the Family Compact in Upper Canada. In England, Lord Melbourne was telling the press that the time had gone by when any set of men could put themselves up as a check to national opinion. That antique usages could not prevail against reason and argument. Even King William IV said "Mind what you are about in Canada."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

WAIT'S "NARRATIVE" OF THE REBELLION OF 1837.

MR. WAIT'S "Narrative," published in 1845, was compiled by Mrs. Wait, and printed in Buffalo, in the press of A. B. Wilgus. It commences by giving the state of the country in 1835. The chief authorities are Sir Francis Bond Head's official dispatches, and Lord Durham's report. The Rebellion of 1837 and 1838 produced such important results, not only to Canada, but to other colonies, that it is no more than justice to those who led the rebellion, who suffered so much (many perishing on the scaffold, and others who endured sufferings worse than death), should at least be heard.

After being denied the privilege of petition, and of holding public meetings, their representatives had been expelled from Parliament for the attempt to secure in a constitutional manner what was their undoubted right. It was only after everything in the shape of justice was denied that the rebellion took place. Those who read of those evil days can see why the descendants of the Family Compact have so little to say in justification of their rule. They had usurped every function of government, the revenues were used, all offices from the highest to the lowest were filled by themselves and their friends; one person filling several.

Judge Powell performed his duties as Judge, was Member of Parliament, and Speaker of the House; drawing pay for all these offices with their substantial perquisites.

Officials in charge of the public lands were securing the best lands for themselves, upon which no taxes were paid, and left unimproved. A State Church, claiming one-seventh of the land, was being forced upon the people. Education was to be secured only for the rich. There were defalcations in consequence of corruption. Acts were passed to protect the parties from punishment. The Governor ruled as he pleased and his ears were closed to all demands. Every complaint was called disloyalty. Here and in England they had succeeded by misrepresentation.

Mr. Wait says: "On the day of my arrival at Niagara I was informed by a gentleman high in government esteem, that I was a man marked by an exasperated Governor, as a fit subject to wreak his utmost

vengeance upon, and if I had ever felt a hope of favor, or that my case would not be considered a desperate one, it would have been effectually dispelled by Sir George himself, who at the close of an interview, in which he offered a free pardon, and emolument, if I would give information of the combination existing in the country for the subversion of the government, by which he hoped to obtain more subjects for 'retributive justice,' said: 'For your obstinacy you shall feel the vigor of that power you affect to despise, and be hung despite any efforts to the contrary.' This he said with the tremor of passion on his lips: 'Though the Province rose *en masse* to beg it, you shall secure no favors from me.' All that I had to return was, 'that all the reparation in my power, I would make instanter, that as he considered me a prime instigator, my blood was at his service, if he would deem my execution atonement for all the others who had been incarcerated for conduct he considered me the mover.' There were sixteen condemned to the same fate, three more were added, and were sent to Fort Henry at Kingston on the twenty-first, leaving, Chandler, Beamer, McLeod, and myself."

Sir George left Toronto to avoid the petitions. Mr. Chandler had a wife and ten children. Miss Chandler accompanied Mrs. Wait. Subscriptions were raised to send them. Mrs. Wait requested Dr. Porter before she left that if Mr. Wait should be executed before her return to prevent his body being dissected, and give it to his friends for burial. Mr. Wait's sentence by Judge Jones, August 11, 1838, was as follows: "You, Benjamin Wait, shall be taken from the court, to the place from which you last came, and there remain until the twenty-fifth of August. Between the hours of eleven and twelve a. m., you shall be drawn upon a hurdle, to the place of execution, and there hanged by the neck until you are dead, and your body shall be quartered. The Lord have mercy on your soul." This sentence was commuted to transportation to Van Dieman's Island, Australia. Others were sentenced at the same time.

Mr. Wait's respite from the scaffold arrived only half an hour before the time appointed for his execution. Moreau had been previously executed; Sheriff Hamilton performing that melancholy duty. He chartered the vessel from Toronto which relieved a highly sensitive nature from what was a trial to perform. Moreau's execution shortened his life. Sheriff Hamilton died in the following December. Lord Durham's reprieve saved the lives of many others.

The execution of Lount and Matthews had touched the hearts of the people everywhere. How Mrs. Wait and Miss Chandler, with undaunted courage and unwearied patience, saved those men from the scaffold, Miss Carnochan has told you. Through all this dreadful struggle

both friends and foes aided those noble women in their effort to save the life of the husband and father, also material help was freely given, and all the influence that could aid them in their mission. Sixteen were sentenced to be hanged. Thirteen had their sentences commuted. Messrs. Wait, Chandler, McLeod and Beamer were afterwards sent with others to Van Diemen's Land. It is the treatments that Mr. Wait and the others received, that we wish to bring before you as another reminiscence of 1837 and 1838. Every effort had proved abortive. Mackenzie was in jail at Rochester, N. Y., for violation of the neutrality laws. Lount and Matthews had perished on the scaffold. Lower Canada had met defeat. Many homes in that province had been burned. The leaders had escaped. Sir George Arthur's and Sir John Colborne's mission had been accomplished. The rebellion had been put down with an iron hand, and Lord Durham came prepared to finish what they had left undone.

Happily for Canada, though, he came prejudiced against the Canadian people, these prejudices vanished when he commenced his inquiries into the causes of the disaffection. His report to the British Government was the turning point in Canadian history and gave Colonial Government for the future to the colonies. From that day to this the right has been accorded of a hearing, from those of whichever party hold the reins of power. While in prison at Niagara, Collins, Gourlay and many others had been treated in a similar manner. Mr. Wait from his youth had witnessed the wrongs perpetuated upon Randall, and these influenced his future life. He had been educated for the legal profession and political life, but ill health prevented. Settling down as he supposed to a quiet life, married, but was dragged from his retirement by misgovernment, in the land of his birth. His home was at York on the Grand River. Among the first to join the rebellion, had reached London, Ontario, when he heard of the failure at Toronto. He turned his steps to the frontier. Patriotic women concealed him for several days and helped him to cross the Niagara River on Christmas eve in a log canoe. The names of these ladies were the Misses Miller, of Black Creek. When the evacuation of Navy Island took place, he went from there to Conneaut, Ohio, and from exposure he was very ill. He with twenty-six Canadians, and a few Americans, made an unsuccessful attempt at the Short Hills in the following August. They were captured and sent to Niagara jail for trial.

Moreau, a descendant of the ill-fated Marshal Moreau, of France, was military leader. He was tried and suffered death; being hung at Niagara and buried in the Roman Catholic burying-ground. The Sheriff of Lincoln could find no hangman (though money and lands were offered)

to perform the melancholy duty, and was obliged himself to carry out the sentence. The writer of these pages well recollects the execution of Moreau. It was the summer season and the execution was to be on a Monday morning at the jail in Niagara. During the Sunday preceding the day of execution there was a stream of wagons filled with men, women and children converging from all directions to behold the end.

Lount was captured near Chippewa. He was taken from Niagara to Toronto, tried and executed along with Matthews on April 28, 1838. Petitions signed by over thirty-five thousand people had been presented for a reprieve, but in vain. Lount for a while had been concealed in the neighborhood of Galt. After many hair breadth escapes had reached the frontier and was in sight of safety when captured. Part of his family after his death for a while resided at Rochester, Michigan. The alternative was offered of "death or transportation." Mr. Wait's reply was: "If transportation meant only transportation to England, he would not oppose it, but if to Van Diemen's Island (which was then a penal colony), he preferred death."

Prisons at that time were very different from those of the present age. Mr. Wait with the others was transferred from Niagara to Toronto. Here the place was infected with vermin of every description. At Kingston jail he met the same experience. Before leaving Niagara manacles had been placed on the prisoners' wrists. From the time they left Niagara at every place of arrival or departure crowds gathered. At Kingston they were transferred to Fort Henry, and here they met the prisoners from London District, Toronto and Point Au Pelee. There was ever a military escort in attendance. There were twenty-one in all, the number having been reduced by the escape of sixteen from Fort Henry, previous to their arrival. Here their manacles were removed, and they formed themselves into a society to make mementos for their friends, and to sell, for their mutual benefit. They endeavored to improve themselves by writing and giving lectures to each other. Two of their number were clergymen, and from them they had their Sunday discourses. Rations were given twice a week in limited quantities, but tea and sugar were provided by themselves. Mrs. Wait and Miss Chandler, through the kindness of their friends, provided the prisoners with dried fruit and other food. This was always inspected before being given to the prisoners. They could only speak at the window for fifteen minutes. In November, at one hour's notice, they were ordered to Quebec for the winter.

Mr. Wait from the first had refused to betray his friends, and was given to understand to expect no favors. Twenty-three were ordered for removal. Hurried farewells were taken and Mr. Wait was manacled

to Mr. J. G. Parker, a merchant of Hamilton. Among the prisoners was Randall Wickson, a Baptist clergyman. He had only one leg and walked with crutches. He was the only one not hand-cuffed or had the chain and ball upon his ankle. They were put on deck with the horses. The manacles increased their misery. They went on the small steamer *Dolphin* to Prescott. A pouring rain added to their discomfort. The commanding officer would not let them go below as he said they "deserved their punishment." In Cornwall the jail was in the same condition as those before mentioned, but the Dutch jailer gave them some steak for breakfast. They were there three days. Fortunately, on their journey, Mrs. Wait's tea and other comforts were of great help to the sufferers. At Coto De Lac they were guarded by the men from Glengarry who had received provisions sent them by their friends. These they freely shared with the prisoners who were permitted to walk on the parade grounds. Some French gentlemen passing saluted them with every token of respect, some even shedding tears, as their chains rattled on the frozen ground. Here the commanding officer of the commissary, Mr. Adams, had their hand-cuffs removed and part of their number given another room.

Through sleet and snow they reached the Cedars and were conveyed in carts over the rough roads. At this point they met the 71st Highlanders, fresh from the burning of Beauharnois. The commander wished the carts to be given for the use of his men. This was refused as it was impossible for the prisoners to walk with the chain and ball. At the Cascades they had a kettle of boiled potatoes, having been one day without food. The storm was still raging and the inhabitants of Beauharnois were without shelter, save the forest to which they fled. The clanking of their own chains prevented sleep. Vessels laden with the plunder of the burnt villages passed the *Dragon*, and they saw men, women and children searching for food among the ruined homes. The decks of their own vessel were piled with furniture; the speculator to make his bargains over furniture of rich and rare quality. Horses were then sold for one dollar per head. Lachine was reached at last. In an open boat through the storm they reached Montreal. Twenty-three, chained and manacled, were put in a room sixteen by eighteen feet. At last eight were transferred to another room. Some made an unsuccessful attempt to escape, which increased the sufferings of all. Regular officers coming on board gave them food from their own mess, to the piteous entreaties of the men; the soldiers doing the same with their food and beds. "We were eating when the order for removal came. They told us to pocket the food, which was done. A larger crowd followed us to the *North America*, which was to take us to

Quebec. There was the luxury of a stove and some gentlemen besought the captain to undo our hand-cuffs and manacles. This was done, and for the first time since leaving Fort Henry we had a night of repose. In the morning we had a good meal and the sun shone. We saw the Plains of Abraham but the ice prevented our landing until noon. A large crowd met us to see 'the Canadians.' There were no jeers, but sympathetic glances from all. When we reached the gate an Irishman with an orange badge said we were just the ones to fill the place of Theller and Dodge who had escaped. Mingled cries arose from the crowd, of applause and contempt, some openly invoking God's blessing upon us. A weary hour's walk brought us to the jail. We were informed by the sheriff, Mr. Sewall, that on the 20th of November we would be sent to England, only awaiting for a suitable cabin being made for us. With the little money we had left we provided as well as possible for the voyage. The captain of the vessel was allowed £25 per head for our passage and provisions. A number of French prisoners were to be sent with us. The sheriff kindly advised us to have nothing to do with them as they were of the worst class. From all sides we heard of defeat. The blacksmith came to put on the fetters before we left for the ship. A multitude saw us depart for the ship which was two miles from the shore. The eleven felons had been sent aboard before us. As we left, the crowd wished us a universal acclaim of a speedy return, and the Frenchmen rowing us to the ship sang a plaintive ditty to which those on shore responded. Our departure had been so hurried that we had no time to communicate with our friends. Fortunately Mrs. Wait and Miss Chandler had done what they could for warmer clothing and Mr. Parker was the only one who had any money. We had not expected much from the *Ross* (the ship's name) nor its owners, Frost Brothers, the one living in Quebec and the other in Liverpool. The former had represented to us that the cabin was fit for the Governor, that the captain was a kind good man, that it was needless for us to get extra provisions, that we were to be treated with forbearance. The ship soon sailed beyond the reach of humanity, with twenty-three state prisoners and eleven felons. The 'cabin for a Governor' was not fit for human beings. It was a hatch of iron grates locked down and up, 12 x 14 feet in size. The clanking of chains, and the smell of bilge water was very disagreeable. There was only a small amount of light from two bull's eyes, 2 x 4 inches, which made a dim light for a few hours only. There was not room to stand. I felt as though I had rather perished on the scaffold. The cursing and swearing was indescribable. For fifteen days I was not out of my berth for ten minutes at a time. The vessel was a lumber carrier, and £25 per head added to its profits. There was

no regard to cleanliness, and the provisions were in keeping with the surroundings. Fortunately, our extra purchases, after our difficulty were returned. The rice and tea were prepared for us. Knives, forks and spoons were not allowed. Before we passed the Banks the decks were covered with ice and the crew so frost-bitten that their duties were unperformed. When the weather moderated the decks leaked. Two days' work and a pound of nails had been used to construct the 'cabin.' Sometimes the prisoners went a day without food. McLeod and McNulty soon passed away. For myself I had no repentant thoughts and braced myself to fortitude. Our miseries did not end. We were accused of mutiny and brought on deck, with threats of flogging and heavier chains put upon us. The captain, on reaching England, received high encomiums for its suppression. A clergyman who was a passenger visited and tried to comfort us. He was a New Englander who among the slums of London pursued his holy calling upon sixpence per day. A few days before we reached England we were allowed to go an hour on deck. Thirty-eight days after leaving Fort Henry, and the twenty-fifth after leaving Quebec, we entered the Mersey and anchored three miles from Liverpool. Vast crowds met us on our landing. 'God bless the brave Canadians,' met our ears on every side, 'and bring them home to their wives and children.' We were sent to the Borough jail for convicted criminals. Five hundred men, three hundred women and boys under ten years of age were within its walls. There were two walls, the outer one from fifteen to twenty feet high, the coping stuck with broken glass. Even this was better than the loathsome ship we had left. Here the manacles were taken off. Lightness of foot made us lighter hearted. Mr. Jefferies of Quebec jail had sent certificates of our good conduct and wrote to the Governor of the jail (Mr. Batchelder) that he hoped we would maintain it. The Governor, Mayor and ex-Mayor offered to assist in every way to our comfort. We were exempted from the 'silent rule.' Tobacco and light literature were prohibited. Our correspondence was inspected and all grievances were to be made known to the visiting magistrates who came each day. We had a fire each day, which was a comfort to our chilled bodies, and food partaken with a relish after the misery of the past twenty-five days. Surprise was expressed that we declined the pot of ale. This meal was given us from pure humanity. We kept true to our temperance principles. Our beds, though not comfortable, were scrupulously clean and we had our extra bedding. The food we did not like, and gave it to the felons who received it with gladness. The diet was changed but the bread was not. They hoped we would soon return to America. They advised us to communicate with whom-

soever friends we had here. Many desired to see us, some from curiosity, so that we were often obliged to decline visitors. The Rev. Mr. Buck from first to last proved our friend, and to the other wretched prisoners also. He, with his other Christian friends, put up hearty prayers for our deliverance. On Christmas day he brought his eight-year-old daughter, who looked upon the 'poor Canadians' with tearful eyes. I thought of my loved ones at home and my own little daughter. The Borough seemed a pleasant refuge after the loathsome voyage. Soon as possible the prisoners communicated with their Canadian friends and those in England. Liberal Members of Parliament were in hopes to bring our condition before Parliament and the people. Canadian friends did all they could, but their efforts were ineffectual. The prison rations were doubled at Christmas. Our plum pudding was made from the dried fruit given by Mrs. Wait and her sister. While we were eating our meal a gentleman came in and told of the famine and the consequent crimes arising from hunger and poverty. Wheat at that time was $2.22 per bushel. A year ago I was crossing the Niagara River in a log canoe."

Many offered to help the prisoners. Shoes were the only articles they were permitted to accept. Among their visitors while in London were ladies who promised that when Mrs. Wait arrived to assist her in every possible shape. These promises were faithfully kept. January 4th, at daylight, they prepared to depart for Portsmouth. The manacles were again riveted upon them. The felons from Quebec were still their companions. Dr. Buck, who had been their constant friend, gave them a letter and a pocket comb which served to ameliorate their condition. At 3.30 p. m. they left. Their baggage was restored, and bed, wooden bowl and spoon given. Mr. Batchelder accompanied them to the ship, and with kind wishes commended them to the commander. Dr. Buck was there also and gave a parting prayer, staying until the last moment. The frigate put to sea, but was twice obliged to return because of a frightful storm that strewed the coast with wrecks and loss of life. Three days and three nights they rode the gale when they re-entered the Mersey. The sick were taken on shore. At Liverpool Dr. Buck came to see them. After repairs they proceeded to Portsmouth. Commander Pritchard treated them with kindness and respect. At Portsmouth they were put on the hulk *Leviathan*. Here Mr. Wait met a brother of Lord Durham and had a long conversation with him about matters relating to Canada. After a rigorous personal search everything not previously given up was taken from them. The agent who had been selected by their friends in London, with his wife, visited them to see if they could render any last services to the unfortunate

prisoners. The convict dress of the hulks was then put upon them. This was a coarse spotted garment, a hemp shirt, a waistcoat of coarse grey cloth, a thin pair of long grey stockings and a pair of low cow-skin shoes, a coarse cotton neck-kerchief and a coarse stiff wool hat, with the crow's foot. Then on the right leg was put an iron band nearly four pounds in weight. On everything was stamped the broad arrow. Not even a handkerchief was allowed. They were numbered.

"Our heads were shaved close and the stiff hat produced no warmth. It was in January and very cold, but the port holes were open. We had in our hammocks a pallaise of straw, two old blankets and a rug. Our rations were limited and unfit, and rest was impossible. The chill was impossible to be walked off. To my last hour its effect upon my feet will be felt. There were ten of us. Mr. Parker had been pardoned while in London, and was then living in Rochester, in the State of New York. Gemmel was in the hospital. Church service was read by a convict, to which we were supposed to respond. We refused, with cheers from the others, to do so, and were deputed to ask that we be allowed to pray as we liked, and to have the diet changed. The praying was conceded, but the change in the diet, made to rice and milk, was only for a little while. On the third day we were brought before the commander to undergo a rigid examination. We were stripped and everything carefully noted. These likenesses were so perfect that we could have been arrested anywhere. The little paper mementos made in England, and sold by Miss Strickland, the biographer of the Queens of England, had helped us to procure many necessaries. They had been made on the sly and carefully secreted. These were seen by an officer, and brought us kindness and respect. The remonstrances of nine of the State prisoners were sent to Lord John Russell, and, after much correspondence, the decision arrived at, that they were to be sent to Van Dieman's Land for fourteen years, and some for life."

On the morning of the 12th of March they were told that they had five minutes to prepare for their departure. Some were in London and some in the hospital. There was no time to write. Mr. Wait secured his portfolio. The weight of the iron bands was doubled to eight pounds. He exchanged his hat for a woollen cap. His books and clothes were forfeited to the Government. His trunk, bowl and spoon, and some religious books were returned. They gladly left this abode of vice. The *Marquis of Hastings* was the name of the vessel. Mr. Ashurst came to see them. They were classed as "the convict Wait and other felons."

The fourteen years was to date from their arrival at Hobart Town. They were sent away before the order into their case arrived. On the

17th of March the long voyage of 18,000 miles commenced. Its horrors will be told as briefly as possible. When they left England the vermin germinated and swarmed; a living torture day and night, continuing until the voyage ended. There were 240 on board. Scurvy and erysiplas broke out, and one year after their arrival at Hobart Town only 103 of the 240 remained alive. McNulty died on the passage. Mr. Wait had blood poisoning from the improper use of the lancet. McLeod died in the hospital a few hours after their arrival and sleeps in a stranger's grave. The hospital was full and the scene of greed and depravity was horrible. The surgeon did what he could, but among so many it was impossible to give the aid required. Those who could pass inspection were viewed by the Governor and officials. The Governor was the famous Sir John Franklin, who afterwards perished in the Arctic regions of America. He first addressed the convicts, and afterwards, turning to the others, said, "Treason was the foremost crime in the British code, and while their character was good, any attempt to escape would be treated with the utmost severity." On the voyage one hundred and twenty had been flogged with the cat, and minor punishments administered on many. On the ship were beings who had committed all kinds of crimes, from the lightest to those of the deepest dye. Prisoners, after landing, were arranged in barracks in alphabetical order. On shipboard the convicts' amusement was to tattoo their persons with all sorts of devices. After some weeks they were allowed the privilege of assignment, instead of working on the roads. Vernon, Mallory, Cooly, and Wagner went first. There only remained Chandler and Wait. Mr. Wait was two months in the hospital. While there, from a fly-leaf of a testament, he managed to send a letter, which, with another, reached its destination. From the hospital he went to the prison barracks. Fourteen hundred men were there. Language fails, nor could he repeat what he saw and heard. Here were the cells, the tread-mill, the triangle, and not a morning passed without someone receiving the lash. The vermin swarmed. He was here two weeks. On the 2nd of October he was assigned as a carpenter to Commissary-General Roberts, who wanted him as a clerk and store-keeper. His place was fifty miles from Hobart Town, and called Askegeon. Here he and Mr. Chandler worked from 4 a. m. to 11 p. m. Their duties were varied. His wife sent monthly and continued her efforts for their deliverance. They soon had their "tickets of leave" granted. These gave them leave to work for wages, selection of employer, and choice of labor. This was accorded the others also, through Mrs. Wait's efforts. The "ticket of leave" was received in August, 1841. Mr. Chandler and he determined to embrace the first opportunity to escape. They

saw by the papers that several vessels were in port at Hobart Town. Mr. Chandler procured a pass for ten days' absence, went to town and made the necessary arrangements, and returned. They were thus enabled to absent themselves without suspicion. Mr. Wait went to the police officers and got a pass for Hobert Town, hired a whale-boat under pretence of fishing and put out to sea to evade the harbor laws, which were very strict. The point where they would be found was designated. They were tossed about for several days before a ship picked up "these people in distress." They were kindly treated, and after a voyage of some months landed in the United States. During their voyage they passed through many perils of storm and were ship-wrecked on the South American coast. They were a month there before a vessel could be found. The first officer of the ship came with them to Niagara Falls and presented Mr. Wait to his over-joyed family. Mr. Gemmel made his escape a month after, but reached America sooner. He attributed his escape to Mrs. Wait's efforts. Mr. Wait's narrative was written when it was not prudent to proclaim to the world who had been their friends in the dark hour of their trial and had been the means of restoring them to freedom and the renewal of life once more.

Mrs. Wait died in Buffalo, New York, about a year after Mr. Wait's return, and was buried there. Mr. Wait married in 1848 Rebekah Seeley of Elmira, New York. Augusta, the babe and only child at the time of his transportation, married Mr. Campbell of Grand Rapids. Mr. Wait died in Grand Rapids, Michigan, November 10, 1895. His second wife, and Augusta, died in Grand Rapids soon after Mr. Wait's death. Mr. Wait never returned to Canada.

CHAPTER XXXV.

CONCLUSION.

IT has been the aim of the writer of these Reminiscences to recall the high character of the mothers of this Dominion. They were indeed worthy helpmeets of the men who levelled the forests and cleared the broad acres of their new home. With unwearied patience these women shared their varied toils; with quiet fortitude endured the separation from kindred and the homes of their youth to bear with them the hardships and the isolation of the settler's life, with a loyalty and courage always rising to meet whatever the occasion and duty demanded.

There is no place that is not rich in local history. It is the duty of those who live among the men and women who made it, to gather their story and preserve their traditions before they are lost forever, that the names of these worthy pioneers shall not be forgotten and their services to the country remain unappreciated. A great statesman said, that "people who never look back to their ancestors will not look forward to posterity," and it is good advice for the past and present. Strangers living among us have noticed this forgetfulness.

Mrs. Jamieson, the wife of an early vice-chancellor, came to Canada late in the year 1836. She had two objects in view—to see Niagara Falls, and to study for herself the characteristics of our Indian tribes. She did both. It was her privilege to meet the Indians under conditions seldom offered to anyone. She stayed among them and saw the better side of the best men and best women of their race. She bears witness to the disabilities under which the Indian lived—the vain effort to escape the temptations set for him at every step, by the pernicious example of the white man, and victimized by the covetousness which robbed him of his lands for the most meagre compensation. Her keen observation saw other things, for she commented upon the political life and the mistakes of that stormy period. More that these, she saw with honest indignation the position of Canadian women, and with what silent fortitude they bore their lot.

Mrs. Moodie and Mrs. Traill came to Canada in 1832. The remainder of their lives were spent in this Province. They have given to the world their experiences as settlers in "Roughing it in the Bush" and

"The Backwoods of Canada." They helped our literature, and did much to make our country known in the land from which they came. They, too, bear witness to the industry and kindness of our women. Let us not forget, as we recall the memories of the dying past, the tribute due to the living present. History is repeating itself before our eyes. The Doukhobortsi, now making homes for themselves and their children on the prairies of the great North-West, may show the same gratitude to the friends who brought them across the seas, as did the Huguenots and the homeless suffers of the Palatine. Their women, who, yoked together, with relieving ranks, turned the sod of the fertile prairies, are also training their sons and daughters to be our helpers and defenders in the years to come.

On every hand women are working in the "strife for truths which men believe not now." Through many difficulties and much opposition women can now enter the open doors of the University and Colleges to that higher education which men and women alike need. Both have a common interest in the great questions of the day. An intelligent comprehension of these questions is not above woman's capabilities, nor are they unneeding of her help. Women rise or fall as they understand the duties which the age brings upon them. While they choose their vocation in life they should remember with gratitude the patient years of study, the unobtrusive and undaunted courage, with which Miss Martin has won this right for herself and others.

The story of Laura Secord is again presented to the public with the knowledge that there has been erected a monument worthy of the courage and patriotism represented by her. But for Mrs. Curzon Mrs. Secord's name would have only been a foot-note in history. In rescuing her name from oblivion she gave an inspiration which it is our duty to perpetuate.

MONUMENT AT LUNDY'S LANE
Erected in 1901 by the Ontario Historical Society