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The Loyalists and Six Nation Indians in the Niagara Peninsula

by

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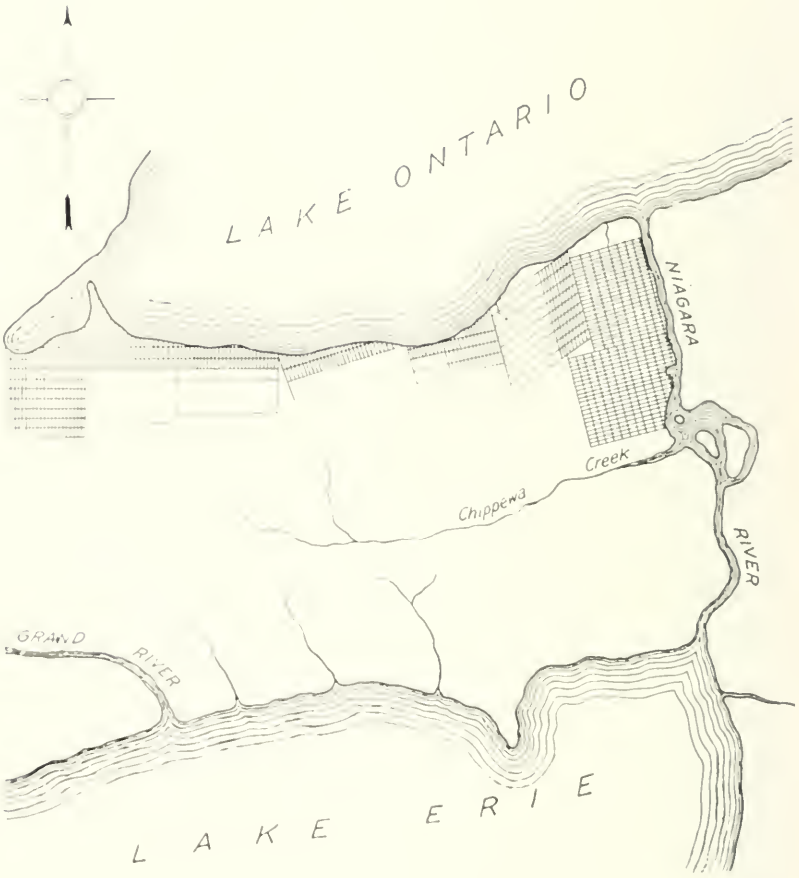

MAP

SHOWING THE

SURVEYS IN THE NIAGARA PENINSULA

ALONG LAKE ONTARIO IN 1790

(See Third Report, Bureau of Archives, Ontario, 1905. p. xcix.)

The Loyalists and Six Nation Indians in the Niagara Peninsula.

By PROFESSOR WILBUR H. SIEBERT.

Presented by DR. W. D. LESUEUR, F.R.S.C.

(Read May Meeting, 1915.)

FORT NIAGARA BEFORE THE REVOLUTION, 1759-1775.

The British acquired Fort Niagara from the French in 1759, through the efforts of Sir William Johnson. The post stood, as it still stands, on the eastern point formed by the junction of the river whose name it bears and Lake Ontario. The new possessors of the fort, like their predecessors, maintained it as a garrison and trading post. The place now became the scene of Sir William's activities, one of the first of which was the establishment of peace with the Indians at the great treaty of 1764. It served as the rendezvous and recruiting center for Western expeditions, and through its friendly attitude towards the Iroquois, or Six Nations, it prepared the way for the alliance between England and the tribes which a few years later "turned their tomahawks against the 'American rebels' ". Fort Niagara was also an important mart for the fur trade with the Indians and the center of trade routes to the interior of the continent. The capture of the post by the English led to greater activity along these routes and to the transfer of the carrying rights over the portage around the Falls from the Seneca Indians to white men with their teams and wagons. This change in conditions on the river soon manifested itself in the formation of a small settlement at what is now Lewiston, and doubtless a few of the families belonging to the portage cultivated fields in the neighbourhood.[1]

Until Revolutionary times the country on the western, or Canadian, side of the River Niagara was a wilderness of forest and swamp, and was occupied by the Mississauguas. Their chief settlement lay opposite the fort and on the site of an earlier town, once belonging to the nation of the Neuters, which bore the designation of Onghiara. On the old clearings of the extinct Neuters, now the commons of

[1] Kirby, Annals of Niagara, 33, 34, 40, 47-49. Severance, Old Trails of the Niagara Frontier, 120; Thwaites and Kellogg, Rev. on the Upper Ohio, 245, n.; Cruikshank, Butler's Rangers, 27.

Niagara-on-the-Lake, the Mississauguas raised their crops of maize and beans.[1]

FORT NIAGARA AS A RENDEZVOUS FOR LOYALISTS AND INDIANS.

From the very beginning of the Revolution Loyalists, or Tories, from the Middle Colonies resorted to Fort Niagara, whither Captain John Butler—himself a refugee from the Province of New York—was sent by Sir Guy Carleton, governor general of Canada, in the fall of 1775. The home of Butler had been at Johnstown in the Mohawk Valley, a hotbed of loyalism, where the superintendent of Indian affairs, Sir William Johnson, had lived until the close of his life in 1774. Guy Johnson, Sir William's nephew and son-in-law, now succeeded to the Indian superintendency, and Butler was serving in the capacity of deputy to the new superintendent, while Joseph Brant, the Mohawk chieftain and head of the Six Nations, was the latter's secretary, being in turn aided by his sister Molly, who exercised scarcely less influence among the Indians than Brant himself. The battles of Lexington and Concord had stirred the Johnsons and their friends in Tryon County to various activities in opposition to the Whigs, or patriots, including the holding of a series of Indian councils. Surveillance on the part of the Whigs kept them informed of all these activities, and at length in August, 1775, Guy Johnson together with his family, the Butlers, Colonel Daniel Claus, Gilbert Tice, Barent Frey, two sons of Sir William, and 120 warriors and chiefs of the Six Nations, fearing longer to remain in the Mohawk Valley, took their departure from Oswego for Montreal by way of the St. Lawrence. At Montreal the party was received in conference by Governor Carleton, and Brant was given a commission in the British army. It was in the November following that John Butler received his orders to report for duty at Niagara . Evidently, he took with him some of those who had accompanied him in his flight.[2]

Arriving at Niagara on November 17, Captain Butler took preliminary measures at once: he set Loyalist emissaries at work gathering information in the principal villages and mingling among the Indians. One of these, a young Philadelphian by the name of William Caldwell, aided some British officers to escape from prison, and con-

[1] Kirby, Annals of Niagara, 8, 9, 11, 35; Severance, Old Trails of the Niagara Frontier, 4, 8.

[2] Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 4, 2; Jubilee Hist. of Thorold, 12; Caniff, Med. Profession in Upper Canada, 9; Van Tyne, Loyalists in the Am. Rev., 298; Cruikshank, Butler's Rangers, 8–10, 16, 17, 24-27; Stone, Life of Joseph Brant, I, 51-54, 67, 68, 71-74, 84; Caniff, Settlement of Upper Canada, 74.

ducted them through the wilderness to the frontier post. William and Peter Johnson, the half-blood sons of the late Sir William, Barent Frey, a brother of Colonel Hendrik Frey of Tryon County, and John Johnson, an Oneida trader, were some of the other agents in Butler's employ. Already fugitive Loyalists were arriving from the border settlements in sufficient numbers to be organized into a body of reliable assistants, and were especially serviceable because of their familiarity with one or another of the Indian languages. In 1776, one Thomas Smith came bringing a plan of Fort Stanwix and special intelligence to communicate to the authorities. In May of the same year Sir John Johnson, son of Sir William and leader of the Tories of Tryon County, having had various clashes with the local Whig committee, fled with 170 of his friends and tenants by way of the great Adirondack wilderness, St. Regis, and Caughnawaga to Montreal. The angry Whigs now sacked Johnson Hall and converted it into a barracks, wrecked Guy Johnson's house and carried the families of the refugees as hostages to Albany, including Lady Johnson and Mrs. Butler. These events in Tyron County help to explain the continued arrival at Niagara during the succeeding months of fugitives from the Mohawk Valley, including many persons of influence. Perhaps, too, they evoked the letters, delivered in the winter of 1776-7 by a Mr. Depue, from 70 inhabitants of the Susquehanna country proposing to enlist as rangers under Butler's command. Butler seems to have had previous communication with these persons, for we are informed that he had "already encouraged them to join him at Niagara." So far as is known this was the first suggestion of the formation of Butler's corps of Rangers, by means of which numbers of militant Loyalists were drawn to the fort.[1]

Meantime, the aid which the Indians might render was not overlooked by Butler and his superior officers. Although the authorities at Quebec remained undecided on the question of employing the savages in border warfare until the beginning of 1777, Guy Johnson and Butler appear to have anticipated favorable action on this point by making use of about 70 warriors of the Six Nations during the year 1776. If full warrant had not been received from headquarters previously, it came to hand early in June, 1777, when Butler received instructions from Carleton to collect as many Indians as possible and join Colonel St. Leger's expedition against Fort Stanwix. The task of gathering this band of savages, which was supplemented by a body of such refugees as were available, furnished Butler an opportunity

[1] Cruikshank, Butler's Rangers, 15, 27-29, 30, 31; 34-37; Third Report, Bureau of Archives, Ont., 1905, 90; Flick, Loyalism in N. Y., 86; Caniff, Settlement of Upper Canada, 67, 68.

for promoting his scheme of organizing a corps of Rangers, and before the middle of the month he was able to send the Governor General a list of five captains, nine lieutenants, and 75 privates. Some of these recruits had arrived at Niagara in small parties, and reported that many other loyalists were ready to enlist on the first chance.[1]

As our interest is confined for the present to watching the gradual assembling of those elements of society, which were later to constitute the population of the Niagara Peninsula, and as Butler's corps was one of the most conspicuous of these, we have first to trace the steps by which its ranks were filled, besides gathering such information as is available about the other Loyalists who came in, singly or in groups, footsore and weary, from the long journey through the woods. We have also to note the further associations of the Six Nations with the Niagara post until they were admitted to the reservation which was given them on the Grand River.

Before joining St. Leger at Oswego at the end of July, Butler convened an Indian council there, which was attended by 800 or more braves, of whom Brant and about 400 were ready to take the field. These warriors, therefore, formed part of the expedition, along with Butler's men. The Loyalist contingent was further increased by Sir John Johnson and 133 members of his corps, who came from their headquarters at LaChine. As is well known, the attack on Fort Stanwix, which occurred early in August, proved disastrous, ending in the flight of the assailants. Two of Butler's captains, Hare and Wilson, were killed in the battle of Oriskany, and after the flight most of the Rangers were despatched to the Susquehanna to capture cattle for the garrison at Niagara; but the party was surprised, Captain Peter Tenbrook, Lieutenant Bowne and 20 privates taken prisoner, and the others scattered. The following month (September, 1777), found Butler in Quebec, whither he went to settle his accounts. The bitter lesson of Fort Stanwix required no commentary, and when Butler renewed in person his proposal to enlist a regiment of Rangers to serve with the Indians, Carleton at once consented to the embodiment of eight companies, each to consist of a captain, a lieutenant, three sergeants, three corporals, and fifty privates. The kind of service these troops were to perform is clearly indicated in the requirements that six of the companies were "to be composed of people well acquainted with the woods," while the other two were to consist of persons "speaking the Indian language" and

[1] Thwaites and Kellogg, Rev. on the Upper Ohio, 65, 68, 69, 245, 246; Proceedings of the Wis. Hist. Soc., 1909, 132; Ohio Arch. and Hist. Quarterly, July 1907, 271; Severance, Old Trails of the Niagara Frontier, 92, n.; Cruikshank, Butler's Rangers, 31-37.

acquainted with the aboriginees' customs and manner of making war. The men were to clothe and equip themselves. The outcome of St. Leger's expedition and Butler's visit to Quebec interrupted the enrolment of Rangers for a brief period. Then, recruiting officers were sent out from Niagara, among them being Depue, who betook himself to the Susquehanna; but enlistments were slow, and the first company was not completed until the middle of December. By May of the next year the number had increased to 125 only, which was but 36 more than the number reported to Carleton a twelvemonth previously.[1]

The Indians, on the other hand, did not need to be solicited to come to Niagara. The activity of the Americans, stimulated by the British disasters at Fort Stanwix and Saratoga, caused numbers of the red men to flee thither for refuge; and although thousands of them still dwelt north of the Susquehanna country in the isolation afforded by the vast stretches of wilderness and the cedar swamps by which they were surrounded, no less than 2,300 Indians were at Niagara in December, 1777, making endless demands on the commissary department. By the middle of the following May this numcer had increased to 2,700, and Colonel Bolton, commandant of the fort, relates that he found it necessary "to send to Detroit for a supply of provisions, and to buy up all the cattle, etc., that could possibly be procured, otherwise this garrison must have been distressed or the savages offended." With the situation so serious in the land of the Six Nations, we can understand why the chiefs and warriors appealed to Butler at this time to conduct his corps to the frontiers of the rebellious Colonies, since they looked to their white friends to protect their settlements and harass the enemy.[2]

The collecting of Tories to serve under Butler was not confined to regular recruiting agents: it appears to have been one of the purposes with which Brant set out for Oghwaga and Unadilla early in 1778. At Unadilla, which an American officer described as "a common receptacle for all rascally Tories and runaway negroes," Brant was assisted by John Young, and at Oghwaga by a former Susquehanna settler named McGinnis, both of whom had been sent forward by Butler. From Oghwaga the Mohawk chieftain proceeded with his

[1] Cruikshank, Butler's Rangers, 35-37, 39, 40; Severance, Old Trails of the Niagara Frontier, 59; Johnson's Orderly Book, 10, n., 4, n, 82, n.; Stone, Life of Joseph Brant, 182, 186, 209; Reid, The Mohawk Valley, 411-425; Haldimand Papers, 21, 765, 424; B. 40, 4. 5.

[2] Zeisberger, "Hist. of Northern Am. Indians" in the Ohio Arch. and Hist. Quar. for Jan. and Apr., 1910, 37, 38; Severance, Old Trails of the Niagara Frontier, 57.

forces into the Delaware Valley, where he was joined by 60 or 70 of the inhabitants, and seized horses and cattle. By June 18th Brant was operating in the vicinity of Otsego Lake, and Colonel Jacob Klock sent word to Governor Clinton that "his number encreaseth daily; many very lately did run off, moved by disaffection; others join him, moved by fear, and several are forced to take up arms, or to swear allegiance to the King of Britain. We are informed that Brant boasted openly, that he will be joined at Unadilla by Butler, and that within eight days he will return and lay the country waste."[1]

A week later Butler was said to be at Chemung. He had set out from Niagara on May 2nd to hold a council with the Indians at the Seneca village of Kanadesaga, and to fix his headquarters among the Loyalists at Unadilla. Recent letters from the frontier informed him that his recruiting officers were meeting with good success, one of them reporting an enlistment of nearly 100 men. That Butler was employing every method to gather up the Tories is apparent from the statement of Barnabas Kelly, a settler on Butternut Creek, who made affidavit about June 25th that he "heard John Young at the Butternut, read a proclamation from Butler, desiring all the friends to government to join him, and to bring in all their cattle together with their wives and families, and they would be kindly received by the said Butler." Almost at the same moment Brant appeared on Butternut Creek with a few Indians and "Green Coat soldiers," and ordered Robert Jones "with nine families who liv'd at that place to go with him, if friends to government; if not, to take their own risk. Himself and 4 families with S'd Brant went to Unadilla, the other five soon followed." Some days later Jones learned that a large number of Senecas were on the march to join Brant at Anahquago. As our deponent made his escape on the day this news was brought in, he was unable to report the actual arrival of these warriors. Meantime, at Unadilla Butler's Rangers seem to have gained a considerable accession of persons, who had been expelled from their holdings farther up the valley on account of their real or suspected loyalty.[2]

Late in June Butler and his Mohawk ally met in council at Tioga Point, where it was decided that the latter should continue the work of collecting Loyalists and provisions, while the former should make a descent on Wyoming in eastern Pennsylvania. When Butler started on this raid his force numbered about 1,100 men, of whom 700 were Indians (largely Senecas), the remainder comprising

[1] Clinton Papers, Vol. III; Halsey, The Old New York Frontier, 207, 209, 211.

[2] Haldimand Papers, B. 96-1, p. 36; Cruikshank, Butler's Rangers, 41, 44, 45; Halsey, The Old New York Frontier, 212, 213, 215.

some of his own Rangers, some of Sir John Johnson's Royal Greens, and many of the Tories recruited by Brant in the country of the upper Susquehanna. Brant's own party of about 250 Indians and whites were not in the Wyoming expedition, but invaded the Delaware Valley as far down as Minisink instead. On his arrival in the Susquehanna country, Butler received a communication from John Buck, a Loyalist owing a large property on the Delaware, offering to supply him with beef. Thereupon, Butler sent forward Lieutenant McQuin and two Indian chiefs, who brought away not only a large supply of cattle, but also 40 of Mr. Buck's Loyalist neighbors. Subsequently, the Revolutionists drove Buck into the Indian country and he took refuge at Niagara, where he found a party of adherents of the Crown, who had been released from Wyoming by Butler. This party had followed an Indian trail through the almost unbroken forest to Oswego, whence it had coasted in open boats along the shore of Lake Ontario for nine days, living meantime on the hips of the wild rose.[1]

After the battle of Wyoming Butler returned to Niagara on "sick leave," having first placed Captain William Caldwell in temporary command. However, there was to be no cessation of effort in recruiting: Caldwell's orders were to enlist as many able-bodied men as possible who might be recommended for their loyalty. That other officers from Niagara followed the same instructions is shown by the accession of Thomas Garnett and 39 volunteers to the detachment of Captain Gilbert Tice at the German Flatts, September 1, 1778. However, the census of those who wintered at Fort Niagara, or drew rations there in 1778-79, is by no means to be regarded as showing all that was accomplished in the way of aiding Tories and their families to effect their departure from the enemy's country. In November, 1778, Governor Haldimand wrote from Quebec that 111 women and children were expected from Niagara, and several weeks later he directed Lieutenant Colonel Carleton at Montreal to send 40 of the members of this party to Machiche, but for some reason these persons were allowed to remain with their fellow exiles under Carleton's supervision. Others who were dependent upon enlisted men at Niagara may have been disposed of in the same way, for the number of Rangers in winter quarters at this post in December, 1778, was 300 men and 48 officers, constituting six full companies. In the fall of this year so many white persons had found their way to Niagara that the Indians made complaint that the whites were running away from a quarrel which they had begun and were leaving the Indians to defend. So scanty are the records that have been preserved that, de-

[1] Halsey, The Old New York Frontier, 214-216, 218; Second Report, Bureau of Archives, Ont., Pt. II, 992; Centennial of the Settlement of Upper Canada, 83.

spite the large number of persons coming in during the year 1778, we have the personal statements of only nine of them. Three of these testify that they joined the Rangers, one enlisting with his three sons. Another says more indefinitely that he "joined the British army at Niagara." Two of the nine came from Tyron County, four from the Susquehanna, one from Staten Island, one from Albany County, and the remaining one fails to tell whence he came. William MacGrosh, one of those from Tyron County, reports that he was accompanied by other refugees, and Dorothy Windron, from the Susquehanna, testifies that she arrived with her own and other families. By a census of February 12th, 1779, it appears that 1,346 people were drawing rations at the post, of whom 445 were red men, while 64 are set down as belonging to "distressed families," most of them from the Mohawk Valley.[1] Deducting the number of savages, Rangers (348), and troops of the garrison (200 in December, 1778), there still remains over 350 persons out of the total mentioned above, and most of these must have been white refugees.[1]

During the year 1779 there was no cessation of flights to Niagara, so far as we can tell; and the destruction of 40 Indian villages with their fields of maize in the Genosee Valley by General John Sullivan and his forces in August and September increased the number of savages at the post to more than 5,000. Even though war parties were at once sent out, there were still 3,678 of these hungry and homeless red men on the ground in October, and during the ensuing winter the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Guy Johnson, was heavily burdened with the task of distributing clothing to more than 3,000 of his wards, while the supply of provisions gave out. To make matters worse, the season became so severe that the Niagara River remained frozen from January to March, and the camps of the Indians were decimated by cold, as well as starvation. Numbers of the survivors never returned to their former abodes, but passed into Canada. The Senecas, however, settled in the region watered by the Buffalo, Cattaraugus, and Tonawanda creeks. Despite casualties in every one of his eight companies, Butler was able to report in November, 1779, that his corps was nearly completed. Its barracks, which had been erected a year before, consisted of a range of log buildings on the west side of the Niagara.[2]

[1] Cruikshank, Butler's Rangers, 51, 52, 58; Halsey, The Old New York Frontier, 225, 226; Haldimand Papers, B. 89, pp. 190, 200, 201; Severance, Old Trails of the Niagara Frontier, 60, 62; Second Report, Bureau of Archives, Ont., Pt. I, 392; Pt. II, 974, 979, 990; Pt. I, 470, 415, 416, 392; Pt. II, 974, 979, 990, 1,079; Centennial of the Settlement of Upper Canada, 275.

[2] Severance, Old Trails of the Niagara Frontier, 53, 58, 60, 61; Cruikshank, Butler's Rangers, 59, 64-75, 78. Caniff, Settlement of Upper Canada, 77, 79; Marshall,

Among the Loyalists who escaped to the fort during 1779 were Daniel Servos, with his father and brother from Tryon County, Jean Glasford and a number of her neighbors from the same county after they had been plundered by the Revolutionists, Jacob Caven with his family and John Middagh, both from Ulster County, and Isaac Dobson from the Susquehanna Valley in Pennsylvania. Middagh enlisted in Sir John Johnson's regiment, and Servos was appointed in the Indian Department, with a company of men under his command. Robert Land, another of those arriving in 1779, relates that he was welcomed at the Niagara River by the little band of refugees settled there, and that he applied for and received 200 acres at the Falls.[1]

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE NIAGARA SETTLEMENT, 1780-1784.

The settlement which Land mentions could scarcely have been the Loyalist colony formed on the west side of Niagara River under Governor Haldimand's orders, since that did not come into existence until late in the year 1780. It is true that the Governor had proposed the establishment of a colony at Niagara nearly two years before, and had requested Lieutenant Colonel Mason Bolton, commandant at the post, to find out what leading men in his neighborhood thought of the plan as a means of supplying part of the provisions for his fort. On March 4, 1778, the Commandant had written that the scheme might prove displeasing to the Six Nations, if carried out on the New York side of the Niagara, and that it would be attended by great expense, from which no advantage could accrue to his post for some years to come. However, he had ventured the suggestion that the distress of Loyalist families lately arrived might be relieved by locating them on the west side of the river in the country of the Mississaugua, where both the soil and situation were "by far preferable." Bolton had explained further that, with the little stock these Loyalists had brought in, they might possibly support themselves in the third year after being settled. The problem of supplying large quantities of provisions to the upper posts, in consequence of the numbers of Indians and Tories collecting there, did not permit Haldimand to overlook the desirability of procuring local supplies, if possible. Bolton only furnished fresh proof of the pressing need by sending a new contingent of Loyalist families down to Quebec in the middle of August, 1779; and conditions were certainly not improved in this respect

Sketches and Local Place Names of the Niagara Frontier, 8, 36, 37; Haldimand Papers, B. 105, p. 148; Carnochan, Niagara One Hundred Years Ago, 23, 24.

[1] Second Report, Bureau of Archives, Ont., Pt. II, 957, 1,112; Pt. I, 397; Pt. II, 1,256; Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 8, 43.

by Haldimand's proclamation to the inhabitants of the back settlements, in 1780, to surrender themselves at the frontier posts, with a view to being sent into the interior parts of Canada until peace should be restored, or by the two expeditions conducted into the Mohawk Valley by Sir John Johnson in the same year, for the purpose of enabling Loyalists to escape. As the result of the second of these expeditions at least one group, comprising 29 persons, came in from Schoharie, and was at once (November 20) forwarded to Lower Canada on board the *Seneca*. From the country west of the upper Ohio refugees were also coming in: in the preceding July, Lieutenant Joseph Ferris wrote from Tuscarawas Town that he was on his way to Niagara with a party of 23 white men, most of them Loyalists, and that Sergeant Brass was likely to bring in many more.[1]

By this time Haldimand had made up his mind that the refugees at Niagara could be best supported by colonizing them on the land of the Mississauguas. Accordingly, Colonel (Guy) Johnson was instructed to purchase this land for the government. Those settling were to receive grants proportional to their merits, to be held without rent; they were also to receive provisions for a twelvemonth, the necessary implements of husbandry, and the use of horses. If they should remove at any time, they were to be paid for their improvements; but while they remained they were to sell any produce they might raise beyond their own needs to the garrison. Lieutenant Colonel Butler, who was at Quebec on official business at this time, was to engage prospective settlers among the refugees in and about Montreal, and thought he might supply others skilled in agriculture from his corps of Rangers. The plan of colonizing the Loyalists Haldimand decided to extend to the other localities in the Upper Country, including Detroit and Michilimackinac to the westward and Genesee and Cataraqui to the eastward. At Carleton Island, near the head of the St. Lawrence, the plan was already in a state of "some forwardness," according to the Governor. Indeed, he expected that the settlement there would be able to supply a quantity of potatoes to Niagara in the fall. By December, 1780, the new settlement across from Colonel Butler's headquarters was beginning to take form; as yet it consisted of only four or five families, already occupying houses, and anxious for a forge and the implements and seed necessary for the spring planting.[2]

In the meantime, there had been more than the usual amount of sickness among the troops and Loyalists at the fort, due in the

[1] Haldimand Papers, B. 96-1, pp. 248-250; B. 96-2; B. 100, p. 165; B. 220, p. 173, 174, B 147, p. 195; B. 100, p. 391; B. 103, p. 372; B. 100, p. 320.

[2] Haldimand Papers, B. 105, pp. 191, 376.

one case to the hardships of campaigning and in the other to long journeys through the Indian Country, often with insufficient food. In April, 1781, Dr. R. W. Causland, the regimental surgeon at Niagara, wrote that during the two previous years and part of the third he had constantly under his care the sick of the detachments of the various corps at the post, namely, the 34th, 47th, 84th, and Sir John Johnson's regiments, besides Captain Brant's Volunteers, that during 1780 the 34th Regiment alone had 245 sick, and that he was far from exaggerating in saying that from 1776 to 1781 the sick at the fort had amounted to more than 100 each year.

Doubtless, all this illness, no less than the casualties in the field, prevented Colonel Butler from completing his corps of Rangers; but in May, 1781, the Colonel sent word to Quebec that he expected to fill his ranks soon, as some of his men had gone to bring in 30 Loyalists who had enlisted during the previous winter, and that he had yet to hear from three other recruiting parties. Evidently Butler's expectations were more than fulfilled, for a little later he had asked permission to add the ninth and tenth companies to his corps. That such permission was granted appears from the fact that he was able to report, July 2, 1781, that the ninth company had been completed and mustered three days before. On Januray 12th, seven more refugees arrived and joined the Rangers, the tenth company being filled in the following September.[2]

While Butler's corps was thus attaining its maximum strength, the new settlement across the Niagara was making but slow progress. Late in May, 1781, Butler acknowledged the receipt of various articles forwarded from Quebec for the settlers, but reported that they were much in need of a blacksmith and forge and iron suitable for plowshares. He suggested that he could find the smith among his Rangers, and that if Governor Haldimand would supply the forge and iron for a year the settlers might be able after that to help themselves. As it turned out, some of the families in the little colony were already in a position to "subsist themselves" by September, and Haldimand expressed himself as being much gratified with the prospect that was opening before the settlement. On December 17th Butler wrote that the winter thus far had been so moderate that the farmers had found it possible to clear the ground and prepare it for planting and sowing early in the spring, and that they had in fact maintained themselves since the previous September, although they had been allowed only half rations from the beginning.[3] A party of refugees

[1] Haldimand Papers, B. 100, pp. 287, 359, 407; B. 101, pp. 30, 38, 114.

[2] Ibid., B. 105, pp. 215, 221; B. 101, p. 117; Cruikshank, Butler's Rangers, 97

[3] Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 17, 6, 7.

that arrived almost naked during this period, if not earlier, entered Colonel Guy Johnson's company of Foresters. When spring opened Colonel Watson Powell, who had succeeded Lieutenant Colonel Bolton at Niagara, set Butler's men at clearing some ground on the western side of the river, which was intended to produce part of the garrison's supply of corn, another tract on Buffalo Creek being destined for the same use on account of its exceptional fertility. As eight or nine of the Rangers had secured their families from the frontier in the previous autumn, they together with some of their comrades, were sufficiently charmed by the approach of summer in the lake region to seek their discharge with leave to settle in the neighborhood, provided they could be supplied with provisions for one year and such smith work as might be necessary. As these men were farmers, Butler thought that they would soon prove themselves useful to the post, besides supporting their families comfortably. He was the more willing to release these prospective settlers, since he was expecting a number of recruits from the frontier, which would enable him to keep his corps complete. Toward the close of August, 1782, the little colony at Niagara comprised 18 men, 17 women, and 49 children, or a total of 84 persons. Seven of the families seem to have come from the Susquehanna Valley in Pennsylvania, and the remaining nine from various parts of Tryon County in New York. They had among them 49 horses, 61 cattle, 30 sheep, and 103 hogs, and had cleared 236 acres of land, on which the produce for the year was 926 bushels of Indian corn, 630 of potatoes, 206 of wheat, and 46 of oats. Already two members of the colony had planned to build a saw mill and a grist mill near the Rangers' Barracks, but were prevented from carrying their plan into effect by the government's refusal to sanction private ownership of the proposed mills. However, Governor Haldimand offered to supply the building material and pay for the work of construction, and Lieutenant Brass erected the mills under these conditions. It was expected that they would be ready for operation by June 1, 1783; but unforeseen delay in transporting the iron work from Montreal retarded their completion for some days. Meanwhile, the farmers began bringing their wheat to the fort to exchange for flour, and although the quantity was double that produced by the settlement during the previous year, it remained of no use to the garrison until the grist mill could be finished.[1]

By March, 1783, the refugee colonists were showing their dissatisfaction with the uncertain tenure under which they held their

[1] Haldimand Papers, B. 147, p. 298; B. 101, p. 195; B. 169, p. 1; Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 17, 6-9, 11, 41; Cruikshank, Butler's Rangers, 109-111.

lands and improvements, and with some other local conditions. In a petition which they presented to Butler a little later they explained that they had received only a part of the year's provisions that had been promised them, and that they were still without a blacksmith; they declared their willingness to dispose of their produce to the garrison at a reasonable price, but pointed out that they were now selling at prices fixed by the commanding officer and were suffering a disadvantage in being prevented from selling to the traders from whom they bought their goods. They asserted that they were liable to eviction at the will of the commandant, who was changed frequently, and preferred a lease system, being willing to pay rent after a term of eight years. Butler himself thought that should a small rental be required of the settlers some of them, even among those owning property in the States, would no longer think of leaving the settlement.[1]

Although the definitive treaty of peace contained an article on behalf of the Loyalists, it was by no means reassuring to those who had been inclined to return to their former homes; and when in June, 1783, the settlers had an opportunity to read and discuss the resolutions adopted by inhabitants of the district of Saratoga, which were printed in an Albany newspaper of May 26th, they must have realized that their return would be anything but welcome to their old neighbors in the States. These resolutions declared that any person who had voluntarily joined the British, and should hereafter return to the district, would be treated with the severity due to his crimes and infamous defection; that any person who had returned since Januray 1, 1783, and failed to depart before June 10, would be dealt with in like manner with those who might presume to return later; that the militia officers of the district make diligent inquiry in their beats for defected persons who might have come back, and report such, if any, to the inhabitants in order that they might be expelled, and, finally, that any resident of the district who should countenance a former adherent of the enemy would be held in comtempt. The American intolerance for Tories was demonstrated in actions as well as in words, for they sent back deserters from Butler's Rangers and Sir John Johnson's corps, while allowing those from the regular regiments to remain among them. The effect of these things was noted by Major Potts of the King's or 8th Regiment in his report, after inspecting the battalion of the Rangers in August: he said that the men no longer contemplated seeking their old localities, but were now chiefly concerned with Butler's promises to promote their settlement on the neighboring lands of Lake Erie and the Niagara River, that they hoped to obtain grants there, and that he believed most of them were

[1] Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 17, 9-11; Cruikshank, Butler's Rangers, 110, 111.

disposed to settle. A census accompanying this report showed that the corps comprised 469 men, 111 women, and 257 children. Already, many of the officers were selecting lands. Towards the close of September the families attached to the corps were increased by the arrival of two of the wives of its officers and a number of children from Schenectady, where they had been detained. Colonel Allan Maclean, who had now succeeded to the command of the garrison, asked for lots in the little settlement for six of his men, remarking incidentally that of the 70 lots which Lieutenant Colonel Butler had marked out, 30 had already been set aside for various persons. By April 18, 1784, the number of families in the colony had increased to 46, all but two of which had built houses for themselves. Of the 731 acres that had been cleared, 123 were sown with winter wheat and 342 more were plowed for spring crops. Of livestock the colony now had 124 horses, 160 cattle, and 332 swine.[1]

Early in 1784 Colonel Maclean obtained leave of absence, and was succeeded by Colonel Arent Schuyler DePeyster, formerly commandant at Detroit, who received instructions (March 29) to reduce the 8th and 34th Regiments to a peace footing and disband the provincials under his command. In these instructions Haldimand expressed his intention of settling as many of Butler's Rangers on the land opposite to Fort Niagara as possible and the rest at the head of Lake Ontario toward the Grand River upon a new purchase. De Peyster was also directed to take the names of all officers and men of the corps who might wish to settle in the districts indicated, in order to prevent retractions, or claims, in the future. Lots were to be granted only to such as would cultivate them. Until farms were assigned, the Rangers were to be permitted to occupy their barracks; but they were expected to winter on their respective possessions, and were to receive provisions in specific proportions from the date of their disbandment until further orders. Such of the men as might decline to locate at Niagara were to be sent down the St. Lawrence, except those who might choose Cataraqui as their place of settlemtnt. Major Ross was instructed to receive those stopping at the point just named. Later (May 20), Haldimand wrote that inasmuch as there would not be enough land opposite the fort for the accommodation of all the Rangers, especially as he would have to reserve the eastern part for the Crown, he had decided to call those unprovided for down to Cataraqui.[2]

[1] Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 17, 13, 15; Cruikshank, Butler's Rangers, 113; Haldimand Papers, B. 105, pp. 353-379.

[2] Haldimand Papers, B. 63, 163-165; Can. Archives, 1886, 417, 463.

THE INDIAN SETTLEMENT AT "LOYAL CONFEDERATE VALLEY," AND THE PURCHASE OF LANDS FOR THE SIX NATIONS.

Haldimand's decision to effect the purchase of a new and extended tract in the Niagara Peninsula had grown out of Brant's demands for territory upon which the sadly reduced Six Nations might settle. Since the summer of 1782 these people had dwelt in a temporary settlement on the American side of the River Niagara, eight miles south of the fort and two miles east of the landing (that is, Lewiston). The place had been appreciatively christened "Loyal Confederate Valley" by Colonel Powell when visiting there during the first summer, at which time he had found the Indians comfortably situated and their fields well planted with maize. The omission of any mention of Brant and his warrors in the preliminary treaty between the United States and Great Britain caused discontent among the red men, in view of the fact that their ancient country lay within the boundaries granted to the Americans. In order to quiet their fears Colonel Maclean met them in council at Niagara, December 12, 1783, but could do no more than try to convince them that they were better off than the Loyalists, since the latter had suffered banishment and loss of property, and in many instances loss of friends.[1]

The Senecas now came forward and offered the Mohawks a tract of their abandoned possessions in the Genesee Valley; but the Mohawks, like most of the Loyalists, would not consent to live within the boundaries of the United States, being determined to "sink or swim" with the English. They therefore declined the offer of the Senecas, and Brant proceeded to Montreal to confer with the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Sir John Johnson, and thence to Quebec to claim from Governor Haldimand the fulfilment of a pledge he had made to the Mohawks in April, 1779, to restore them to as good a condition as they had been in at the beginning of the war. The Governor was as good as his word, and when Brant indicated a tract on the Bay of Quinté, on the north side of Lake Ontario, Haldimand consented to its purchase and conveyance to the Mohawks. In the latter part of May the Governor, in compliance with this arrangement, sent Major Samuel Holland, together with Brant, to examine the region at Cataraqui, or the Bay of Quinté. On the return of the Mohawk Chief to Niagara, the Senecas objected to the removal of their friends to so great a distance from them, inasmuch as they thought they might be oppressed by the United States government and hence need a place of refuge. Under these circumstances the Mohawks decided that Captain Brant should pay a second visit

[1] Stone, Life of Joseph Brant, II, 238, 239; Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 17, 8, 9.

to Quebec, and request the grant of another and less distant reservation. This time Brant asked that Lieutenant Colonel Butler be empowered to purchase a tract of land extending six miles on either side of the Grand River throughout its length, for the use of the Mohawks and such other tribesmen of the Six Nations as should join them in settling there. He also suggested that since the Mohawks has sustained losses amounting to nearly 16,000 pounds, New York currency, a part of this sum be distributed among its members, in case of delay in effecting their settlement, and that provisions also be furnished the Indians until they should become well established in their new homes. In reply to these proposals Haldimand gave definite assurance that the tract of country between the three lakes, Ontatio, Erie, and Huron, would be purchased; that a reservation on the Grand River would be granted to the Six Nations by deed, the remainder being retained for occupancy by the Loyalists, or for some other purpose; that he would recommend to the King the indemnification of the Six Nations for their losses, but would relieve their present distress by advancing to them 1,500 pounds and sending them clothing, provisions, and utensils while waiting for instructions. In fulfilment of these promises Butler was instructed to purchase the tract in question, and Sir John Johnson was directed to appropriate 1,500 pounds for the Mohawks.

In pursuance of his orders Butler, with many officers of the garrison, met the Mississauguas and the chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations in council May 22, 1784, and experienced no difficulty in securing a deed in favor of the government for an immense tract containing 2,842,480 acres, in return for which the sum of 1,180 pounds was paid. The boundaries of this tract were described as beginning at Lake Ontario four miles southwesterly from the point opposite to Fort Niagara, called Mississaugua Point, running thence along the said lake to Waghquata Creek, thence by a northwest course until striking the River La Tranche (Thames) and so down stream to the place where a due south course would lead to the mouth of Catfish Creek on Lake Erie and from that place down Lake Erie to the lands heretofore purchased from the Mississaugua Indians, thence following the boundary of that purchase back to Mississaugua Point.[1]

[1] Third Report, Bureau of Archives, 1905, 486-489, Stone, Life of Joseph Brant, II, 238, 239. Haldimand Papers, B. 96-1, p. 135; B. 169, pp. 131-133; B. 56, 66-68, B. 63, 143-145; Can. Archives, 1886, 116; Haldimand Papers, B. 175, 269; Can. Archives, 1888, 793.

THE PERIOD OF ACTIVE SETTLEMENT IN THE PENINSULA.

Butler's men were disbanded in June, 1784, but up to the end of the month not more than 100 had signed the list of those desiring lots. The reasons are not far to seek: many wished to bring their families from the States, and there was no one at Niagara who felt authorized to give them permission; besides, the surveys had not yet been made, and, last but not least, the tenure was unsatisfactory. The result was that on the night of June 27th, 70 of the non-signers departed without leave and with the purpose of never returning, while 30 others took passage about the same time to obtain Haldimand's consent to their going into the States for their families. The Governor readily gave them his permission, and wrote DePeyster to extend the same indulgence to any others asking it. During the month of July the prospects of the Loyalist settlement across the Niagara greatly improved, for 258 officers and men agreed to take up lands, making with their families a body of 620 persons. Of these, 99 were women, and 263 children. The new list of signers included not only many of Butler's Rangers, but also other Loyalists, including some of Brant's Volunteers. Within a year these persons and some others found their places in the settlement, as indicated by a census covering the period of six months ending with June 25, 1785. This census gives the number of settlers as 770, 321 being men, 117 women, and 332 children. Most of these persons entered the Niagara Peninsula at the foot of King Street in the town now known as Niagara-on-the-Lake.

At the close of March, 1784, Haldimand wrote Colonel De Peyster, directing that the surveyor was to lay out the settlement in such a manner as to reserve the high ground above Navy Hall and westward to Four Mile Creek for the use of the Crown, in order that part of it might be fortified whenever necessary; and in December following, Philip Rockwell Frey, formerly a lieutenant in Butler's Rangers, was appointed deputy surveyor for Niagara and Detroit, Samuel Holland, the surveyor general, notifying Frey in January that he was much needed at Niagara to survey lots. Apparently, Lieutenant Frey did not go to the scene of his new duties until some time in the summer of 1786, or later, for Major A. Campbell, who was now commandant, wrote him early in July of this year expressing the hope that he would come and make a regular survey of the whole settlement, on account of "the irregularity allowed among the first settlers" near Niagara, as well as on account of "the number of people daily

[1] Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 17, 16, 17; Cruikshank, Butler's Rangers, 113; Haldimand Papers, B. 64, 51, 52; B. 168, 38-41.

[2] Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 4, 3.

coming in from the American States." It was not, however, until a year later that the Garrison Line was run from the hollow above Navy Hall to Four Mile Creek, whence it followed the creek down to Lake Ontario. The late arrival of the surveyor had permitted settlement to go on in many localities in the Niagara Peninsula in advance of the running of lines. This was particularly true of townships Nos. 1 and 2, afterwards known as Niagara and Stamford, the survey of which was not completed until June, 1787. In transmitting the plans of these townships, together with the first concessions in Stamford, Frey took occasion to remark that the person employed previous to himself had made few and very erroneous surveys, having laid out only a small number of lots for certain persons. He added that inasmuch as Brigadier General Hope expected him to finish the survey of the Crown lands by the winter of 1787-88, or by the end of the ensuing winter at latest, he would need two able assistants. These were supplied him in January, 1788, by the appointment of Jesse Pawling and Augustus Jones, and the work of locating the Loyalists and others, who were being admitted to citizenship in the Niagara Peninsula, was further expedited by giving Frey the authority to receive claims and applications for lands in this region.[1] In the following July, the surveyor found it necessary to carry on his surveys in those localities where the people were actually settling, in order to establish lot lines before considerable improvements were made, instead of undertaking the survey of a whole township in which only a few families had taken up their residence. Despite the economy of time thus secured and the help of two assistants, the work of surveying the settlement on the southern, or Lake Erie, side of the Peninsula had progressed by the middle of October, 1788, only to Sugar Loaf Hill, an eminence standing 17 miles west of the Niagara. The settlers had naturally chosen their locations along the shores of the Peninsula or on the navigable streams in the interior, often refusing to content themselves with a single lot in these desirable localities. The surveyor complained of this, because it prevented the compactness of the various communities; and he also complained of the frequency of changes, three or four occurring every week.[2] By 1790 the surveys in the northern part of the Peninsula stretched from the Niagara to the head of Lake Ontario, being most extensive between the Garrison Line and the Falls, where the concessions were from nine to thirteen rows deep. At the head of the Lake the surveys ran back ten concessions, and between these two localities they narrowed down to two or four concessions. (See the accompanying map.)

[1] Third Report, Bureau of Archives, Ont., 1905, 307-310.

[2] Ibid., 312-314.

Early in November, 1785, Colonel Henry Hope, who had just been appointed lieutenant governor of the Province of Quebec, called the attention of Lord Sydney to the fact that the Treasury Board had decided that the distribution of provisions to Loyalists throughout the Province, including of course the Niagara Peninsula, was to be made only to June 1, 1786, and that the settlers generally had sown the whole produce of the year's crop before they could be notified of the intended stoppage of their supplies. Thus, they would be left without grain until the harvest of the year following should be gathered. The Lieutenant Governor therefore asked for an extension of the allowance of provisions for three months beyond the limit set by the Treasury Board. This request seems to have been granted; but a later appeal for a loan of provisions for three months more, which formed part of a petition submitted to Governor General Sir Guy Carleton (Lord Dorchester) in December, 1786, and was forwarded by him to London, elicited the reply that "no further supply of provisions could be granted."[1]

Meanwhile, the settlers had made known to Lieutenant Governor Hope their dislike of the existing arrangement for the building of grist mills by the authorities at Quebec. Evidently such an arrangement did not meet the pressing needs of the new communities. Accordingly, Mr. Hope recommended that the settlers be allowed to erect mills at their own expense, and that they be indemnified by granting them the right of "banalité" for fifteen years. These proposals were assented to by the Legislative Council, which framed a regulation under which authority might be secured for the building of a grist mill in any township, or seigniory, by Novemeber 1, 1786, on the condition that the persons erecting such mills should keep them in running order and be entitled to the banalité for fifteen years, when the mills were to become the property of the government. Under these terms John Burch built a structure between Chippawa Creek and the Falls during the summer of this year, which Captain Enys described as "a very elegant piece of workmanship" and adapted for use both as a grist and a saw mill.[2]

The settlers' petition to Governor Carleton, referred to above on this page, contained a number of requests, besides the one for the loan of 90 days' additional provisions. These requests were aimed at securing tenure of land on the English basis, assistance in establishing Episcopal and Presbyterian churches where needed and a school in each district, clothing for the distressed, the survey of new townships, visits of the Commissioners of Loyalist Claims to points

[1] Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 4, 3; No. 17, 17-19.
[2] Ibid., No. 17, 19-22.

west of Montreal, and some other benefits. In compliance with this petition and Carleton's recommendation, the King in Council issued an order, October 20, 1787, by which the Governor General was enabled to grant lands in free and common soccage, no grant to exceed 1,000 acres to any person, without royal permission being previously obtained.[1]

When Governor Carleton's military secretary, Major R. Mathews, visited Niagara at the end of May, 1787, he found it to be as thriving and prosperous as the new settlements to the eastward, but learned from Colonel Butler that the leaven of democracy was beginning to manifest itself in the "McNiff party," which was demanding the rights of local self-government, or, according to Butler, the nomination of their own civil officers and the holding of "committees for the choice of them and other interior management of the settlement." Mathews also found that the settlers were complaining of not having received the same proportion of clothing and farming implements as those in other parts of the province, and that they were still disturbed about the tenure of their lands. That prospective colonists were still arriving is evident from an entry in Major Mathew's journal, under date of May 31: "This day came in eight or ten men from the States to see friends, and wishing a permission to settle with them." In August a considerable number of the inhabitants near Niagara went to Montreal to appear before the Commissioners of Loyalist Claims, and in the evidence they presented one finds mention of not a few of their places of residence, indicating that the settlement already extended from the Ten Mile Creek to Fort Erie.[2]

In the meantime, the increase of population in Upper Canada from the Niagara Peninsula to the Lake of St. Francis, 50 miles west of Montreal, induced Carleton, in July, 1788, to divide the western country into four districts for the administration of justice. The settlement at Niagara fell within the District of Nassau, the judicial and other officers of which were selected mostly from among the members of the peninsular colony. John Butler, Robert Hamilton, and Jesse Pawling were named justices of the Court of the Common Pleas, Philip Rockwell Frey, clerk of that court, as also clerk of the Peace and Sessions of the Peace, and Gilbert Tice, sheriff, John Burch, Peter Tenbrook, John Warren, John Powell, Jacob Ball, and Samuel Street were appointed justices of the Peace, and Niagara and Fort Erie were made the headquarters of superintendents of inland naviga-

[1] Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 17, 20, 21.
[2] Ibid., 21-23.

tion. The militia of Nassau, which was enrolled at this time, numbered 600 persons.[1]

The condition of the military works at Fort Erie and Niagara at this period is revealed in a report of Captain Gottier Mann, commanding engineer, who had been dispatched in the course of the summer to inspect the posts in Upper Canada and harbors suitable for naval stations. Captain Mann reported that the wharf at Navy Hall was in ruins and the building in a dilapidated state, that one pile of the Rangers' Barracks was past re-establishing, while the other was capable of being repaired at a cost of about 35 pounds. He thought that the situation of Navy Hall was convenient for purposes of transportation, although Niagara had a better command of the entrance to the river. Fort Erie, he stated, was in a wretched condition and so much in ruin that it was not easy to say which was the worst part of it. Most of the picketing was gone and the rest rotten, the storehouse almost past repair, the wharf in need of attention, and the stone wall next to the water washed away by the encroachment of Lake Erie.[2]

Concerning the transportation of merchandise, stores, etc., from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie, Mann wrote that while there was a tolerably good road from Niagara to the landing place below the Falls, a distance of somewhat more than seven miles, all goods were carried up the river in batteaux or in vessels to the landing place, whence they were drawn up the bank, about fifty feet in height, upon ways at an easy slope by means of a capstan at the top. From this point they were conveyed by wagon to Fort Schlosser, seven miles away, this post being one and a half miles above the Falls (on the American side). At Fort Schlosser the goods were again loaded into boats and carried eighteen miles to Fort Erie (on the Canadian side), to be re-shipped by vessel the length of Lake Erie to Detroit or other points. Captain Mann suggested that a wharf be built on the west side of the Niagara a little below the old landing place, where the bank was lower than elsewhere and storehouses might be erected "close to the road leading through the settlements." He thought that Chippawa Creek was superior in some respects as a point of trans-shipment above the Falls to Fort Schlosser, although the change from one to the other would necessitate bridging the creek and building a new road. However, both the road and the bridge were conveniences that the new settlers would require sooner or later for their own use. Mann called attention to the fact that the adoption of his plan would improve the transport and keep it all on the western side of the Niagara,

[1] Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 17, 23-24.

[2] Ibid., 26.

and at the same time enable the merchants to obtain the assistance of the settlers, with their teams and wagons, in times of exigency.[1] Two years later, by order of the Land Board, Captain Mann's project was carried into effect, a road being built by the inhabitants and interested merchants from the new landing place (afterwards, Queenston) to Chippawa Creek.

COMMERCE ON THE LAKES, 1790-1795.

About the time the new road was built, the superintendents of inland navigation at Kingston (formerly, Cataraqui), Niagara, Fort Erie, Detroit, and Michilimacinac reported that there were four registered merchant vessels belonging to the ports named, of which one—the schooner *Good Intent* (15 tons)—was trading on Lake Ontario between Kingston, Oswego, the Bay of Quinté, and Niagara, while two of the others—the sloop *Sagina* (36 tons) and the sloop *Esperance* (20 tons)—plied on Lake Erie between Detroit and Fort Erie. The last of the four vessels—the schooner *Weasel* (16 tons)—appears to have confined its trips to Lake Huron. Such government supplies as were brought up to Niagara from Montreal came, no doubt, on the King's ships, which seem to have carried furs, and perhaps other commodities, on their return trips. During the Revolution the British had built a few vessels at Carleton Island for the transportation of their troops and provisions from one post to another along Lake Ontario, among these being the *Ontario* which carried 22 guns. After the War closed Murray's Point and Navy Point turned out some ships for the government, including the *Speedy* and the *Mohawk*, the *Mississaugua* and the *Duke of Kent*. These ships must have been still in the service, while the merchant vessels named above were engaged in carrying cargoes that consisted chiefly of wine and spirits, cases, bales and boxes of various goods, packs of furs, and some fish, flour, Indian corn, ginseng, pearl ashes, and shot and ball. It was expected that Detroit would register six new vessels for the fur trade during the year 1780. It was not, however, until 1792 that the first Canadian vessel was built on Lake Ontario. This vessel was the *York* (75 tons), her place of construction being a dockyard lying eastward of the Niagara River and the fort. In the summer of 1795 the Duke De Liancourt saw two vessels on the stocks here, besides four others afloat, which he described as gunboats and schooners. In those days Niagara was a center of the wholesale trade and of ship building.[2]

[1] Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 17, 27, 28.

[2] Ibid., 35-37, 39; Caniff, Settlement of Upper Canada, 148, 149, 152; Carnochan, Niagara One Hundred Years Ago, 25; Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 4, 6.

THE LAND BOARD.

The increasing immigration from the States during recent years, and the abuses connected with the distribution of lands, together with disputes over locations, led to the passing of an order in council, December 29, 1788, by which a Land Board was named for the District of Nassau. This board proceeded to examine into the loyalty, but more especially into the character, of persons appearing before it with claims for land. To such as were approved the board administered the oath of allegiance, while directing the surveyor to supply successful claimants with tickets specifying the amount of land to which they and their families were entitled. "All these claimants," we are informed, "were already settled, some on the surveyed lands, others on the waste land adjoining." Ten months later the Land Board adopted regulations for its guidance in making assignments, in accordance with instructions previously issued by the government. According to these regulations, field officers were to receive 1,000 acres each, captains, 700, subaltern, staff, or warrant officers, 500, non-commissioned officers, 200, private soldiers, 100, Loyalist heads of families, 100, while the members of the families of the different classes of persons named above were to receive 50 acres each, as were unmarried Loyalist men. This scale of allotments was according to the King's instructions of 1783; but by Governor General Carleton's instructions of June 2, 1787, all settlers who had improved the lands already granted them were to receive 200 additional acres. Therefore, the board ruled that those who had borne arms, or served in some other capacity during the war, would be entitled to 300 acres or more, in proportion to their rank, and all others, to 200 acres only. In accordance with these regulations, the board issued its first certificate, June 28, 1790, to David Secord for Lots 43 and 50 of Township No. 1 (Niagara), containing 200 acres.[1]

CONTINUED IMMIGRATION FROM THE STATES, 1789-1791.

Meantime, numerous immigrants were still coming in from the settled districts of the Eastern States, despite the attractions of the Hudson and Mohawk valleys through which most of them passed. An official enumeration made at Oswego shows that during the 18 months from May 1, 1789, to November 1, 1791, 88 men, 63 women, and 144 children, or a total of 265 persons, arrived at this point on their way "to the new settlement at Niagara." In the first decade of its history this scattered colony had grown to a population of some 3,000

[1] Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 17, 31-34.

inhabitants, who had been able to establish themselves "in a fair degree of comfort, in spite of two seasons of scarcity, which had brought some of them perilously near starvation." A considerable area of land had been cleared and brought under cultivation, roads opened, more than a dozen grist and saw mills erected throughout the Peninsula, a town laid out, and merchants had found convenient centers for their operations at four places along the Niagara River, namely, Fort Erie, Chippewa, the West Landing (Queenston) and Niagara.[1]

According to an ethnological survey, published in 1901, 250 families belonging to Butler's Rangers settled in Niagara Township and 200 more in Grantham. An unnumbered group of other Loyalists also found homes in Niagara and another unnumbered group in Louth. These were all in Lincoln County. In the County of Welland to the south Stamford Township is said to have received 140 Loyalist families, Willoughby, 60, Bertie, 145, Thorold, 100, Crowland, 80, Humberstone, 100, Pelham, 120, and Wainfleet, 115. From another source we learn that Crowland remained a part of Willoughby for township purposes until March 17, 1803, when the former township had a population of only 216. This indicates that at the time of its separation Crowland had no more than half the number of families credited to it by the survey. Only two townships in Wentworth County at the head of Lake Ontario are mentioned as sharing in the Loyalist immigration, namely, Ancaster and Beverly; and the same townships are shown on an old map in the writer's possession to have been settled by refugees. But we know from other sources that four other townships in this region should be included, namely, Saltfleet Binbrook, and Barton to the south of Burlington Bay and Flamboro to the north of it.[2]

The severer of the two seasons of scarcity, referred to in a previous paragraph, was undoubtedly the "hungry year" of 1789. The famine of this year was partly due to the failure of crops, but partly also to the increased demand for provisions by the numbers of destitute people coming in. The older settlers had reserved a supply of potatoes and cereals for planting, but by the opening of May the stock of provisions had failed, and the assistance promised by the government was not forthcoming. Harvest was still more than three months away. The settlement at Niagara was fortunate in being near the fort, for the commandant, Lieutenant Colonel Peter Hunter of the 60th Regiment, took the responsibility of opening the military stores to his neighbors across the river, although he did so without

[1] Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 17, 35, 39, 40; No. 26, 49-51.

[2] Papers and Records, Ont. Hist. Soc., III, 190, 192, 193, 195; Cruikshank, A Century of Municipal Hist., Co. of Welland, Pt. I, 7, 9, 49. See also *post*, pp. 112, 113.

orders. He issued rations in proportions recommended by two gentlemen in the settlement, who became accountable to the Crown and creditors for the provisions furnished. Others living at a distance from the fort, but near the water, could supply themselves with fish; but those dwelling inland had to forage in the woods for game, herbs, and ground nuts. The experience of one family will suffice to show the expedients resorted to by many to keep from starving. Peter Bowman, one of Butler's men, who had settled with his family and relatives in the Township of Stamford, was not so far from the Niagara but that he could walk the distance—three miles—after his day's work was done. In order to keep his table supplied with fish, he made the journey twice each week, fishing all night and carrying home his catch in the morning. The family ate this fare "without salt or bread" until the middle of June, when moss became so thick in the river as to prevent further fishing. Then, milk was resorted to as the chief article of diet, and later when the grains of wheat had grown large enough to be "rubbed out," they were boiled for the use of the family. An early harvest came as a great boon to the famine-stricken country.[1]

During the entire period of settlement the abundant supply of fish in the waters surrounding the Peninsula and the creeks emptying into these waters furnished a staple of diet to the dwellers nearby. White fish and bass were taken in great numbers, a day's catch sometimes amounting to 6,000. Captain Alexander Campbell of the 42nd Regiment tells of having witnessed the drawing of a seine containing not less than 1,000 fish, chiefly whitefish, and adds that the troops and inhabitants had stated days for fishing. The Duke de la Rochefoucauld went seining one day with the soldiers, when they made use of a net 100 feet long and 4 feet wide and caught 500 fish, including sturgeon, pike, sunfish, salmon, trout, and herring.[2]

The numerous tributaries of Lakes Ontario and Erie were not only the source of an unlimited supply of fish for the settlers, but also of power for the mills that ground their wheat and corn and sawed their lumber. No better index to the growth of the local communities throughout the Peninsula may be had than the spread of these structures. The first mills had been erected by the government in the summer of 1783 at Four Mile Creek in Township No. 1. In 1789, 1791, and 1792, three additional mills were built in this township along the same stream, namely, a grist mill by Peter Secord, a saw mill by David Secord, and another grist mill by Daniel Servos. In 1786 John

[1] Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 11, 50, 52, 53; Ryerson, Loyalists of America and Their Times, II, 268.

[2] Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 11, 34, 35.

Burch's saw mill and grist mill were erected near the Falls in Township No. 2, and five years later John Donaldson located a saw mill on Muddy Run near the Whirlpool in the same township. In 1787 Township No. 3 was provided with both kinds of mills, when Robert Hamilton completed those begun in the previous year by Duncan Murray on Twelve Mile Creek. Another saw mill was added in 1789 by Samuel Street and Colonel Butler, the location being on Fifteen Mile Creek. The westward trend of the incoming colonists is shown not only by the location of Butler and Hamilton's mills, but also by the sites selected for five others that were building about the same time. Thus, in 1788 and 1789, the power supplied by Forty Mile Creek in Township No. 6 was utilized by John Green for his two mills and in 1792 by Robert and William Nelles for their saw mill, while in 1790 that of Thirty Mile Creek in Township No. 5 was utilized by William Kitchen for two more. In the following year Philip Stedman, Sr., built a saw mill on Black Creek about 7 miles back of Fort Erie, which was supplemented by a grist mill constructed near the fort in 1792 by William Dunbar and by another in the adjoining township to the westward, near Sugar Loaf Hill, the last being erected by Christian Savitz. The interior townships, like the Head of the Lake, come late in this period of mill building. In 1791 David Secord erected a grist mill in Township No. 10, and the next year both Benjamin Canby and John Decow built saw mills in Township No. 9. Of the 24 mills acquired by the Peninsula during these years, 11 were grist mills. At Fort Erie, St. Davids, Grimsby, and Burlington the mills became centers of barter and trade, about which small villages soon developed.[1]

NIAGARA DURING SIMCOE'S ADMINISTRATION, 1792-1796.

The movement of the Loyalists and other Americans into Upper Canada resulted in the separation of this region from the Province of Quebec. The bill authorizing this separation was introduced into the House of Commons, March 7, 1791, and became law on the 14th May of following. The gentleman who was appointed lieutenant governor under this act was Colonel John Graves Simcoe, a member of Parliament during the passage of the bill and one who took a prominent part in the discussions which it evoked. Simcoe left England for the field of his new duties late in September, and arrived at Quebec, November 11. A week later, Lieutenant Governor Alured Clarke issued a proclamation designating the boundary line

[1] Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 26, 49-51; No. 5, 13, 19; Caniff, Settlement of Upper Canada, 209.

between the two provinces. Being unable to act in a civil or military capacity until the arrival of further instructions and the coming of the Queen's Rangers, Colonel Simcoe remained at Quebec until the following June. Early in February, however, he published a proclamation announcing his authority to grant Crown lands by patent to such persons as were desirous of settling in Upper Canada, on condition that the recipients would take the usual oaths, clear not less than 5 acres, build a house, and open a road across the front of their lands for a quarter of a mile. The grants were to be no more than 200 acres to each person, except in cases where the Lieutenant Governor decided that the applicant was entitled to a larger quantity up to the maximum of 1,000 acres. The proclamation also stated that townships would be surveyed, of which one-seventh would be reserved for the support of a Protestant church, another seventh for the future disposition of the Crown, and the remainder thrown open for settlement. Inland townships were to be 10 miles square, while those on navigable waters were to have a frontage of 9 miles and a depth of 12.[1]

That conditions in the States were favorable to the continued movement of settlers into Upper Canada is shown by the observations of Mr. P. Campbell, who was now traveling through the Genesee country, by the letters of Colonel Simcoe himself, and by the active immigration that took place during the next few years. Mr. Campbell found that some of those who had purchased lands on the Genesee River wanted to sell and remove to Canada, on account of their great distance from a market. He records in his interesting volume of *Travels* that while Kentucky was attracting a large annual influx from the Southern States, the Genesee from the Middle States, and New Brunswick from the Northern States, settlers were flying from the two latter to Upper Canada, "which is now deemed the paradise of the New World."[2]

Almost at the same moment (February 16, 1793), Simcoe sent a dispatch to Henry Dundas, secretary for war and the colonies, in which he reported that he had learned from a correspondent in Pennsylvania that a number of persons were disposed to emigrate to Upper Canada and he had encouraged them, and that he had seen people from Connecticut who assured him that the ecclesiastical establishment which he had already recommended to the minister would be likely to promote emigration from that State, although he remarked that the delay of Great Britain in giving a free constitution to the new province had somewhat altered the disposition of Loyalists there.

[1] Caniff, Settlement of Upper Canada, 189; Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 26, 28, 29.

[2] Campbell, Travels in the Interior Inhabited Parts of North America, 1791 and 1792, 218, 219, 224; Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 26, 26, 27.

About a month later he transmitted a return from an officer at Oswego, which was still retained as a British post, showing that during the year and a half previous to November 1, 1791, 817 persons had enrolled as settlers, of whom 265 had gone "to the new settlement at Niagara." John Munro of the District of Lunenburg on the upper St. Lawrence had written him that immigrants from the United States were flocking in with all their property.[1]

By action of the Land Board in 1791 the limits of Niagara were enlarged, Mr. D. W. Smith, the deputy surveyor general, laying out the extension of the town plot. At the close of the following February, the magistrates and principal inhabitants of the town sent a congratulatory address to the new Governor, which was accompanied by a communication from John Butler and Robert Hamilton informing him of the great abundance of the recent crops and the prevalence of good order among the people, which together with the attention of the magistrates rendered the duties of the Courts of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions easy to perform.[2]

In the latter part of June Mr. and Mrs. Simcoe, with the Queen's Rangers, set out for Kingston, then a village of "about fifty wooden houses and merchants' store-houses," where they arrived on July 1st. Here, on Sunday, the 18th, the Governor was inducted into his responsible office with all the pomp and ceremony it was possible to command. As Kingston was neither central in its location nor capable of adequate defense, it did not recommend itself to the new executive as a proper place for the seat of government. Hence, on July 21st he embarked with Mrs. Simcoe, his staff, and the Rangers in batteaux for the journey up Lake Ontario, which resulted in the temporary establishment of the capital of Upper Canada at Niagara.[3]

When the official party landed at its destination five days later, the Governor was received in state by the assembled troops, comprising the regulars from the fort across the river, the resident militia, Butler's Rangers, and their old allies of the Six Nations under Joseph Brant. A salvo was fired by the guns of the fort and loyal addresses were presented, to which Simcoe made appropriate replies that easily stirred his appreciative audience to plaudits and cheers. As the commander of the Loyalist Queen's Rangers during the recent war, (a corps now reorganized, to be sure, but with some of the veteran officers still on its rolls,) the Governor held a warm place in the affections of his hearers. Inasmuch as Navy Hall was not yet ready for his occupancy, Mr. Simcoe and his family took up their quarters

[1] Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 26, 28.

[2] Carnochan, Hist. of Niagara, 97, 107; Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 26, 27, 28.

[3] Morang, John Graves Simcoe; Macher, Story of Old Kingston, 89-93.

in three marquees, or tents, on the hill above the hall. The village numbered not more than 100 houses at this time, and tenements were scarcely obtainable. After a search of ten days, William Jarvis, secretary to the Governor, was obliged to pay 140 pounds for a log cabin of three rooms with half an acre of ground, and even then was put to the extra expense of adding another room. The Queen's Rangers were sent up the river to build huts for themselves in the hamlet at the "New Landing," which came soon to be called Queenston, probably from being the headquarters of this corps. At any rate, Samuel Street, a well known trader in the vicinity, disputed the Rangers' occupation of their camp site. In the suit that followed judgment was given for the Crown, and it was disclosed that many other Crown reserves were occupied by squatters.[1]

On July 16, 1792, Simcoe published a proclamation dividing the Province into counties, with their subdivisions, or ridings, for the election of representatives in the Legislative Assembly. The fifteenth in the list of these counties was Lincoln, which comprised all of the Niagara Peninsula, except a rectangular area on the south side of Burlington Bay. The Long Point country, which adjoined Lincoln County on the southwest and was soon to fill with Loyalists and others, received the designation of Norfolk County. Although the Governor met with opposition from Dundas in his policy of encouraging immigration from the United States, he clung tenaciously to the obvious conclusion that "unless the province was peopled, it would be unable to pay its way for many years," but he denied any intention of offending the neighboring government by his methods of encouraging settlement north of the Great Lakes. At the same time, he maintained on the basis of his own experience that the settlers from the States were "generally superior to Europeans in their ability to take care of themselves," and he continued to report from time to time that there was every prospect of a large immigration. To the Quakers, Tunkers, and Mennonites he held out the promise, not in vain, of the same exemption from military service that they had formerly enjoyed in other British Colonies in North America.[2]

On September 17, Simcoe convened the first Parliament of Upper Canada in the presence of much the same motley assemblage of troops, Indians, and inhabitants as had witnessed the arrival of the Governor less than two months before. At mid-day the guns of the fort gave a royal salute, and Simcoe, preceded by a band of music, the colors, and a guard of honor, proceeded to the Freemason's Hall, where he

[1] Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 4, 3; No. 11, 32, 33; Carnochan, Niagara One Hundred Years Ago, 16; Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 26, 40.

[2] Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 26, 30, 31.

delivered a speech from the Throne. For nearly five years thereafter Niagara, or Newark, as its chief citizen now named it, continued to be the meeting place of this body and the abode of the government officials. During this period it could boast of a social circle comprising families of distinction, and of levees and balls given by the Governor, besides the assemblies, card parties, and other entertainments that were then in vogue among the gentry of this frontier community.[1]

In the same year in which Parliament convened the Reverend Robert Addison began his labours in the Peninsula. Before this there had been no settled clergyman at Niagara, although the inhabitants had extended an invitation to the Reverend John Stuart, who visited the place in the summer of 1788, when he preached to a large audience containing many of his old parishioners from the neighborhood of Fort Hunter in the Mohawk Valley. As Mr. Stuart was already well established at Cataraqui, where he possessed a good house and farm and the advantages of a satisfactory school for his children, he felt constrained to decline the invitation. However, he visited Niagara again in September, 1790, when he traveled through the settlements for a fortnight, "preaching and baptizing daily." Mr. Addison came under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel as "missionary at Niagara and for visiting the Indians," but he soon extended his ministrations to other communities in the Peninsula and even to several beyond. At the close of August, 1795, Mr. Addison reported to the Society in England that he had preached up and down the settlement, besides baptizing 97 persons, burying 12, and marrying 13 couples. He added that a small house had been built for public worship about 10 miles from Niagara and that he expected another to be erected 6 miles farther away. Among the communities visited by him were Twelve, Twenty, and Forty Mile creeks, the Head of the Lake, Ancaster, York, the Falls, Chippawa, Fort Erie, Grantham, St. Catharines, and Long Point. In Niagara Mr. Addison presided over the Parish of St. Mark's, which occupied all of 5 years (1804-1809) in building an edifice. When, however, this edifice was completed, the missionary was able to report that it was "the best in the Province," adding in explanation of the time consumed in building that his parishioners had adopted "too large a scale for their means." His service continued during a period of 37 years.[2]

[1] Morang, John Graves Simcoe, 81-83; Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 4, 3, 4; Carnochan, Niagara One Hundred Years Ago, 9, 13, 14; Upper Canada Gazette, June 4, 1793.

[2] Cannitf, Settlement of Upper Canada; Abstract of the Proceedings of the Soc. for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1796, 36, 54, 55; Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 7, 13-15, 18, 19; No. 19, 25, 51; Scadding, Church Annals at Niagara, 1792-1892, (pamphlet) 4-7; Carnochan, Hist. of Niagara, 56, 57, 64.

The Scotch Presbyterians, who were numerous in Niagara and the vicinity, built a church at Stamford in 1791, and organized for the purpose of building another at the provincial capital in the fall of 1794. The Reverend John Dun was engaged as minister, and the Land Board granted 4 acres to the new congregation for a church and schoolhouse. By March, 1796, the former structure was ready for occupancy. A number of the inhabitants of Niagara, including Colonel Butler, were contributors to the support of both St. Andrew's and St. Mark's. At the end of three years Mr. Dun withdrew from the active work of the ministry to engage in trade, and in 1802 the Reverend John Young came from Montreal to take charge of St. Andrew's Church and teach Latin, Greek, and mathematics in its school. The Reverend D. W. Eastman, a native of Goshen, Orange County, New York, entered the Peninsula in 1801 and began founding Presbyterian churches in the Niagara and Gore districts, among these being St. Ann's in the northern part of Monk County, which was established in 1809. Mr. Eastman's activities continued somewhat beyond the middle of the century.[1]

Before the erection of St. Andrew's School the only opportunity for instruction appears to have been at the garrison school at Fort Niagara. After the removal of the garrison to Fort George in 1796 various private schools sprang up, one of the best being that of Richard Cockerell, an Englishman, who opened an evening school in 1797, in which writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, and "any branch of practical or speculative mathematics" were taught. In 1799 Mr. Cockerell removed to Ancaster, leaving as his successor the Reverend Mr. Arthur, whom he recommended as a teacher of Latin and Greek and one prepared to "take a few young gentlemen to board." Another school that was opened at Niagara in 1797 was that of James Blayney. Five years later Mr. and Mrs. Tyler, who lived between Niagara and Queenston, advertised a regular day and night school for children of both sexes from the age of four years upwards. They also announced their readiness to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic to young ladies in such amounts as were "necessary for their sex, to appear decently and be useful in the world and in all that concerns housekeeping." The advertisement closed with the statement that Mrs. Tyler had been "bred in the line of mantua making" and would receive and do her endeavors to execute her work in the neatest manner."[2]

[1] Niagara Hist. Soc. No. 7, 21-24; No. 19, 106; Carnochan, Niagara One Hundred Years Ago. (Lundy's Lane Hist. Soc.) 28, Carnochan, Hist. of Niagara, 80-83.

[2] Carnochan, Hist. of Niagara, 128, 129; Carnochan, Niagara One Hundred Years Ago, 29; Caniff, Settlement of Upper Canada, 331, 338; A Century of Municipal History, County of Welland, Pt. I, 43.

The efforts of Governor Simcoe to have suitable provision made for advanced education in Upper Canada must not be overlooked, although they were late in bearing fruit. The Governor urged the matter in his correspondence with Secretary Dundas in 1792, with the Bishop of Quebec in 1793, and with the Duke of Portland in 1795. He thought that primary education must be left for the present to the parents and relatives of the children, but strongly recommended an annual grant of 1,000 pounds for buildings and salaries to establish a grammar school at Niagara and another at Kingston and the foundation of an university at the capital. Unless some such provision were made, Simcoe argued, the gentlemen of Upper Canada would have to send their children to the United States and thereby contribute to the perversion of the British principles of the rising generation. At length, in 1797, the two houses of Parliament sent a joint address to the King requesting him to direct the government of Upper Canada to appropriate a certain portion of the waste lands of the Crown for the establishment and support of a respectable grammar school in each district and also of a college or university. The King complied with this request, and the Executive Council of the Province was prompt to respond with a recommendation that 500,000 acres be set apart as a sufficient endowment for four grammar schools to be established at Cornwall, Kingston, Niagara, and Sandwich, and an university at York (Toronto). Accordingly, land was appropriated in 1798, the actual grant exceeding the appropriation recommended by 49,000 acres. For some unknown reason, however, the district grammar school was not founded at Niagara until 1808, when it was opened with the Reverend John Burns as its first teacher. Mr. Burns was the minister of St. Andrew's Church in Niagara and the Presbyterian Church in Stamford from 1805 to 1817. His burial place is to be found in the old Stamford Presbyterian cemetery.[1]

Three years before the earliest schools made their appearance in the Niagara Peninsula the first newspaper of the Province, namely, *The Upper Canada Gazette, or American Oracle*, claimed the attention of the citizens of Niagara. The provincial capital was thus gaining within a brief space of time the agencies of public enlightenment, in other words, schools, newspapers, and churches. The founder of the *Gazette* was Louis Roy, who is said to have been sent west by Mr. John Neilson of Quebec for the express purpose of establishing a paper. The first number was issued, April 18, 1793, and the publication continued to be printed at Niagara until 1798, when it was removed to York. It contained copies of official documents and columns of

[1] Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 11, 39; No. 26, 29, 30; Carnochan, Hist. of Niagara, 83, 128, 129, 219, 220.

news six or eight weeks old from foreign parts, but was almost wholly devoid of local items and contained but few advertisements. In size as in contents, it presented a marked contrast to newspapers of the present day, for it consisted of only four pages, which measured no more than fourteen and one-half by nine and one-half inches. The subscription price was three dollars a year. Among the advertisements was one offering ten guineas apiece as bounty money for approved recruits for the Queen's Rangers. The *Gazette* was soon followed by the *Constellation*, which was begun in June, 1799, and seems to have appeared as a weekly. It was published at first by Silvester Tiffany and later by "S. and G. Tiffany," the price being one dollar more per year than that of its predecessor. It survived until the end of the year 1800, when it was succeeded by the *Herald*, another four dollar paper, which had an equally short career, suspending in 1802. Perhaps this was due to the appearance of a new paper, to which, however, an old title is attributed, namely, *The Upper Canada Gazette*. At any rate, Caniff quotes some advertisements of the sale of negro slaves at Niagara from this paper for the year mentioned, although the paper in which these were printed may have been still located at York. In 1807 a new *Upper Canada Gazette*, with the alternative title of the *Freemen's Journal*, was started at York, and was brought to Niagara two years later. Here it continued to be published until terminated by the War of 1812. The proprietor of this paper was Joseph Wilcocks, a member of the Canadian Parliament.[1]

An agricultural society was organized at Niagara after Simcoe arrived there, and this official himself contributed ten guineas a year to further its interests. The society met at monthly dinners, which were given in turn by the various members, and on these occasions a large silver snuffbox belonging to the orgainzation was passed around with more or less ceremony. In 1797 a law society of 10 members was formed, under authority granted by an act of the provincial Parliament.[2]

The period that witnessed this development of the means of public enlightenment at Niagara also witnessed the introduction of local self-government in the same community. On August 8, 1793, the petty session of magistrates called a town meeting for the 17th to elect local officers. The list of those chosen comprised a clerk, a

[1] Carnochan, Hist. of Niagara, 69-71, 72; Carnochan, Niagara One Hundred Years Ago, 26; Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 5, 25, 26; Caniff, Settlement of Upper Canada, 577, 578.

[2] Canniff, Settlement of Upper Canada, 590; Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 5, 29; Carnochan, Hist. of Niagara, 230, 239.

constable, two assessors, perhaps the same number of collectors, three poundkeepers, six fenceviewers or overseers of highways, and two town or church wardens.[1]

By 1795 the town plot of Niagara contained 412 numbered lots, although only 150 names of grantees appear in the list of this year. In a letter of the time, written by John Small, the statement is made that many of the lots had been forfeited. The town seems to have contained scarcely more than 100 houses in 1795. Many who came, however, were supplied with tents until they could find locations and get roofs over their heads, Simcoe being occupied much of his time with the care of these newcomers until his departure for England in in 1796. Mr. D. W. Smith, a prominent resident of Niagara at the time, records in his notebook the arrival of 19 covered wagons filled with families who intended settling "in the vicinity of Lincoln County." Their wagonbeds, he adds, had been well caulked and were used as boats in conveying the occupants and the detached wheels of the vehicles to the western side of the river. By 1806 Niagara contained about 200 houses, these being ranged along spacious streets laid out at right angles. Fort George lay nearly a mile to the southward on high ground. Beneath it on the bank of the river were several buildings, including storehouses, barracks, and the Navy Hall, and on Mississaugua Point stood a lighthouse, which had been recently erected. Many of the buildings were of brick and stone, among them being two churches, an academy, six taverns, a jail, and about 20 drygoods stores, whose prices were said to be no higher than those prevailing in Montreal.[2]

In June, 1800, the Niagara Library was established by the action of about two score persons, some of whom were residents at Fort Niagara, Grimsby, Stamford, and Thorold. Each of the original subscribers agreed to pay annually a sum not exceeding four dollars to be used in buying books. It is interesting to note that the first 30 volumes purchased were all of a religious nature, a few others being poetical and historical works. In the second year of its existence the library possessed 150 books, and by the fall of 1812 the number had been increased to 827, a large proportion being in circulation in both the town and the township.[3]

[1] Carnochan, Hist. of Niagara, 8.

[2] Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 4, 5, 6, 15; No. 11, 35-37; Carnochan, Hist. of Niagara, 17, 22, 97; Canniff, Settlement of Upper Canada, 528; Carnochan, Niagara One Hundred Years Ago, 9, 16.

[3] Carnochan, Hist. of Niagara, 46-51.

QUEENSTON

There was doubtless a small settlement on the site of Queenston before the transfer of transportation from the eastern side of the River Niagara to the western side in 1790; but this transfer gave the hamlet an importance which it had lacked before, and during 1791 the place made considerable growth. Two or three storehouses, a stone blockhouse sheathed with iron, barracks for soldiers, an inn, and some small houses sprang up simultaneously. Early in May of this year the Land Board passed a resolution ordering the inhabitants near the portage to move their fences as soon as they had gathered their crops, and open a road from the new landing place to Chippawa Creek. Within the next two months the Governor General received proposals for the carriage of government stores over this portage. One of these came from Philip Stedman, Jr., who had been the contractor for the same service on the right bank of the river, and the other was submitted by Robert Hamilton, George Forsythe, John Burch, and Archibald Cuninghame. The Loyalist inhabitants in this vicinity well understood that their interests were directly concerned, and on June 20th petitioned the Land Board to support the tender of Hamilton and his associates, on the score that the local settlement would derive essential advantages from having the transportation of goods conducted as a general enterprise, instead of having it monopolized by a single person. The plan of Hamilton and his friends was to employ in regular turn all responsible members of the colony who should offer their services, but under the limitation that no person could have more than two teams on the road at one time, unless press of business required it. After examining witnesses the Land Board recommended that the Governor General "grant the preference to the settlement over any individual or set of men on the same terms and the performance equally well secured." The matter was now referred to the Committee for Inland Navigation and Commerce, which also reported in favor of Hamilton and his associates, and these men now received the contract at one shilling and eight pence (New York currency) per quintal of 112 pounds.[1]

Doubtless, the commerce of Upper Canada was more or less injured by the war now going on between the United States and the Western Indians; but the testimony of travellers who visited Queenston in 1794, and later, does not indicate any such decline of traffic, including peltry and merchandise, as a recent writer attributes to this cause. Thus, a gentleman who stopped at the "New Landing" in November, 1794, tells of vessels discharging their cargoes and taking on furs that

[1] Canniff, Settlement of Upper Canada, 528, 598; Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 26, 3-5.

had been brought in from the back country for distances of from 300 to 1,500 miles. He speaks of having seen four vessels unloading at once and 60 wagons loaded in a single day for the upper landing at Chippawa Creek. He adds that the portage is a source of wealth to the farmers of the vicinity, who receive one shilling and eight pence (New York currency) per hundredweight for hauling from 20 to 30 hundredweight, and that they reload with furs to be carried on to Fort Erie, and thence by vessel to Detroit and other places. Robert Hamilton, the greatest merchant of this section, is mentioned as a resident of Queenston, where he owned "a very fine house built in the English style," together with a farm, a distillery, and a tan-yard. At his death this merchant left an estate estimated at 200,000 pounds. Thomas Dickson was carrying on an extensive trade at Queenston during a part of this period. A visitor who put up at Fairbank's Tavern in 1800 was impressed by seeing 14 double teams of oxen standing at the wharf, where peltries and bales lay waiting to be loaded, and where three schooners were ready for fresh cargoes. By 1807 there were 100 houses in Queenston, including six stores, and the population numbered 300 at what was probably a low estimate.[1]

It was by way of Queenston that Methodism was introduced into Upper Canada with the arrival of Major George Neale, who crossed the river at this point in October, 1786. After taking up an officer's portion of land the Major organized a class-meeting at the home of Christian Warner near St. Davids. From this beginning the Niagara Circuit, which embraced York and Long Point, developed in 1795. The first circuit rider is said to have been Darius Dunham, who was followed in 1799 by James Coleman and in 1800 by Michael Coate and Joseph Sawyer. In the next year the first meeting-house of the district was erected, being known as Warner's Church.[2]

In January, 1797, an epidemic of smallpox broke out in Queenston and toward the end of the month Doctors Robert Kerr and James Muirhead came from Niagara to make inoculations, after which they announced their desire to apply the same treatment in their own community.[3]

THE LOYALISTS AT THE HEAD OF LAKE ONTARIO.

Among all the Loyalist settlements in the Peninsula that which was to attain the most remarkable development was not to be found on the River Niagara, or along the shores of Lake Ontario, but at the western end of this great inland sea. Already in 1781 refugees

[1] Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 26, 49; No. 11, 35-38; Carnochan, Hist. of Niagara, 114.
[2] Carnochan, Hist. of Niagara, 163, 164.
[3] Ibid., 234.

were penetrating to the Head of the Lake, as this locality was long designated, the earliest of these pioneers being Richard Beasley and Colonel Robert Land. Others followed during the succeeding years in such numbers that by 1792 the shore from Niagara westward as far round as Toronto, according to the testimony of the traveller, Mr. P. Campbell, was "all settled and in some parts several concessions deep." On his way to Burlington Bay Mr. Campbell saw much rich land and "passed through many fine farms." He and the party of gentlemen with him spent a night with Mr. Beasley, whose house stood on a hill covered with large oak trees, known to-day as Dundon Park. As Beasley was an Indian trader, he had a warehouse overlooking the bay, or Lake Geneva as it was then called, in which he stored the peltries that he obtained by barter from the hunters of the Mississaugua and other tribes, who ranged the neighboring wilds. The trader entertained his guests with generous hospitality, and showed them his stock of skins, including one of a black fox with its soft and beautiful fur, which was supposed to be worth five guineas. After leaving Beasley's place for the Mohawk village on the Grand River, Mr. Campbell saw only a few habitations, although he noticed the girdling of the trees for a distance of several miles, indicating that the land had been granted to prospective settlers.

The Loyalist immigration to the Head of the Lake continued at least until the year 1800, by which time 30 settlers had received grants of land of from 100 to 900 acres, in recognition of their adherence to the Crown, the largest grant going to Beasley. Lieutenant Caleb Reynolds of Butler's Rangers and George Stewart received the next largest grants, though these amounted only to 400 acres each. Some of the grantees had lived for longer or shorter periods on the Niagara frontier, including Daniel Springer, a refugee from New Jersey, who appears to have removed to the Head of the Lake in 1798. It may be noted in passing that several years before this Governor Simcoe had had a public house, called the King's Head Inn, erected at the junction of the Stony Creek and Head of the Lake roads, in order to facilitate travel between Niagara and La Tranche, as London was then called. In 1796 Mrs. Simcoe had put up at the inn, with her children and servants, and had noted in her *Diary* that the Governor had recently had a road cut through the woods by John Green, a Loyalist living at Forty Mile Creek, or North Grimsby.[2]

[1] Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 26, 5-13; Journals and Transactions, Wentworth Hist. Soc., 1908, 12; The Hamilton Spectator, Aug. 12, 1913, 2.

[2] Records of the Clerk's Office, Hamilton, Ont.; The Hamilton Spectator, Aug. 12, 1913, 2; Robertson, ed., Diary of Mrs. Simcoe. The names of the original patentees at the Head of the Lake are printed in Papers and Records, Wentworth Hist. Soc., 1915, p. 65.

Mr. Green, like Daniel Springer, had been a resident of New Jersey in the Revolutionary days, but had come to Forty Mile Creek not later than 1788, and had built a saw mill and a grist mill there. According to the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, who visited this region in the summer of 1795, Green's mills ground corn for all the military posts of Upper Canada. The Duke also tells that newly cleared land at Forty Mile Creek yielded 20 bushels to the acre the first year; that the farmers plowed their land after it had produced three or four crops; that laborers were scarce and were paid at the rate of six shillings a day; and that wheat brought from seven to eight shillings a bushel, while flour sold at twenty-two shillings per hundredweight. West of Stony Creek at the foot of the mountain was another mill, which belonged to Adam Green[1]

It was not until 18 years after the visit of the Duke de la Rochefoucauld to this region (that is, in 1813) that Springer's farm of 100 acres at the Head of the Lake became the first town plot of Hamilton. This was effected by Mr. George Hamilton, who moved in from the Niagara District and bought the place, which he promptly laid out in town lots. Meeting with success in his enterprise, Mr. Hamilton gave the town a block to be used as a court house square, another on John Street to serve as a market place, and a strip through the center of King Street, called the Gore. The citizens were not slow in showing their appreciation of these gifts, for they at once discarded the awkward and indefinite designation, Head of the Lake, in exchange for the family name of their benefactor. Originating thus as a small loyalist settlement, Hamilton has developed into a prosperous city now numbering more than 90,000 inhabitants.[2]

The neighboring townships on both sides of Burlington Bay gained refugee pioneers along with Barton, the township in which Hamilton is situated. The village of Ancaster sprang up in such a community as this, and by 1793 had a grist mill. In 1798, Mr. Asa Danforth, an American, came to Upper Canada, and entered into a contract with the government to open a road from Kingston through to Ancaster. This contract was completed in three years, and for a considerable time thereafter the new thoroughfare was known as the Danforth Road. When in January, 1799, Richard Beasley received orders to enrol the militia of West York, he was able to muster 100 men, most of whom were Loyalists or their sons, partly from the Fifth Lincoln and partly from the Second York Battalion. These militiamen were inhabitants of Saltfleet, Binbrook, Barton,

[1] Canniff, Settlement of Upper Canada, 205; Robertson, ed., Diary of Mrs. Simcoe; The Hamilton Spectator, Aug. 12, 1913, 2.

[2] The Hamilton Spectator, Aug. 12, 1913, 2.

Ancaster, and Flamboro townships, and were placed under the command of Captain Samuel Hatt. Captain Hatt, together with his brother, Major Richard Hatt, had settled in the village of Ancaster only the year before. For the next two decades this community must have continued its growth, for there were twenty flourishing shops there during the years 1815 to 1818. Then, Ancaster had to share its prosperity with Dundas, Hamilton, Brantford, and West Flamboro, and later still with London, Simcoe, Ingersoll, and other towns that were growing in importance as business centers.[1]

The most remote habitation of an American exile on the lake shore was that of Roger Conant, once a student of Harvard College, who acquired a Crown grant of 1,200 acres in 1778 at what is now Darlington, some fifty miles beyond Toronto. Fleeing from the vicinity of Boston in 1777, Mr. Conant left his family in Geneva, New York, while he sought lands and built a log house on the lake front at the place named. It is related that he spent some time subsequently with Butler's Rangers, and that he did not bring his family to their new home until 1794. He then engaged in the fur trade with the Indians, and accumulated considerable wealth through the disposal of his peltries in Montreal.[2]

THE INDIAN SETTLEMENT ON GRAND RIVER.

The purchase of the great tract of land between the three lakes, Ontario, Erie, and Huron, May 22, 1784, did not result in the immediate removal of the Mohawks to the Grand River. During the summer of this year they still maintained their temporary village near the Lower Landing, or Lewiston, where they were visited by the Reverend John Stuart, former Anglican missionary at Fort Hunter in the Mohawk Valley. Mr. Stuart preached in the church which the Indians had themselves erected, besides baptizing a few adults and over 100 children. Towards the end of July the authorities at Quebec began to be alarmed over the difficulty of supplying the village and the people at Niagara with provisions during the ensuing winter. Haldimand's secretary wrote that the number of Indians near the post now numbered 1,257, that the Indian Department contained 66 persons, and that the troops and Rangers were to be provided for, besides 144 Loyalists. As it appeared impossible to furnish provisions for all these, Butler was given the strongest injunctions to reduce immedi-

[1] Canniff, Settlement of Upper Canada, 226; Journals and Transactions, Wentworth Hist. Soc., 1908, 16; Hamilton Branch, U. E. Loyalists' Assoc. of Ont., March 10, 1903, 3.

[2] Conant, Upper Canada Sketches, 27-34.

ately the issuance of supplies to the Indians, and his attention was called to the fact that the Governor had been led to believe that they had cultivated sufficient ground in their present location to support themselves without much assistance from the Government, and that as long as they remained there they were, in Haldimand's opinion, independent of the neighboring post. It was admitted, however, that when they should remove to Grand River they would doubtless require rations from the government. These admonitions had the desired effect, and before the end of the year the Mohawks, together with members of the other tribes, except the Senecas, Onondagas, and Tuscarawas, removed to their reservation west of the River Niagara. Probably at the same time Captain John and about 20 Mohawk families departed for the reservation on the north side of the Bay of Quinté, which formed a part of the purchase made in 1784 by Captain Crawford of the Indian Department.[1]

In September, 1785, the Indian settlement on the Grand River was reported by the acting superintendent of the Six Nations, Captain John Dease, as numbering 1,000 persons, an equal number having been discouraged from entering the reserve on account of the increase of provisions necessary. Captain Dease added that some disbanded soldiers had taken up their residence among the Indians in order to avoid the restraints of law, and were giving their neighbors a most unfavorable impression of the whites by their cheating and their quarrels. Several officers of the local Indian Department also settled in the reservation, including "Captain John Dochstader who acquired the greater part of the present township of Canboro, Captain Hendrick Nelles and his five sons who obtained a tract of three miles square, and Adam Young and his three sons, a smaller tract, both lying in the present Township of Seneca."[2]

In his negotiations with Governor General Haldimand after the close of the war, Captain Brant had made provision for the erection of a church and school house at the expense of the government. These buildings appear to have been supplied in 1786, and when Mr. Stuart visited the Mohawk town of New Oswego in June, 1788, he brought with him the plate and furniture formerly belonging to the church of the Mohawks at Fort Hunter, being accompanied by the Chief and several other Indians. What the population of the Grand River reservation may have become by this time is uncertain. It seems likely, however, that the thousand tribesmen, whose earlier inclination to settle with their brethren had been discouraged by Captain Dease,

[1] Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 17, 16-18, 28, 29; Haldimand Papers, B. 168, 38-41; B. 64, 93-95; Third Report, Bureau of Archives, Ont., 1905, 406, 453, 454, 493.

[2] Niagara Hist. Soc., No. 17, 28, 29.

had been admitted before this, and that they had been joined by others. Stone tells us that even some of the Six Nation Indians who had borne arms against the Crown and the Mohawks intruded on the reservation at Grand River, bringing jealousy and strife with them. However this may be, Mr. A. F. Hunter, in his ethnological survey of Ontario, gives the total population of the Indian settlers of Brant County as 3,929.[1]

In February, 1792, Mr. P. Campbell, together with a party of friends, visited the Mohawk village on Grand River, driving over the road leading back from the head of Burlington Bay. The party was hospitably entertained in the village by Captain and Mrs. Brant, who were living well on a pension and officer's half-pay contributed by the British government. Mr. Campbell noticed that the family larder was supplied with rum and various kinds of wine, that the table was furnished with handsome china and plate, that among the household possessions was "an elegant hand organ," and that the other articles of furniture were in keeping with these evidences of affluence. He was not less impressed by the appearance of the mistress of the house and her "fine family of children." Mrs. Brant was superbly dressed the Indian fashion and possessed elegance of person, besides grandeur of looks and deportment; she had large mild black eyes and expressive symmetrical features; she wore a jacket and short petticoat made of silk and fine English cloth, scarlet leggings, moccasins ornamented with beads and ribbons, and a blanket of the same materials as her petticoat, but trimmed with narrow lace. At table the family was served by two slaves in highly colored livery, set off by frills and buckled shoes.

Mr. Campbell attended service in the church, which was conducted by an Indian with entire decorum. The schoolmaster, who was an "old Yanky," taught English and mathematics to his sixty-six pupils, whom he declared to be apt scholars. Mr. Campbell visited several houses in the village, and found that each consisted of two rooms with deal floors and glass windows, and that the occupants were well supplied with the necessaries of life. The farming was done by the old people, while the young men ranged the woods for game, part of which they sold to "the white inhabitants of the neighborhood." In the evening Brant assembled the young warriors in one of the largest houses of the settlement to entertain his guests with war dances. The Indians came in their showiest apparel, bespangled with silver ornaments. The music for the dancing and bounding was a song of peculiar cadence sung by Brant and others of the tribe, Brant also keeping time by beating a drum. Later, the warriors and young

[1] Stone, Life of Brant, II, 289; Papers and Records, Ont. Hist. Soc., III, 191.

women indulged in their ordinary dances. Although rum and Madeira wine were supplied for the refreshment of the dancers, only one of the young Indians drank to excess, and he was reprimanded by Brant for so doing.

Mr. Campbell writes in enthusiastic terms of the country on the Grand River: the plains on the Indian reserve were extensive, and so free of trees as not to require clearing; the soil was a rich and deep clay mould; the river was a hundred yards broad and navigable for large batteaux down to Lake Erie, a distance of sixty miles, except for about two miles where there were shallows or rapids, through which the boats had to be poled; there was an abundance of fish in the water, such as sturgeon, pike, pickerel, and maskinonge, and plenty of game in the woods. The habitations of the Indians were close to the river on both sides, and a few whites who had married squaws, or half-bloods, lived among them. Every year the government distributed presents among the inhabitants—provisions, stores, ammunition, tomahawks, saddles, bridles, blankets, and innumerable trinkets. On his way back to Niagara, Mr. Campbell had an opportunity of visiting other settlements in the reservation for some miles down the river. He noticed as he passed along that the villages of the Indians and whites alternated, and discovered that the Indians belonged to different nations—Mohawks, Cherokees, Tuscarawas, and Mississauguas. Stopping at various houses along the way, he remarked the large quantities of Indian corn suspended from the rafters, whether merely for the sake of storage or as a means of protecting the supply from the destructive rodents of the woods and fields he does not explain. Mr. Campbell and his companions had spent two nights in Brant's village. They spent two more on the reserve before returning to Niagara, one at the house of "Mr. Ellis" (probably Hendrick Nelles) and the other with Mr. (Adam) Young, several miles farther down the river bank, both of these men being white settlers among the Indians. The travellers now turned to the northeast, and made their exit from the Indian country through a long stretch of forest "without settlements."

The presence of at least some of the whites among their red brethren had received the sanction of Chief Brant, whose policy had been to sell or lease portions of the Indian land to them in order to produce an income for his people. He also believed that husbandry would be improved and some of the mechanic arts would be introduced through the agency of the whites. This policy, however, had called out objections on the part of the provincial government, especially after the survey of the reservation, which occupied the period from the close of December, 1790, to the close of April, 1791. When

Simcoe assumed the lieutenant governorship he easily became convinced of the danger of allowing the Indians to alienate any part of their grant, and opposed Brant's policy with vigor.[1]

After numerous councils and conferences on the subject the Governor went to the Grand River in 1795, attended by his councillors, and there listened to an elaborate speech by the Mohawk Chief, after which he promised to forward the speech to Sir Guy Carleton and confirmed such sales as had been previously made by the Indians. In October, 1796, another hearing took place before Colonel Daniel Claus, the deputy superintendent of Indian Affairs, at Niagara, but without winning Claus to the support of Brant's plan. Then, the Chieftain submitted the matter to Simcoe's successor, Peter Russell, who sanctioned the sales already made, and stipulated that the lands then sold, or promised, should be surrendered to the government, which would issue grants to the purchasers, the payments to be received by trustees for the benefit of the Indians. These trustees were also to foreclose mortgages in case of default, and the mortgaged lands were to revert to the red men. When, however, the government failed to keep this agreement, Brant laid the case before the British ministers.[2]

It was at this juncture that the Chief of the Mohawks was accused of peculation, and a council held among the Senecas at Buffalo Creek by which he was declared deposed from the headship of the Six Nations. As the other Mohawk chiefs did not attend this council, the tribe being represented by only a few malcontents, the action taken was regarded as illegal, and so declared at a later council convened at Niagara in 1804. Thus, Brant remained at the head of both his own nation and the confederacy until his death in November 24, 1807. The famous warrior's closing years were spent in a commodious house, which he had built on a tract of land (a gift from the King) at the head of Lake Ontario, directly north of the beach dividing the lake from the waters of Burlington Bay. He was buried beside the church he had erected at the Mohawk village on the Grand River.[3]

As Brant was an educated man and had long been a member of the Episcopal church, his concern for the welfare of his people did not restrict itself merely to the promotion of their material interests, but extended also to the advancement of religion and education among them. The building of a church, a schoolhouse, and a grist mill at New Oswego was almost the first thing he asked of the pro-

[1] Stone, Life of Brant, II, 281-283, 287-289, 397, 398.
[2] Ibid., 399, 400, 403.
[3] Stone, Life of Brant, II, 409, 423, 424, 498, 499.

vincial government. Early in 1789 he had gone to Montreal on a mission intended to effect the removal of the Reverend John Stuart from Kingston to the Grand River in the capacity of resident clergyman among the Mohawks. He was unsuccessful in this move, and even after the Reverend Robert Addison settled at Niagara in 1792 as missionary to the whites and Indians alike, Brant had to content himself with the services of one of his own tribesmen as lay reader, and such infrequent visits as Mr. Addison and Mr. Stuart could pay to the reservation. During this period also Brant translated the entire liturgy and a primer into the Mohawk language, while his friend and fellow-chief, John Norton, translated the Gospel of John, which was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society.[1]

THE LONG POINT SETTLEMENT.

The County of Norfolk, which lies southwest of the Grand River and fronts on Lake Erie, shared in the new immigration of Loyalists and others resulting from Simcoe's efforts. It may properly be included, therefore, with the larger area of peninsular settlement. The original movement into this region, familiarly known as the Long Point country, extended to Walsingham, Charlotteville, Woodhouse, Townsend, and Windham townships, and perhaps also to Walpole, which adjoins Norfolk County on the east.

We have already seen that Governor Simcoe issued a proclamation early in February, 1792, declaring his authority to grant Crown lands to persons seeking homes in Upper Canada. This proclamation was followed a few months later by Simcoe's announcement of his purpose to occupy a post near Long Point in the spring of 1793, and by a letter to the home government expressing a preference for "brave and determined loyalists" as settlers at Long Point, "such as those from Pennsylavnia and Maryland . . . . who had sent an agent to ascertain what arrangement could be made for their removal to the province." The party referred to in this letter was probably that of Solomon Austin, comprising 12 families from Maryland and North Carolina, for which John Davis acted as emissary. On receiving a favorable report from Mr. Davis, the members of the party set out in covered wagons, bringing their household effects and some farm animals with them. The little caravan reached the Niagara frontier in June, 1793, and halted at old Niagara, while Mr. Austin continued his journey to Long Point to inspect land for settlement. He chose a place in the Lynn River valley in Woodhouse Township. On his return to the frontier Mr. Austin found his family unable to proceed at

[1] Stone, Life of Brant, II, 287, 288.

once on account of sickness, and was therefore kept from occupying the site he had selected until 1794. The other families remained in the Niagara settlement.[1]

Although the project for the military occupation of Long Point went without the approval of the British government during the next two years and more, refugee families continued to enter the townships of Charlotteville, Walsingham, Woodhouse, and Townsend, coming from New Brunswick, Pennsylvania, Niagara, New Jersey, and Long Island. Thus, in 1793, Peter Secord and Frederick Maby (Mabee) with the latter's family, including two married daughters and their husbands, came in, as did also Abraham Smith and family. Both of these parties came from New Brunswick. In the same year Lucas Dedrick and family settled in Walsingham, having journied thither from Pennsylvania. In 1794 Captain Edward McMichael and family, likewise refugees from Pennsylvania, established themselves on the lake front of Walsingham Township. For the previous decade they had lived on the western bank of the Niagara River. In March of this year, also, Jabez Culver, a Presbyterian minister, together with his wife and children, came on foot to Townsend from the State of New Jersey. The arrival of Mr. Culver marks the beginning of public worship in the new community, for he held service every Sabbath in his own house until he became pastor of the Windham Church in 1806. Another settler of 1794 was Thomas Welch (Walsh) of Maryland, who came to Charlotteville from New Brunswick, where he had been engaged since the war in surveying lands for the swarms of refugees settling in that province. On July 1, 1795, Captain Samuel Ryerse (Ryerson) of the New Jersey Volunteers arrived with his family and several hired men at the mouth of a creek that empties into the Outer Bay of Long Point. After more than ten years in New Brunswick the Ryerses had returned to Long Island in the spring of 1794, until the Captain could visit Upper Canada in search of a more congenial location. They settled at length in Woodhouse Township at a time when there were but four other families living within a distance of 20 miles along the lake shore. But during the next few years settlers came in steadily. As the lots chosen by Mr. Ryerse possessed valuable water rights, he was required to build a saw mill and a grist mill. Until these structures were completed the families at Long Point had to depend on Niagara for their flour. As the woods abounded in game of all kinds and fish were plentiful in the creeks and in the lake, tables could be readily supplied with these

[1] Canniff, Settlement of Upper Canada, 189, 190; Papers and Records, Ont. Hist. Soc., II, 44, 78; Owen, Pioneer Sketches of Long Point Settlement, 76-79.

kinds of food. So also potatoes, Indian corn, and maple sugar were familiar products of the region.

Despite the unfailing supply of these bounties during the first three years of Long Point's history, the year 1796 witnessed an almost total failure of the grain crops, and hunger drove numbers of rodents into the settlement, where they consumed the pitiable remnant of maize that had flourished. The Indians at Grand River saved themselves from a similar experience by their practice of suspending the garnered ears of corn from the rafters of their houses, and were accordingly able, as they were also willing, to share their stores with their less fortunate neighbors at Long Point. By the end of 1796 the population within 20 miles' distance of Port Ryerse had reached perhaps 100. Among those coming in were Yunkers and Quakers from the States, who usually brought more or less property with them. While these people cannot be called loyalists, they were non-belligerents who entertained a real preference for British rule. Mr. and Mrs. Timothy Culver from New Jersey joined other members of their family in the Township of Townsend in this year.

During the summer of 1795 Governor Simcoe had come to Long Point and laid out a site of 600 acres for a town, with reservations for government buildings, naming it Charlotte Villa in honor of Queen Charlotte. The formal approval of the proposed settlement was received from the Earl of Portland, December 6; but early in the following April Governor General Carleton objected to the maintenance of a military establishment in connection with the town as a piece of needless expense. Then, in the summer, followed Simcoe's departure to England. It can scarcely be claimed, however, that this incident interfered with the prospects of the settlement at Long Point, for Simcoe's successor, acting Lieutenant Governor Peter Russell, encouraged the movement of Loyalists from New Brunswick into Western Canada, and gave considerable attention to the survey of townships in Norfolk County, which were now divided into allotments. It was Russell who, in the summer of 1796, sent Mr. Hamlin and Sergeant Daniel Hazen to run the lines of Charlotteville and Walsingham townships. The former was surveyed by Hamlin and his successor, Thomsa Welch, the latter by Hazen. Both Hazen and Welch were Loyalists who had been previously employed in laying out lands for their fellow exiles in New Brunswick. Having received a large grant near Vension Creek in Walsingham, Hazen brought in his family in 1797. On July 1 of the previous year Donald McCall landed with 20 or more persons at the mouth of Big Creek. The members of this party were from New Jersey and obtained grants in Charlotteville. Among them were Lieutenant James Munro, Doctor Robert Munro,

Robert Henderson, and Noah Fairchild. The settlers who had come to Long Point before 1796 were now confirmed in the possession of the farms they had chosen, and proclamations were issued inviting others, especially Loyalists, to take up lands in the new districts of Upper Canada.[1]

Immigrants from New Brunswick transported their families in open boats up the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes to their destination; while those who came directly from the States navigated the Hudson and Black rivers to Sackett's Harbor, thence passing by way of Lake Ontario and Lake Erie to Long Point; or if they journied overland, they followed blazed trails through the forests, or the devious paths of the Indian across Pennsylvania and New York to Niagara, or some point on Lake Erie. The passage of the lake was effected in small skiffs. When, finally, the weary pilgrims found themselves in the wilderness of Norfolk County, they received no government aid beyond their land grants and the glass and iron ware for their cabins. The supplies of food, clothing, seed, tools, etc., which had been furnished, in however dilatory a manner, to the mass of refugee settlers immediately after the Revolution, were denied to those participating in this later migration. Hence, Norfolk County witnessed a "fearful struggle for subsistence" among the pioneers during the closing years of the eighteenth century.[2]

The efforts of Lieutenant Governor Powell to increase the Loyalist population of the province bore fruit in the Long Point country and probably in the surrounding regions. The evidence relating to Long Point shows that the townships of Charlotteville, Walsingham, and Woodhouse gained notably in the number of refugee settlers during the year 1798, 1799, and 1800. It is recorded that during these years the home of Captain Ryerse was never without visiting home-seekers, or "travellers", during the summer season. A summary of Loyalist arrivals for this period gives three families and four individuals for 1798, five families and four individuals in 1799 and three families and four individuals in 1800. Among the newcomers in the first of these years were Elder Titus Finch from Nova Scotia, whither he had gone in 1784, and Daniel French, a Methodist minister from New Jersey. Mr. Finch settled in Charlotteville, and became the leader of the Baptists at Long Point. He rode on circuit for many years, conducting services in various parts of the settlement. He appears to have been a popular preacher, able to draw crowds beyond the capacity of the homes in which he preached. On summer days

[1] Papers and Records, Ont. Hist. Soc., II, 45, 46, 30, 92, 93, 87; Owen, Pioneer Sketches of Long Point Settlement, 93, 194-199, 312, 382, 383.

[2] Papers and Records, Ont. Hist. Soc., II, 30, 47, 26, 27.

this difficulty was avoided by holding the meeting in an open glade of the forest. In 1804 the Baptists formed themselves into a congregation, and about six years later erected a commodious church. Many of the young people of the community joined this denomination. Mr. French also settled in Norfolk County, his chapel being known as the "Woodhouse Methodist Church." This chapel and another of the same denomination were erected before the Presbyterian church was built. By the year 1800 the number of inhabitants had so increased in Charlotteville that it became the center of population of the London District, and during the next two years the Court of Quarter Sessions convened here in the two-storey frame house of Lieutenant James Munro. It was, therefore, in Charlotteville that all matters of dispute arising in Elgin, Middlesex, Oxford, Norfolk, and parts of Brant and Haldimand counties were brought for adjudication, and from this place that tavern licenses and orders for road improvements for the vast territory indicated were issued.[1]

In all this development Captain Ryerse played an important part. By 1798 he had completed his two mills, and although his

[1] Papers and Records, Ont. Hist. Soc., II, 61, 62, 82, 95, 96-100, *passim*; Owen, Pioneer Sketches of Long Point Settlement, 65, 68, 69, 120, 154, 207, 247, 257, 277, *passim*; Ryerson, Loyalists of America and Their Times, II, 239, 242.

The arrivals for the years 1798, 1799, and 1800 were (1798) in Woodhouse, Sergeant Albert Berdan of the New Jersey Volunteers and family from New Brunswick, and Israel Wood and family, also from New Brunswick; in Walsingham, William Cope from Niagara, where he had lived since 1794, and Captain William Hutchinson of the New Jersey Volunteers and family from New Brunswick; and in Charlotteville Elder Titus Finch from Nova Scotia, whither he had gone in 1784, Lot Tisdale from New Brunswick, and Daniel Freeman, a Methodist minister from New Jersey: (1799) in Woodhouse, James Matthews of the New Jersey Volunteers from the Niagara District, Corporal Daniel Millard of the 85th Regiment and wife from Niagara, where he had settled in 1786, Josiah Gilbert of New Jersey, a corporal in the King's American Regiment, from New Brunswick; in Charlotteville, Lieutenant Joseph Ryerson of the Prince of Wales Regiment and family from Maujerville, New Brunswick, Captain Walter Anderson of the New Jersey Volunteers and family from Lincoln County in the Niagara District, Andrew McCleish and family, Levy, Silas, and Peter Montross and their three sisters from New Brunswick, Lawrence Johnson of Pennsylvania from Nova Scotia; and in Windham, Abraham Powell from New Brunswick: (1800) in Woodhouse, Captain Jonathan Williams of the Loyal Rangers and his son Titus; in Walsingham, Elias Foster of the Royal Regiment and family from New Brunswick, where he had lived since 1783; in Windham, Mathias, Henry, John, and Martin Buckner (Boughner), who travelled 500 miles or more on foot along the military highway by Lake Champlain, Fort Ticonderoga, Plattsburg, and northward to Cornwall, thence along the north shore of Lake Ontario and Simcoe's new road to Lyon's Creek in the Niagara District, whence they went to Long Point; and in Charlotteville, William Spurgin of North Carolina and Samuel Brown and family from Stamford in the Niagara District, but originally from New Jersey. (See Papers and Records, Ont. Hist. Soc., II, and Owen's Pioneer Sketches of Long Point Settlement.)

saw mill proved to be profitable, his grist mill turned out quite the reverse. The authorized toll of one bushel in twelve was insufficient to cover the heavy cost of operation and repairs, since the mill stood idle most of the summer seasons. As many of the immigrants had served with the Captain in the New Jersey Volunteers, his home became the convenient place of entertainment for not a few of the half-pay officers and men of that corps who sought lands at Long Point. In 1800 Captain Ryerse was appointed commissioner of the peace for the London District. He also became the first chairman of the Court of Quarter Sessions and judge of the District and Surrogate courts. Furthermore, he was named lieutenant of the County of Norfolk and lieutenant colonel of its militia, which he organized. It has been described as a motley company made up chiefly of "big slouching round-shouldered young men, armed with flint-lock muskets", who could be easily distinguished from the few military-looking soldiers who had served in the war of American Independence. As a magistrate Colonel Ryerse's duties were not simply judicial: he performed marriages, applied the dentist's forceps as occasion required, prescribed for the sick, buried the dead, and read the church service on Sundays to his own household and such neighbours as cared to join in the worship.

During the period from 1800 to 1812 a decline in the number of Loyalists arriving at Long Point is evident. This decline was principally due to the cessation of emigration from New Brunswick. Writing from Woodstock, in that province, in July, 1802, Colonel Edward Winslow deplored the action of "those who have lately removed with their families to other parts of the King's dominions, particularly to Niagara." A survey of the record of arrivals at Long Point after the year 1800 shows but one loyalist family from New Brunswick among the eight or nine immigrants entering during the period specified. One of these came from Adolphustown on the Bay of Quinté, three from the Niagara district, and the others from places not mentioned. All of these persons settled in the townships of Windham and Townsend, which lie in the second range back from the lake. Middleton was not settled until about 1812, when families moved in chiefly from the adjoining townships.[2]

[1] Papers and Records, Ont. Hist. Soc., II, 61, 62, 82, 84, 85, 95, 96; Ryerson, Loyalists of America and Their Times, II, 233-236, 241, 242, 247.

[2] Papers and Records, Ont. Hist. Soc., II, 118-122, 38, 39.

The accessions from 1801 to 1812, inclusive, were: (1801) in Woodhouse, John Clendenning and family from near St. Catherines in Lincoln County and Isaac Gilbert and family of New Jersey from St. John, New Brunswick (date uncertain); (1803) in Townsend, John Haviland of Butler's Rangers and family from Adolphustown, Bay of Quinte; (1805) Cuthbert Robinson and his sons, William and George,

In the meantime, John Custin, a refugee from New York, erected a mill just east of Vittoria in Charlotteville Township, thus furnishing another evidence of the growth of the settlement in that district; but despite all the growth of the colony, those settlers who adhered to the English Church were left for years without a regular clergyman. Their opportunities for worship according to the forms of their own faith were confined chiefly to those supplied by Colonel Ryerse and later by Mr. Bostwick, the son of a clergyman, who made a practice of reading the service, and sometimes a sermon, on Sundays. As copies of sermons were scarce, the lay reader was reduced to the necessity of frequent repetition. In 1805 a notable event occurred for these people, when the Reverend Robert Addison came by invitation from Niagara—a distance of one hundred miles—to baptize their younger children. For 11 years some of the settlers had not heard the voice of a licentiate of their own denomination, and now with their babes in their arms and their families about them they listened to the words of the ceremonial with deep feeling, a few breaking out in a passion of tears. This affecting incident sheds a gleam of light on not the least of those trials which the Loyalists had to endure, namely, the enforced deprivation of the form of worship to which many of them clung most tenaciously. However, nearly twenty years more were to elapse before the colony at Long Point was to have a resident clergyman of the Anglican Church. This lack was supplied in 1824 by the beginning of the ministrations of the Reverend Mr. Evans. Throughout the early annals of the colony we get no hint of any provision for the education of the young. Schools were, in fact, long absent from this community, and yet the sons of some of the Loyalists at Long Point rose to eminence, among them being Sir John Robinson, who became chief justice of Ontario, and Doctor Egerton Ryerson, who attained the office of superintendent of education of the province.[1]

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with their families, from New Jersey, Peter Fairchild, and probably in the same year Sergeant Jacob Wilson and his brother Joseph, both of the New Jersey Volunteers, from the Niagara District; (1810) in Townsend, Anthony Dougherty of the North Carolina Loyalists; in Windham, Sergeant Jacob Glover of Newtown, Connecticut (date uncertain); (1811) in Windham, Hart Smith of the New Jersey Volunteers and family from Crowland, Lincoln County, previously from New Brunswick; and in Townsend, Reuben Grant of the first battalion, New Jersey Volunteers. (See Raymond's Winslow Papers, 470; Papers and Records, Ont. Hist. Soc., II, and Owen's Pioneer Sketches of Long Point Settlement.)

[1] Owen, Pioneer Sketches of Long Point Settlement, 123, 124; Papers and Records, Ont. Hist. Soc., II, 60, 61; Ryerson, Loyalists of America and Their Times, II, 248, 250.

Portion of an old Map as it was Tinted to show the Settlements of the Loyalists and Six Nation Indians in the Niagara Peninsula and Adjacent Regions.