

NIAGARA HISTORICAL SOCIETY PUBLICATION NO. 17

"DUCIT AMOR PATRIAE."

NIAGARA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NO. 17

TEN YEARS OF THE COLONY OF NIAGARA

1780 TO 1790

By Lieut.-Colonel E. Cruikshank

Price 20 cents.

1908

Tribune Print, Welland.

THE COLONY OF NIAGARA 1780 - 1790

There is usually a romantic interest connected with the struggles of an infant colony which seldom accompanies its riper years. This is especially true in respect to the Loyalist Settlements in Upper Canada, which have since grown into the present prosperous Province of Ontario, as they owed their existence to the throes and turmoil of a prolonged and disastrous civil war, and may be said in a manner, to have been born prematurely and out of due time.

The settlement at Niagara actually preceded that at the Bay of Quinte by nearly four years. The scheme of promoting a colony of farmers here had its origin in the great difficulty that had been experienced in supplying the Garrisons of Fort Niagara and its dependent Posts with provisions as transportation was both precarious and expensive.

The excellence of the vegetables grown in the Military Gardens established at the other Military Posts had become known to General Haldimand, the governor General, many years before, while a regimental officer, and suggested the idea of their development until they were capable of supplying the troops stationed there with everything they required for food.

It was first definitely proposed by him, in a Letter to Lord George Germain, the Secretary for War and the Colonies, in a letter dated 13th September, 1779.

"By encouraging the settlement of farmers to raise grain and cattle in the vicinity, the security of these posts would be increased and the troops better supplied. This plan would be attended by some additional expense for two or three years, but he anticipated that in as many more would amply repay it.

By the third article of a Treaty concluded by Sir William Johnson at Johnson Hall on the 3d of April, 1764, the Senecas had agreed to "cede to His Majesty and his successors forever, in full, right the lands from the Fort of Niagara, extending easterly along Lake Ontario about four miles, comprehending the Petit Marais or Landing Place, and running from thence southerly about 14 miles to the Creek above Fort Schlosser or Little Niagara, and down the same to the River or Strait, thence down the river or strait and across the same at the great Cataract, thence northerly to the banks of Lake Ontario at a Creek or small lake about two miles west of the Fort, thence easterly along the banks of Lake Ontario and across the river or strait to Niagara, comprehending the whole of the Carrying Place with the lands on both sides of the strait, and containing a tract of about fourteen miles in length and four in breadth.

This cession was subsequently confirmed by a Treaty with the Mississauga, who claimed ownership in the lands on the west side. In the autumn of 1778, a range of Log Barracks had been built for the Rangers on that side and occupied by them since its completion. It was in the vicinity of this building that it was first proposed to form a settlement. Lieut.-Colonel Mason Bolton, commanding the Garrison of Fort Niagara had at first treated the whole proposal with marked coolness. "It would require seven years," he wrote, "to bring land under cultivation to supply the Garrison. We must be cautious how we encroach on the land of the Six Nations, as we have informed them that the Great King never deprived them of an acre since 1759, when he drove the French away."

Later on, he modified this opinion considerably. "The gentlemen I have consulted think, both from the soil and the situation the west side of the river, (the country belonging to the Mississaugas and in the Government of Canada) by far preferable to the

east and where none of these difficulties can arise, and are of opinion an opportunity now offers to make a beginning by encouraging some of the distressed loyalists lately arrived at this Post for His Majesty's protection. With the little stock they have brought, the second year, they might possibly support themselves and families, and the third year they might be useful to this Post. From that period, the increase would be considerable, so that in six or seven years such a plan would be serviceable to the Government and the individuals that would undertake it."

The only previous attempt to cultivate the soil on the west bank by white men seems to have been made by LaSalle in the summer of 1679, as recorded by Hennepin. "We endeavoured several times to ascend the current of the strait into Lake Erie, but the wind was not yet strong enough. We were therefore obliged to wait until it should be more favourable. ""During this detention, the Sieur de LaSalle employed our men in preparing some ground on the western side of the strait of Niagara where we planted some vegetables for the use of those who should come to live at this place for the purpose of keeping up a communication between the vessels and maintaining a correspondence from Lake to Lake. We found in this place, some wild chevril and garlic which grow spontaneously."

As the French Portage was subsequently established on the opposite shore, no effort was made to continue this early attempt at gardening.

In a Letter dated March 17th, 1780, Lord Germain approved Haldimand's proposal and soon after receiving this, the latter carefully discussed the best means of carrying it into effect with Lieut.-Colonel Butler, who had opportunely arrived at Quebec. The result of this conference was communicated to Lieut.-Colonel Bolton in a Letter of July 7th.

"Having materially reflected upon the vast expense, uncertainty and difficulty attending the transport of provisions to the Upper Posts, and for the better accommodation of His Majesty's loyal subjects who, driven from their homes, take refuge at Niagara, I am come to a resolution to reclaim the land granted by the Mississaugas to Sir William Johnson for the Crown, situated on the south-west of the River, opposite the Fort, directions of which will be communicated to you by another letter, which lands will be divided into several lots and distributed to such Loyalists who are capable of improving them, and desirous of procuring by industry a comfortable maintenance to their respective homes, should they be disposed to quit their situation at Niagara.

"As the above mentioned grant will be reclaimed at the expense of the Government, and of course remain at all times the property of the Crown and annexed to the Fort, those who settle on it are not to consider that they have the smallest right to any part thereof, the produce along excepted being their property. They will hold their possessions from year to year, which will be granted to them, by the Commander-in-Chief for the time being as their property according to their merits. If at any time they should remove, either from inclination or by order of the commanding officer, they are to have permission to dispose of their crops, stock of cattle, etc. and a reasonable allowance will be made to them for their improvements. For their further encouragement, no rent will be required of them. They will be allowed a reasonable amount of provisions for the space of twelve months after they are put in possession of their lots. Seed, mills, ploughs and other implements of husbandry will be furnished them gratis, and you will please to

afford them every assistance, whether of horses or otherwise, to those whose sobriety, industry and good conduct may entitle to such indulgence.

"Some part of the land being already cleared, and all of it being fertile, it is expected that in a short time, the produce will be considerable.

"The Settlers are therefore to understand that the produce of their farms, over and above their own consumption is not to be removed from the Post, but disposed of to the Commanding Officer for the use of the Troops, and not to Traders or accidental travellers." Six days later, he wrote again to Bolton on the same subject:

"By my letter of the 7th inst., which will be delivered to you by Lieut.-Colonel Butler, you will be made acquainted with my intentions of settling families at Niagara for the purpose of reclaiming and cultivating lands to be annexed to the Fort. The expediency of this measure is sufficiently evident, not only by the injury the service has and must always suffer from a want of a sufficient supply of provisions as well for the present unavoidable consumption of the Indians as for the support of the Troops, it may be necessary occasionally to march into that country, but likewise to diminish the immense expense and labour attending so difficult and distant a transport."

"Lieutenant Colonel Butler, with whom I have conversed fully upon this subject, has promised to give you every assistance in his power, and from his knowledge of farming, his being upon the spot and his acquaintance and influence with those who may be found to settle, I am persuaded you will find him very useful. I have conversed fully with him upon this subject and have desired him to engage any Loyalists he may find, proper persons, about Montreal and to take them up with him. He informs me there are some good families in his Corps either advancing in years or having large families, he could dispense with. You will probably find these fit persons to employ, the more so as they are likely to have assistance in clearing, etc. from their comrades, but amongst those kinds of people little can be expected without a gratuity, and as that business must be done by volunteers and fatigue men, I request that you furnish Colonel Butler from the King's store a sufficient quantity." Soon after Butler's return to Niagara, the work of clearing and breaking up land was begun with the intention of putting in grain that Fall, and on December 17th, he reported progress.

"The Winter Wheat sent up for planting came too late. I have returned it into the Commissary's store as provision, fearing the mice would destroy it. I have got four or five families settled and they have built themselves houses. They will want about sixty bushels of Spring Wheat and Oats and twelve of buckwheat, and a barrel of Indian corn early in the spring for planting. The harness sent up is not of the kind wanted, but if dressed leather was sent up I would get some of the Rangers to make it. The forge Captain Twiss was to have sent for the farmers has not arrived, please put him in mind of it."

Our only knowledge of the growth of the Settlement during the next year is derived from Butler's Letters. On May 20th, he wrote to Major Mathews, Military Secretary to the Governor General:

"The Articles you mentioned for the Loyalists I have received and given out to such as had land ready to sow.

The Farmers are much in need of a Blacksmith and Forge and Iron such as is fit for ploughshares, as there is still a few wanting for Farmers already settled. Iron fit for axes, hoes, etc. is also wanting. I can furnish them with a Smith out of the Rangers, who will be obliged to work for what the King allows. I should imagine if His Excellency thinks it proper to allow the above articles for one year, they might after that be able to help themselves. On December 7th, he wrote again in sanguine terms:

"The winter being so moderate here enables the Farmers to clear the ground and prepare it for planting and sowing early in the spring. If they only begin to cultivate the land in summer, the season is over before they can expect to draw any subsistence from their labour. I flatter myself that in a short time, the Farmers will be found to be of essential use to this Post. They have maintained themselves since September last, and were only allowed half rations from the first."

From a Letter written by Colonel Watson Powell who had succeeded Lieut.-Colonel Bolton at Fort Niagara, we learn that Fort Erie had been greatly damaged by the Spring Gales and much of the face next to the Lake had been washed away by high water. The Detroit Merchants, having no shelter for their goods at that place, had asked the Engineer to mark out a site for a storehouse and leave was granted to John Garner, who had come from England the year before, to build one for them.

On April 4th, 1782, Colonel Powell reported that "The Rangers are clearing some ground on the other side of the River to plant corn for Government, and as there is some exceeding good land at Buffalo Creek, Colonel Butler has advised me to plant some there, and a party shall be sent, but I am afraid no great progress can be made this year in farming."

Butler continued hopeful, however, and replying to a letter from Major Mathews on June 12th, he said: "I am happy His Excellency is pleased with the progress of the Farmers. They have certainly done very well and would have done much better had their received smithy tools, provisions, &c., the want of which has disappointed them, as they expected to be supplied, agreeable to the memorandum His Excellency gave me." "Seven or eight Rangers got their families from the Frontier last fall. These with some others that have been here for some time are desirous of being discharged with leave to settle on lands near the place, provided they can be supplied with provisions for one year and such Smith work as may be necessary. These people were bred farmers, and I am of opinion will soon be useful to this Post, as well as to enable them to support their families comfortably, which at present is very difficult." "I daily expect a number of recruits from the Frontier, which will enable me to keep my Corps complete after discharging those people that are in the decline of life, also having large families."

So many young men from the Frontier Settlements had joined the Loyalists in Canada, that the Legislature of New York had passed a statute by which the whole estate of any person whose son "had gone off to and joined the enemy was made liable to a special tax or fine of nine pence in the pound, and providing further that when any person shall have two sons gone off to and joined the enemy the sum assessed upon such person shall be doubled, and when there were three sons, the sum shall be trebled and in like proportion for each additional son."

In the course of the letter just quoted, Butler stated that Peter & James Secord, two of the farmers already settled, were about to build a Saw and Grist Mill near the Ranger's Barracks, the iron work and mill stones for which they intended to buy at

Montreal, and requested that these materials be brought up in the King's ships without charge. They were informed in reply that Private Ownership of this Mill would not be sanctioned, but that the Government would furnish the materials and the Secords would be paid for their work.

On June 27th, Colonel Powell wrote describing the preparations for strengthening the Garrison at Oswego: "A few days before the departure of the Indians for Oswego, they requested that I should visit and christen their village, which is about eight miles from hence, (Fort Niagara) and two miles on the left of the Landing. I accordingly went and found a great number of the Mohawks and some of the other nations very comfortably settled and their fields well planted with Indian Corn, and as they were desirous of having a name expressive at the same time of their loyalty and unanimity, their village was christened the Loyal Confederate Valley.

.....

In respect to your wish of knowing what progress has been made here, it is impossible to ascertain as the farmers raised scarcely enough for their own consumption.

The small quantity of Indian Corn purchased for the Government was raised by Captain Brant's Volunteers at Buffalo Creek." It was probably in compliance with Haldimand's request that Butler prepared an official survey of the Settlement on August 25th, which shewed that sixteen families, numbering sixty-eight persons had settled. They owned 49 horses, 42 cattle, 30 sheep and 103 hogs. These earliest settlers were Isaac Dolson, Peter Secord, John Secord, James Secord, George Stuart, George Fields, John Depue, Daniel Rowe, Elijah Phelps, Philip Bender, Samuel Lutz, Michael Showers, Hemanus House, Thomas McMicking, Adam Young and McGregor Van Every. The Secords, Fields, Depue, Bender and Showers seem to have come from the Susquehanna Valley in Pennsylvania, the others from various parts of Tryon County in New York.

The same return states that the "expenses for building a Saw and Grist Mill at Peter Secord's farm will amount to 500 pounds New York Currency, for cutting and hauling boards and timber, building, digging and filling in both dams, nails, iron, stones, bolting cloth and saws expected."

The expense at the head of Four Mile creek will amount to 50 pounds more, where there is plenty of water, which the other has not."

Rumours of the probable terms upon which peace would be concluded caused great uneasiness, both among the Loyalists and Indians, who began to apprehend the entire withdrawal of the British Troops from the Continent.

The discontent among the latter finally increased to such an alarming degree that Colonel Maclean, who had succeeded Colonel Powell at Niagara, felt obliged to reassure them at a special council held for that purpose on December 12th, 1782. "I said, in respect to their situation being worse than ours," he wrote soon after, "that in some respect this was very true but that in general it was not. There are now men upon this ground whose situation is exactly similar to yours in respect to the Rebels, and in some degree worse.

Many of their friends have been put to death and they have been obliged to take banishment, forsake their country and leave all their property behind."

He also stated that Lieut. Brass, formerly Sergeant Brass, now employed to build a Corn and Saw Mill, says he will undertake to complete the dam and finish the two mills at the expense of 500 pounds New York Currency, or to be paid so much a day for the time employed, as he is to be chief workman himself."

Butler was seriously ill for many weeks during the winter, but had sufficiently recovered by the 3rd of March to write: "The Farmers actually settled here are not well satisfied with the uncertain tenure in which they hold their lands and improvements, and would rather be subject to a small rent if they could be more effectually secured to them.

Should this be done, I am satisfied there are some people of that description who have even property in the colonies who would not think of returning."

"The Saw and Grist Mills are both in forwardness and if the materials from below arrive in time I imagine may be set going by the beginning of June."

The discontent of the Settlers was soon afterwards set forth in the following petition: "To John Butler, Esq., Lieut. Col., Commandant of the Corps of Rangers, etc. "The humble address of Farmers residing on lands on the West Side of the River Niagara. On our first settling, you were pleased to read His Excellency General Haldimand's proposals on which we settled, and expecting one year's provisions and a Blacksmith to work for us, which we have not had as yet. Part only of the Provisions has been given us. We shall esteem it a singular favour to lay this before Brig. Gen. Maclean. We should be forever obliged to His Excellency if he will be pleased to grant us leases or some other security for our farms, as our present uncertain situation is very discouraging, as we are obliged to sell our produce, what little we raise, at such prices as the Commanding Officer thinks proper. We have no objection to furnish the Garrison at a reasonable price, what quantity they may want, to be fixed by the Commanding Officer; at the same time beg leave to sell to Merchants and others at the price we can agree from being obliged to pay Merchants their own price for everything we want. We should be very willing to subject ourselves to a rent for our farms after a term of eight years, as the footing we are on at present, we are liable to be turned off our places when the Commanding Officer pleases. We are happy for the present, being not under the slightest apprehension, but the Commandant often changes, which makes our stay uncertain.

ISAAC DOLSON, ELIJAH PHELPS, THOS. McMICKING, DONAL BEE.

"On behalf of ourselves and the rest of the Farmers."

The conclusion of the definitive Treaty of Peace put an end to any lingering hopes the Loyalists may have still entertained of returning to their former homes to live, although it contained a provision specially framed for their benefit.

General Maclean wrote on May 3rd, 1783, that Colonel Butler says that none of his people will ever think of going to attend courts of law in the Colonies, where they could not expect the shadow of justice, and that to repurchase their estates is what they are not able to do; that for a much smaller sum, the Mississaugas will part with 12 Miles more along the Lake, and that they would rather go to Japan than go among the Americans, where they could never live in Peace."

An Albany Newspaper of May 26th, received at Niagara early in June, showed clearly that this surmise as to the intentions of their late opponents was fully justified. It contained the following report of the proceedings of a Public Meeting called to consider the terms of peace:

"At a Meeting of the Inhabitants of the district of Saratoga, the 6th of May, 1783, the following resolutions were unanimously passed and ordered to be published in the New York Gazette:

Resolved: that if any person who has voluntarily joined the late enemy of the United States and who shall hereafter return to this District, such persons will be treated with the severity due to his crimes and infamous defection.

Resolved, that if any such person has already returned since the first day of January last and shall not remove before the tenth day of June next, he shall be treated in like manner as those who shall presume to return hereafter.

Resolved, that it be and is hereby recommended that the Militia Officers of this District in their several beats make diligent inquiry after such persons as are above described, and if any are found to give notice to the inhabitants of this district that effectual measures shall be taken for their expulsion.

Resolved, that we will hold in contempt every inhabitant of this district who shall countenance, comfort or aid in any way, any person who has voluntarily joined the enemy or attempted to do so.

SAM. BACON, CLERK."

On June 10th, Maclean wrote that the Indians were behaving well and would not believe any bad stories. The Mills were in course of construction but none of the ironwork necessary to complete had yet arrived from Montreal. The farmers were bringing in wheat in exchange for flour and had already brought in double the quantity they had the year before. This would be useless to the Garrison if the Grist Mill was not finished.

He thought the Saw Mill would pay the expense of building it in six months. A Moravian clergyman, Mr. Bull, whose son and daughter had perished in the massacre of the Indians at Delaware Villages the year before, came in with a Letter from the American General Lincoln and asked permission for himself and companions to live at the settlement of Moravian Indians near Detroit, who some years later removed to the Township of Delaware in Upper Canada. They declared they were determined "never to place themselves near Congress, as they would rather retire beyond Hudson's Bay." Maclean added that a few more resolutions like those passed at Saratoga would be sufficient to set the War going again, and accused General Schuyler of being the chief instigator of them, as he had been a large purchaser of the confiscated estates of the Loyalists in that locality. Haldimand was unable to do more at that time than express his hearty sympathy, and desire to assist the exiles.

"I feel much for the distress of the unfortunate people," he wrote on the 14th of June. "Next to the obedience and submission which I owe to the pleasure of my royal master, the hopes of my being by my own command in this country, instrumental in alleviating their distress are the greatest consolation which I promise myself in my present situation."

Some discontent among the Indians was soon after excited by a report that Sir John Johnson had gone to Cataraqui to arrange for a settlement of the Mohawks. Emissaries from Congress were constantly at work among them and they seemed to grow restless as the summer advanced.

Deserters from the Rangers and Sir John Johnson's Corps were sent back by the Americans, while those from the regular regiments were allowed to remain among them. This discrimination was apparently intended to deter all loyalists from returning to claim their property.

On the first day of August, some enterprising Traders from Schenectady arrived with three batteaux loaded with rum, which they intended to use in trading with the Indians at the Upper Posts. They were detained and eventually sent back. The resident Merchants, Hamilton and Cartwright, John Thompson, Douglas and Symington, and Samuel Street And Company united in a strong protest against the admission of Traders bringing goods from the Untied States, and in consequence, orders were then issued to stop all such persons at Oswego, before they entered Lake Ontario.

Rum was sold by all the merchants and Maclean complained bitterly of the trouble it caused, not only among the Indians but with the soldiers and seaman.

"It is a pity," he declared in one of his letters, "that such a cursed liquor as rum was ever found out. I have more plague with rum than with all other business. The seaman must have it, for it is part of their wages and they will desert or mutiny if they do not get it."

In August, Major Potts of the 8th Regiment, who had been instructed to inspect the Rangers, made his report:

"During the course of the War, upon the service they have been employed," he wrote, "I believe they have ever in general behaved very well and done their duty and are deserving of whatever His Majesty may be graciously pleased to favour or reward them with.

"But I must not omit to observe to Your Excellency that two-thirds of the private men are at present as fine fellows as I ever saw collected together, worthy of applause, and by no means wanting in the requisites to effect in every respect good soldiers and might, should they be wanted, form a most complete small Corps at 50 men per Company, and might answer every purpose that could be wished for to effect the service of the Upper Country regarding the connection with the Indians.

"The late views of a great part of the Corps were to return to their former homes as soon as a reduction should take place, but the late publications of the colonists and the disposition they seem to have avowed to abide by them, has much abated the ardour and anxiety of the men on the purpose to return home and the promises of Colonel Butler to obtain some general settlement for them upon the neighbouring lands of this Lake and River seems to have taken up and engaged both their consideration, hope, wishes and expectation that they may succeed in Grants of Land to that end, which I believe that most of them at present are disposed to settle upon."

A return was annexed to his report from which it appears that the strength of the corps at that time was as follows:

LIEUT.-COLONEL BUTLER'S COMPANY- Forty men, twelve women, nineteen boys, seventeen girls.

CAPTAIN CALDWELL'S COMPANY- Forty-six men, seven women, seven boys, seven girls.

CAPTAIN TENBROECK'S COMPANY - Forty-four men, ten women, ten boys, ten girls.

CAPTAIN MACDONNEL'S COMPANY - Fifty-three men, eleven women, twelve boys, nine girls.

CAPTAIN HARE'S COMPANY - Fifty-two men, nine women, ten boys, fourteen girls.

CAPTAIN FREY'S COMPANY - Thirty-nine men, sixteen women, thirteen boys, seventeen girls.

CAPTAIN MCKINNON'S COMPANY - Forty-six men, eight women, eleven boys, sixteen girls.

CAPTAIN BRADT'S COMPANY - Forty-nine men, ten women, fourteen boys, eleven girls.

CAPTAIN DAME'S COMPANY - Forty-nine men, nineteen women, eighteen boys, twenty-four girls.

CAPTAIN GENEVAY'S COMPANY - Fifty-one men, nine women, eight boys, nine girls.

A great gale in the middle of October proved disastrous to the shipping on Lake Erie. The Faith, loaded with flour and provisions, was wrecked at Long Point, and the Hope and Angelica were driven ashore near Presu'Isle on the south shore. All of these vessels were a total loss, but a portion of their cargoes was saved.

Instructions for the survey and grant of lands to the Loyalists had been approved and signed by the King on the 16th of July.

"Whereas many of our loyal subjects, inhabitants of the Colonies and Provinces, now the United States of America, are desirous of retaining their allegiance to us and of living in our Dominions and for this purpose are disposed to take up and improve lands in our Province of Quebec, and we, being desirous to encourage our said loyal subjects in such their intentions, and to testify our approbation of their loyalty to us and obedience to our Government by allotting lands for them in our said Province;

"And whereas we are also desirous of testifying our approbation of the bravery and loyalty of our forces serving in our said Province, and who may be reduced there by allowing a certain quantity of land to such of the non-commissioned officers and privates, men of our own forces, who are inclined to become settlers therein, it is our will and pleasure that immediately after you receive this instruction, you do direct our Surveyor General of Lands for our said Province of Quebec to admeasure and lay out such a quantity of land as you, with the advice of our Council shall deem necessary and convenient for the settlement of our said Loyal Subjects and the non-commissioned officers and private men of our forces which may be reduced in our said Province, who shall be desirous of becoming settlers therein, such lands to be divided into districts, seigniories or fiefs to extend from two to four leagues in front and from three to five leagues in depth, if situate upon a navigable river, otherwise to run square or in such shape or in such quantities as shall be convenient and practicable, and in each seigniory, a glebe to be reserved and laid out in the most convenient spot, to contain not less than 300 or more than 500 acres, the propriety of which seigniories or fiefs shall be and remain vested in us, our heirs and successors, and you shall allot such part of the same as shall be applied for by any of our said Loyal Subjects, non-commissioned Officers and Private men of our forces, reduced as aforesaid, in the following proportions, that is to say:

"To every master of a family one hundred acres and fifty acres for each person of which his family shall consist. "To every single man fifty acres. "To every non-commissioned Officer of our Forces reduced in Quebec, two hundred acres. "To every private man reduced as aforesaid one hundred acres. "To every person in their family, fifty acres.

"The said lands to be held under us, our heirs and successors, seigniors of the said seigniories or fiefs in which the same shall be situated, upon the same terms,

acknowledgements and services as lands are held in our said Province under the respective seigniors holding and possessing seigniories or fiefs therein, and reserving us, our heirs and successors from and after the expiration of ten years from the admission of the respective tenants a quit rent of one-half penny per acre."

Supplementary instructions dated August 7th, authorized the Governor General to allot to every Field Officer, 1,000 acres, to every Captain, 700 acres, and to every subaltern Staff or Warrant Officer, 500 acres, and he was advised to intersperse these allotments with those of the non-commissioned Officers and Privates of their own Corps, with the object "that the several settlements may be thereby strengthened and untied, an in case of attack be defended by those who have been accustomed to bear arms and serve together." "Members of the organization known as the "Associated Loyalists" were placed on the same footing as those of other corps. Applicants were required to take Oaths of Allegiance, Supremacy, Abjuration and Declaration before receiving their Certificates and Grants would be made within twelve months, providing that they actually settled upon their lands.

During the autumn, the wives of two officers of the Rangers, with a number of children, arrived at Niagara from Schenectady, where they had been detained as prisoners, and six men of the Corps asked for their discharge with leave to settle.

Their application was refused by Haldimand until plans could be prepared, as he wished to be strictly impartial in the distribution of lands. Captain Samuel Holland, an Engineer Officer, who was subsequently appointed Surveyor General, was already engaged in surveying lands at Cataraqui for the settlement of Sir John Johnson's Regiment, and when that work was completed, it was announced that the survey at Niagara would be begun.

The settlement had continued its growth during the year. A second official return showed that forty-six families had settled and built forty-four houses and twenty barns. They had cleared 713 acres, of which 123 were sown with winter wheat and 342 more were ploughed for spring crops. The list is headed by the name of Captain John Macdonnel, who had fifty acres cleared. Seven other officers and two sergeants are named in this list. (See Appendix B.)

Early in 1784, the arrival of several American traders at the Indian village of Genesee became known, and it was alleged that they had been invited to come there by Ebenezer Allen, lately an Interpreter in the Indian Dept., who was at once arrested and sent to Quebec for trial, while Brant and several other chiefs strongly advised their people to have no dealings with the strangers and prevent them from bringing goods into their settlements.

Leave of absence was granted to General Maclean and he was succeeded in command by Colonel Arent Schuyler DePeyster, formerly commandant at Detroit, who belonged to an old and honourable New York Family. Instructions were received for the disbandment of the Rangers and their settlement on lands in the vicinity. But many of them were dissatisfied with the tenure proposed, and in June, seventy went away in a body with no intention of returning, while thirty others took passage to Montreal in one of the King's Ships. A few able bodied labourers and some good artificers asked permission to remain at Niagara without taking up lands, which DePeyster granted. The Mohawk Indians were still residing near the Lower Landing (Lewiston), but some were preparing to remove to the Bay of Quinte. Brant, on behalf of

the remainder and others of the Six Nations, applied for a tract of land consisting of about six miles on each side of the Grand River, "called the Oswego," from the mouth of its source, and on the 23d of March, Sir John Johnson was directed to purchase the whole territory lying between Lakes Erie, Ontario, and Huron from the Mississaugas. Butler had already been made acquainted with Brant's plan and had ascertained that the purchase could be made on very advantageous terms. Accordingly, on May 22nd, a meeting of the Mississaugas and the Chiefs and Warriors of the Six Nations and Delawares, was held at Niagara, at which Lieut.-Colonel Hoyes of the 34th Regiment and other officers of the Garrison were present. Lieut. Colonel Butler briefly made to them his instructions for the purpose of lands for the Six Nations, and the Settlement of the Loyalists, to which Pokquan, a Mississauga, replied that his nation did not own all the Land between the three Lakes, but were willing to transfer their "right of soil and property from the head of Lake Ontario, or the Creek Wayhguata to the River La Tranche, then down that river until a south course will strike the mouth of Catfish Creek on Lake Erie." He added that they considered themselves to be the same people as the Six Nations and bound to help them.

A deed was executed the same day by him and seven other Sachems and War Chiefs and two Principal Women of the Mississagua Nation, by which they sold to the Crown, all that tract between Lakes Ontario and Erie, beginning at Lake Ontario, four miles south-westerly from the point opposite to Niagara Fort, known by the name of Mississagua Point and running from thence along said Lake to the Creek that falls from a small Lake into the said Lake Ontario, known by the name of Waghquata, from thence a northwest course until it strikes the River La Trance of New River then down the stream of said

River to that part or place where a due south course will lead to the mouth of Catfish Creek, emptying into Lake Erie, and from the above mentioned part or place of the aforesaid River La Trance, forming the south course to the mouth of said Catfish Creek, thence down Lake Erie to the lands heretofore purchased from the Nation of Mississaguas Indians, and from thence along the said purchase to Lake Ontario at the place of beginning. The consideration paid was eleven hundred and eighty pounds, seven shillings and four pence, and the purchase was roughly estimated to contain 2,842,480 acres, the price agreed upon apparently being a tenth of a penny per acre.

Two months later, (21st July) Colonel De Peyster wrote that the survey had not yet been commenced nor had the agricultural implements arrive which Haldimand had promised to send up from Montreal. He enclosed a list of disbanded Rangers, Brant's Volunteers and other Loyalists who had applied for lands, numbering 258.

Their families comprised ninety-nine women, 148 children over ten years of age and 115 under ten years of age. (See Appendix C).

During the summer, Reverend John Stuart, formerly Anglican Missionary at Fort Hunter in the Mohawk Valley, visited Niagara when he preached in the Garrison and afterwards at the Mohawk Village in a "decent, commodious church erected by themselves." He also baptised 102 Indian Children and five adults who had been instructed by his Indian Clerk. Before the end of the year, most of the Six Nations, except the Senecas and a number of Oneidas, Onondagas and Tuscaroras removed to the Grand River. Early in 1785 the 8th or King's Regiment, which had been stationed for nearly twenty years at the "Upper Posts," was relieved by the 34th and returned to

England, leaving, however, a considerable number of discharged soldiers to swell the numbers of the settlers. Colonel De Peyster was succeeded by Major Campbell, who was soon after seriously alarmed by rumours of a conspiracy of the Americans and Indians to capture that post by a sudden attack.

When this became known to the settlers they volunteered their services almost to a man for its defence. Captain John Dease, who was acting as Superintendent of the Six Nations during the absence in England of Lieut. Colonel Butler, writes on September 16, 1785: "The settlement on the Grand River is in a very promising state. My last returns from thence, which I am sure are accurate, make the number settled there a thousand souls. I am certain there would have been as many more if I could have encouraged them, but that I declined, being unwilling to increase the expenditure of provisions. The Senecas assure me that should the Americans take possession of these posts they intend to remove to Long Point on the opposite or north side of Lake Erie. Their principal Chief Kayenguarghton deserves particular notice on account of his steady attachment to Government.

"The present state of the Indian Trade requires regulation. A number of people belonging to the disbanded troops have settled themselves among the Indians on purpose to avoid the restraints of law, there unmolested. They exercise every species of cheating, etc.; their continual jealousies and quarrels give the Indians the most unfavourable impressions of us. Formerly no person was permitted to trade without a written permission from the Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Now every idle fellow commences Indian trader." Several retired Officers of the Department had also settled in the reserve and obtained extensive grants of land. Among these may be named 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 three miles square, and Adam Young and his three sons, a smaller tract, both lying in the present Township of Seneca.

On the 5th, November, 1785, Colonel Henry Hope, who had just been appointed Lieut. Governor of the Province of Quebec, made the following report to Lord Sydney: "By the arrival of Captain Barnes of the Quartermaster General's Department, who, together with Mr. DeLancey the Inspector of Loyalists, had been sent through all the settlements with a view of collecting a just state of the condition and circumstances of the Loyalist Settlers in this Province to be laid before His Majesty's Ministers, I am enabled to inform Your Lordship that those persons are in general highly satisfied with the prospects before them, and are grateful for the bounty and indulgencies Government has liberally bestowed. The improvements have been rapid and such as to promise a permanent prosperity to these His Majesty's subjects, but I must beg leave to submit to Your Lordship my well grounded apprehensions that these flattering appearances will in a great measure be obscured if some extension is not given to the period during which the Loyalists settled in this Province are to receive His Majesty's bounty of provisions.

"For Your Lordship's more perfect understanding of this subject it may be necessary that I should state to you that, in compliance with the instructions and intentions of the Right Honourable, the Board of Treasury, signified in a letter from George Rose, Esq., dated Treasury Chambers, 7th June last, to Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, the distribution of provisions to Loyalists throughout this Province is only to be made to the 1st of June, 1786.

As I perceived, however, on perusing a letter from Your Lordship to Lieut. Governor Hamilton, dated 37th April last, the determination for continuing an allowance of provisions to Loyalists was consequent upon Governor Haldimand's representations to Your Lordship that such continuance was absolutely necessary to the middle of June, 1786, I have thought it incumbent on me therefore to state to the Right Honourable the Board of Treasury my doubts whether His Majesty's intentions were not that an allowance should be continued to be delivered to the period assigned by General Haldimand and to request their Lordships' further instructions thereupon.

"From the circumstances, as represented by Captain Barnes, that the settlers, before it could be notified to them that all allowance is withdrawn before the 1st September next, many of them must inevitably quit the lands on which they are settled, to their utter ruin and disappointment, I now think myself called to solicit on behalf of these faithful and hitherto unfortunate subjects of His Majesty Your Lordship's interference and protection, trusting you will use your influence to procure for them the allowance for their existence from 1st June to 1st September next."

"The quantities of Wild Pigeons and Fish, which are taken in abundance during the same period, will contribute to their support, and I conceive an allowance of one pound of flour per day for grown persons and half that quantity for those under ten years would enable them to live on their lands to the 1st September, after which the crop of that year will abundantly support them."

On the petition of many of the settlers, the Lieutenant Governor recommended that they should be allowed to build necessary grist mills at their own expense, and in order to indemnify them, they should be granted the right of "Bandalite" for fifteen years. This was assented to by the Legislative Council and regulations were framed with that object, under which authority would be granted for the erection of a Grist Mill in any Township or seigniority on or before the 1st of November, and on condition that such Mills should be kept in constant repair attended by the persons necessary to grind the grain of the settlers the persons building and running them would be granted the enjoyment of the rights and privileges which the King held as Seigneur with respect to Mills by the Laws of the Province for a period of fifteen years, at the expiration of which period the Mills would become the property of the Crown. One bateau properly manned would be allowed at His Majesty's expense to make one trip to carry up millstones and other materials for the use of each mill. The localities selected under this regulation for the construction of Mills within the Settlement of Niagara were "a Water Mill at the Falls, above the 12 Mile Pond, 10 Miles from Lake and 16 from the Garrison" and a "Water Mill between the Great Falls and Chippewa Creek." The latter was built that summer by John Burch, but eventually passed into the possession of Samuel Street, by whom it was owned when it burnt by the American Troops in 1814.

Considerable dissatisfaction already existed among the Loyalist Settlers, and Stephen DeLancey was requested to present a Petition to the Governor in which they prayed: 1 - "For English tenure of their lands.

2. For assistance in establishing the Churches of England and Scotland.

3 - For assistance to establish a school
in each district.

4 - For the prohibition of the importation of pot and pearl ashes from Vermont, as leading to an illicit trade with the United States, and for a bounty on the production of these articles and of hemp.

5. For a loan of three months provisions.

6.- For clothing for the distressed.

7. - For the speedy running of the division lines of the Townships.

8 - For a post road from Montreal and Cataraqui and for the establishment of post offices at New Johnstown, New Oswegatchie and Cataraqui.

9 - For a passage from the Bay of Quinte to Lake Huron for the Indian trade.

10. - That three places may be pitched upon between the River Beaudette and Cataraqui, to receiving grain from the Settlers.

11 - That the commissioners on claims would visit New Johnstown, New Oswegatchie and Cataraqui, as the general poverty would prevent them from pressing their claims at Montreal and Quebec.

12. - That the use of the canal locks should be confined to them, and that in respect to lands, they should be placed on the same footing as the disbanded men of the 84th Regiment."

This Petition was laid before Lord Dorchester (formerly Sir Guy Carleton), the new Governor General in December 1786. On the 3rd of June, 1787, he forwarded it in a dispatch to Lord Sydney, remarking that the Settlement of Loyalists had greatly strengthened the English Party in the Province of Quebec, and that the desire for a House of Assembly would no doubt increase. He regarded a change in the tenure of land as very important and indeed absolutely necessary. He recommended therefore, that it should be altered to free and common soccage, with a limit of not more than 1,000 acres to any one person, but that in every township of 30,000 acres, 5,000 should be reserved to reward meritorious services and strengthen an aristocracy in a country where everything tended to an uncontrolled democracy. The quit rents had never been collected and their continuance would only prove a source of discontent.

On September 14th Lord Sydney replied that His Majesty would be advised to make the proposed change in the tenure, but that no further supply of provisions could be granted, and that any commercial treaty with Vermont seemed out of the question. The religious demands of the settlers would be satisfied and information was requested as to the proposed bounty on hemp and the probable amount that could be grown for export to Great Britain. The retention of the Upper Posts could be justified and the recent conduct of the Americans had not tended to alter his policy in that respect. If they were seized by force, Dorchester must make every effort to recover them.

On October 20th, an order in council was passed directing additional instructions to Lord Dorchester to enable him to grant lands in free and common soccage, no such grant to exceed 1,000 acres to any one person without His Majesty's permission being previously obtained, for the remission of the quit rent of thirty pence for every hundred acres to all persons not holding more than a thousand acres, to provide for a reverse of five thousand acres in each Township of 30,000 acres, and to propose to the Executive Council of the Province of Quebec the enactment of a law enabling persons holding land *en roture* with the consent of the Seigneurs to change the tenure to free and common soccage. Before this reached Lord Dorchester he had again written forcibly on the

subject under date of November 14. There was some dissatisfaction among the Loyalists which would continue, he said, until the lands were granted as he had recommended.

Endeavours to excite discontent among them met with some success and might succeed, as lands were sold for a trifle across the river. He protested most earnestly against the folly of maintaining a source of irritation, which might ultimately cause the loss of the Province. The colonists should have nothing to gain by separation.

Finding that it would be impossible for him to visit the new Settlements in person, Lord Dorchester instructed his Military Secretary, Major R. Mathews, to make a tour of inspection in May, 1787. On the last day of that month while at Niagara, he made the following note in his Journal:

"This day came in eight or ten men from the States to see friends, and wishing a permission to settle with them. With regard to the settlement at this post, it appears to be in the same thriving and prosperous state with those below, but notwithstanding the testimony of loyalty and good order given by the settlers, attested in their offer of assistance to Major Campbell in defence of his Post, a few of them hold the principles and doctrines of Mr. McNiff. Major Campbell is well informed of them and has a watchful eye upon their conduct. Colonel Butler told us there were discontents among the settlers, proceeding from what they consider an improper choice of the Commission of the Peace, wishing themselves to have the nomination of their civil officers and to hold Committees for the choice of them and other interior management of the settlement, agreeable to the letter to that effect, which it seems was circulated from Mr. De Lancey through all the Upper Settlements, and which is considered by all the gentlemen in opposition to that doctrine with whom I have conversed to have been the origin of the McNiff party. Colonel Butler also says they complain of not having received an equal portion of clothing and of farming utensils with Loyalist Settlers in other parts of the Province, which has been already represented, but no answer returned to them. They are also jealous of the tenure in which they hold their lands and cannot reconcile the idea of the Canadian one."

Captain Enys of the 29th Regiment who visited the Falls on July 18, has given us a glimpse of the settlements in the vicinity. Crossing from Fort Schlosser in a row boat, his party "landed about four miles above the Falls at a farm of Mr. Stedman's here; here Mr. Hamilton left us and striking to the left went to Fort Erie, whilst the rest of us, taking the right hand road after a walk of two miles, came to Chippawa Creek, where we found horses at the house of a Mr. Burch, one of the principal men of the settlement. As the squire was not at home we were glad to waive the ceremony of a visit, so as soon as we were ready, we set out towards the Falls.

About another mile brought us to the head of the rapid, and a short way further, we came to a Mill Mr. Burch had lately built. It appears to me to be a very elegant piece of workmanship and is to be both a Grist and Saw Mill, but I am very much afraid from the rapids above, he will find it difficult, if not dangerous, to bring down rafts to it, although the man who superintends it says he thinks it may be done with ease when they become better acquainted with the currents.

During the summer, the Commissioners of Claims, Colonel Thomas Dundas and Jeremy Pemberton arrived in the Province to take evidence, and in August a considerable number of Loyalists residing near Niagara, went to Montreal to appear before them.

Among these claimants were Frederick Anger, Jacob Ball, Philip Bender, Philip Buck, John Chisholm, John Claus, James Clendenning, John Coon, Joseph Clement, Adam Crysler, John Depue, Isaac Dolson, Benjamin Frelick, Rebecca Fields, Margaret Hare, Henry Hainer, James Heaslip, George House, James Jones, Randall Macdonnell, Lewis Mabee, Thomas Millard, Mrs. Overholt, Hanjost Petrie, Wm. Pickard, Donald Rose, Solomon Secord, Daniel Servos, Timothy Skinner, Frederick Smith and Christian Warner.

The evidence given by them respecting their losses and sufferings is extremely interesting and has been recently printed by the Provincial Archivist. In many instances, their place of residence is stated, indicating that the settlement already extended from the Ten Mile Creek to Fort Erie.

"The new-comers from the States have again raised a cry for a House of Assembly, and wish to put an end to the "Quebec Bill," under which the great body of the people, the Canadians, live happily."

The official return shows that there were the following ships on Lake Ontario, belonging to the Crown:

Limnade, 220 tons, 16 guns.

Seneca, 130 tons, 18 guns.

Caldwell, 37 tons, 2 guns.

Two Schooners of 100 Tons each, building.

The only Merchant Vessel was the Lady Dorchester, of 90 tons and some large boats or small sailing craft belonging to the Settlers.

On Lakes Erie and Huron, the King had the Rebecca of 136 tons, and 16 guns; the Felicity of 45 tons, the Windot (Wyandot?) of 37 tons and the Chaboagar of 37 tons, and Merchants owned the Beaver of 40 tons, Sagana, 30 tons, Industry, 20 tons, and there was a vessel of 90 tons on the Stocks. On Lake Superior, there are two small vessels belonging to the Northwest Fur Company, of twelve or fifteen tons each.

Dorchester had become convinced that the increase of population in the new settlements rendered it necessary to form Districts for the administration of justice, and by a proclamation dated 24th July, 1788, they were accordingly divided into four, of which that called Nassau comprised all territory lying between a north and south line, intersecting the mouth of the River Trent, and a north and south line intersecting the extreme projection of Long Point. John Butler, Robert Hamilton and Jesse Pawling were appointed Justices of the Court of Common Pleas. John Burch, Peter Tenbrook, John Warren, John Powell, Jacob Ball and Samuel Street were appointed Justices of the Peace. Gilbert Tice was appointed Sheriff and Philip Frey, Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas, Clerk of the Peace and Sessions of the Peace. A formal enrolment of the Militia showed that there were six hundred persons liable to bear arms residing in this District. On

pursuance of instructions from Lord Sydney, Superintendents of inland navigations were appointed to reside at Niagara and Fort Erie.

Early in the year the Executive Council of the Province of Quebec, passed an order authorizing Mark and Thomas Gregory and Company to import Spirits upon a payment of a duty, which was nine pence a gallon less than that imposed by the Act of

the British Parliament. This was a shameless piece of favouritism and provoked a strong feeling of indignation among the other Merchants, who had already begun an agitation for the substitution of British Commercial Laws for the *continue de Paris*. They complained bitterly of the maladministration of existing Courts of Justice and the want of gaols and officers to secure debtors. Accordingly it was decided to present a Petition to the House of Commons embodying these grievances, and praying for the establishment of a House of Assembly for the Province. Adam Lymburner, a leading Merchant, who was described by Lord Dorchester as "a decent, sensible man who had no hostile intentions to the administration," was selected by his colleagues to present this Petition, which was signed by nearly all the merchants doing business in the Province, both resident and non-resident.

This Petition provoked a debate in the House of Commons and on the 3d September, 1788, Sydney wrote to Dorchester requesting the fullest information before the matter again came up for discussion. He also stated that a Division of the Province had been proposed, beginning at the Seigniorie granted to De Longueuil.

In his reply, which was dated 8th November, 1788, Dorchester remarked: "The population of this country is chiefly confined to the margin of waters from the western side of the Gulf of St. Lawrence in the District of Gaspé to the settlement at and above Detroit, a chain of not less than eleven hundred miles, and though the ancient settled parts of the districts of Quebec and Montreal, from Kamouraska to Point au Baudet, (comprehending about three hundred and seventy miles of the above line,) may find no great burthen in the expense of a representation, it may be otherwise with the inhabitants newly set down in Gaspé, Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Nassau and Hesse, and the inconveniences and charges of assembling from parts so distant would be increased by the nature of the climate, which renders the roads for several months in the year difficult, if not impracticable.

"A division of the Province, I am of opinion, is by no means advisable at present, either for the interests of the new or the ancient districts, nor do I see an immediate call for other regulations than such as are involved in the subject of the general jurisprudence of the country. Indeed it appears to me that the Western Settlements are as yet unprepared for any organization superior to a County. This has been lately given to them and will, I trust, answer to their present wants, if I except Hesse, whose commercial and complicated affairs call for a particular provision, now under consideration of a Committee of the Council. But though I hold a division of the Province at present inexpedient, yet I am of opinion that no time should be lost in appointing a person of fidelity and ability, in the confidence of the Loyalists, to superintend and lead them and to bring their concerns with despatch to the knowledge of the Government, under the title of Lieutenant-Governor of the four districts above named.

"Should a Division of the Province notwithstanding be determined by the wisdom of His Majesty's Council, I see no reason why the inhabitants of those Western Districts should not have an assembly, as soon as it may be organized without detriment to their private affairs, nor against their having so much of the English system of laws as may suit their local situation and condition. But in this case, particular care should be taken to secure the property and civil rights of the Canadian Settlers at Detroit, who, I am convinced, would not choose to emigrate though good lands might be given them in the lower parts of the Province. But should they choose to move, it would be attended with

much inconvenience, as would their being left insulated and attached to the District of Montreal.

"With respect to proper limits for the new Government, I would recommend those enclosed in the annexed paper, which will comprehend all the Settlements of the Loyalists on the River St. Lawrence above Point Au Baudet, and those also lately laid out for them on the south side of the River Ottawas."

On May 29th, 1788, Dorchester signed instructions for the guidance of Captain Gottier Mann, Commanding Engineer who was despatched to inspect the Military Posts in Upper Canada and report upon harbours on the Lakes which might be suitable for naval stations. He was further instructed: "You will inform yourself concerning the best communication from the Upper Part of Lake Ontario, to the lower end of Lake Erie, on this side of the water, with the most convenient and safe ports for embarking and disembarking at each end of the Communication, where boats and armed vessels may be well covered against rough weather or the attempts of the enemy should the present Carrying Place and Fort Niagara, fall into such hands. You will particularly examine the ground reserved for such event opposite to the present Fort and the height at Navy Hall, with a view to fortify the same.

In his report, which was a carefully prepared and length document, Captain Mann gives interesting details: "The buildings at Navy Hall are for the most part in exceeding bad repair and the wharf is in ruins. Of the Rangers Barracks, one pile has been so far dismantled as to be past re-establishing; one end indeed might, with some fitting up, be made to serve some time as a Blacksmith Shop to the Indian Department, which they say is much wanted. The other pile of Rangers Barracks is capable of being repaired, and might also serve the temporary purpose of accommodating, at least in part, the same department, their storehouses, etc. on the Niagara side, as already observed, being in ruins and not repairable. The fitting up this pile of building would cost about 35 pounds.

"In regard to the situation at Navy Hall, boats and vessels may be well sheltered there from rough weather; it is convenient for embarking and disembarking and equally safe and applicable to the purposes of transport as at Niagara. Vessels can also more readily and safely get under way from hence when the wind is from the westward, (which is fair to carry them down the Lake,) than they can immediately from Niagara and this seems the most material advantage that Navy Hall possesses over Niagara, but the latter has rather a better command of that entrance of the river than can be had from any situation on this side. A good Post might be constructed on the height above Navy Hall, and such as would afford protection to boats or vessels from any attempts of the Enemy on this side of the River, but they could not be secure from bombardment or covered batteries of cannon on the other side.

.....

"The whole of Fort Erie is in so wretched a state and altogether so much in ruins that it is not easy to say which is the worst part of it. The picketing is altogether rotten and a great part of it gone and the front next the water, which was a stone wall, has been washed away by the encroachment of the Lake. The Barracks, by dint of patching and temporary repairs, have been kept habitable; some further repairs of the same nature have been provided for against this winter. The storehouse is in so bad a state that it is almost past repairing; the weather comes in now in all quarters of it; the shingling of the roof cannot be repaired, if it can be got, a bark covering is to be put on, as the building is

hardly worth the expense of new shingles. The weather boarding and under-pining is scare in a better condition, but it may be made to do for another season. It seems doubtful whether the bake house can stand the winter, but the oven may be repaired. The wharf or landing place wants repairs.

This would have been better placed to the northward of the fort, where boats would have been much better sheltered than at the present situation.

"I cannot recommend re-establishing or making any alterations to the present Fort, as it appears to me to be improperly placed; the rising ground behind would, I conceive, be the proper situation. The harbour is a tolerably good one, and although there is sometimes a considerable swell from the Lake sets in yet Vessels may ride here in safety, taking proper precautions for preserving their cables, as the bottom is rocky. There does not appear to be any other situation equally eligible.

"Previous to making any observations on the communication and transport from the upper end of Lake Ontario to the lower end of Lake Erie, it may not be improper just to state in a few words the present mode of proceeding in that business.

"From Niagara to the Landing Place below the Falls is about seven miles and a quarter. There is a tolerably good road but merchandise, stores, etc. are carried up the River in bateaux or in vessels, there being sufficient depth of water all the way up, and also to lye alongside the wharf to unload; beyond this place the current becomes too strong to proceed any further by water without great difficulty; boats, indeed, but not vessels, can go about half a mile higher, but no advantage can be obtained from it as the shore there become impracticable, being a precipice of loose rock about three times as high as where the present landing is. From the wharf at the Landing, goods are drawn up the side of the bank about fifty feet high upon ways, on an easy slope, by a capstan fixed at the top. From this place, there is a wagon road of seven miles to Fort Schlosser, which is one mile and a half above the Falls, where the goods are again put into boats and carried up (eighteen miles to Fort Erie, from whence they are conveyed in Vessels across Lake Erie to Detroit, etc.

If it should be thought expedient to carry on the communication *on this side of the river*, then the Landing Place must be nearly opposite the present, a very little below it, where the bank of the shore is lower than in any other place, and seems in all respects the most convenient spot for the purpose, whether on this or the other side of the River. There is good ground here for storehouses and it is close to the road leading through the Settlements. The situation above the Falls to be chosen, instead of Fort Schlosser, ought, I imagine, to be the Chippeway Creek; it is indeed nearer the Falls than Fort Schlosser, and there is a very strong current passes it, but there is no difficulty (going along shore) to get into the Creek and as there is then still water, boats may lie there in safety and such buildings as are requisite may be erected here. The Creek is about eighty yards across and has seven or eight feet depth of water. It would be necessary to have a bridge here and likewise a good road; the first would not cost a great deal, as there is a good bottom and no current, but the latter would be attended with some expense as the ground is very wet to the distance of a mile and a half from each side of the creek, not, however, of such nature as would not be easily improved by cutting down the trees to let in the air and sun, and by making a few drains. Both the road and the bridge are objects which the new Settlers themselves must sooner or later have for their own convenience, but whether their ideas in this respect might lead them to execute these works upon a scale

sufficiently extensive and substantial to answer the purposes of Government and of the transport, I cannot undertake to say. The length of the land carriage on this side of the river will be near three miles more than on the other, but the ascent of the Hill from the then Landing Place below the Falls will not be so steep as on the other side, and I think the excess of distance will be otherwise compensated by not having the River to cross, as at present, from Fort Schlosser, by that degree of security to be derived from having the whole transport carried on completely on one side of the River from Navy Hall to Fort Erie and by having the assistance of the New Settlers with their wagons and teams at hand in cases of exigency, an advantage not to be obtained conveniently, if at all, on the other side. The current all the way to Fort Erie is very strong, and the business of getting up loaded boats is both laborious and tedious, but I should think the transport from above the Falls might be much improved if the Bank of the River was sufficiently cleared to admit of the boats being dragged up by men, or rather by horses, as fewer hands would be necessary and they would get up much more expeditiously than at present.

In June of this year, the Reverend John Stuart paid a long deferred visit to the Mohawks of the Grand River. Embarking with Captain Brant and four other Indians in a Canoe at Kingston on the 27th of May, they arrived at the Head of the Lake on the ninth day, whence they proceeded on horseback about twenty-five miles to the village of New Oswego, where Mr. Stuart was warmly welcomed. He brought the plate and furnish formerly belonging to their church at Fort Hunter, part of which had been presented to them by Queen Anne. The Mohawk Village here was pleasantly situated on the bank of the river near the church, which was sixty feet in length by forty-five in breadth, built of hewn logs, clapboarded and painted, having a handsome steeple and bell, a pulpit reading desk, communion table and convenient pews. Church furniture had been recently donated by the Government, but had not yet arrived from Niagara. Mr. Stuart preached to a large congregation on the following Sunday, administered the sacrament to sixteen, of whom four were ne communicants, baptized sixty-five persons and married three couples.

On the 14th of October, 1788, Lord Dorchester gave the following roseate account of the progress of the new settlements, in a letter to Lord Sydney:

"Previous to my answering Your Lordship's private letter of September, eighty-seven, I thought it necessary to visit the settlement of Loyalists in Upper Canada, which in a few years will make a very considerable portion of this Province, and may, I trust, with proper management afford no small support to the interests of Great Britain.

Their improvements exhibit strong proof of industry. The greater number declare they are better circumstanced and happier than before the rebellion, with many acknowledgments for the assistance they have received from the Crown, sentiments which deserve well to be cultivated, and, the temper of this continent considered, may have an extensive influence.

"The tenure of their lands is the great object about which they are most anxious at present, and I cannot but hope they will soon be gratified.

"We are in daily expectation of seeing planters on the American side of the River and Great Lakes, and it is much to be wished they should on all occasions perceive how much they are fallen, and the Loyalists find upon every comparison strong reasons to congratulate themselves upon having persevered in their duty.

"It is said those emigrants bring with them sentiments not very favourable to their own government."

In many instances settlements had preceded surveys, as it was not until the 19th of June, 1787, that the survey of Townships Nos. 1 and 2, afterwards known as Niagara and Stamford, was completed by Philip Rockell Frey, formerly a Lieutenant in the Rangers. On July 4, 1788, Major A. Campbell, Commandant at Fort Niagara, wrote to Frey "for regulating allowance among the first settlers upon government lands, as well as from the great number of people coming in, you are to proceed with your surveying," and on October 18th, 1788, Frey reported that he had surveyed to the Sugar Loaf, but only where people were settled. Considerable dissatisfaction existed and it became apparent that a regular system of allotting lands must be adopted as well as an alteration in the tenure.

The anonymous author of an interesting memoir in the Colonial Office Records, entitled, "A Summary of the Rise and Progress of the Settlement in Upper Canada," makes the following comments on the situation:

"The indiscretion of some reduced officers living among their former soldiers infused into the settlers an idea that their lands were to be granted in fee or in roture and holden under their old Officers as lords of the soil. From such suggestions, arose a sentiment which gave cause to suspect immigrations to the United States. To check this, it was judged advisable to send commissioners through the settlements to enquire, and their expectations were confirmed. As the animosity of the party spirit began to subside, an intercourse had commenced between the active Loyalists and their friends or connections who had remained neuter during the war and had continued to reside in the United States. Numbers of such characters, attracted by favourable accounts of the soil, situation and climate, applied to become settlers under the King's Government. This license was readily granted to such as produced testimonials of loyalty or even of perfect neutrality during the Rebellion, but abuses being practiced in this respect, and worthless characters availing themselves of the indulgence to take up lands without intentions to reside, and to traffic in the sale of it, a regulation was adopted by the Government as to future locations, whereby it was clearly stipulated upon the face of the Certificate assigned to the nominee that it could not be transferred without a special license from the Land Board.

"The 84th Regiment had stipulated for a larger portion of land than was originally bestowed on the others, so that to remove cause of jealousy the whole army reduced in the Province, with the Loyalists, were put upon a footing with that Regiment. To distinguish such Loyalists as had given proofs of prudence and industry in their first location, and generally to give a favourable impression by rather exceeding the promised bounty, the Governor had from time to time, ordered additional quantities of land given to settlers.

"During this period, the settlement had made the most rapid progress in the improvement of woodlands under circumstances altogether new. The Act of 14th George III, commonly called the Quebec Bill, was unrepealed.

The newly opened country was parcel of that province, subject by the statute of French laws. To have administered these laws strictly among a people utterly ignorant of

the language and manners and in every respect opposed to those of their French neighbours would have disgusted them; to have left a numerous and thriving colony without the semblance of legal control would have exposed it to every evil. Thus circumstanced, domestic tribunals of extensive jurisdiction were constituted in each district. The judges were selected from the most respectable of the inhabitants, but with one of two exceptions were equally ignorant of the custom of Paris and the common law of England. Unassisted by lawyers they administered distributive justice *secundum equum et bonum* in their ideas and no obvious inconvenience was experienced. The land of each occupant was considered as liable for his debts and was subject to executions and alienated by Sheriff's Sale." (Q.282-2, p. 658).

On 29th December, 1788, an order in council was passed appointing Lieut.-Colonel Hunter, or other officer commanding the Garrison at Fort Niagara, Lieut.-Col. Butler, Peter TenBroeck, Robert Hamilton, Benjamin Pawling and Nathaniel Pettit a land board for the District of Nassau. They held their first meeting at Navy Hall, immediately after the January Quarte Sessions of 1789, having previously "stated to the Governor their reasons for holding the regular boards of examinations at the same time with the Quarterly Courts, that the settlement then being mostly brought together the claimant could with ease procure the testimony of his former acquaintances in his favour, and it furnished also an opportunity to the settlers to detect and point out such characters as were unworthy a place among them."

It is also placed on record that "at the time the Board had no particular instructions to guide their conduct," but they "proceeded to examine into the loyalty, but more particularly into the character of all such persons claiming a settlement as appeared before them. To such as were approved of they administered the oath of allegiance and directed the surveyor to give them a ticket specifying the quantity of land they and their families were entitled to. All these claimants were already settled, some on the surveyed lands, others on the waste land adjoining.

"A Committee of the Board, to accommodate themselves to the convenience of the settlement, went in February where all the claimants of that quarter were directed to attend. Here they followed the same plan as also after the subsequent Quarter Sessions held in April. The Surveyor at these meetings kept a list of all such as were permitted to become settlers."

On February 17th, rules and regulations for the conduct of the Land Office Department were adopted by the Executive Council, by which the dimensions of an inland Township were to be ten miles square, and those of Township situated on a navigable river or water, nine miles in front by twelve in depth. In an inland Township, the Town was to be in the centre, one mile square with Town Lots containing one acre each, with sites laid out for the Church, Parsonage, Jail and Court House, Work House, Church Yard, Hospitals, Public Squares, Market Places, Town Park for a School Master and a Town Park for a Minister. The open area of half a mile around the Town was to be reserved. The Town parks were to join this reserve all round, each containing twenty-five acres. In other Townships, the Town was to be laid out upon the River or Lake with a similar reserve adjoining.

These regulations were subsequently modified by an Order In Council, August 25th. It was directed that each Board should observe the following order in providing spaces for the general convenience in each Township:

1. - One or more place or places for the Public Worship of God.
- 2.- A common Burying Ground.
3. - One Parsonage House.
- 4.- A common School House.
- 5.- A town park for one minister.
6. A Town Park for one school master common to the Town.
- 7.- A glebe for one minister.
- 8.- A glebe for one school master, common to the Town.
- 9.- The Court or Town House.
- 10.- The prison.
- 11.-The poor or work house.
- 12.- A market place."

The width of all township roads was fixed at sixty-six feet and that of the eight principal streets in a town at ninety-six feet.

The Boards were enjoined "to be particularly careful to discountenance frivolous applications and not to authorize any transfers of unimproved town lots and town parks, which only tend to create a mischievous monopoly of the ground. Nor shall any Town Parks be granted separately from town, the former being intended for the convenience of the settler upon the latter, and a failure in the conditions upon which the Town Lots are granted shall operate in the forfeiture of both." During the summer, Frey with his Assistant, Augustus Jones, continued to make surveys.

On May 7th, he notes the fact that "the change of property is so frequent that three or four alterations are made in a week. A Township is laid out this winter to complete the requirements for reduced officers, but locations are disputed, all wishing to be near the water." On June 20th, 1789, he remarks: "The Country is divided in opinion about the seat of Government and probably will be. The general opinion is that it had better be voted on. I have no names for the Townships yet."

The first regular meeting of the Land Board was held at Niagara on 26th October, when there were present, Lieut.-Colonel Harris, Lieut.-Colonel Butler and Robert Hamilton. After reading various letters and the printed rules and regulations the board adjourned until the 29th to meet at the Twelve Mile Creek in Hunterton, as a Muster of the Militia of the Lower District was to be held there that day, and it was thought expedient to save the time of the settlers as much as possible.

At this Meeting, Lieut.-Colonel Butler, Peter TenBroeck, Robert Hamilton and Nathaniel Petit were present. "The Board proceeded to examine particularly the different rules and regulations sent for their conduct, and they adopted the following data as what they understood to be the intentions of the Government, which are to guide themselves in assigning lands to claimants:

"They consider His Majesty's instructions of 1783, addressed to General Haldimand, as conferring 1000 acres to every field officers, 700 to Captains, 500 to subaltern, staff or warrant officers, 200 to non-commissioned officers, 100 to Private Soldiers and the same quantity to every head of a family being a Loyalist, 50 to every Loyalists being a single man, and 50 to every individual of which the families of all the above described persons consists."

They consider Lord Dorchester's instructions of 2nd June, 1787, as conferring 200 additional acres on all those settlers who have already improved, so far as in their power,

the lands before granted them, and that this additional bounty extends as well to single men improving their own lands as to heads of families.

"From these premises they therefore conclude that every discharged soldier from His Majesty's service is entitled to 300 acres of land, every non-commissioned officer to 400 and that every Loyalist or other received good character, settled prior to the instruction of the 17th February, 1789, is entitled to 200 acres, together with 50 acres to each individual of which their families shall consist. That after the date of these instructions, persons settled under the denomination of Loyalists, or all others who shall be approved of by the board, shall receive only 200 acres for themselves, leaving the provision for their families to the future bounty of the Commander-in-Chief, which will certainly follow their decent deportment and their improving with industry the grant now made them.

"A question having arisen whether Loyalists or others not particularly distinguished as having taken an active part in the cause of the unity of the British Empire should be considered indiscriminately as the objects of Lord Dorchester's bounty, and thus become entitled to 300 acres, it was resolved that: That as it appears to be the wish of the Government to distinguish their active friends and adherents by peculiar marks of attention, those only who had borne arms or served in some other capacity during the War, should of right be entitled to 300 acres or more, in proportion to their rank, and that all others should now receive 200 acres, leaving the door open to future applications in their favour as the merit of their cases may require, and as Lord Dorchester's bounty of 2nd June, 1787, particularly provides for the extension to all unmarried men occupying lands as well as to the heads of families, the Board resolved that every young man liable to be called upon to do the duties of a man in the settlement, such as working on the highways or being mustered in the Militia, shall be esteemed as entitled to this bounty of 200 acres and *vice versa*. The Board further resolve that the claims of those who have served, or say they have served His Majesty during the War in other parts of America than in the Province of Canada, shall now be postponed, and the additional bounty to them be deferred till the board have clean proof before them, first of the service, and, secondly, that they have not been rewarded by grants of land elsewhere.

"And whereas much confusion and uncertainty with regard to particular lots have arisen from the unfortunate circumstances of a great part of the lots in this district being taken up and settled upon before any surveys were made, and from the irregular manner in which these surveys have since been made by different surveyors, whose lines often vary from each other, the Board, resolve with a view to reduce the confusion to some kind of order, that the surveyors be directed to furnish their plans of each township on a large scale for the purpose of inserting in the blank space of each lot, the owner's name as well as the number of each lot, and that each township shall be publicly called together by the magistrates residing therein, and when the claim to the lot is universally allowed to insert the owner's therein. When two claimants appear, it should be left to the arbitration of the Court of Common Pleas.

No. 1 Certificate of the Board was issued to David Secord for Lots 43 and 50 of Township No. 1, containing two hundred acres, and is dated 28th June, 1790. It is still preserved by his descendants.

Hitherto the commerce of the Great Lakes had been entirely conducted under the British Flag. But the American settlers in the Genessee had become numerous and now

began to seek an outlet for their surplus products by way of Lake Ontario, and on January 10th, 1789, Lord Dorchester writes that a "road has been cleared and made practicable for carriages of any kind from Cayuga Lake to Great Sodus Bay on Lake Ontario. This Carrying Place is about ten miles long. The bay affords a safe harbour for vessels of about fifty or sixty tons burden, and is nearly half way between Fort Ontario and the Genessee River, about thirty miles from each. One object is to form a communication between the settlement on this River and the Mohawk country without coming near Oswego."

The customary route followed by traders and travellers was still by the latter place, but was both tedious and expensive. From Albany there was a good road to Schenectady, where the navigation of the Mohawk began.

Between that place and Little Falls, a distance of fifty miles, the river was swift and full of shoals, which rendered navigation so difficult that five days were generally consumed in its ascent. At Little Falls, there was a portage of three-quarters of a mile and thence to Fort Stanix, the river in spring and autumn was fairly full and easily navigable, but in summer it scarcely contained water enough to float the smallest boat. In favourable weather, the passage upwards frequently occupied five days more. The Portage from the Mohawk into Wood Creek at Fort Stanwix was only a half a mile in length over good road, but the latter stream was very shallow and so narrow, that the first eight miles of its course, the boat often rubbed against the bushes on either side. After entering Oneida Lake boats were sometimes wind bound for seven or eight days at a time and at Oswego Falls, there was another portage of thirty yards. Twenty years later, an invoice shows that the cost of transportation of goods from Albany to Queenston by this route was twenty-two shillings and sixpence per hundred weight, or two and one-half times as much as from Montreal. Still, most of the immigrants to Upper Canada from the Mohawks and Hudson during this period came by this Channel. An official return shows that between the 1st of May, 1789 and the 1st of November, 1791, 88 men, 63 women and 114 children passed Oswego on their way to the new Settlement at Niagara.

In consequence of various efforts at competition of American merchants and fur traders, the Governor General appointed a committee to enquire into the condition of "inland navigation and interior commerce," which reported in the following terms: "First Report of the Standing Committee nominated by Your Lordship in Council on the 29th December, 1788, to bring information to the knowledge of the Government concerning the inland navigation and commerce, to correspond with the superintendents, report abstracts from time to time of their communications and returns, together with the Committee's observation on the important matters, suggested in Your Lordship's order of reference and other consequential duties. PRESENT -- Mr. Grant, Francis Baby, George Davison, Charles de Lanandiere, Col. Dupre. ABSENT: Sir John Johnson, Bart., Roc de St. Ours. Samuel Holland.

"It appears by the lists and returns of the Superintendents appointed by Your Lordship for the Posts of Kingston, (formerly Catarauqui,) Niagara, Fort Erie, Detroit and Michilimackinac, pursuant to the act passed in the last sessions of the Legislative Council, Chapter 3d, that there are at present four registered merchant vessels belonging to those

Ports and navigating the lakes, as follows: Lake Ontario - Kingston to Oswego, Quinti and Niagara; the Schooner *Good Intent*, built at Fredericksburg in 1788, burthen 15 tons,

three men. Lakes Huron & Erie - Fort Erie to Detroit, Michilimackinac and St. Mary Falls; the sloop *Sagina* 36 tons, five men, built at Sagina Bay in 1787; the sloop *Esperance*, 20 tons, four men, built at Sagina Bay, in 1788; the schooner *Weezel* 16 tons, three men, built at Detroit in 1786. Total tonnage 87; fifteen men.

"That on the 8th of September, the *Good Intent* cleared out at Kingston for Quinti Bay, and again on the 24th from Kingston for Oswego, but it does not appear from the Superintendent's reports what her outward cargoes were constituted of.

"From Quinti she brought back to Kingston and entered Sept. 18th, 1000 feet pine boards, 10 barrels pearl ashes, 1-1/2 tons Hay.

"That on the 20th of August, the *Sagina* cleared out from Fort Erie for Detroit and carried 11 cwt. shot and ball, 72 casks wine and spirits, (the gallons not ascertained) 123 boxes, cases, bales and trunks; dry goods, the value not ascertained.

"And on the 21st August, the *Esperance* cleaned from the same port and carried 1 cwt. shot and ball, 52 casks wine and spirits, the gallons not known, 32 cases and bales dry goods.

"And on the 21st Sept. the *Sagina* again cleared from the same port and carried 21 cwt. shot and ball, 138 packages dry goods, 78 casks wine and spirits, (quantity and quality not reported) 60 bars iron and steel.

"That the *Sagina* appears to have entered inwards on the 5th of August from Fort Erie 12,880 gallons of spirit, 82 bales trunks, chests and barrels dry goods.

"That on the 19th October, the *Weasel* entered at Detroit 47 barrels fish from St. Mary Falls.

"That on September 12th, the *Weaser* cleared from Detroit for St. Mary Falls and carried 12 fusils, 16 gals. rum, 52 cwt. flour, 213 bushels Indian Corn, 10 casks dry goods.

"And October 16, the *Sagina* for Michilimackinac and carried 12 fusils, 160 lbs. powder, 1,365 gals. rum, 91 cwt. flour and 101 packages dry goods.

"That from Detroit there was exported to Fort Erie:

"On board the *Sagina* Aug. 12, 162 packs furs, 7 barrels gingseng.

"On board the *Esperance*, Aug. 12th, 100 packs furs.

"On board the *Sagina*, Sept. 2d., 56 packs furs, 6 bbls. gingseng.

"But the Superintendent at Fort Erie has entered there only 313 packs furs, 13 barrels gingseng. The 5 packs furs, that appear to be missing were of the *Esperance's* Cargo.

"What became of the 313 packages of furs after their entry at Fort Erie is not stated by the Superintendents.

"The Committee presume they were transported from Fort Erie by land to Niagara, from thence shipped on board some of His Majesty's Vessels for Kingston, and from Kingston brought to Montreal in bateaux or canoes.

"To bring that transport into more regular order and view and clearly to detect the smuggling of furs into the American States, it is submitted to Your Lordship whether His Majesty's ships carrying furs and merchandise from Port to Port on the Great Lakes ought not to enter and clear the same at the Superintendent's Office of the Port as Merchant Vessels are or may be by law bound to do, and if it is your Excellency's desire to be informed of the quantity and quality of the different species of furs and merchandise

imported and exported where Superintendents are, it will be necessary that the Merchants be directed by a law to be made, if other means do not occur to Your Lordship's greater wisdom, to make regular entries of their shipments, enumerating the articles specifically or such of them as shall be required, after the manner usually practised at His Majesty's custom houses in seaport towns.

"The Committee do not perceive that much trouble or difficulty will arise to the Merchant in adopting a similar system. Without it there is not a possibility of checking, ascertaining or estimating the valuable trade and commerce carried on with the extensive and numerous Indian Nations inhabiting His Majesty's dominions westward of Montreal or knowing the progress of the increasing commerce and agriculture in the new settlements of the numerous Loyalists daily establishing themselves, under Your Lordship's fostering care, Your Lordship's wish completely to effect so useful a purpose, the superintendent of navigation at Montreal, or rather at LaChine. For tho' no port for shipping can ever be at the latter, yet the canoes and bateaux or vessels in which the exportation and importation of the western country is carried on may be said to sail from and arrive at La Chine.

"The superintendent at Fort Erie is of opinion that the quantity and quality of liquor contained in each cask should be marked on the head thereof.

"It will not be necessary, in the opinion of the Committee, to give the merchant that trouble if the following method of entering goods at the superintendent's office be adopted:

"The Committee are of opinion the superintendents ought not to permit any merchandise, furs or effects to be shipped until the owner or his agent has made an entry thereof as above, or as nearly correspondent thereunto as commercial business and the conduct of it will admit in the respective parts of the inland navigation.

"The packages, qualities and quantities as ascertained together with the master's manifest of his cargo, which is also upon his oath, will enable the Superintendents to execute the trust reposed in them and perfect their quarterly and annual lists and returns, agreeable to Your Lordship's instructions and the laws of the Province made and provided.

"The inconveniences represented by Mr. McGill, Mr. McGregor and Major Close in the extracts of their letters before the committee respecting affidavits, bonds and registers for vessels built upon the lakes, owned by persons resident at Montreal or Quebec, may be obviated without any amendment of the late law of the Province whenever it shall please Your Lordship to commission superintendents for these ports. The papers and documents required by the Law for the security of the Crown and subject may be entered into and obtained at offices there, and the registers so taken out may be transmitted by the merchant to his agent or correspondent where the vessel for which it is intended is building or has been built.

"The Committee at present have further but to remark that the Superintendent at Detroit, in his letter of the 1st of November, informs Your Lordship that six new vessels will be then in the register of that port in the course of the present year. Therefore, he requests an additional supply of the necessary documents devised by Your Lordship for the government of the inland marine.

"The discernment of the strength and of those commercial advantages which are added to His Majesty's American dominions by the navies now arising on his inland Canadian seas was reserved for Your Lordship's profound and penetrating wisdom.

"To establish the empire of the British flag upon the fresh water oceans of the new world, and under that powerful protection to send freedom, light and commerce to its remotest parts, was reserved for the 28th year of the illustrious reign of His Sacred Majesty, King George the Third.

"To aid and assist in so glorious a pursuit must be the wish and desire of every Briton. That this Committee should be most anxiously ardent needs no illustration or assurance, its duty, preservation and interests being so obviously combined with those of the province at large.

"The committee will soon have the honour to lay before Your Lordship, the journal of their entries and proceedings and with Your Excellency's approbation will prepare fair copies thereof to be transmitted to the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury and to the Honourable the Commissioners of His Majesty's Customs.

Those Boards may be inclined to give light upon the important business of revenue and navigation which this committee presume not to foresee.

WILLIAM GRANT, Chairman.

About this time, a road was completed from the landing place at the present village of Queenston to the mouth of the Chippewa Creek by the efforts of the settlers on the lands adjacent, assisted by the merchants who were interested in the trade with the Upper Country, for whom Robert Hamilton and George Forsythe were the local agents. The transportation of merchandise and peltries by this route was commenced at once, although government stores continued to be forwarded over the Portage on the American side until the termination of Philip Stedman's contract in 1791. The carriers adopted a plan of employing every inhabitant of the settlement who offered his services regularly in his turn, paying them in merchandise, thus conferring a substantial benefit on them as well as reducing the cost of carriage to the merchants.

The desirability of procuring a larger tract of land for prospective settlers had already become apparent.

On May 19, 1790, a Treaty was concluded with the Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies and Hurons of Detroit by which they ceded to the Crown a tract of land commencing at the mouth of Catfish Creek, ten miles east of the present site of Port Stanley, thence running westward along Lake Erie, Detroit River and Lake St. Clair to the mouth of the River La Tranche, comprising the whole of the country south of the Thames except a considerable reserve at the River Canard for the Huron Confederacy, and containing about two million acres in consideration of a payment of 1,200 pounds.

Negotiations were also opened with the Mississaugas for the sale of a large tract of land on the north side of Lake Ontario, which were not concluded until a later date. Concerning the latter purchase Lieut.-Colonel Butler wrote to Sir John Johnson on March 2d, 1790:

The Mississaugas complain of being disappointed in their payment for the lands they sold Government when His Lordship and you passed Toronto. I then promised them payment,

for what I there agreed with them for, which was to extend northward to join the Bay of Quinty, and westward to Lake LaClay, (Lake Simcoe,) and the Rice Lake, which I presume the Surveyor, who was then present, has transmitted a plan of to headquarters.

On my arrival from Montreal last fall a number of chiefs and warriors of that nation called on me to know if I had brought the payment, and were much disappointed that I had not. I informed them that Mr. Laugan had gone up the bay with presents for that purpose, which they seemed doubtful of, and said they had received no information, nor any message to attend. After giving them some ammunition and a few guns with the approbation of the Commanding Officer, they set off for their hunts, since which I have heard nothing further from them."

In ten years from the time that the first clearing had been begun some three thousand persons had come in and become established in a fair degree of comfort, in spite of two seasons of scarcity, which brought some of them perilously near starvation.

A considerable area of land had been brought under cultivation, roads had been opened, mills built, a town was laid out and merchants had settled at Niagara, Queenston, Chippawa and Fort Erie.

APPENDIX A.

A SURVEY OF THE SETTLEMENT AT NIAGARA, 25th AUGUST, 1782.

HEADS OF FAMILIES.	Married Women	Young and Hired Men	Boys	Girls	Male Slaves	Female Slaves	Horses	Oxen	Cows	Steers and Heifers	Sheep	Hogs	Flour	Produce this Year				Acres of Clear Land
														Wheat	Indian Corn	Oats	Potatoes	
Isaac Dolson.....	1		3	2			4		4	2		14		bush	bush	bush	bush	bush
Peter Secord.....	1		3	2			5		6	2		10		80	60	6	10	30
John Secord.....	2		1	1			6		7	3		3		15	200	4	70	24
James Secord.....	1		1	3			3		3		11	3		50	50		70	27
George Stuart.....	1		2				3		2	2		9		7	100		30	20
John Depue.....	1		3	3			3		3	2		6		4	20		30	9
George Field, Rangers.....	1		2				4		2	1		8			200		50	16
Daniel Rowe.....	1		2				2		2	1		3			50	50	30	22
Elijah Phelps.....	1						3		1							30	40	6
Philip Bender.....	1		1	2			2		2	1	19	10			20		20	8
Samuel Lutes.....	1		4	1			3		4	3		8			10	20	30	12
Michael Showers, Rangers.....	1		2	4			2					3			100		20	18
Harmanus House, Rangers.....	1		3	2			2		3	2		6			40	6	15	12
Thomas McMicken.....	1	1	2		1		2		1			20			20		60	12
Adam Young.....	1						2		2						10	10	10	8
McGregor Van Every.....	1						3								12		15	4
McGregor Van Every.....	1														4		40	8
Total.....	17	1	29	20	1		49		42	19	30	103		206	926	46	630	236

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APPENDIX B LIST OF SETTLERS IN 1783

	Acres Cleared
John McDonell.....	50
Peter Hare.....	25
Bernard Frey.....	8
Andrew Bradt.....	5
Benjamin Pawling.....	8
Jacob Ball.....	11
Peter Ball.....	5
Robert Guthrie.....	30
John Reilly.....	1
John Coon.....	6
Jacob Benner.....	12
George Rancier.....	4
Ezekiel Brown.....	4
Joseph Robeson.....	8
Peter Thompson.....	6
John McDonell.....	16
Brant Johnson.....	15
John Burch.....	20
Isaac Dolson.....	50
Elijah Phelps.....	50
Thomas Secord.....	40
Peter Secord.....	25
Samuel Lutes.....	30
George Stuart.....	12

George Fields.....	25
John Depue.....	12
Michael Showers.....	20
Daniel Rowe.....	12
Thos. McMicking.....	6
Ralph Johnston.....	7
Philip Bender.....	6
John Chisholm.....	25
Francis Ellsworth.....	5
James Forsyth.....	2
Thos. Millard.....	2
Allan McDonell.....	10
John Secord.....	50
Anthony Slingerland.....	3
Henry Mattice.....	10
Henry Volleck.....	11
Harmanus House.....	30
Adam Young.....	18
Joseph Petrey.....	18
John Secord, Jr.....	10
Samuel Sipes.....	4
McGregor VanEvery.....	4

APPENDIX C

A. List of the Persons who have subscribed their Names in order to Settle and Cultivate the Crown Land opposite to Niagara, July 20, 1784.

Settlers who receive Rations:

B - Bender, Philip; Burch, John.

C - Chisholm, John.

D - Dolson, Isaac

J - Johnson, Rudolph

P - Phelps, Elijah

R - Rose, Daniel

S - Sampson, Lewis; Secord, John Sr.; Secord, Peter; Secord, Widow (James).

Settlers who are to receive Rations to 24th Dec. next:

E - Ellsworth, Francis

H - House, Hermanus

L - Lyons, William

M - Mattice, Henry

Y - Young, Adam

Young settlers who receive Rations:

B - Benner, Jacob; Brown, Ezekiel.
C - Coon, John
D - Depue, John
F - Fields, George; Forsyth, James
J - Johnson, Brant
Mc - McMicking, Thomas; McDonell, Allan; McDonell, Corpl.
M - Millard, Thomas Sr.
P - Petry, Joseph, Jr.
R - Rancier, Geroge; Reilley, John; Robeson, Joesph.
S - Secord, Silas; Showers, Michael; Stewart, George.
T - Thompson, Peter.

Young Settlers, Loyalists, and Brant's Volunteers who receive Rations:

B - Barnes, James; Brigham, Elias; Brown, Elijah; Bryan, Patrick.
C - Cole, Daniel; Colerick, Peter.
D - Davis, John; Depue, Charles; Depue, William; Dolson, John; Drake, Joseph.
E - Emmett, Stephen, Every, Jordan
L - Land, Robert; Lang, John.
M - Miller, Andrew; Miller, Peter.
P - Park, James; Petrey, Joseph Sr.
S - Seally, Lodwick; Secord, John Jun.; Secord, Peter; Slingerland, Anthony; Soper, Samuel.
T - Terry, Parshall; Thompson, Archibald; Turner, Edward.
W - Westbrook, Antony; Wing, Abram.
V - Volick, Isaac

Lieut. Col.

B - Butler, John

Captains

B - Bradt, Andrew
D - Dame, George
F - Frey, Bernard
H - Hare, Peter
Mc - Macdonell, John
T - Tenbroeck, Peter

Lieutenants:

B - Ball, Jacob; Bradt, John; Butler, Andrew; Butler, Thomas.
H - Hanson, Richard; Hare, John.
R - Reynolds, Caleb; Rosencrantz, Michael.
S - Secord, Solomon

Surgeon's Mates

B - Burke, Patrick.
G - Guthrie, Robert

Sergeants

B - Beebe, Adin
C - Campbell, James, Campbell, Robert.
D - Diell, Henry
F - Federick, Jacob (Dittrick)
K - Kooman, Adam (Vrooman).
Mc - McDonell, Peter; McDonell, Randal.
M - Mabee, Lewis; Mount, Moses.
S - Secord, Stephen; Smith, Peter.
V - VanEvery, David
W - Warner, Christian; Winn, Thomas.
Y - Young, David; Young John

Corporals

A - Anderson, Elias
F - Frelick, Benjamin
H - Heaslip, James; Hogerman, Arnold.
S - Schram, Frederick
W - Wintemute, Peter

Drummers

P - Philips, John
W - Withy, John

Disbanded Rangers, etc.

A - Adams, William; Anguish, Jacob; Arner, Jacob; Arnold, Oliver; Austin, Joel.
B - Basset, John; Bebee, Adin; Bell, Derick; Ben, Tom; Benson, Thomas; Berger, Frederick; Bowman, Adam;
Bowman, Jacob; Bowman, Peter; Boyce, John; Bradt, Minart; Brown, John; Brown, William; Burns, John;
Bush, Peter.
C - Campbell, James; Campbell, Thomas; Cassady, Daniel; Cassady, Luke; Chambers, Francis; Chorus, Castle;
Coghill, George; Conway, Patrick; Countryman, Joe; Cox, Samuel; Cummings, Thomas.
D - Doyle, Benjamin.
F - Farrell, John; Fields, Gilbert; Fields, Nathan; Fleming, Patrick; Foryea, John; Foskit, Silas;
Friedenburg, Matthew.
G - Gahagan, Oliver; George, John; Gould, John; Goulding, Thomas; Gallinger, John.
H - Hargison, (Hodgkinson) William; Hare, Peter (Volunteer); Hare, William (Volunteer); Harper, Thomas;

Harris, Henry; Henry, William; Hicks, Benjamin; Hicks, Edward; Higbie, Chris;
Hohandoran, Hermanus;
Hollenbake, Henry; Hornbeck, Lodwick; Horton, Edmund; Houghdelin, James; House,
George;
Hoverland, Andrew; Hudson, John.
J - Jackson, James; Jacobs, John A.C.; Jago, Henry; Jones, James.
K - Kairns, Mathias; Kooman, (Vrooman) Mendo;
L - Lampert, Aiker (Lambert Acre); Laraway, Abram; Laraway, Jonas; Laraway,
Peter; Lazeau, Hyatt.
Mc - McDonell, Christy; McDonell, William; McLeod, Norman; McMicken, John;
McPherson, James.
M - Maycock, John; Millard, Daniel; Millard, Jesse; Millard, Thomas; Marseles, John
B., ; Mitchell, Gilbert.
N - Napp, (Knapp) Benjamin.
P - Page, Joseph; Parks, John; Phillips, Nicholas; Pierpoint, Richard; Poole, Hendrick;
Prout, Shuman.
Q - Quick, Benjamin; Quick, Solomon.
R - Ramsay, Henry; Rowe, John.
S - Schram, VanAlstine; Segar, Frederick; Segar, Jacob; Shelding, John; Shoulitz,
Frederick; Sipe, Andrew;
Skuse, John; Smith, Adam; Snider, John; Spencer, Robert; Springer, Richard;
Springsteen, Caspar;
Stedman, William; Stuffle, John; Sutton, Thomas.
T - Topp, John; Townshend, James; Turnbull, William.
V - VanAlstine, Jacob; Vandecar, John; Vandyke, Graus; VanEvery, Benjamin;
VanEvery, McGregor.
W - Walker, Jacob; Wheeler, Samuel; Windecker, Hendrick; Wormwood, Mathias;
Wormwood, Peter

LOYALISTS Arrived the 19th July from Canada:

B - Bowman, Adam; Brown, Joseph; Buck, Philip.
E - Eycken, William
H - Huffman, Michael
J - Johnson, Conrad; Johnson, John.
L - Lampman, Frederick; Lampman, Peter.
Mc - McClellan, William
M - Millard, Josiah
S - Skinner, Henry; Skinner, Josiah; Skinner, Timothy.
V - Veeders, Carnelius; Vanderlip, Frederick.
W - Wickoff, Peter.

Number of Souls: Men, 258: Women, 99: Children above ten 148; Children under ten
115. Total 620.

Rations per day 521 - 1/2

A. S. DePeyster, Lt. Colonel.

Source: Canadian Archives, Series B, Vol. 168, pg. 38.

APPENDIX D

List of the Officers of the Corps or Rangers Commanded by Lieut.-Colonel John Butler, Disbanded in 1784 at Niagara.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL COMMANDING -

John Butler - born at New London in the Province of Connecticut. Length of Service 29 years. An Officer from the year 1755.

CAPTAINS:

William Caldwell - 9 years, abandoned some property and considerable expectations from an opulent relative strongly attached to the Americans by making his escape from Philadelphia in the year 1775, when he was appointed an Officer in the Indian Department, and afterwards to a Company of Rangers, in which line he has on frequent occasions distinguished himself as an active gallant partisan.

John McDonell - Invernesshire, Scotland, 9 years; came to America with his father and other Highland emigrants in 1773; settled in Tryon County, near Johnstown, in the Province of New York. Entered His Majesty's service as a subaltern officer, 14th June, 1775, in the 84th or Royal Highland Emigrants.

Peter TenBroeck - in the County of Albany, in the Province of New York, 28 years. A Captain in the York Provincial Regiment last war, commanded by Colonel Oliver DeLancey, and one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace.

Peter Hare - Mohawk River, Tryon County; 7 years; private gentleman.

George Dame - Halifax, Nova Scotia. 24 years; a subaltern promoted from the 84th Regiment.

Bernard Frey - Tryon County in the Province of New York; 7 years; a gentleman's son on the Mohawk River. Served in the Indian Department 2 years, from thence joined the Corps of Rangers.

John McKinnon - Scotland, served with the southern army and recommended to His Excellency, the Commander In Chief by Lord George Germain.

Lewis Genevay - Switzerland, 28 years. Joined the 60th Regiment as a Volunteer in the year 1756, and served until the reduction in 1763. Served as adjutant to the British Militia when Canada was invaded in 1775, and was that year appointed quartermaster of the 3rd Battalion of the 60th Regiment, and tho' upon service in Canada with leave and paying another for doing his duty, he was superseded, upon which he was appointed to a Company in this Corps.

Andrew Bradt - Schenectady, 9 years; farmer's son.

CAPTAIN-LIEUTENANT;

Benjamin Pawling - Philadelphia; 7 years, farmer.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS:

John Turney - Strangford, County Down, Ireland; 25 years, 18 years in the King's or 8th Regiment, 17 of which a non-commissioned officer.

Jacob Ball - Schohary in the County of Albany, Province of New York, 6 years; a former Captain of Militia; left his estate and family in 1778 and brought off part of a Company of men and joined the Corps of Rangers.

John Hare - Mohawk River, a farmer's son.

Peter Ball - County of Albany, Province of New York; 6 years; farmer's son.

Thomas Butler - Mohawk River, 3 years, 7 months; Lieutenant-Colonel Butler's son.

Joseph Ferris - Stamford, Connecticut, New England. 6 years. Farmer.

Alex. McDonell - Invernesshire, 7 years. Came to America with his father and other Highland emigrants in 1773; settled in Tryon county, near Johnstown, in the Province of New York. Entered into His Majesty's Service as a Volunteer in the 84th or Royal Highland Emigrants.

Ralph Clench - Pennsylvania. 5 years. Farmer's son. Served one year as a Volunteer in the King's or 8th Regiment.

Richard Manson - County Tryon, Province of New York. 4 years. Farmer.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS;

David Brass - Somerset County, East New Jersey; 6 years; Millwright.

Charles Tonnancour - Canada; son of Colonel Tonnancour of the Militia at Three Rivers.

John Bradt - Mohawk River; 4 years; farmer's son.

Caleb Reynolds - Plainfield, Connecticut; 7 years; farmer's son.

Chichester McDonell - Invernesshire, Scotland; 6 years. Came to America with his father and other Highland emigrants in 1773; settled in Tryon County, near Johnstown, in the Province of New York; entered His Majesty's service a Volunteer in the King's Royal Regiment of New York in the year 1778.

Philip Luke - Jerico, County of Albany, in the Province of New York; 6 years; farmer. Served four years in a body of refugees at New York, and two years in the Corps of Rangers.

Samuel Tuffie - 3 years a Volunteer in the 44th Regt; son of Quartermaster Tuffie.

Solomon Secord - New Rochelle, Westchester, Province of New York; 7 years; farmer's son.

David Sutherland - Scotland; served one year as a Volunteer in the 84th Regiment.

Andrew Butler - Mohawk River; 9 months; Lieut.-Col. Butler's son.

OTHER OFFICERS -

Adjutant William Smith - Halifax, County of York, England; 32 years. In the army served 29 years in the 47th Regiment as a Sergeant and 3 years in the Corps or Rangers.

Quartermaster Jesse Pawling - Philadelphia; 6 years; private; gentleman.

Surgeon - Robert M. Guthrie, Limerick, Ireland; 8 years and 6 months; hospital mate. Came to America with the first troops in May, 1776.

Mate Patrick Burke - County Mayo, Ireland; 2 years a Surgeon in different trading vessels.

JOHN BUTLER, Lt.-Col., Commandant.

WM. SMITH, Adjt.